2002

A Study of Transition in Plantation Economy: George Washington's Whiskey Distillery, 1799

Anna Catherine Borden anderson
College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences

A STUDY OF TRANSITION IN PLANTATION ECONOMY: GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WHISKEY DISTILLERY, 1799

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

---

by

Anna Catherine Borden Anderson

2002

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

The requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts

Author

Approved, May 2002

Kathleen J. Bragdon, Ph.D.

Theodore R. Reinhart, Ph.D.

Dennis J. Pogue, Ph.D.
Director of Restoration
Mount Vernon Ladies' Association

DEDICATION

For Chris

In memory of Hildegard L. Borden

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank a number of individuals for their support and contributions to my thesis; without their input this paper would never have been finished.

My largest thanks and appreciation goes to my husband Chris, who has remained patient, supportive and understanding throughout the entire process. He listened to me think out loud *ad nauseum* and continued to remain interested. Without his support, I'm not sure that I would have been able to finish it.

I would also like to thank Dr. Dennis J. Pogue and Ms. Esther C. White for their insightful contributions, bi-weekly lunch meetings to discuss my progress and willingness to read and comment on multiple drafts. A special thanks to Ms. White for providing the information from the Farm Work Reports and the Colonial Williamsburg Social History Database.

Thank you also to Drs. Bragdon and Reinhart for their patience, for agreeing to sit on my committee and for their insightful comments.

Ms. Barbara McMillan's flexibility and understanding cannot go unrecognized. She allowed me to borrow the microfilm on which the ledger was recorded so that I could work on it at my own pace. For that, I am most appreciative.

Goodbye, Monkey!

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the evolution of the economic relationship between Mount Vernon and the surrounding community, culminating in a discussion of Washington's whiskey distillery in 1799. These changing complex economic relationships are reviewed within the context of eighteenth-century closed and open economic societies. Frank Cancian (1989) and William Roseberry (1989), anthropologists working in Mexico and Venezuela in the 1960s, described closed economic communities as (1) self-sufficient in their economy and material goods production; (2) insulated from the cultures of the surrounding communities by maintaining traditions and rituals that support the internal structure of the economy; and (3) organized with a rigid and hierarchical social structure. By contrast, an open economic society (1) relies on regional and global markets for both its economy and material goods; (2) assimilates itself with the cultures of the surrounding communities in order to better capitalize on the available markets; and (3) has a social hierarchy that is based on financial success, rather than rigid traditions and rituals.

This paper provides examples of Mount Vernon's economic evolution beginning in 1760 with the blacksmith shop, moving on to Washington's fisheries and gristmill and ending with the distillery in 1799.

By Washington's death in December 1799, the plantation's economy had transitioned from a heavily agrarian enterprise to one mixed with and balanced with commercialization. Examples of the diversity in the distillery's product, clientele and payment structure provide the documentary support for this argument.

A STUDY OF TRANSITION IN PLANTATION ECONOMY: GEORGE WASHINGTON'S WHISKEY DISTILLERY, 1799

Alcohol was pervasive in American society; it crossed regional, sexual, racial, and class lines. Americans drank at home and abroad, alone and together, at work and at play, in fun and in earnest. They drank from the crack of dawn to the crack of dawn. At nights taverns were filled with boisterous, mirth-making tipplers. Americans drank before meals, with meals and after meals. They drank while working in the fields and while traveling across half a continent. They drank in their youth, and, if they lived long enough, in their old age. They drank at formal events, such as weddings, ministerial ordinations, and wakes, and on no occasion – by the fireside of an evening, on a hot afternoon, when the mood called. From sophisticated Andover to frontier Illinois, from Ohio to Georgia, in lumbercamps and on satin settees, in long taverns and at fashionable New York hotels, the American greeting was, "Come, Sir, take a dram first." Seldom was it refused.

- W.J. Rorabaugh

Alcohol, my permanent accessory. Alcohol, a party time necessity.

- The Bare Naked Ladies

INTRODUCTION

It is the thesis of this paper that George Washington, through the implementation of various industries at Mount Vernon, experienced a shift in his economic relationship with the surrounding community at the end of the eighteenth century. Utilizing the anthropological model of open and closed societies as a guide, this thesis will attempt to demonstrate that Mount Vernon began as a closed economic society and by the time of Washington's death in December 1799, had moved closer to an open economic society in its daily operations. The data set forth in this paper will support the author's theory that Mount Vernon plantation experienced a shift in its economic interaction with the surrounding community.

When Washington took control of the plantation in 1754, it was well ensconced in the Chesapeake planter culture, and reliant on England as a retail outlet. However, beginning with his active development of the plantation's fisheries in the 1780s, Mount Vernon's economy slowly became more commercial in its economic endeavors and slowly began to acquire many of the traits common to a commercial enterprise, some of which are characterized the Philadelphia merchant class. By Washington's death in 1799, Mount Vernon's economy was reliant on both the agricultural activities on the plantation and the commercial activities at the fisheries, gristmill and distillery. Using the information recorded in 1799 in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801), the only complete year recorded in the ledger, this thesis will examine some of the multi-

faceted economic relationships between Mount Vernon and the surrounding community that contributed to the plantation's economic evolution.

The first chapter reviews the models of closed and open economic societies as characterized by Frank Cancian (1989) and William Roseberry (1989) in their 1960s anthropological field research in Mexico and Venezuela. Their research provides an anthropological framework for this paper, which includes a summary of the significant features of closed and open economies. Once the distinguishing features of the two types of economic communities are identified, and to provide an historical perspective, they are applied to the eighteenth-century in a brief comparison of the Chesapeake planters and the Philadelphia merchants as representatives of closed and open economic communities.

Chapter II summarizes eighteenth century attitudes towards alcohol, specifically whiskey, as studied by Rorabaugh (1979). This chapter also provides a brief discussion of the changing agricultural environment at Mount Vernon, which served in a key role in the economic transformation of the plantation.

The third chapter discusses three industries at Mount Vernon that preceded the establishment of the distillery: the blacksmith shop, the fisheries and the gristmill. Each of these industries are briefly summarized to establish the economic and industrial atmosphere at Mount Vernon, as well as to portray Mount Vernon's economy as an evolving process, moving along the economic continuum from closed towards open. These activities culminated at the distillery in 1799.

Chapter IV describes the types of information in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801), the steps taken to cull that information, and the creation of subsets of data

that are further discussed in Chapter V. This chapter also addresses discrepancies in the data and defines the set of information utilized to support this thesis.

The nature of the economic relationships established at the distillery in 1799 is discussed in Chapters V and VI. Here, the question of whether Mount Vernon's economy progressed from a closed economy towards an open economy is discussed. A focus on the diversity of the distillery's clientele, the whiskey product in 1799 as recorded in the farm ledger, and three consumer case studies will serve as the basis for the answer this question.

CHAPTER I

ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY: OPEN AND CLOSED ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES

Economic anthropology is defined by Stuart Plattner as embodying three characteristics: "the study of economic institutions and behavior done in anthropological places and in ethnographic style. The combination of these three elements gives economic anthropology its character as a discipline" (Plattner 1989:1). Economic activity is embedded in every facet of a community's life, from daily subsistence transactions to annual tax payments, from defining an individual's status within the community to defining relationships between community members (Roseberry 1989:110-111). Because economic activity is a thread that runs throughout a community, it is difficult to limit a study of a community to a single economic event. Rather, a community is best evaluated by reviewing a series of economic events, no matter how small, and viewed within their historical context. World-systems theory, a relative of economic anthropology, calls for such a holistic view of a culture by placing it in a time-space continuum and noting that every level of a society is affected by and contributes to the global economy (Roseberry 1989).

However, prior to Roseberry's (1989) and Cancian's (1989) anthropological field research in South and Central America in the 1960s, another anthropologist, Robert Redfield, verbalized the importance of taking a holistic approach to the study of peasant

communities. Redfield (1955, 1956) studied peasant communities, which he termed "little communities," in Central America in the second quarter of the twentieth century. He is best known for his field research in the 1930s in the Mayan community at Chan Kom in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico (Redfield and Rojas 1967). His contribution to the study of peasant communities contributes largely to the foundation of Roseberry's and Cancian's interpretations of peasant societies in 1960s Venezuela and Mexico.

During the course of his research in the Yucatan and throughout his career, Redfield worked to identify the four main characteristics of little communities: "distinctiveness, smallness, homogeneity, and all-providing self-sufficiency [as traits that] define a type of human community that is realized in high degree in ... particular bands and villages..." (Redfield 1955:4). Redfield encouraged anthropologists to view the community from all directions, which, at times, was, and likely still is, difficult to do. Redfield admitted in his 1955 survey of "little communities" that the further breakdown of these four main characteristics to nine facets of a peasant community that he believed should be examined by an anthropologist, would take more than a lifetime to categorize and synthesize. But, in order to be able to gain the deepest understanding of a peasant community, Redfield (1955) maintained that it is necessary to examine the community at all levels: to look at its economic base (is it a subsistence economy?), to study the complexities of the social structure (is it based in kinship?), to attempt to characterize the community in a biographical format, as well as to look at the individual contributions to the community, all in an effort to provide depth and "a face" to the community. Additionally, in order to provide future scholars with a better, or clearer, understanding of a community, both the community's opinion of where it fits in the world, as well as an

individual's estimation of where he/she fits in both the community and the world, and a comparison of those views with the anthropologist's observations, should be set against the backdrop of the history of the community and the region, if available. All of these different factors, in Redfield's opinion, would provide future scholars and students with the greatest understanding of the dynamics of a particular peasant community. However, as Redfield acknowledged, while the anthropologist's attempt to place the individual and the village into the larger community is a relatively simple one, to get the villager and the village unit to do the same can be very difficult (Redfield 1955).

There have to be, therefore, degrees or levels to which the holistic understanding of a community is applied to the study of a community. This chapter will establish the anthropological framework for a study of one aspect of one year of Mount Vernon's economy, as recorded in the 1797-1801 farm ledger. Economic anthropology has a practical application to the examination of the complex economic relationships stemming from Mount Vernon's distillery in 1799.

In the mid-twentieth-century, Cancian (1989) conducted anthropological field research in Mexico to study the characteristics of closed economic communities. Generally, these types of communities tend to be organized with a strict social hierarchy that is supported by reliance on ritual and tradition; are self-sufficient in material goods production, instead of relying on external marketplaces; and are insulated or separated from the surrounding community. In contrast, William Roseberry (1989) studied a peasant community in the Boconó region of Venezuela during the same time period. He described this Venezuelan community as an open economic community which he characterized as highly socially mobile; reliant on external sources for a wide range of

goods and services necessary for both survival and comfort; and with an economy closely tied to the larger marketplace, in this instance the global marketplace.

The models of open and closed economies, as described by Roseberry (1989) and Cancian (1989) will be applied to two eighteenth-century populations, the Philadelphia merchant community and the Chesapeake planter class. The author will attempt to demonstrate that while the Philadelphia merchant class was socially stratified, it was flexible, mobile, and fluid. The Philadelphia merchants were reliant on external sources for the provision of goods and services for survival and for comfort, and the community's economy was closely tied to both local and global marketplaces (Doerflinger 1986). In contrast, the Chesapeake planter class was a closer approximation of a closed economy. First, the social hierarchy in the planter class was highly rigid and stratified and was supported by elaborate traditions and economic relationships (Ragsdale 1996).

> George Washington and Thomas Jefferson inhabited a society in which gentlemen of generations standing dominated the economy and polity and passed their dominion on to their sons undiminished. Justices of the peace administered county government and punished miscreants, with the consent but hardly the advice of lesser men. These gentlemen thought it their duty to provide moral guidance and political leadership as stewards of the entire society. Ordinary yeoman planters usually deferred to their gentry neighbors in political matters, but insisted that gentlemen protect their property and asserted the right to choose between gentlemen who stood for seats in provincial assemblies (Kulikoff 1986:261).

Second, the planter class was self-reliant in its production of material goods and services that were required for both the survival and comfort of the community; it was not wholly reliant on the global marketplace for its success in the same way as the Philadelphia merchant class (Doerflinger 1986; Ragsdale 1996). Finally, the planter class was separate from the surrounding communities and maintained strict social boundaries

to define its culture and its role in the Chesapeake region (Kamoie 2000; Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996). The larger models of open and closed economic societies, and the characterizations of two different eighteenth-century communities, will provide the theoretical framework for understanding the complex economic relationship in 1799 between Mount Vernon and the surrounding population, as encapsulated in Washington's whiskey distillery.

Closed and Open Economic Communities

In order to begin to understand the differences between a closed economic community and an open economic community, these terms must be defined. A closed economic community is generally insulated from the surrounding larger society, self-sufficient in its food and other material goods production, organized with a rigid and set social hierarchy, and reliant on ritual and tradition to support the strict social stratification; traits which tend to buoy the community during times of economic hardship (Cancian 1989). In contrast, an open economic society has little that differentiates it from the larger surrounding society and it is reliant on external sources, often in the form of the global marketplace, for income, food, and other material goods necessary for survival. Additionally, it is socially mobile and fluid, and therefore lacks many of the cultural traditions common to and which support the social hierarchy of the closed society. "The open-ended community permits and expects individual accumulation and display of wealth during periods of rising outside demand and allows this new wealth much influence in the periodic reshaping of social ties" (Cancian 1989:156).

In the mid-1960s, Cancian studied the peasant community inhabiting the Zinacantan region in Mexico, a population he believed embodied the characteristics of a closed economic community. First, the Zinacantanos were isolated from the larger surrounding community and young men were discouraged from traveling to Mexico City in search of work (Cancian 1989). One effect of this nearly physical closure of the community's borders with the surrounding region is self-sufficiency in the group's production of food and other material goods required for survival and for comfort (Cancian 1989). Both the isolation and the self-sufficiency of the community contribute heavily to the levels of differentiation and stratification within the population. In a trait commonly shared by closed economic communities, the social stratification maintained by the closed Zinacantan society did not extend to outside the community; when viewed by the surrounding larger community, the Zinacantan peasant community was seen as a group of undifferentiated peasants (Cancian 1989).

The Zinacantanos established and maintained their strict status relationships in tandem with the community's strong religious beliefs. Male members' status was defined by the role that each man played within the religious system. The system was composed of multiple offices that were held by different men in the community for a period of one year. Each office had four levels, each one more prestigious than the last. During a single year, those men in office sponsored extravagant religious celebrations, or fiestas, at their personal expense. As a man moved through life, the number of offices he held, the level of each of those offices, and the size and success of each celebration he sponsored determined his status within the community. If one man's sponsored religious celebration was a success, he was rewarded with more respect and status within the

community and additional opportunities to hold office in the future (Cancian 1989). This elaborate and hierarchical religious system, with multiple office levels, provided a strong and rigid internal structure for the Zinacantan community, and isolated it from the surrounding region (Cancian 1989:134-135). Unlike the open economic community in Venezuela studied by Roseberry, the elaborate religious office system was one large contributing factor to the community's insulation from fluctuations in both the regional and global marketplace (Cancian 1989:149). Regardless of global, or even regional economic activity, the Zinacantanos maintained the lifestyle and traditions that defined them as a group. When viewed from within the community, the religious offices and the customs surrounding the roles and responsibilities of those offices, clearly differentiated one individual from another and contributed to the isolation of the Zinacantan community, as a whole, from the surrounding region.

While Cancian was evaluating the economic and social relationships of the Zinacantanos in Mexico, Roseberry (1989) was studying a peasant community, comprised of a mix of coffee farmers and shopkeepers, residing in the coffee producing Boconó region of Venezuela. Roseberry believed this community to be characteristic of an open economic community, as it embraced the traits and attitudes of the surrounding communities (Roseberry 1989). One of the contributing factors to the homogenization of this peasant society with the larger surrounding community is the fact that many of the men in the Boconó region traveled outside of the region, primarily to Caracas, for work in the slow coffee growing times. Men in the community "exchange[d] suggestions about work opportunities and employers as some of their number [began] to plan another trip to the city during the slack season" (Roseberry 1989:112-113).

The influence of the societies outside the Boconó region was widely apparent: current newspapers and magazines from Caracas were readily available; stores were owned by Spanish, Italian, and Arab immigrants; it was possible for residents of the Boconó region to purchase a wide variety of goods ranging from clothes to appliances, all of which were manufactured in other parts of Venezuela, in Colombia, or in the United States, and many of which were regarded as status symbols (Roseberry 1989:112). The influence of the surrounding regional and global communities was also felt in the coffee markets themselves. Because nearly every resident of the Boconó region was somehow involved in coffee production and export, every nuance in the global economy, particularly in the volatile coffee market, was experienced by nearly every member of the region. The community members were heavily reliant upon and influenced by fluctuations in the global marketplace (Roseberry 1989:113). This reliance on the global coffee market linked the peasant coffee farmers in Boconó with world markets, thereby amplifying the financial and agricultural relationships necessary for each community member's survival (Roseberry 1989).

> [T]raders would buy the coffee from scattered farmers, often extending credit to secure a set of coffee-providing clients. The traders would then organize mule trains that would carry the coffee over the mountains to a lowland city, where the coffee would be deposited in the branch warehouses of a Maracaibo trading company. From the warehouse, it would be carried to a port on Lake Maracaibo and then shipped by steamer to Maracaibo and eventually to Hamburg or New York.... [L]ocal farmers have been a part of a complex web that eventually connected them to the centers of the world economy. When one remembers that coffee is subject to dramatic price fluctuations, the importance of these connections becomes even more apparent (Roseberry 1989:113).

Another characteristic of an open economic community is a high degree of social mobility and fluidity among the community members. Some community members, such

as the shop owners and coffee traders, had a higher economic status than other community members, such as the small coffee farmers. However, this status was impermanent and appears to have been based on financial success, not on participation in highly structured and ritualized religious activity, as in the closed community characterized by the Zinacantanos (Cancian 1989; Roseberry 1989). While social mobility and fluidity is beneficial to the individual, it is not necessarily healthy for the community. Roseberry (1989) points out that because of the relative lack of tradition and ritual in the Boconó region, it is difficult for the community to bind together during poor economic times, very much unlike the Zinacantan society in Mexico was able to do.

Eighteenth Century Examples of Closed and Open Economic Communities

In order to understand the evolution of economic relationships at Mount Vernon, this thesis will attempt to apply the closed and open economic community models to two eighteenth-century populations, the Chesapeake planter class and the Philadelphia merchant class, in order to broadly characterize the two societies. As described in the previous section, closed economic communities tend to be insulated from the larger surrounding society, self-sufficient in economy and food production, and have a rigid and organized social hierarchy that is supported by ritualistic and traditional behaviors. These factors combine to bind the members of a closed economic society together. In contrast, an open economic community encourages social mobility and fluidity, relies on external sources, such as global markets, for its economy and provision of material

goods, including food, and embraces the traits and characteristics of the surrounding communities to the point of subverting its own unique identity and culture.

For the purposes of this paper, the author proposes that the Chesapeake region planter class is more closely aligned with the characteristics of a closed economic community than those of an open economic community. The planter class is generally insulated from the surrounding populations, is usually self-sufficient in its material goods production, and relies heavily on traditional and long-standing relationships to support its highly organized and stratified social hierarchy (Kulikoff 1986:277; Ragsdale 1996).

The financial success of the Chesapeake planter class was nearly guaranteed due to its heavy reliance on the tobacco trade with England (Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996). At first blush, the planters' relationship with England does not seem to meet the first criteria of a closed economic community, namely, insulation from the larger surrounding community. However, closer examination demonstrates that the tobacco trade with England was well established, tightly knit, and firmly set (Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996). The planter class as a unit did not actively seek alternate trade routes for their tobacco crops, rather they maintained the existing relationships with British trade houses for the perceived health of their community (Ragsdale 1996). Even when the elaborate credit systems with banks and trade offices in England that were established by early generations of tobacco planters in the Chesapeake region were no longer profitable for the planters, they were maintained by each succeeding generation (Isaac 1982; Kamoie 2000; Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996).

The second characteristic commonly shared by closed economies is a sense of self-reliance within the community's material goods production. While the planter class

primarily grew tobacco to meet its financial obligations with British trade houses, individual members of the planter class also produced a variety of material goods ranging from different foodstuffs to lumber to smith work to cloth (Kamoie 2000; Pogue 1996; Ragsdale 1996). These products were subsequently made available to geographically close friends and neighbors, i.e., members of their peer group, which served to reinforce the sense of self-sufficiency within the tightly knit community. "Planters commonly operated multiple plantation craft services and shops worked largely by skilled slave labor...and earned a supplementary income by charging their neighbors tolls to grind their grain" (Kamoie 2000:3).

The third and final characteristic of closed economic communities is that of a rigid and highly organized social hierarchy supported by ritualistic and/or traditional behaviors. The planter class was defined by strict social stratification "in which an individual's rank in large part reflected access to the profits of the tobacco market and the credit resources of British tobacco merchants" (Ragsdale 1996:6). Many members of the Chesapeake region planter class relied on the well-established financial relationships with British trade houses to support their reliance on tobacco as its primary source of income (Kamoie 2000). Typically, members of the planter class did not physically labor to ensure the fiscal success of the plantation; rather they "controlled a disproportionate share of Virginia's slave labor" (Ragsdale 1996:6) to "perform most of the domestic, agriculture, and skilled-craft work that had to be done around the plantations" (Kamoie 2000:6). Finally, the members of the planter class took steps to fill their physical surroundings with fashionable and expensive items that spoke to their status within the community. "The awareness of social distinctions, denoted in residence, dress,

and manners, permitted an easy and secure commerce among all ranks of Virginians, especially at public gatherings or sporting events which served as important sources of community in this society with few urban centers" (Ragsdale 1996:9). All of these traditions for maintaining social boundaries within the planter class were reinforced by each generation as they generally married within the class and continued to maintain financial relationships established by ancestors (Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996).

The Philadelphia merchant class, by contrast, more closely matches the traits common to open economic communities. First, like the Boconó region, Philadelphia was a highly fluid and socially mobile environment. The Philadelphia merchant community "was not very difficult to enter...if one had contacts, capital, or experience" (Doerflinger 1986:57). The display of wealth as a symbol of status was encouraged (Doerflinger 1986; Roseberry 1989). Philadelphia was an open society where not only was social mobility possible, to a certain degree it was expected (Doerflinger 1986). Correspondingly, in the Boconó region, a man's level of wealth, not his birthright, determined his status within the community (Roseberry 1989).

Second, the Philadelphia merchant community was heavily dependent on the success and stability of the global marketplace to provide both the goods and the markets for the community's economy and the community's survival (Doerflinger 1986, 1988). The demand for certain American goods in foreign markets, and the ability to sell foreign goods in local markets was what kept some merchants in business and left others destitute. Revolutions and famine in Europe had a direct effect on the success of a merchant in Philadelphia (Doerflinger 1986). In an effort to minimize negative economic impact from one market, Philadelphia merchants attempted to diversify their trade routes

by looking to the Western frontier of the United States, i.e., Ohio, and towards other European cities and Asia (Doerflinger 1988). "[T]he essential economic function of Philadelphia's merchant community was to link the city's hinterland with its overseas markets. It was the merchants who shipped flour to Lisbon, lumber to London, flaxseed to Belfast; and it was they who imported vast amounts of cloth and hardware from London and the outports" (Doerflinger 1986:76). The community's success and failure was unquestionably linked to the volatile and unpredictable world marketplace (Doerflinger 1986).

Finally, as is characteristic in open economic communities, there is a lack of ritualized tradition in the Philadelphia merchant community to bind it together in difficult economic times (Doerflinger 1986). This is due, in part, to the fact that to be able to support the level of social mobility found in eighteenth-century Philadelphia and the mid-twentieth-century Boconó region, the community's collective focus was on individual survival and not on the survival of the group.

> [T]he specific organization of trade in Philadelphia did little to enhance the feeling of mutuality within the merchant community. Many traders operated alone, very few firms had more than three partners, and there was little need for extensive cooperation among companies. Cartels were unknown, except in the highly specialized iron industry, and large projects or investment syndicates requiring the joint efforts of more than a few firms were likewise rare (Doerflinger 1986:19).

Fortunes were made and lost in Philadelphia due to political and environmental events beyond the merchants' control and many men profited from their neighbors' failure, a sentiment that did not foster a sense of community (Doerflinger 1986, 1988).

Conclusion

As was outlined in the foregoing sections, the open and closed economic community models described by Roseberry (1989) and Cancian (1989) have applicability in broadly characterizing the Philadelphia merchant class and the Chesapeake planter class in the late eighteenth-century. To reiterate, an open economy has three basic traits: (1) social fluidity and mobility; (2) reliance on external sources for a wide range of goods and services necessary for both survival and comfort; and (3) an economy that is closely tied to the larger marketplace (Doerflinger 1986; Roseberry 1989). In contrast, a closed economic society is characterized by (1) strict social stratification that is supported by community-wide ritualistic behavior; (2) self-reliance in the context of material goods production; and (3) separation from the surrounding community through both its economic and its interpersonal relationships (Cancian 1989; Kamoie 2000; Kulikoff 1986; Ragsdale 1996).

Based on the anthropological models of open and closed societies, the following review of Mount Vernon's economic activity at the distillery in 1799, as recorded in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801), will attempt to demonstrate that Washington's economic relationship with the surrounding population was slowly expanding and evolving from that of a closed economic society towards one of an open economic community.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: WHISKEY AND AGRICULTURE

The complex economic relationships maintained by both the Philadelphia merchant class and the Chesapeake planter class, once defined and understood within the anthropological framework of open and closed economic communities (Chapter I), can be used to examine underlying historical themes guiding the economic relationships stemming from Washington's whiskey distillery at Mount Vernon in 1799. To begin to understand the significance of Washington's whiskey distillery and its contribution to Mount Vernon's evolution from a closed towards an open economy, it is necessary to understand the importance of alcohol to Colonial America. After reviewing the historical factors contributing to the nation's switch from rum to whiskey, this chapter will examine the agricultural expansion implemented by Washington at Mount Vernon. Both the population's desire for alcoholic beverages and Washington's timely decision to move away from tobacco production contribute to the success of the distillery in 1799.

Eighteenth-Century Whiskey Production and Consumption

Prior to the Revolution, rum was the alcoholic beverage of choice. It was affordable and widely available as both an import from the West Indies and as a beverage distilled in New England from imported materials (Rorabaugh 1979). While the rum

manufactured in the northern colonies was of a lesser quality than Jamaica rum or other imported rums, it was still popular and was often used in trade with Africa and the West Indies (Rorabaugh 1979:64). During the American Revolution, the Colonies' interest in whiskey increased for several reasons. First, the British government blocked the import of molasses and rum from the West Indies thereby dramatically reducing the availability of the popular beverage (Rorabaugh 1979). Second, there was a popular political belief that any goods imported from the British West Indies during the Revolution were seen as a form of treason as the purchase of these goods supported the very government the fledgling nation was fighting (Doerflinger 1986; Rorabaugh 1979). Finally, the unavailability and increased expense of rum created an economic environment that was ripe for the manufacture and distribution of whiskey from the frontier colonies (Rorabaugh 1979). As a combined result of these three factors, the Colonists widely turned to grain and fruit alcohols, primarily whiskey and brandy, both of which began to see an increase in popularity (Rorabaugh 1979:67-68).

The distillation of whiskies and brandies had been common in rural areas throughout the eighteenth-century, as it was an effective and efficient way to process agricultural overage into a usable and desirable product. Many farmers had small stills that they used to produce small batches of alcohol with their surplus apples, peaches, wheat, corn, rye, etc. (Rorabaugh 1979). As settlers began to populate the western frontier, the people found the land to be richly fertile and the climate and other environmental factors to contribute to excellent grain growing conditions. Many of the Scottish and Irish settlers in western Pennsylvania and Kentucky portion of the western frontier found that it was near impossible to bring their abundant grain harvests to market

in the east as either whole grains or flour. The distance they had to travel to markets in the east was long and often the grains and flour would spoil (Rorabaugh 1979:69). With necessity serving as the mother of invention, some of the Scottish and Irish settlers established whiskey distilleries and relied on the community's collective knowledge of distilling to make the various distillery operations a success. The end result was a product that would ship to market without spoiling, contributed to the nation's appetite for alcohol and linked the western frontier to the eastern economic hubs (Ragsdale 1996; Rorabaugh 1979).

In addition to providing the nation with the alcohol it required, the distilleries created an environment that was ideal for raising livestock, a common by-product of whiskey distilling. "The wash or swill after distillation, affords good food for hogs, or cattle, and if properly managed, this branch of business, will be found to form a considerable item in the profits of a distillery" (Hall 1818:212). Many distillers on the western frontier of the Colonies kept hogs in pens for the sole purpose of disposing of the grain mash and swill produced during the distilling process. Often, these grain fed hogs were sold at market, sometimes at a profit higher than the whiskey itself (Rorabaugh 1979:76).

Agriculture at Mount Vernon

In 1754, Washington took up residence at Mount Vernon, seven years before he inherited the estate. During that period, and continuing after he officially took control of the property in 1761, Washington began to diversify the plantation's agriculture by

moving away from a strictly tobacco cultivating operation. He found that tobacco plants damaged the soil, were extraordinarily labor intensive, and sustained the colonies' dependence on England for all their supplies and income (Fusonie 1998). As a part of his plan to diversify agriculture at Mount Vernon, Washington decreased the acreage devoted to tobacco crops and increased the acreage for mixed grains, including wheat, corn, rye and clover, although primarily focusing on wheat and corn. In addition to creating a sense of independence for the plantation and allowing Washington to utilize some of his "experimental" fertilization techniques for replenishing nutrients in the soil, heavily planting his land with edible crops had the added benefit of allowing him to produce what he needed to feed all the inhabitants at Mount Vernon, including his family, his slaves and his employees (Fusonie 1998).

With Mount Vernon's move away from the traditional tobacco economy, however, Washington had a new problem – an excess of grain, a problem similar to that of the western frontiersmen. If the grain was not processed into flour, sold as whole grain or used as seed for the following season, it would rot, resulting in a waste of both money and resources (Fusonie 1998). In an attempt to manage the overage in grain production, Washington utilized the gristmill built by his father on Dogue Run, adjacent to Dogue Run Farm, one of the five farms of Mount Vernon (Fusonie 1998; White and Leeson 1999) (Figure 1). However, in the 1770s, when Washington's grain production exceeded the capacity of his father's mill, he built a new mill approximately one-third of a mile down Dogue Run. He also dug a new millrace to power the mill (Fusonie 1998; White and Leeson 1999). This faster and newer mill enabled Washington to process the

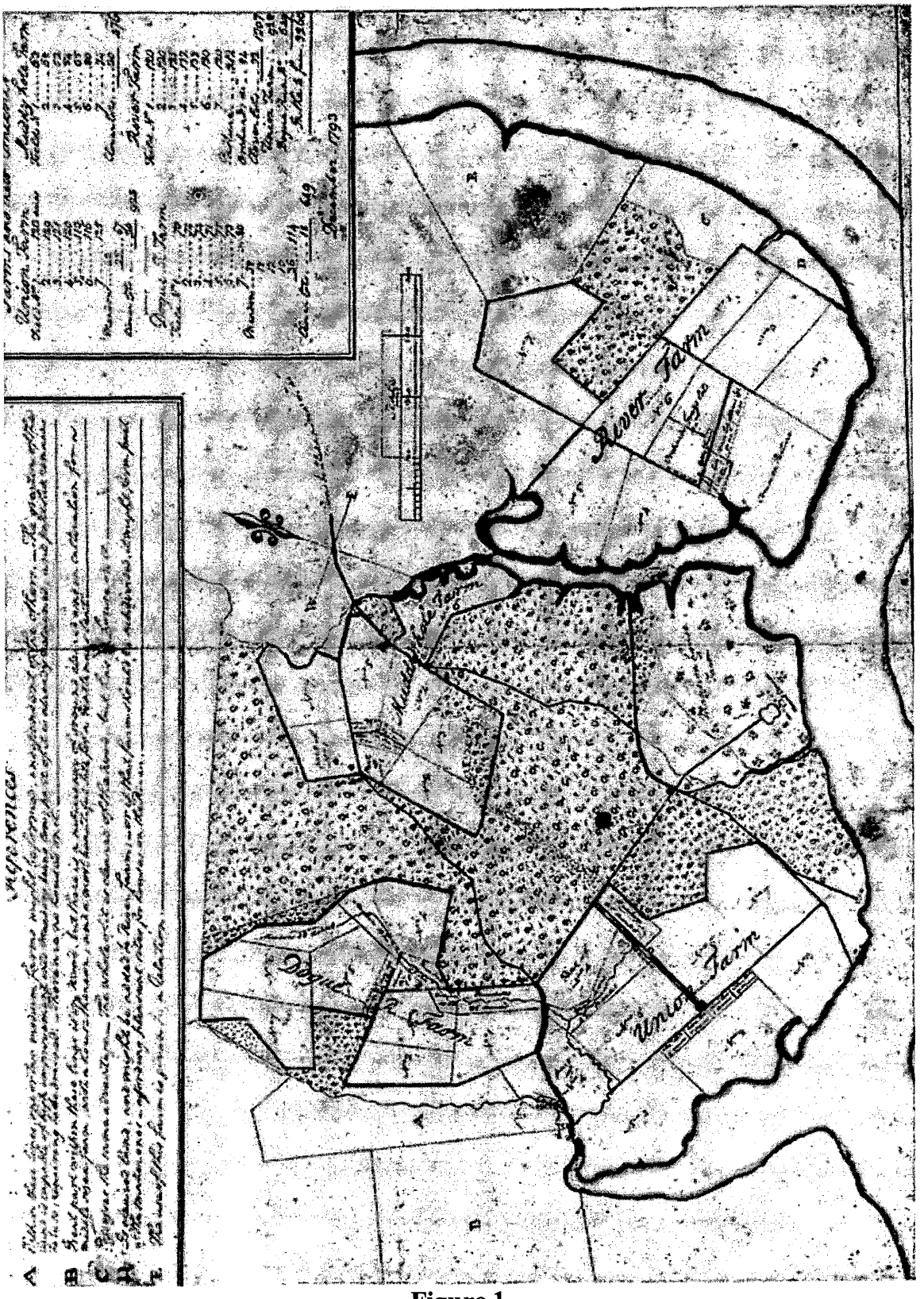


Figure 1.
1793 Map of Washington's Five Farms

grain into various types of flour and bring them to market (Fusonie 1998; White and Leeson 1999). Fairly quickly, the new gristmill, which began as a means to process the agricultural overage and feed all the plantation's inhabitants, both free and slave, was transformed into a source of income for the plantation with trade routes as far as the Caribbean and England, as well as up and down the eastern seaboard of the United States (Fusonie 1998).

With the increased efficiency of the new gristmill at Dogue Run, Washington was also able to grind more than just his own grain; he charged neighbors a fee to grind their wheat to flour, a common practice in the eighteenth-century (Fusonie 1998; Kamoie 2000). In addition, he now had a facility that enabled him to purchase his neighbors' whole grains outright so that he could subsequently process them into various grades of flour and, ultimately, sell at market under his own seal (Fusonie 1998). Washington's ability to purchase and grind grain for sale is an indication of his growing independence from British influence and his ability to tap into growing local markets (Fusonie 1998). The gristmill contributed to the expansion of Washington's economic horizons and enabled him to move away from solely tobacco farming for rigid British markets towards locally grown and milled flour sold in a variety of local and global markets.

Conclusion

The last quarter of the eighteenth-century saw a national increased reliance on whiskey as the alcoholic beverage of choice, a choice that was spurred on by both the

British blockades during the American Revolution and the Colonies' expansion into the fertile Western frontier (Rorabaugh 1979). The expansion to the west coincided with an increase in the number of Scottish and Irish immigrants, many of who had distilling knowledge, and which led to an increase in whiskey production in the region (Rorabaugh 1979).

At Mount Vernon, Washington changed the agricultural focus of his plantation by moving from tobacco production to grain production (Fusonie 1998). Washington made this agricultural shift for two reasons. First, by moving from tobacco to grains, Washington reduced his reliance on the constraining business relationship with England. Second, planting grain was a more environmentally friendly agricultural activity, as it was not as harsh a crop on the soil as tobacco. This background information will assist in understanding the increased commercialization of Mount Vernon, as Washington shifted the plantation's economy from a strictly agrarian enterprise to one that was a composition of agriculture and industry with a heavier reliance on the terms of the marketplace, both locally and globally.

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRY AT MOUNT VERNON: THE BLACKSMITH SHOP, THE FISHERIES, AND THE GRISTMILL

This chapter will discuss three industries at Mount Vernon that preceded the establishment of Washington's whiskey distillery: the blacksmith shop (1755-1799), the fisheries (c. 1760-1799), and the gristmill (c. 1770-1799). By providing a brief overview of the operations and the motivations behind each of these three industries, the author will attempt to lay the foundation for the argument that plantation was shifting its economic focus, with the distillery operations in 1799 serving as the culmination of that transition.

The Blacksmith Shop (1755-1799)

The blacksmith shop was in operation at Mount Vernon at least as early as 1755. It continued to operate in some function after Washington died in 1799. During Washington's tenure as owner of Mount Vernon, the role of the blacksmith shop was transformed from a business that served both the plantation and the surrounding community to serving only the plantation (Pogue 1996). This transformation coincided with the physical growth of Mount Vernon.

In 1754, Washington leased Mount Vernon from Ann Lee, the widow of his half-brother Lawrence Washington. When Lee died six years later in 1761, Washington purchased the approximately 2,300-acre farm outright (Mitchell 1987:7). From 1757 to 1762, Washington purchased his neighbors' farms to increase the size of his own agricultural holdings by approximately 2,500 acres (Pogue 1996). After a brief respite to put his financial house back in order, Washington purchased the farms of his remaining neighbors to increase the size of Mount Vernon plantation to nearly 8000 acres, its complete size, in 1786 (Pogue 1996). During the expansion of Mount Vernon, it was transformed from a single farm to a conglomeration of discreet farms, or a plantation. Upon reaching its full size in 1786, Mount Vernon was composed of five separate farms, Mansion House, River, Union, Dogue Run, and Muddy Hole (Figure 1), each with its own outbuildings, livestock, overseers, and slaves (Fusonie 1998). The increased size of his holdings, both in land and in slaves, reinforced Washington's membership in the Chesapeake planter community (Kulikoff 1986; Pogue 1996).

Throughout the growth and transformation of the plantation, Washington's blacksmith shop embodied the change in his focus towards his holdings. Prior to the initial round of expansion of the plantation in the late 1750s and early 1760s, and based on information in the farm ledgers maintained between 1760 and 1779, 134 individuals who were not inhabitants of one of Mount Vernon's five farms, i.e., neighbors, patronized the blacksmith shop, and "virtually all of them are listed in the years prior to 1779, with the great majority before 1770" (Pogue 1996:5390). The majority of the blacksmith shop's customers lived within five miles of the blacksmith shop. "The five-mile radius around Mount Vernon may, therefore, represent the effective share of the

market available to Washington's smithing operation in relation to competing shops" (Pogue 1996:5388-5389). While Mount Vernon was in transition from a farm to a plantation, the blacksmith shop provided Washington with an additional source of income. However, as Washington continued to acquire neighboring parcels of land, this source of income slowed to a trickle as the blacksmith shop shifted from serving the farm and surrounding community to serving the daily operations of the plantation (Pogue 1996).

The Fisheries (c.1760-1799)

During the acquisition of the neighboring farms in the 1760s and 1770s, Washington also purchased the rights to as many as five fisheries, Posey's Landing, Ferry Plantation Landing, Sheridines Point Landing, House Landing, and Johnstons Ferry Landing, on the banks of the Potomac and its tributaries (Atkins 1994:65). His fisheries were in operation at least as early as 1760 and enabled him to harvest fish and use the bounty as a source of food for all of Mount Vernon's residents, including his family and his slaves (Atkins 1994).

It appears from the information available in Washington's letters and diaries that the fishery evolved into a hybrid operation that not only fed his family, employees and slaves, but provided a marketable product that was processed and sold, often at great distances (Atkins 1994). In February/March 1770, Robert Adam, one of the earliest recorded fishery tenants, harvested 473,750 herring and 4,623 shad. A portion of this fish was kept at Mount Vernon as food for the plantation's inhabitants and the remainder was

sold overseas in Jamaica and the West Indies where it fetched competitive prices (Jackson and Twohig 1976:217-8). In January 1773, Washington wrote to Thomas Nelson, Junior, of Norfolk, Virginia, describing the quality of his fish:

> ...As I have never yet sold a Barr'l of my Fish under 15/ at my Landing, as I know them to be good (equal if not superior to any that is transported from this Country), and in no danger of spoiling by keeping, being well cured, and well pack'd in tight Cask; I shall hope that you will be able, between this and the coming in of the New Fish, to sell these for 15/ clear of Freight and Commission. Some of the same Cargo ship'd in the Fairfax by a Gent'n to whom I sold them, fetch'd 25/ in Jamaica; when other Herrings on board the same Vessel scarce reach'd 12/6, and some again sold for less than 10/ a Barrell... (Fitzpatrick 1931:109).

In April 1774, William Milnor, a Philadelphia merchant, rented Johnston's Landing from Washington, in addition to purchasing a quantity of Washington's fish on credit (Jackson and Twohig 1978:244).

As Washington began to rely on both the sale of the harvested fish and the rent from his fisheries as a steady source of income, he became concerned with finding suitable tenants. In a November 14, 1792 letter to Anthony Whiting, Washington wrote, "...the landing alone...is to be Rented; but that the Person renting is to furnish me with a certain quantity of Shad and Herring, to be specified, in the early part of the Season" (Fitzpatrick 1939b:223). One can only imagine that Washington found an arrangement as the one proposed in his letter effective and lucrative, particularly as he was guaranteed delivery of the first portion of each harvest. He was able to keep his slaves working on the land, tending to his various grain crops, and preparing the soil for future crops, instead of using them to harvest and process the fish. "Among other reasons for not hiring my hands with the Shore is, that I do not want to take them so long from the ground I wish to get in prime order..." (Fitzpatrick 1939b).

In 1794, upon leasing the fisheries for another season, Washington continued to be careful to ensure that the first fish harvested were delivered to him, so that he was able to feed the plantation's inhabitants until the next fish harvest. He wrote to William Pearce, his farm manager, "Secure a sufficiency of fish for the use of my own people from the first that comes, otherwise they may be left in the lurch, as has been the case heretofore, by depending on what is called the glut" (Fitzpatrick 1940a:303). Although Washington capitalized on the natural abundance of the Potomac River and its tributaries, his entrance into the global fish market was not without environmental and economic risks. In a 1788 diary entry, he alluded to the vagaries of the fish market. "...At the fishing landing there was plenty of custom [customers] and no fish. Last week there was plenty of fish and no custom..." (Fitzpatrick 1931:333).

Washington's fisheries were initially established as a way to feed the plantation's inhabitants. The operation of the fisheries evolved through time to become a more commercial operation with complex economic relationships and a reliance on the success of the product when sold at market. The end-state of the fisheries was a hybrid one; the fisheries were both a trade that promoted the self-reliance and self-sufficiency of the plantation and an industry that created a link between Washington and the global marketplace. If the blacksmith shop served as a baseline for the plantation as a closed economic unit, then the fisheries were the first step in Mount Vernon's evolution towards commercialization.

The Gristmill (c.1770-1799)

Washington's gristmill is the third example of industry at Mount Vernon, and the second example of his continuing economic transition towards a more open and competitive economy. The mill manufactured flour for sale in both local and international markets, characteristic of open economic communities. Washington constructed the gristmill and furnished it with sufficient equipment to enable it to produce different types of flour and meal, each of which garnered different prices on the open market. The ability to produce different quality flour commodities adds a layer of diversity to the mill's clientele, a trait found at neither the blacksmith shop nor the fishery. This section discusses the role of the gristmill as the next logical step in Mount Vernon's economic evolution.

Washington built a merchant gristmill at Dogue Run in the 1770s, which operated at least until his death in 1799. The gristmill was constructed about one-third of a mile downstream from his father's gristmill which no longer had either the capacity or the speed for merchant milling. The slowness of his father's mill motivated Washington to build a new mill and dig a new millrace (Fusonie 1998:38; White and Leeson 1999).

Washington took great care to make his mill one of the most successful in the region and purchased "a pair of French Burr Millstones" from Robert Cary & Co. in London (Fusonie 1998:38) which allowed him to manufacture superfine flour, a type of flour that has little wheat germ and is, as a result, very white. In addition to superfine flour, Washington's gristmill also produced "shorts, a by-product of wheat milling that consists of bran, germ, and coarse meal; middlings, any of various products of commodities of intermediate quality or grade; and bran, the skin or husk of grains of

wheat, rye, and oats separated from flour by sifting" (Fusonie 1998:39). Washington considered his flour to be some of the finest available on the market and took pride in his mill and his flour. In his communication with Robert Lewis & Sons, Washington stated "my Mill has the reputation of turning out superfine flour of the first quality; it commands a higher price in this Country & the West Indies than any other" (White and Leeson 1999:16). This diversification of the flour commodity encouraged diversification within the gristmill's clientele.

In the fall of 1791, as a result of Washington's search to find methods to streamline flour production, he enthusiastically installed and used a mechanical milling system invented by Oliver Evans that reduced the amount of manpower required by the milling process. The elaborate system of conveyors and bucket elevators reduced the staff from five to two (Fusonie 1998:40). With an elaborate and efficient gristmill in place, Washington was in an even better position to grind large quantities of grain. In addition to milling his neighbors grain for their own use, retaining one-eighth of the grain as payment, he also purchased his neighbors' grain outright, milled it, packaged it in barrels marked with his stamp, and sold the processed flour in markets as close as Alexandria and as far as Europe (Fusonie 1998).

Washington actively created a trade enterprise, based on his different flours, in order to increase his wealth. In May/June of 1771, Washington sold 141,500 pounds of flour to Robert Adam & Co., an Alexandria merchant company that retailed some of the flour in Alexandria and shipped the remainder to foreign markets (Fusonie 1998). In July 1771, Washington shipped nearly 2,300 barrels of flour to Lisbon, Portugal. Later, in the 1780s, when Europe sank into a depression as a result of poor harvests, and basic

foodstuffs, such as flour, were unavailable, Washington sent his flour to Europe where he knew he could get a higher price because of the demand (Fusonie 1998). Throughout the gristmill's operation, Washington monitored the status of local and international markets to ensure that he got the best price for his flour (Fitzpatrick 1939b, 1940a).

The gristmill embodies several traits that help to define Mount Vernon's transition from a closed economic community to an open economic community. As discussed in detail in Chapter I, one of the traits common to a closed economy is a strict social hierarchy, while the antithesis of this trait, i.e., social mobility and fluidity, is characteristic of an open economic community. Washington's gristmill managed to combine these two traits. While Washington maintained his own social position within the planter class, he extended his flour commodity to all manner of individuals, not just his neighbors and peers, but to merchants (Fusonie 1998), a group of people who tended not to be considered the "equals" of the planter class (Doerflinger 1986; Kulikoff 1986). This level of diversity and complexity derived from Washington's gristmill is symbolic of Washington's move towards an open economy and precursor of the industrial changes to come. The success of Washington's gristmill was dependent on external markets, a factor also common to an open economic society. At least one aspect of Washington's overall financial success was reliance on his ability to weather the fluctuations in the flour market. While these two factors combined to usher Washington closer to an open economy, he never relinquished his self-reliance in food and other material goods production; after all, he reserved a portion of the flour produced to support the dietary requirements of the plantation's inhabitants (Fusonie 1998).

Conclusion

Each of the three industries discussed in the foregoing sections, blacksmithing, fishing, and milling, are key to understanding Washington's slow and gradual economic development towards a commercialized operation. The blacksmith shop serves as a convenient marker of a time when Washington increased his land holdings to the point of leaving the realm of "farmer" and entering the realm of "planter." Each of the five farms of the plantation was outfitted with its own slaves, buildings and overseers, thereby creating a small hierarchical agricultural society that reflected Washington's social standing within the larger planter class (Kulikoff 1986). As Mount Vernon grew in size, it was no longer practical for the blacksmith shop to serve Washington's neighbors and, in the 1770s, Washington's blacksmith shop began to primarily serve the needs of the plantation (Pogue 1996). This shift in the blacksmith shop's clientele not only marks the transition of Mount Vernon from large farm to plantation, but it also symbolizes Washington's participation in a closed economic community, one that was socially stratified, self-reliant, and not concerned with and dependent upon the external marketplace.

All that began to change, however, when Washington capitalized on the abundant fish harvests available each spring in the Potomac River and its tributaries (Atkins 1994). Begun as a way to cheaply feed his slaves and other inhabitants at Mount Vernon, the fisheries quickly evolved into a commercial venture. The first portion of each harvest was reserved as food for the plantation, and the remainder was sold at market, sometimes as far away as the West Indies. The decision to enter the economy outside of Mount Vernon, and outside of the closed economic community of the tobacco trade, marks the

beginning of Washington's shift towards an open economic society, one that was subject to fluctuations in the marketplace. However, while he was "testing the waters" of the global economy outside the boundaries of the tobacco trade, Washington easily managed to retain both his status within the community and his ability to provide for his plantation and his immediate neighbors, perhaps because fishery operations were viewed as a natural extension of a complex plantation economy (Kamoie 2000).

The last of the three discussed industries, the gristmill, added another layer of complexity to Washington's economic enterprises not previously seen at the fisheries and blacksmith shop, and which continued to reinforce his shift from a closed economic community to an open economic community. On its surface, the gristmill began as a practical way to process grain; to make it a usable, edible material that contributed to the self-sufficiency of the plantation. However, with the construction of a new gristmill and millrace, and marked technological improvements to the gristmill over time, Washington was able to produce different types of flour, each commanding a different price at market and each directed towards different consumers. While continuing to supply his neighbors with milling facilities (for a fee) and purchasing their grain outright, the limited relationships that Washington had developed with local merchants through his fisheries were expanded upon substantially through the gristmill (Fusonie 1998). The gristmill not only launched Washington into the global marketplace, selling flour as far away as Portugal (Fusonie 1998), it fostered a new clientele that had not previously been widely considered in the normal operations of the plantation, local merchants in Alexandria. This increased dependence on the successful sale of his flour products at home and overseas also increased his vulnerability to fluctuations in the marketplace, a trait

common to an open economic community. While Washington was becoming increasingly reliant on the marketplace to provide him with income, however, he continued to maintain a degree of self-reliance by ensuring that a sufficient flour supply was set-aside as rations for the plantation's slaves and as stores in his kitchen (Fusonie 1998).

The slow growth in the complexity of Washington's relationships with his neighbors and the local merchants, and the slow shift towards an open economic model, one reliant on trends in the marketplace culminated in 1799 at the whiskey distillery. While the blacksmith shop provides a baseline for an understanding of the different industries and resulting economies at Mount Vernon, the fisheries and the gristmill are at the beginning of a shift from agriculture to industry and the start of an economic trend to become increasingly financially independent.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

With an understanding of the theoretical anthropological framework and historical factors that led to the establishment of Washington's whiskey distillery, it is necessary to pause a moment to describe the source of information that formed the basis of this thesis - a characterization of the complex economic relationship between Mount Vernon and the surrounding community culminating in 1799 in the whiskey distillery. This chapter provides a physical description of the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801) and the information contained within it. It also describes the different sets and subsets of information regarding the plantation's clientele, the variety of goods recorded in the ledger, and the dates and amounts of the transactions. The information culled from the ledger supports the hypothesis that the whiskey distillery in 1799 was a culmination of the plantation's economic shift.

A Description of the Ledger

The Mount Vernon Farm Ledger records transactions occurring primarily at the distillery, the fishery, and the gristmill for a period beginning in December 9, 1797 and extending to August 12, 1801, nearly two years after Washington's death in December 1799. In the 1960s, the ledger was recorded on microfilm, and in 1997, the ledger was

conserved in preparation for its inclusion in a traveling exhibit commemorating Washington's accomplishments and the 200th anniversary of his death. Having concluded its national tour, the ledger now resides in the archives at Mount Vernon. While the ledger was recorded on microfilm, was subsequently conserved and is therefore quite legible, it had not been transcribed until now.

The ledger is 19 inches tall, $12^1/_8$ inches wide and $1^1/_2$ inches thick. There are 240 pages in the ledger, however, only the first 57 pages have information recorded on them. Each page is divided into two columns - the left column records debits and the right column records credits. The majority of the entries in the ledger are individual accounts held by the plantation's customers and employees to track debits owed to and credits owed by Mount Vernon plantation. There are also pages, however, that record activities chronologically at the distillery and the fishery, as well as in the corn account, the cash account, the flour account, and the potato account. These "daily logs" record all transactions occurring in a particular arena (i.e., distillery, fishery, cash, etc.) in chronological order, regardless of either the identity of the individual interacting with the plantation or the size of the transaction. A transcription of the daily transaction logs for the distillery can be seen at Table 1; the daily transaction logs for the fishery and the cash accounts look much the same.

While the entries in the ledger span nearly a complete four-year period beginning in 1797, the main focus of the ledger is those transactions occurring at the distillery in 1799. Included among these transactions are sales of different types of whiskey in a variety of volumes, as well as the sale of a common whiskey by-product, livestock.

James Anderson, Washington's last farm manager, maintained the ledger and was responsible for balancing the accounts therein.

In February 1798, Washington wrote to Anderson to remind him that he, as owner of the plantation, was to review the cash account quarterly (Abbott 1998b:63-65), which he did. In April and July 1799, Washington reviewed Anderson's record-keeping in the cash account in the ledger, and attested to the veracity of the information:

> Mount Vernon April 5th 1799
> The above and foregoing Cash a/c has been examined – all the articles of which have been found fairly stated, and satisfactorily vouched and certified accordingly by /Geo Washington/ (signature)
>
> Mount Vernon July 15th 1799 Examined the Cash a/c from the last quarter ending the 30th of June, and find the articles fairly charged & credited – and the former properly vouched /Geo Washington/ (signature)

Based on the information provided by Washington himself, it is clear that he was a meticulous record keeper. As a result, Anderson also had to be an exact record keeper, at least up until Washington's death. After Washington's death, the quality of the bookkeeping drops off sharply and entries become rapidly inconsistent. One potential, and perhaps logical, reason for this is that after Washington died, control of the distillery and gristmill passed to his nephew, Lawrence Lewis. With a new owner to oversee the distillery's operations, it was logical to "close the book" on the first owner and to start with a clean slate. Whether or not Lewis kept records of the distillery's operations is not clear; however, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association does not own any ledgers recording activity at the distillery that were maintained by Lewis after Washington's death (McMillan 2001).

Generally, those transactions recorded in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger after Washington's death are related to settling Washington's estate. With the exception of a limited number of post-death transactions, all business recorded in the ledger was recorded in dollars. When Anderson settled Washington's accounts on behalf of his estate, however, the transactions are recorded in pounds.

The Data

Once the ledger was transcribed, the information recorded in it started to fall into natural sets and subsets of data. The first set of data culled from the document was a list identifying the names of all the people and businesses identified in the ledger, or that segment of the population that interfaced with Mount Vernon at all levels (Table 2). Once all the individuals and businesses recorded in the ledger were tabulated, a second, narrower version of this list, one that focused specifically on that segment of the population that interacted with the plantation through the distillery, rather than through the mill or the fishery, was the next logical step. This smaller group of people, and their transactions with the distillery in 1799, is the focus of this paper.

While the identities of the plantation's, and ultimately, the distillery's, clientele was coalescing into natural groups, it was equally important to identify and understand the variety of goods and services recorded in the ledger. Without recognizing the broad range of goods both sold by the plantation and used as a form of payment by the plantation's clientele, the complexity of the economic relationships fostered at Mount

Table 2.
All Individuals and Businesses Recorded in Ledger 2

Alphabetized by last name.
Those individuals without last names are listed first.
Account holders are identified in bold.
Alternate spellings of names are listed in parentheses.

Abraham	Mr. Betton	Bean Cawood
Ben	**William Billington**	**Thomas Cawood**
Billy	**(Also Wm. Billington;**	**(Also Thos. Cawood)**
Bruckey	**William Bittington)**	Bernard Chequier
Caesar	**Peter Bingle**	**Mrs. Sarah Chichester**
Charles	John Bogg	**Pitt Chichester**
Christopher	**Henry Bowcock**	**Richard Chichester**
Davie	**(Also Captn Bowcock;**	Thomas Claggett & Co.
(Also Davis)	**Captn Henry Bowcock)**	(Also Thos. Claggett & Co.)
Frank	Alexander Bowcocke	Thomas & Jason Claygett
Godfrey	(Also Captn Alexander	John Coffer
Kate	Bowcocke)	Stephen Cooke
Marcus	William Bowie	**Doctor James Craik**
Natt	Richard Brandt	**(Also James Craik)**
Strawbour	Samuel Brewer	Mrs. Craik
Suba	Bazil Brooke	**William Craik**
(Also Juba)	**Thomas Brooke**	Thomas Crandel
Tim	**(Also Thos. Brooke)**	C. Cunningham
Tom	**Josiah Browning**	D. Curlan
Francis Adams	**(Also Josias Browning)**	(Also D. Curtain;
Robert Adams	John Bryan	D. Curten)
Amos Allison & Co.	William Burton	John Curtan
Thomas Allison	Hugh Caffey & Co.	M. Custis
John Alton	**Patrick Callahan**	Tom Daves
James Anderson	**Callelet & Meeks**	Harper L. Davies
John Anderson	**(Also Cattelet & Meeks;**	Aquila Davis
Guey Atkinson	**Catelet & Meeks)**	Tom Davis
Burgess Baal	Carne & Slade	**Peter Dejean**
(Also Coln Baal)	J. Cash	James Dempsey
Thomas Barker	**Mrs. Joseph Cash**	George Dick
Hugh Barr	William Cash	**Thomas Diggs**
William Bartleman	(Also Wm. Cash)	**(Also Thos. Diggs)**
(Also Wm. Bartleman)	**William & Joseph Cash**	Daniel Douglas
William Bayles	**William Cash Senr**	(Also Daniel Dowglas)
Bennett & Watts	**(Also Wm. Cash Senr)**	Dow & McIver

John Dowdal
Moses Dowdal
Henry Downs
George Drinker
Benjamin Dulany
George Duncale
Captn John Elwood
(Also John Ellwood;
Captn Elwood)
John Eskew
John Fagans
(Also John Feigans)
Roger Farrel
(Also Roger Farrels)
Josiah Faxon & Co.
Henry Fisher
William Fitzhugh
(Also Wm. Fitzhugh)
William P. Flood
(Also Wm. P. Flood;
Wm. Flood;
William Flood)
Eleanor Forbes
(Also Mrs. Forbes;
Mrs. Eleanor Forbes)
Beal Fowler
John Fowler
William Fowler
William Freeman
Mrs. Gand
Robert Garret
(Also Robt. Garret)
Samuel Gates
George Gilpin
(Also Geo Gilpin;
Col. George Gilpin;
Col. Geo. Gilpin;
Coln George Gilpin;
Coln Geo. Gilpin;
Colln George Gilpin;
Colln Geo. Gilpin)
Christopher Gird
Henry Gird
(Also Henry Gird Junr)
Robert Gordon
William Grahame
Davie Gray
John Gray

Mrs. Gray
(Also Mrs. William Gray)
William Grayson
John Green
Richard Green
Thomas Greenfield
(Also Thos. F. Greenfield)
William Haley
Captn Hand
George Harley
Harrison & Pastor
(Also Harrison & Pascoe)
William Hartshorne
(Also Wm. Hartshorne)
William Hartshorne & Son
(Also William Hartshorne
& Sons)
Sarah Hatford
Hawes & Miller
(Also Hewes & Miller;
Hughs & Miller)
Peter Heiskill
Benjamin Higden
(Also Benj. Higden;
Benjamin Higdon;
Benj. Higdon)
Laurence Hoof
(Also Lawrence Hoof;
Laurence Hooff;
Lawrence Hooff)
Jacob Hoofman
Richard Horwell
Henry & Joseph Ingle
Joseph Ingle
Thomas Irvine
Edward Jacobs
Charles James
Andrew Jameson
Charles Jameson
Robert B. Jameson
John Jevans
(Also John Javins)
John Johnstone
John Jones
William Jones
John Junegal
(Also John Tunegal;
John Jenekle;
John Jenecle)

William Keating
(Also Wm. Keating;
William Keatings;
Wm. Keatings)
Smith Keith
James Kennedy
James Kincaid
(Also Jas. Kincaid)
Nicolas Kingston
Samuel Kirk
Daniel Kitchen & Co.
Israel Lacey
John Gardener Lad
(Also John G. Lad;
John G. Ladd;
John Gardener Ladd)
Thos Law
James Lawson
Tobias Lear
(Also Coln Lear)
Hancock Lee
John Leech
Fielding Lewis
Laurence Lewis
(Also Lawrence Lewis)
Mrs. Lewis
Samuel Lightfoot
John Limerick
Stephen Lomax
John Longdon
Molly Macartey
(Also Molly Mackartey;
Molly Mackarty)
Daniel Mackarley
(Also Daniel Mackartey;
Daniel Mackarty;
Daniel Mcarley;
Daniel McCartey;
Daniel McCarty)
Alexander Mackenzie
(Also Alexr Mackenzie;
Alexander McKenzie;
Alexr McKenzie)
William G. Marks
(Also Wm. G. Marks)
Captn James Marshall
John F. Marshall
(Also John L. Marshall)

Thomas F. Marshall
(Also Thos. Marshall)
Colln Philip G. Marstellar
(Also Philip G. Marstellar;
P.G. Marstellar;
Colln P.G. Marstellar)
George Mason
John B. Mason
Mrs. Mason
Thompson Mason
(Also Thomson Mason)
John Mathews
Close Maxwell
Edward May
McLeod & Lunsden
John McLeod
(Also John Mackleod)
Isacc McPherson
(Also Isacc Mackpherson)
Alexander McConnel
Laurence McGines
Archd McLeish
James McLeish
George McMun
Walter McPherson
James McRea
Archibald Morton
Thomas Moss
John Neale
Joseph Neale
William Newton
James B. Nicols
Miss Pane
James Park
Mrs. Park
Patton & Butcher
James Patton
Henry Peake
Mrs. Eliza Peake Junr
Mr. Peake Senior
Mrs. Peake Senr
John Peyton
James Piercy
Dennis Poole
Thomas Poole
William Potter
Thomas Preston
Ellis Price

Albin Rawlins
George Rawlins
Jacob Restler
Joseph Riddle
Joseph Riddle & Co.
William Roberts
Matthew Robinson
Doctor Rose
James Russel & Co.
Mrs. Russel
John & James Scott
Thomas Sealocke
Peter Shannon
Ben Shreve
Jacob Shuck
Coln Thomas Simms
Frederick Skinner
Alexander Smith
Alexander Smith & Son
(Also Alexr Smith & Son)
Thomas Smith
Smoot & Co.
William Somerville
Jasper Spence
William Spence
(Also Wm. Spence)
Francis Spencer
Doctor David Stewart
Mrs. Stewart
William Stewart
(Also Wm. Stewart)
Francis Summers
Lewis Summers
Edward Taylor
Mary Taylor
Samuel Taylor
Jonah Thompson
John Thompson
(Also John Thomson)
Doctor Thornton
William Tripplet
(Also Wm. Tripplet;
William Tripplett;
Wm. Tripplett)
Mr. Veitch
Hugh Violet
John Violet

William Violet
(Also Wm. Violet)
John & Thomas Vowel
Doctor Robert H Wade
Henry Walker
Philip Wanton
Washington & Barker
Bushrod Washington
William A. Washington
(Also Wm. A.
Washington;
W.A. Washington;
William Augustus
Washington;
Coln William A.
Washington)
George Washington
Lunon Washington
Mrs. Elizabeth Washington
Mrs. Lunon Washington
Mrs. Washington
Thos. White
Captn James Wiley
(Also Captn James Wylie;
James Wylie)
George Wiley
(Also George Wylie)
James Wilkinson
Thomas Williams
Abel Willis
James Wilson
John Wood
Isacc Worth
William Yeaton

Vernon would have been more difficult to comprehend. Tracking the goods and services created quickly and easily identifiable categories of what passed through the distillery, and whether or not a certain item or service was sold by Mount Vernon or was used as a form of payment to Mount Vernon.

Once a general overview of the nature of the goods sold by Mount Vernon and a feel for the size of the purchasing population was established, the next logical step was to gather specific information on the narrow subset of distillery customers from both the ledger and T. Michael Miller's two volume resource *Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria, Virginia 1780-1820* (1991). The ledger provides inconsistent information regarding gender, occupation (some people are identified as doctor, brewer, weaver, etc.), and status (employee, family, etc.), as well as information regarding the nature of each transaction (barter, cash, or credit) and the types of goods purchased or exchanged in relation to the distillery's clientele. Miller's (1991) compendium filled in many of the gaps left by Anderson in 1799. The data gathered from these two sources was collated to create a useable matrix of information regarding those people and businesses that interfaced with Mount Vernon through the distillery during 1799 (Table 3).

It is appropriate to note here that there are mathematical discrepancies in the ledger's recorded entries for 1799. For example, in the distillery daily log (Table 1), Anderson recorded the total volume of alcohol, primarily whiskey with small amounts of apple brandy and unspecified spirits, sold by the distillery in 1799 at 10,942 gallons with a 1799 value of $7,674.66. However, when these exact same numbers are re-calculated in 2001-2002, there were 10,765$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of alcohol sold, worth a 1799 value of $6,509.92. The 2001-2002 figures are 176$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons and $1,164.74 less than what

Table 3.
Individuals and Businesses Who Purchased Whiskey from the Distillery, Recorded in Ledger 2

Individuals in capital letters are George Washington's employees or possible employees

Key:

> = purchased with	F = Flour barter	GM = Grain & Misc
Bus = Business	Fam = Family	H = Hire
C = Cash only	FH = Fish barter	M = Misc
CG = Cash & Grain barter	G = Grain barter	N = No payment
CM = Cash & Misc	Gals = Gallons	W = Woman
Emp = employee of some type	GF = Grain & Flour barter	

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
Thomas Barker	Yes	C	1799 - 2/15[1]	Whiskey > cash 28.75 gals Value of whiskey = $16.76
William Bartleman Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 3/21; 3/28; 5/10; 5/21	Grocer in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 375.5 gals Value of whiskey = $209.43
William Bitt(ll)ington Bus	Yes	CM	1799 - 1/18; 2/12; 2/15; 3/6; 4/20; 5/15	Brewer; Alexandria doctor (D^r) Whiskey > cash & gauging 879.5 gals Value of whiskey = $358.11
HENRY BOWCOCK Bus/Emp?	Yes	C	1799 - 7/17	Boat captain Whiskey > cash 15 gals Value of whiskey = ?
Josias (Josiah) Browning	Yes	N	1799 - 4/18	Whiskey > no payment 10 gals Value of whiskey = $5.55
(Cattlet) & Meeks Bus	Yes	GM	1799 – date illegible	Merchants in Alexandria Whiskey & cash > corn & unidentified materials 91 gals Value of whiskey = $132.31 Some money was paid to (Cattlet) & Meeks by Alexander McKenzie

[1] This information is taken from the debit column for each individual.

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
Mrs. Joseph Cash	Yes	C	1799 - 10/15; 11/18	W Overseer's wife? Grocer's wife? Whiskey > cash 59.25 gals Value of whiskey = $37.60
William & Joseph Cash Bus	Yes	C	1799 – 1/7	Merchants? Grocers? Joseph Cash = overseer? Whiskey > cash 208 gals Value of whiskey = $117
William Cash Sen^{r}	No	G	1799 - 2/25; 10/26	Grocer? Whiskey & cash > white wheat, rye 61 gals Value of whiskey = $53.58 Total value of sales = $107.47
Thomas Cawood	Yes	FH	1799 – 1/1	Whiskey & cash > barrels of fish 32 gals Value of whiskey = $20 Total value of sales = $101.42
Pitt Chichester	Yes	GF	1799 - 5/3	Neighbor Misc & whiskey > wheat & flour 30 gals Value of whiskey = $16.67 Total value of all goods in account= $181.20 Payment for whiskey was not recorded in ledger
Mrs. Sarah Chichester	Yes	G	1799 - 5/10	W Neighbor Sarah McCarty Chichester m. General Mason; lived at Hollin Hall Whiskey & misc > corn & wheat 32 gals Value of whiskey = $17.78 Her payment of corn & wheat was worth substantially more than the goods she purchased from the distillery; she had a $752.60 credit on the books.
Thomas Claggett & C^{o} Bus	Yes	G	1799 – 3/30	Merchants in Alexandria Whiskey > rye 190 gals Value of whiskey = $115.50

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
JAMES CRAIK Emp	Yes	H	1798 - 3/31	Doctor in Alexandria George Washington's Doctor Whiskey sold on identified date as a part of a year's hire 30.5 gals Value of whiskey = $30.50 Total amount of contract = $325.29
Peter Dejean	Yes	CG	1798 - 12/18 1799 - 5/14; 6/29; 9/27; 11/1; 11/27	Maryland Whiskey & cash > wheat, corn, rye & cash Approx. 12.5 gals Value of whiskey = $183.17
Thomas Diggs	Yes	CN	1799 - 6/25; 9/?	Planter in Maryland Whiskey & misc > cash in part, part unpaid 60 gals Value of whiskey = $138 Amount paid = $81.50 Amount outstanding = $56.50
MOSES DOWDAL Emp	Yes	H	1799 - 1/29; 4/23	Overseer Whiskey as a part of his contract 34.5 gals Value of whiskey = $21.20 Total amount of year's contract = $237.60
Josiah Faxon & C° Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 12/5	Merchants in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 27.75 gals Value of whiskey = $14.62
William Fitzhugh	Yes	M	1799 - 6/27	Planter; also Alexandria resident Whiskey > misc 84 gals Value of whiskey = $33.61
ROBERT GARRET Emp	Yes	H	1799 - 8/24	Overseer at Dogue Run farm Whiskey as a part of a year's hire 5 gals Value of whiskey = $2.92 Total value of annual contract = $196
George Gilpin Bus	Yes	M		Collector of Customs in Alexandria Merchant (shop located at Gilpin's Wharf) Retails whiskey in his shop 2705.5 gals valued at $1419.57 In addition to obtaining whiskey from Mt. Vernon, Gilpin is also stocking his shop with flour, fish and other items provided by Mt. Vernon.
Robert Gordon Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 2/12; 7/6; 8/6	Tavernkeeper/Grocer in Alexandria Whiskey & rent > cash 166 gals Value of whiskey = $92.21

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
John Green	Yes	CM	1799 - 4/30; 5/8; 6/29; 7/6; 7/15; 8/6; 8/16; 9/4; 10/1; 10/3; 10/15; 10/26; 11/4; 11/13; 11/18; 12/5	Alexandria resident Whiskey > cash & mustard 933.5 gals Value of whiskey = $504.73
William Hartshorne Bus	Yes	GM	1799 - 9/10	Merchant in Alexandria Whiskey, services & cash > clover seed & salt 32 gals Value of whiskey = $29.33
Benjamin (D) Higdo(e)n	Yes	G	1799 - 5/7; 11/26	Whiskey > rye 30 gals Value of whiskey = $17.50
Law(u)rence Hoof(f) Bus	Yes	CM	1799 - 5/1	Cartwright, Butcher, Farmer in Alexandria 31 gals Value of whiskey = $28.42 Total value of all goods in account = $310.88 4 cows, 4 calves, 4 cattle & 1 steer purchased from distillery Primarily livestock of various types identified in account; livestock is a "by-product" of distilling
(Hewes/) & Miller Bus	Yes	CM	1799 - 5/21	Merchants in Alexandria Whiskey > cash & miscellaneous goods 121 gals Value of whiskey = $67.21
John J(T)unegal/Jenekle John Jenekle	Yes	C	1799 - 10/20; 10/26; 11/4; 12/11	Enos Junigel? Frenchman Whiskey > cash 254 gals Value of whiskey = $150.69
Charles Jamieson Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 12/11	Mariner/Grocer in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 29.75 gals Value of whiskey = $16.50
WILLIAM KEATING(S) Emp	Yes	H	1799 - 6/24; 9/10	Weaver Whiskey as a part of annual contract 60 gals Value of whiskey = $34.99 Total amount of annual contract = $47.50
James Kincaid	Yes	C	1799 - 11/13	Whiskey > cash 58 gals Value of whiskey = $33.20

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
Nicolas Kingston	Yes	CG	1799 – 3/28	Whiskey > cash & clover 31 gals Value of whiskey = $17.22 Total value of goods identified as "sold" in account = $67.22
John G. Ladd(s) Bus	Yes	M	1799 - date(s) illegible 1800 - date(s) illegible	Merchant in Alexandria Middle name is Gardener Whiskey > miscellaneous goods & services @127 gals Value of whiskey = $126.86
JAMES LAWSON Emp	Yes	H	1799 – 8/10	Ditcher (Ditch digger) hired to cut mill race Whiskey sold on identified date as a part of work contract 7 gals Value of whiskey = $36.30 Total amount of contract = $600
Isacc Mack(Mc/Mac)Pherson Bus	Yes	F	1799 - 8/6; 9/4; 9/27	Merchant in Alexandria Whiskey > coarse flour 512.25 gals Value of whiskey = $284.58 Account provide exchange rate information for flour in exact trade for whiskey
Miss Molly MacKarty	Yes	G	1799 – 5/12	W Seamstress? Whiskey > rye 30 gals Value of whiskey = $16.67
Daniel MacKarty(McCartey or McArl(kt)ey)	Yes	G	1799 – 1/24; 11/27	Planter Chichester? Whiskey & apple brandy > rye 103.5 gals whiskey Value of whiskey = $59.38
John F(L) Marshall	Yes	G	1799 – 4/3; 11/25	Whiskey > rye 10 gals Value of whiskey = $5.84
Close Maxwell Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 10/3; 11/4; 12/5	Retailer in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 91.5 gals Value of whiskey = $53.38
John Mc(Mack)Leod Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 12/5	Tavernkeeper in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 48.5 gals Value of whiskey = $26.27

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
Alexander McKenzie	Yes	C	1799 - 1/22; 2/12; 2/15; 2/22; 3/20; 3/28; 4/19; 8/6; 11/18	Merchant? Doctor? Whiskey > cash 878.5 gals Value of whiskey = $492.10
Archibald Morton	Yes	G	1799 - 7/8	Whiskey > rye 26.5 gals Value of whiskey = $15.46 Did not pay in full
James Park	Yes	G	1799 - 6/12	Assistant to or agent for Wm. A. Washington Whiskey & potatoes > Indian Corn 3 tierces (126 gals) + 557 gals = 683 gals Value of whiskey = $347.90
Henry Peake	Yes	N		Whiskey > No payment Unidentified amount of whiskey - 10 gals? Can't find whiskey info
GEORGE RAWLINS Emp	Yes	H		Overseer at Union Farm Whiskey as part of annual contract 10 gals
Thomas Smith Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 10/26	Grocer in Alexandria Partner with William Bartleman Whiskey > cash 102.5 gals Value of whiskey = $62.63
William Tripplet(t)	Yes	G	1799 - 1/31	Whiskey & cash > wheat & rye 3 gals Value of whiskey = $1.75 Total value of goods sold by distillery to William Tripplet(t) = $221.10
Hugh Violet	Yes	C	1799 - 3/30	Whiskey > cash 33 gals Value of whiskey = $19.25
John Violet	Yes	C	1799 - 1/24	Whiskey > cash 62.5 gals Value of whiskey = $36.42
William Violet	Yes	CG	1799 - 1/31; 3/25	Identified as a Drayman in 1810 Whiskey & miscellaneous > rye, wheat & cash 78 gals Value of whiskey = $44.71 Total value of goods sold by distillery to William Violet = $133.96

Name Relationship	Account Holder? (Yes/No)	Trans. Type	Dates of Whiskey Sales	Information & Comments
Bushrod Washington Fam	Yes	N	1799 - 12/29	George Washington's nephew Whiskey > no payment made 1 barrel @ 31 gals + 29.5 gals = 60.5 gals Value of whiskey = $28.40
Mrs. Elis(z)abeth Washington Fam	Yes	M	1798 - 6/5; 7/15 1799 – 6/7	W Lund's (Lunon's) wife Lund is one of George Washington's distant cousins Whiskey & misc > misc services 30 gals Value of whiskey = $8.75 Total value of goods sold by distillery to Elis(z)abeth Washington = $127.85
William A. Washington Fam	Yes	G	1799 - 5/25; ?/?; 6/12	George Washington's nephew Planter; also resident of Alexandria Whiskey & miscellaneous > Indian corn 105 gals Value of whiskey = $70.45 Credit identified in account = $365.90
Washington & Barker Bus	Yes	C	1799 - 3/29; 4/10; 4/15; 4/19; 5/1	Merchants in Alexandria Whiskey > cash 155 gals Value of whiskey = $86.10 This business purchases whiskey in jugs, not tierces, barrels, etc.
James Wilkinson	Yes	C	1799 - 11/18; 12/11	Whiskey > cash Value of whiskey = $52.11
Abel Willis Bus	Yes	CM	1799 - 10/20	Grocer in Alexandria d. 1816 Whiskey > cash & raisins 1 barrel @ 28 gals Value of whiskey = $17.81
John Wood(s)	Yes	CG	1799 – 5/7; 5/15	Pi(e)scataway, Maryland Whiskey > rye & cash 88 gals Value of whiskey = $48.88

Anderson calculated in 1799. This is further complicated when the volumes and values of alcohol identified in individual accounts is calculated. The 2001-2002 calculations for volume of alcohol sold in 1799 and recorded in individual accounts is $9{,}978^{1}/_{4}$ gallons worth $5,949.34 in 1799. These figures are $963^{3}/_{4}$ gallons and $1,725.32 less than

Anderson's 1799 calculations in the distillery daily log. All three sets of calculations are summarized in Table 4 below. For the purposes of this paper, and unless otherwise noted, I have relied on the 2001-2002 calculations of the figures listed in individual accounts.

Table 4.
Discrepancies in Volumes and Values of Alcohol in 1799 in Ledger 2

Date of Figures (Source)	Volume (Gallons)	Value (Dollars)
1799 Calculations (Distillery Daily Log)	10,942	7,674.66
2001-2002 Calculations (Distillery Daily Log)	$10{,}765\frac{1}{2}$	6,509.92
2001-2002 Calculations (Individual Accounts)	$9{,}978\frac{1}{4}$	5,949.34

Because whiskey production in the Colonies had traditionally been, up until the late eighteenth-century, a seasonal process closely tied to the agricultural cycle, the information recorded in the ledger in 1799 also determined the presence or absence of seasonality patterns in Washington's distillery. It was common for many farms to have a still with which to make fruit brandies and liquors as an additional way to preserve large crops (Rorabaugh 1979). Generally, these stills were put into use at the end of the season, once all the crops had been harvested and the excess was determined. By tracking the dates of whiskey transactions occurring at Washington's distillery, it was possible to discern if a seasonal or cyclical pattern existed. The information, recorded on a calendar, revealed that there was no cycle in Washington's distilling process in 1799 (Table 5).

Table 5.
All Transactions Occurring at the Distillery, Recorded in Ledger 2 (1797-1801)

Key : Shaded squares = transaction in debit column; Cross-hatched squares = transaction in credit column
(Washington died on Saturday, December 14, 1799. These calendars are based on that date.)

January 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

February 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28				

March 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

April 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

May 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

June 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

July 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

August 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

September 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

October 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

November 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

December 1797

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

January 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

February 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28			

March 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

April 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

May 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	8	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

June 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

July 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

August 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

September 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

October 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

November 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

December 1798

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

February 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

March 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

April 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

May 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

June 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

July 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

August 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

September 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

October 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

November 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30

December 1799

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

January 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

February 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	

March 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

April 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

May 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

June 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

July 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

August 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

September 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

October 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

November 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

December 1800

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

January 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

February 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28

March 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31				

April 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30		

May 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

June 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

July 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

August 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

September 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

October 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31

November 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30					

December 1801

S	M	T	W	R	F	S
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

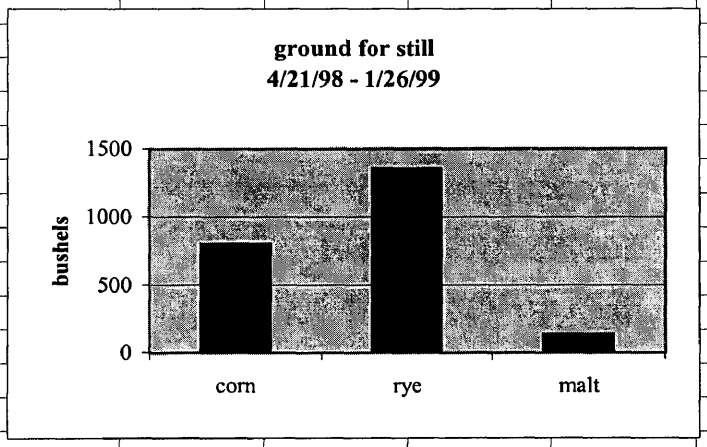
Taking a broader view, and using information collected and tabulated by White (2001) from the Mount Vernon farm work reports from April 1798 to January 1799, the lack of seasonality at the distillery is further underscored. Corn, rye, and malt are being "ground for still" and delivered to the distillery monthly (Table 6). The fact that there was not a seasonal pattern to the whiskey distillation process at Mount Vernon attests to the size of Washington's latest industrial effort and perhaps the more open nature of his enterprise.

Conclusion

Based on the absence of a cyclical pattern, a constant flow of grain to the distillery from Washington's farms, and an identifiable, demanding, and diverse clientele, Washington's distillery was not operating as a way to deal with grain overstocks, but rather as an independent and fiscally sound enterprise that depended on its clientele for its success. The distillery, then, is the industry at Mount Vernon that brings the plantation closest to a commercial operation.. The distillery was reliant on its customers to supply it with grain, which assisted in the manufacture of the whiskey; the operation was dependent on the interest of the entire community, including those individuals outside of Washington's peer group, to buy the whiskey; and, lastly, the distillery was the final factor in the economic development of Mount Vernon and Washington; he was becoming further established as a "planter-businessman" (Kamoie 1999).

Table 6.
Grain Distribution from Mount Vernon's Farm Work Reports,
April 1798 to January 1799

	corn	rye	malt
4/21/98	65	65	12
4/28/98	44	31	12
5/5/98	14	44	12
5/19/98	48	40	8
5/26/98	130	49	2
6/2/98	76	120	6
6/9/98	30	53	8
6/16/98	30	24	0
6/30/98	124.5	48	3
7/28/98	0	2	4
8/4/98	9.5	100	0
8/11/98	0	40	0
9/1/98	56	12	4
9/8/98	0	138	4
9/15/98	80.5	0	2
9/22/98	18	0	6
10/20/98	3	56.5	4
10/27/98	45	88	4
11/3/98	0	60	8
11/17/98	27.5	75	0
11/24/98	0	86.5	3
12/8/98	0	10	6
12/22/98	0	0	10
1/5/99	0	42	8
1/12/99	0	89	9
1/26/99	0	79.5	0
	801	1352.5	135



CHAPTER V

THE DISTILLERY: 1799

This chapter, a review of the distillery's operations in 1799, as recorded in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801), discusses the distillery as the culmination of the shift of the plantation's economy from one based in agriculture to one based in industry. Washington's whiskey distillery was the most commercial venture he had embarked on and it completed the transition of Mount Vernon's economy prior to his death in December 1799.

A brief historical overview of the construction and operation of the distillery during Washington's lifetime segues into a discussion of the diversity in the distillery's products, whiskey and livestock, the attendant diversity in the clientele. Finally, a discussion of the complex economic relationships that grew out of the distillery follows the historical survey. Three of these complex relationships will be discussed in further detail as "case-studies" of the distillery's relationships with different segments of the surrounding community in 1799.

Overview of the History of Washington's Distillery

James Anderson, Washington's farm manager, a Scotsman with distilling experience, arrived at Mount Vernon in January 1797 (Fusonie 1998). Soon after

assuming his new responsibilities at the plantation, Anderson suggested establishing a distillery. Washington was concerned that a distillery would attract an undesirable element and, as a result, wanted to locate the operation near the main house on Mansion House Farm so that he could keep an eye on the distillery's customers (White and Leeson 1999). However, he was a practical man. Due to the necessity of having water pass through the distillery to aid the distilling process (Hall 1818), Washington agreed to start a small distillery operation in the cooper's shed at the grist mill, which would allow the two industries (milling and distilling) to share water and grain (Fusonie 1998; White and Leeson 1999). In January 1797, Washington wrote to Anderson, "I consent to your commencing a distillery, and approve of your purchasing the Still, and entering of it. And I shall not object to your converting part of the Coopers shop at the Mill to this operation" (White and Leeson 1999:19). Soon thereafter, Anderson established a two still distillery in the gristmill's cooperage.

Anderson and his son John operated the distillery in its various forms during Washington's lifetime, and for at least four years following Washington's death when Lawrence Lewis, Washington's nephew and heir, took control of the gristmill and distillery operations. Lewis rented out the distillery for at least five years, at least until 1808, after dismissing the Andersons (White and Leeson 1999:24). During Lewis' tenure, both the distillery and the mill slowly fell out of use and into disrepair (White and Leeson 1999:26).

On February 22, 1797, nearly six months before the distillery was expanded to its full size of five stills in a stone building, Anderson reported to Washington that the first batch of whiskey produced by Mount Vernon in the two-still distillery located in the

gristmill's cooper's shop, had been barreled and placed in Anderson's basement for storage. The first batch of whiskey was 80 gallons (White and Leeson 1999:20). In June 1797, four months after his initial report, Anderson sent a written proposal to Washington detailing the requirements for the expansion of the distillery. Anderson envisioned a stone structure that could comfortably hold five stills with two smaller wooden outbuildings in the yard area; one structure would serve as a small malting house, the other as a kiln. In his written estimate, Anderson indicated that the purchase of three additional stills, a boiler and several mash tubs would amount to $640. He admitted to not knowing how much it would cost to build the buildings to house the distilling equipment and work areas, but he felt confident that Washington would find that the distillery would provide him with a sizeable return on his investment.

> The expence of fixing a house for a Distillery 3 or more Stills & a Boiler will be nearly thus 3 stills & one Boiler something about 520 Doll[ar]s Additional Mash Tubs – We have already one Stove which I bought and will do And the mash Tubs purchased are as good as well as every other thing. [Note: in the margin, Anderson added $520 and $120 to get a total of $640.]
>
> The building of a Still house a small malting house & Still, I could not well estimate – Our own people will do the whole excepting seting up the Stills, A Strong Cellar must be at hand to Lodge the Spirits in – And if such a Work be's carryd on, the constant Milling of Wheat, Buying Wheat, &ca (Abbott 1998a:199-201).

Before consenting to investing in the construction, operation, and maintenance of a much larger and more complicated distillery operation, one over which he would have less control, Washington wrote his friend John Fitzgerald, a rum distiller in Alexandria, inquiring into the feasibility and potential financial success of a whiskey distillery.

> The [distillery] is new to me, in toto; but in a distillery of another kind (Molasses) you must have a good general knowledge of its profits, &

> whether a ready made sale of the Spirit<s> is to be calculated on from grain (principally to be raised on my own Farms) and the offal of my Mill. I, therefore, have taken the liberty of asking your opinion on the proposition of Mr Anderson (Abbott 1998a:180-181).

Fitzgerald responded the same day with a high opinion of the success of the distillery.

> As I have no doubt but Mr Anderson understands the Distillation of Spirit from Grain I cannot hesitate in my Opinion that it might be carried on to great advantage on your Estate...as to a Sale of the Whisky there can be no doubt if the Quantity was ten times as much as he can make provided it is of a good Quality (Abbott 1998a:181-182).

In late June 1797, after considering the advice of his friend and the information provided by Anderson, Washington entered into an agreement to construct and operate an expanded distillery next to the gristmill at Dogue Run (Figure 1). However, his decision was not without doubts and hesitation; he was dependent on the Andersons for the success of the distillery. Washington wrote to Anderson that distilling "is a business I am entirely unacquainted with, but from your knowledge of it and from the confidence you have in the profit to be derived from the establishment, I am disposed to enter upon one..." (Abbott 1998a:191-195).

The distillery appears to have been fully functional by the end of January 1798. Because five stills were operating daily, the grain demand by the distillery was high. The distillery required more grain than Washington's farms could grow and he made arrangements to purchase grain from various sources, an issue he had not anticipated when he agreed to build the distillery (White and Leeson 1999). This additional and perhaps unexpected expense, caused him sufficient discomfort that he wrote to Robert Lewis, pressing him to earnestly collect his rents, and to voice doubts about the profitability and economic viability of his distillery venture.

> I have been induced, by the experience & advise of my Manager, Mr Anderson – to erect a large Distillery at my Mill; and have supplied it with five Stills, Boilers - &ca which, with the (Stone) House, has cost me a considerable sum already, but I find these expenditures are but a small part of the advances I must make before I shall receive any return for them, having all my Grain yet to buy to carry on the business....I beg you to exert yourself in the collection of my Rents, and that you would let me know, upon the best data you can form an opinion, what dependence I may place on you – not only as to the amount of the sum, but also as to the period of its payment, that I may regulate matters accordingly (Abbott 1998b:47).

Until his death in December 1799, Washington continued to have doubts as to the success of the distillery and continued to voice his concerns for Anderson's ability to manage it, the mill, and his responsibilities as the plantation manager. Washington's concerns for Anderson's reliability contributed to a strained relationship between owner and manager. Washington's letters indicate his divided emotions regarding the distillery – on the one hand he was hopeful and believed that the distillery would make money, on the other, he was disappointed by the cost of building and furnishing the distillery, and the need and expense of purchasing grain to manufacture whiskey (Fitzpatrick 1941a). Washington likely anticipated that the plantation would supply the distillery with all the grain necessary for making whiskey, but he found this to not be the case. In a June 26, 1798 letter to his nephew William A. Washington, Washington agreed to purchase 500 barrels of corn annually, at the Alexandria market price, in order to supply his distillery with sufficient grain (Abbot 1998b:360-361). While he searched for additional funding from his various holdings and grains to supply the distillery, Washington also sought out new venues for the sale of his whiskey. In another letter to William Washington, Washington confirmed that he had sent him two barrels of whiskey and was quick to point out that "if you should want *more*, or any of your neighbors want

any, it would be convenient, & always proper, to supply you – and for grain, wheat, Rye or Indian Corn in exchange" (Abbott 1999:87, emphasis in the original).

The distillery clearly had a level of complexity that was not present at either the fisheries or the gristmill. Washington found that in order to regularly produce whiskey, it was necessary for him to actively pursue purchasing large quantities of grain from family and neighbors. This is borne out in the ledger and Washington's letters. To offset the raw material demands of the distillery, Washington was reliant on external sources of grain, a factor he had not expected when he agreed to the construction and operation of the distillery. Washington was not able to grow sufficient amounts of grain to satisfy the diets of the plantation's residents as well as the production needs of the gristmill and distillery.

Diversity in the Whiskey Product

Regardless of the personal relationship between Washington and Anderson, Washington's fears surrounding the distillery, and his desire to capitalize his holdings, whiskey continued to be manufactured and sold, making the distillery one of the more successful recorded operations at Mount Vernon in 1799. To put both the size and success of Washington's distillery into perspective, Rorabaugh (1979) notes that after the American Revolution "throughout the New England seaboard, there were large rum works. New Haven's two rum factories, operated by Abner Kirby and Elias Shipman & Co., together distilled as much as 10,000 gallons a year" (Rorabaugh 1979:66). In comparison, in the individual accounts for 1799 the distillery sold $9{,}978\frac{3}{4}$ gallons of

whiskey, valued at $5,949.34[2] (Table 4). Of this total volume, the distillery sold 9,950 gallons of whiskey, $73^1/_2$ gallons of apple brandy and $354^3/_4$ gallons of "sprits" in 1799[3] (Table 7).

Further, White's 2000 survey of Colonial Williamsburg's Social History Database (Table 8), compiled from a variety of sources, including newspapers, private papers, and orphan's court proceedings, indicates that during the period of 1798-1799, there were six still houses or distilleries in Baltimore, Maryland and Spotsylvania, Orange and Culpepper counties in Virginia, not including Washington's whiskey distillery (White 2001). Based on the information in Table 8, Washington's distillery is the largest recorded distillery structure in the Chesapeake region in 1798-1799 that contains the largest number of stills – five (White 2001).

Based on the size of the distillery operation, it should not be considered unreasonable then, that during the period of operation, March 1797 to March 1800, the distillery produced eight types of whiskey, two types of brandy and a generic "spirits" for a total volume of 15,424 gallons of alcohol (Table 9). While 1799 is the year on which this thesis is focused, it is impossible to discuss trends and broach theories regarding patterns of production and consumption without briefly delving into the other three years of operations at the distillery.

---

[2] For the purposes of this example, the figures recorded in 1799 in the distillery's daily log are used; this is the only place in which this set of figures is relied upon. As discussed in detail in Chapter IV, there are discrepancies between the figures calculated by Anderson in 1799 and the figures calculated by the Author in 2001-2002. As noted in Chapter IV, the Author's calculations of the figures listed in individual accounts, as they pertain to the distillery, are used as the data set for this thesis.

[3] There are three *whiskey* sales (totaling $789^1/_4$ gallons) and one *spirits* sale ($354^3/_4$ gallons) that are recorded in the ledger for 1799, but are not attributed to a particular month. As these four sales contribute to the overall production of alcohol at Washington's distillery, they are included in the discussion for annual sales of alcohol. However, when the discussion and analysis is narrowed to a monthly increment, these four entries, totaling 1,144 gallons of alcohol, must be discounted. Therefore, these sales do not appear in Tables 7 and 9 or in Figures 2, 3, and 4.

Table 7.
Annual Volumes of Alcohol Sold by the Distillery and Recorded in Individual Accounts in Ledgers 1 and 2, January 1797 to March 1800

Date	Type of Alcohol Sold (Gallons)												Ledger 1 or Ledger 2	TOTALS
	Whiskey	Common	Rectified	Rectified 4th Proof	"Whiskie" Strong Proof	Fine Rectified Whiskey	Rye Whiskey	Double Distilled	Apple Brandy	Peach Brandy Weak	Spirits	Rum		
1797	635.75	4.75	8.5					1.5				12	Ledger 1	662.5
1798	4244.85	4	4.5					6		8			Ledger 1	4267.35
1798	27.5		30.5										Ledger 2	58
1799	66.5												Ledger 1	66.5
1799	8719.5	45	63	30	557	29.5	106		73.5		354.75		Ledger 2	9978.25
1800	391.5												Ledger 2	391.5
1797 - 1799	4947.1	8.75	13					7.5		8		12	Ledger 1	4996.35
1798 - 1800	9138.5	45	93.5	30	557	29.5	106		73.5		354.75		Ledger 2	10427.75
Grand Total 1797 - 1800	14085.6	53.75	106.5	30	557	29.5	106	7.5	73.5	8	354.75	12	Ledger 1 & Ledger 2	15424.1

Table 8.
Distillery Comparison

	WHAT	WHERE	WHEN	SIZE	MATERIAL	STILLS	GALLONS	WHAT ELSE
1	still house	Richmond Co, VA	1718					
2	still house	Charleston, SC	1745					coppers & utensils
3	still house	Annapolis, MD	1755			1		good copper & still malt kiln brew house w/ several brewing utensils
4	distillery	Charlestown, MD	1759	39.5' x 26.5'	cedar	1@ 1@	1400/1500 300	cooler worms 16 cisterns 2 returns 1 low wine cistern pumps
5	still house	Anne Arundel, Co, MD	1762			1@	60	
6	still house	Frederick Co, MD	1770			2		plenty of water to supply the stills w/out pump or going out of the house
7	distillery	Baltimore, MD	1770					

	WHAT	WHERE	WHEN	SIZE	MATERIAL	STILLS	GALLONS	WHAT ELSE
8	distillery	Alexandria, VA	1774	71' x 39'	stone	2@ 1@	2400 600 for low wines	20 cisterns (2400 g. ea.) worms worm tubs low wine cisterns 5 return cisterns outside but under cover spring w/ pumps, worked by horse mill house store w/ granaries molasses store cooper's shop woodyard; on river
9	still house	Frederick Co, VA	1777					malt house w/ good kiln
10	distillery	Hillsborough, NC	1779					
11	still house	Hanover Co, VA	1782					
12	still house	Baltimore, MD	1783					malt kiln
13	distillery	MD	1783			1@ 3@	125 60	copper stills cooper boiler 60g. troughs or gutters water from penstock of mill mashing tubs malt kiln
14	still house	Frederick Co, VA	1784					
15	distillery	Berkeley, Co, VA	1784			6		malstery?
16	still house	Loudon Co, VA	1785			1@ 1@	110 60	merchant mill
17	distillery	Shenandoah, Co, VA	1785					
18	still house	Frederick, VA	1786	20' x 20'	scalp'd log			
19	still house	Frederick, VA	1786	20' x 18'	round log			

	WHAT	WHERE	WHEN	SIZE	MATERIAL	STILLS	GALLONS	WHAT ELSE
20	distillery	Hartford, CT	1789					
21	distillery	Burlington, NJ	1789					
22	distillery	New Bern, NC	1789					rum distillery
23	distillery	Spotsylvania, Co, VA	1790					grist mill water from mill wheel
24	still house	Shenandoah, VA	1791					
30	distillery	Orange Co, VA	1799	60' x 26'		1@ 1@ 1@ 1@	159 1050 105 75	kettle of 80 g. 30 beer stands near several cool springs
31	distillery	Culpepper Co, VA	1799	48' x 22'	stone walls covered with oak shingles	3		boiler
32	**distillery**	**Fairfax Co, VA (George Washington)**	**1799**	**75' x 30'**	**stone**	**5**		**boiler 50 mash tubs worms, worm tubs etc.**
33	distillery	Madison Co, VA	1800	60' x 24' plus shed 12' x 60' for stills		6	713	copper boiler 220 g. beer stands mill
34	distillery	Middlesex Co, VA	1800					merchant mill
35	still house	Orange Co, VA	1800	60' x 26'		3		troughs tubs boiler
36	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1802					
37	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1804					
38	distillery	Madison Co, VA	1804					gristmill
39	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1805					
40	distillery?	Orange Co, VA	1806					

	WHAT	WHERE	WHEN	SIZE	MATERIAL	STILLS	GALLONS	WHAT ELSE
41	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1810		log			
42	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1815					
43	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1817					
44	distillery	Norfolk	1817					rum distillery
45	distillery	Albemarle Co, VA	1817			3		mash tubs malt house w/ attached store & counting house cooperage gristmill excellent distiller
46	distillery	Albemarle Co, VA	1817			4		w/ all necessary houses whiskey boated Richm. gristmill
47	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1818					
48	still house	Culpepper Co, VA	1818					new, not yet in operation
49	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1820					
50	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1821	20' x 15'				
51	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1821		log?			
52	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1824	36' x 20'	frame			
53	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1825					
54	still house	Sussex Co, DE	1827	20' x 15'				

Table 9.
Monthly Volumes of Alcohol Sold by the Distillery and Recorded in Individual Accounts in Ledgers 1 and 2, January 1797 to March 1800

Date	Type of Alcohol (Gallons)											Ledger 1 or Ledger 2
	Whiskey	Common	Rectified	Rectified 4th Proof	"Whiskie" Strong Proof	Fine Rectified Whiskey	Rye Whiskey	Double Distilled	Apple Brandy	Peach Brandy Weak	Rum	
Jan-97	24										2	Ledger 1[4]
Feb-97											10	Ledger 1
Mar-97								1.5				Ledger 1
Apr-97	38.75											Ledger 1
May-97	76.5											Ledger 1
Jun-97	44.5		8.5									Ledger 1
Jul-97	15.5	2.5										Ledger 1
Aug-97		1.75										Ledger 1
Sep-97												Ledger 1
Oct-97	185	0.5										Ledger 1
Nov-97	126											Ledger 1
Dec-97	125.5											Ledger 1

[4] Ledger 1 is the earlier ledger (1797-1799). Ledger 2 is the later ledger (1797-1801), which is the subject of this thesis.

Date	Type of Alcohol (Gallons)											Ledger 1 or Ledger 2
	Whiskey	Common	Rectified	Rectified 4th Proof	"Whiskie" Strong Proof	Fine Rectified Whiskey	Rye Whiskey	Double Distilled	Apple Brandy	Peach Brandy Weak	Rum	
Jan-98	77											Ledger 1
Feb-98	140											Ledger 1
Mar-98	597.85											Ledger 1
Mar-98			30.5									Ledger 2
Apr-98	244.5		3							8		Ledger 1
May-98	251.5											Ledger 1
Jun-98	379.5							6				Ledger 1
Jun-98	15											Ledger 2
Jul-98	414.25	4	1.5									Ledger 1
Aug-98	640											Ledger 1
Sep-98	183.75											Ledger 1
Oct-98	214											Ledger 1
Nov-98	58.75											Ledger 1
Dec-98	1043.75											Ledger 1
Dec-98	12.5											Ledger 2

Date	Type of Alcohol (Gallons)											Ledger 1 or Ledger 2
	Whiskey	Common	Rectified	Rectified 4th Proof	"Whiskie" Strong Proof	Fine Rectified Whiskey	Rye Whiskey	Double Distilled	Apple Brandy	Peach Brandy Weak	Rum	
Jan-99	654.5											Ledger 2
Jan-99	66.5											Ledger 1
Feb-99	729.75											Ledger 2
Mar-99	916											Ledger 2
Apr-99	737.5						106					Ledger 2
May-99	802.75	45	31	30								Ledger 2
Jun-99	298				557							Ledger 2
Jul-99	334.5											Ledger 2
Aug-99	855											Ledger 2
Sep-99	486.75		32									Ledger 2
Oct-99	694.75								58.5			Ledger 2
Nov-99	1027.5								15			Ledger 2
Dec-99	393.25					29.5						Ledger 2

Date	Type of Alcohol (Gallons)											Ledger 1 or Ledger 2
	Whiskey	Common	Rectified	Rectified 4th Proof	"Whiskie" Strong Proof	Fine Rectified Whiskey	Rye Whiskey	Double Distilled	Apple Brandy	Peach Brandy Weak	Rum	
Jan-00	212											Ledger 2
Mar-00	179.5											Ledger 2
TOTALS[5]	13296.35	53.75	106.5	30	557	29.5	106	7.5	73.5	8	12	Ledger 1 & Ledger 2

[5] A discussion of the discrepancies in these numbers can be found in Note 2.

As background, and to provide context, there is a Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1798), Ledger 1, which predates the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801), Ledger 2, the subject of this thesis. Ledger 1 records a variety of internal and external transactions occurring on and at the Mount Vernon plantation, including whiskey sales for 1797 and 1798, the first two years of the distillery's operation. Interestingly, one readily noticeable difference between the two ledgers is that Ledger 1 contains much more information regarding internal transactions on the plantation, such as quantities of clothing, food, and other items distributed to the five farms; materials bought and/or made by the different cottage industries on the plantation, such as the blacksmith shop and the spinning house; and the amount of flour made from Washington's own grain crops. Very little of this type of information is present Ledger 2. Is this a marker of Washington's slow but sure transition from a closed economy towards an open one? Does it mark the beginning of a shift from reliance on agriculture to a reliance on industry?

While an in depth analysis of the earlier ledger is outside the scope of this paper, it is impossible to proceed without acknowledging, even briefly, the information contained within it. The figures noted in the following discussion can also be found in Table 9. According to Alexander's 2001 transcription of Ledger 1, the whiskey is classified in a manner similar to that in Ledger 2, listing *common whiskey*,[6] *rectified whiskey*, *double distilled whiskey*, and *whiskie*. *Peach Brandy Weak* appears to be the only other beverage manufactured at the distillery and identified in Ledger 1. This ledger

notes that a total of 4,996$^{1}/_{3}$ gallons of alcohol were sold by the distillery between January 1797 and January 1799. In 1797, a total of 662$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of alcohol were sold by the distillery with the most prevalent form, *whiskey*, coming in at 635$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons. Also sold that year were 4$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons of *common* whiskey, 8$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *rectified* whiskey, 1$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *double distilled* whiskey and 12 gallons of rum. In 1798, the total volume of alcohol produced and sold was 4,267$^{1}/_{3}$ gallons, which included 4,244$^{2}/_{3}$ gallons of *whiskey*, 4 gallons of *common* whiskey, 4$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *rectified* whiskey, 6 gallons of *double distilled* whiskey and 8 gallons of *peach brandy weak.* Ledger 1 also records one *whiskey* sale in January 1799 for 66$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons (Table 9; Figure 2).

There is some overlap between the two ledgers; Ledger 1 records whiskey transactions as late as January 1799 and Ledger 2 identifies whiskey transactions as early as March 1798, although these are limited (Table 9; Figure 3). Ledger 2 records seven types of whiskey, one type of brandy, and generic spirits, totaling 10,427$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons, sold between March 1798 and March 1800. Of this total volume, 27$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *whiskey* and 30$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *rectified* whiskey were sold in 1798 (Table 7; Figure 3). Based on the information in both of the ledgers, 1799 was a record year for the distillery (Table 7; Figure 4). This is the most complete year recorded in either of the two ledgers, and it is recorded most completely in Ledger 2. During 1799, and as recorded in Ledger 2, the distillery sold 9,978$^{1}/_{4}$ gallons[7] of alcohol.

---

[6] For the purposes of this paper, when the name of a whiskey product is in italics, it represents the name attributed to the product by Anderson in the Mount Vernon Farm Ledger (1797-1801). When the word whiskey is in plain typeface, it refers to whiskey generically.

[7] This number is somewhat misleading. While a total of 10,426$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons of alcohol of all types are recorded as sold in Ledger 2 between March 1798 and March 1800, 936$^{1}/_{4}$ gallons of *whiskey* and 354$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons of *spirits* were sold at on an unspecified date in 1799.

Figure 2.
Monthly Breakdown of All Alcohol Sold by Distillery January 1797 to January 1799, Recorded in Ledger 1 (1797-1799)

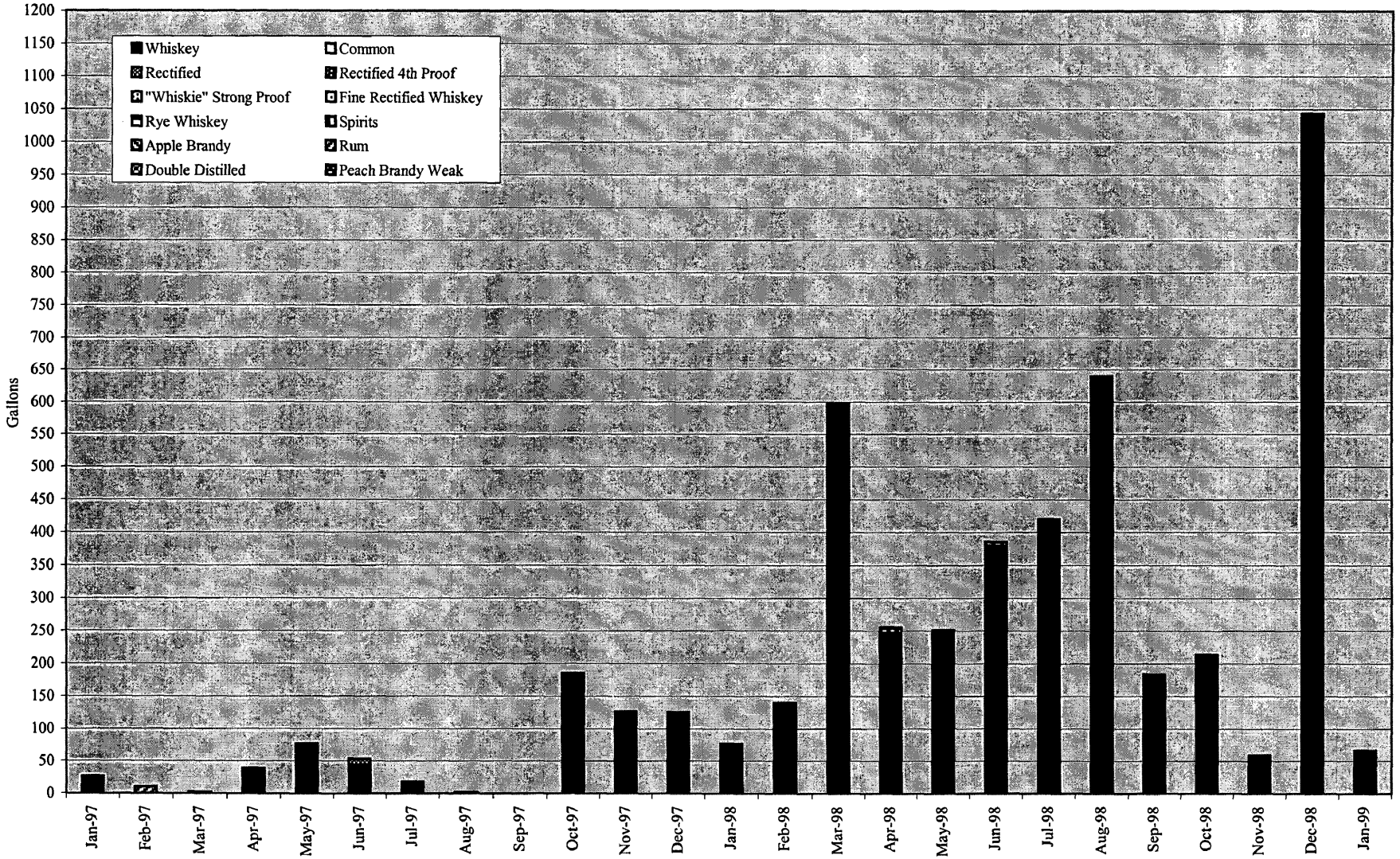


Figure 3.
Monthly Breakdown of All Alcohol Sold by Distillery March 1798 to March 1800, Recorded in Ledger 2 (1797-1801)

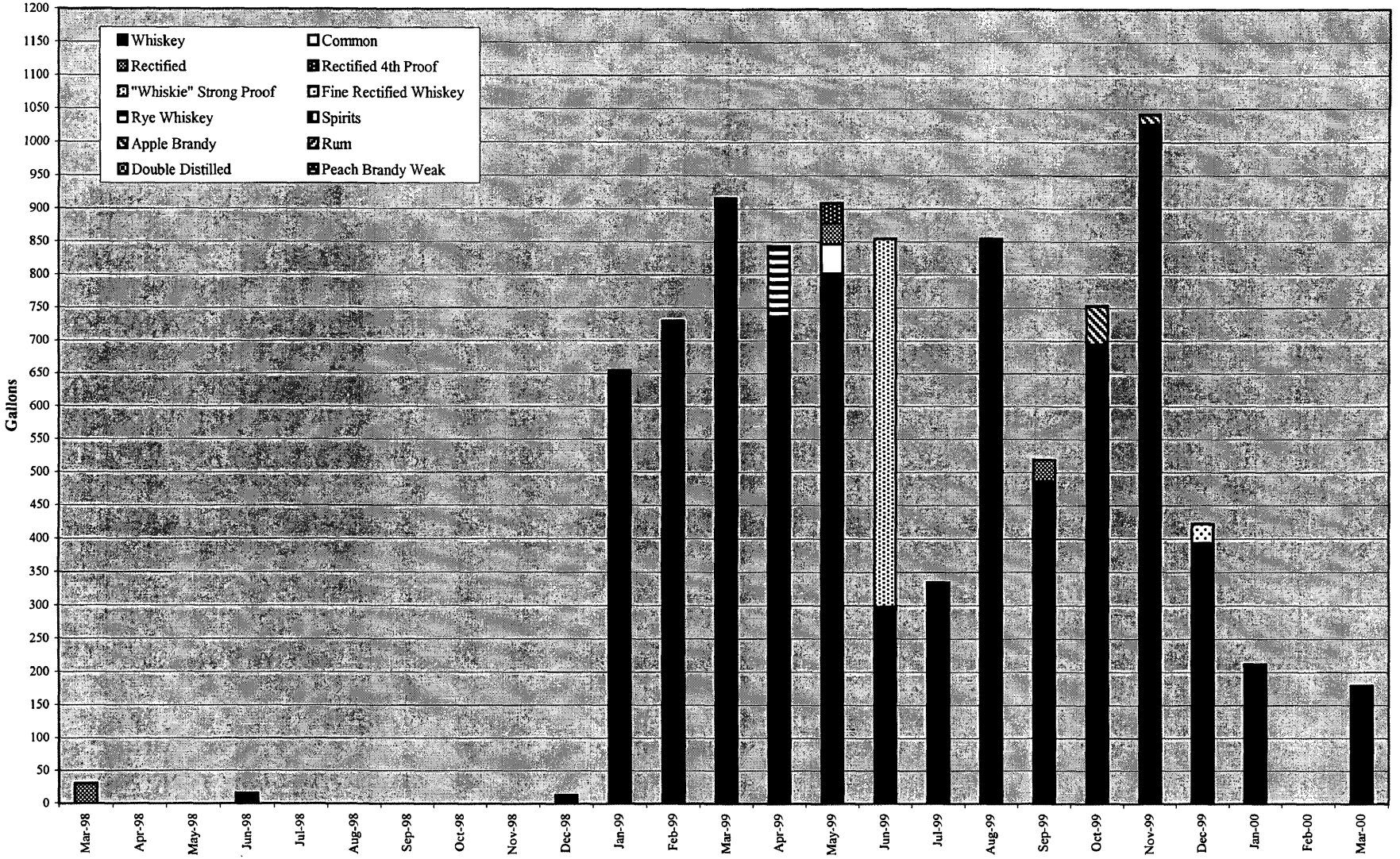
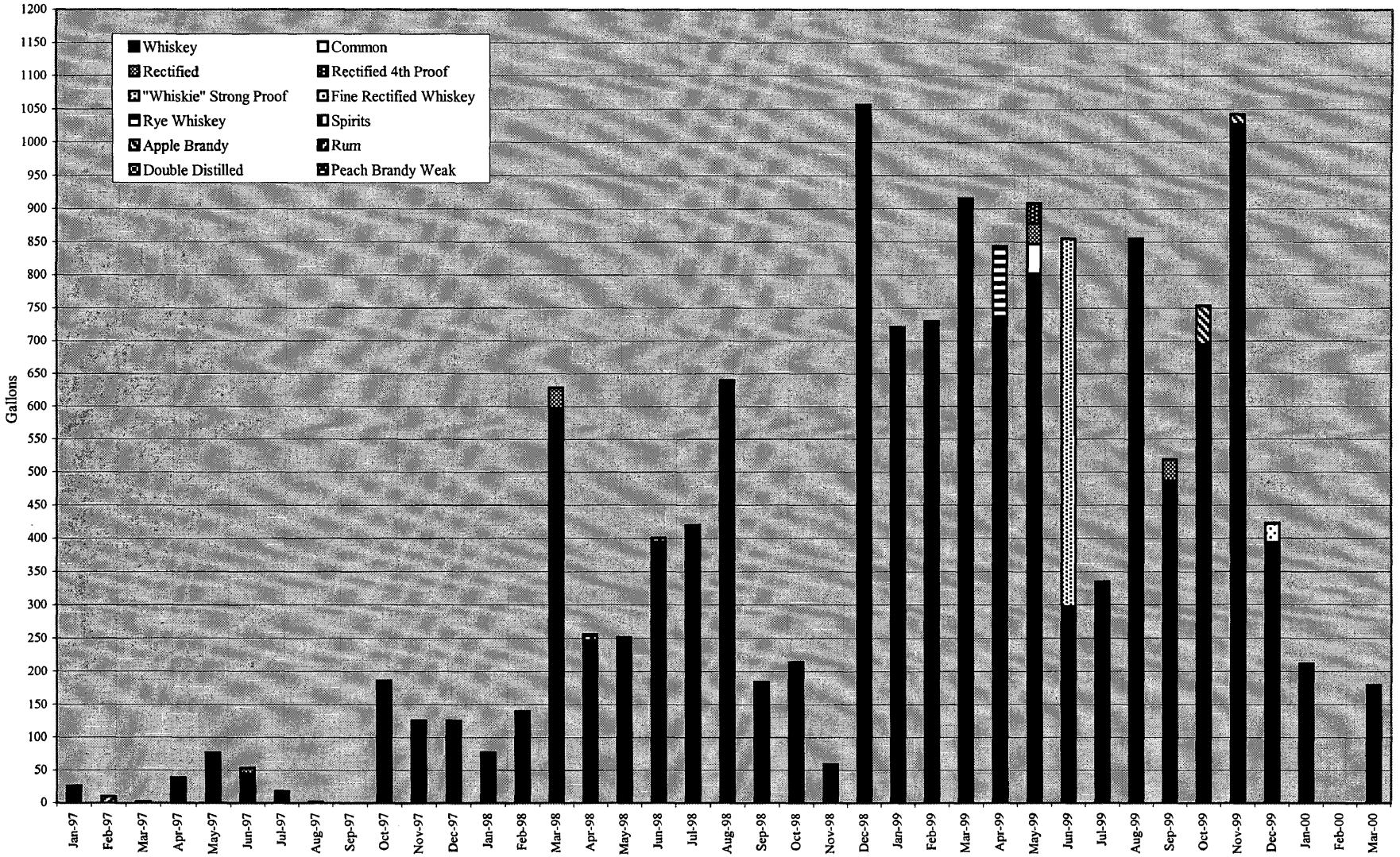


Figure 4.
Monthly Breakdown of All Alcohol Sold by Distillery January 1797 to March 1800, Recorded in Ledger 1 (1797-1799) and Ledger 2 (1797-1801)



The most commonly produced and most widely distributed whiskey is listed in Ledger 2 as *whiskey*, *wh.* or *whiskie*. Washington's distillery produced 8,719$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *whiskey* in 1799. The other six types of whiskey recorded in Ledger 2 by Anderson are *common* (45 gallons), *rectified* (63 gallons), *fine rectified* (29$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons), *rectified 4th proof* (30 gallons), *strong proof* (557 gallons), and *rye* (106 gallons). The sales of whiskey taper off, or at least are recorded in a limited manner in 1800; Ledger 2 identifies 391$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of *whiskey* sold in 1800 (Table 7). As discussed in Chapter IV, there are significant discrepancies in Anderson's calculations of the volume and value of the whiskey sold in both the distillery daily log and the information maintained in each individual's account. Accordingly, and for the purposes of this paper, I have relied on the 2001-2002 calculations of the numbers recorded by Anderson in individual accounts (Table 4).

The presence of the names *common*, *rectified*, etc. in the ledger may indicate that these six additional types of whiskey were further distilled, were made of different ingredients, were manufactured in a limited run at only certain times of the year and would therefore warrant description in the ledger with terms such as *common, rectified,* etc. Another possibility is that these specific names are examples of Washington's attempt to provide a range of whiskey products to his customers, just as he did with his flours. Exploring three factors, the nature of the clientele for the "specialized" whiskies, dates of the sales of the whiskies, and the prices of the whiskies, can test this hypothesis. While the "specialized" whiskey products fall broadly into two price categories, approximately $.60 a gallon and approximately $1.00 a gallon, the author believes that the identification of the individual types of whiskey in the ledger points to Washington's

desire to have diversity in his whiskey product. This is further supported by the identities of those individuals who purchased the "specialized" whiskies.

There are seven people who purchase "specialized" whiskey products: Laurence Hooff, a butcher and cartwright in Alexandria; William Hartshorne, an Alexandria merchant; William Craik, Washington's doctor and friend; William A. Washington and Bushrod Washington, two of Washington's nephews; James Park, William Washington's agent; and George Gilpin, Washington's friend and an Alexandria merchant. These men purchased different quantities of different whiskies at various times throughout the year and for different prices. Of the 9,999$^1/_2$ gallons of all whiskies that were are recorded in Ledger 2 between 1797 and 1801, 58 gallons were sold in 1798,[8] 9,550 gallons were sold in 1799 and 391$^1/_2$ gallons were sold in 1800. Of the total amount of whiskey, 45 gallons, or 0.45 percent, are identified as *common*, 93$^1/_2$ gallons (0.94 percent) are classified as *rectified*, 29$^1/_2$ gallons (0.30 percent) are identified as *fine rectified*, 30 gallons (0.30 percent) are identified as *rectified 4th proof*, 557 gallons (5.57 percent) are identified as *strong proof*, and 106 gallons (1.06 percent) of *rye* whiskey. When taken as a whole, these six types of "specialized" whiskey account for approximately 8.61 percent of the total volume of whiskey recorded in Ledger 2.

The first person who purchased *rectified* whiskey from the distillery was Dr. William Craik, Washington's personal physician and one of the doctors who tended to him at his death. On March 31, 1798, Craik received 30$^1/_2$ gallons of *rectified* whiskey, worth $30.50, or $1.00 a gallon, as part of a larger package of goods and money provided to him by Mount Vernon in exchange for medicine and medical attendance over

an 18 month period beginning at the end of December 1797. Other items he received as part of his compensation package include 1,988 pounds of pork and $128.88. In May 1799, Laurence Hooff, an Alexandria butcher and merchant, purchased 30 gallons of *rectified* whiskey, valued at $28.42, or $.92 a gallon, with money. William Hartshorne, another Alexandria merchant, exchanged 100 bushels of salt for 32 gallons of *rectified* whiskey in September 1799 for $29.33 or $.92 a gallon. As the value of the whiskey was one-third the value of the salt, the distillery paid Hartshorne cash for the difference.

These three men all purchased the same type of whiskey, *rectified* whiskey, but there is a $.08 difference in price per gallon. This is likely due to the year of the sale; in Ledger 2, Craik is the only man who purchased *rectified* whiskey in 1798. As there was a marked increase in the total amount of whiskey sold in 1799, over the total amount sold in 1798, as recorded in Ledger 2, it is not unreasonable that Washington implemented an economy of scale over time.

William Washington purchased two kinds of "specialized" whiskey: 45 gallons of *common* whiskey, valued at $25.00, or $.56 a gallon, and 30 gallons of *rectified 4th proof* whiskey, valued at $27.50, or $.92 a gallon. William Washington paid for the whiskey, not in cash, but in grain. He delivered 1,962$^{1}/_{2}$ bushels and 392$^{1}/_{2}$ barrels of Indian Corn, valued at $2,063.00, to the distillery complex. As the value of the corn outweighed the value of the whiskey, William Washington received cash from the distillery. Because William Washington purchased the two types of whiskey in the same month and year,

---

[8] The reader is encouraged to keep the earlier discussion of Ledger 1 in mind when considering this figure.

May 1799, at two different prices, it is clear that at least *common* and *rectified 4th proof* whiskey had different values assigned to them. While the *rectified 4th proof* was the more expensive of the two, it was still the same price as the *rectified* whiskey purchased by Hooff at the same time and by Hartshorne four months later. This distinction between types of whiskey is significant of the diversity in the product as the *rectified 4th proof* whiskey was likely further distilled and could therefore command a higher price per gallon.

On December 29, 1799, 15 days after Washington's death, his nephew and heir, Bushrod Washington, purchased 29 1/2 gallons of *fine rectified* whiskey, valued at $27.04, or $.92 a gallon. There is no record of payment made to the distillery for this whiskey. Of the seven men who purchased "specialized" whiskey, James Park purchased the largest amount. In June 1799, Park, who appears to have been acting as William Washington's agent, purchased 557 gallons of *whiskie strong proof* for $324.92 (approximately $.58 a gallon). He paid for the whiskey with 595 bushels of Indian Corn valued at $347.08. To balance his account, Park also purchased three tierces, 12 barrels and one small barrel, presumably to hold some of the whiskey[9]. George Gilpin purchased the second largest amount of "specialized" whiskey that was recorded in the ledger. In April 1799, Gilpin purchased 106 gallons of *rye* whiskey for $61.84, or $.58 a gallon.

At the start of this section, the hypothesis to be tested was whether the indications of *common*, *rectified*, etc. in the ledger were evidence of diversity in the whiskey product and by association in the distillery's clientele. Clearly, there was variety in the whiskies

[9] A barrel holds 31 gallons, a hogshead holds 63 gallons, a pipe, or two hogsheads, holds 126 gallons and a tierce, one-third of a pipe, holds 42 gallons.

produced by the distillery and they can be categorized in two broad groups. The first group is made up of *rectified, fine rectified* and *rectified 4th proof*. With the exception of Craik's purchase in 1798, these three whiskies sold for $.92 a gallon. The other three types of whiskey, *common*, *whiskie strong proof*, and *rye* can also be grouped together. These three whiskies sold for between $.56 and $.58 a gallon, which was one to three cents less than the average price per gallon price of *whiskey* ($.59 a gallon). Two of these three "specialized" whiskies, *whiskie strong proof* and *rye*, had the same price per gallon, $.58.

With the exception of Bushrod Washington, it appears that these six types of whiskey were only available in the spring and the fall, an indication that these whiskies were only manufactured or made ready for sale at certain times of the year (Figure 3). Finally, the seven men who purchased these six whiskies fall into three categories, family, friend, and Alexandria merchant. It is obvious that Bushrod Washington and William Washington are members of Washington's family. However, also in this category is James Park, who appears to have acted as William Washington's agent to facilitate the sale of grain and the purchase of whiskey. The second group, friend, is made up of only one person, Craik. Hooff and Hartshorne make up the last group, Alexandria merchants. Within this small sample of consumers, Gilpin is somewhat of an anomaly, as he is properly classified in two of the three groups – friend of Washington and Alexandria merchant.

While it may seem unusual for merchants to have interacted with Mount Vernon on the same level as family members and trusted friends, when we recall the role of the distillery in the changing economic landscape at Mount Vernon, it seems like a natural

extension of the economic progression of the plantation. One manifestation of the economic transformation of Mount Vernon plantation was the establishment of reciprocal business relationships with a number of Alexandria merchants, a group that not only sold Washington's goods to the public, but provided him with some of the materials he needed to continue to operate the distillery.

CHAPTER VI

CONSUMER CASE STUDIES

After providing an overview of the variety in the distillery's clientele and product, this chapter will attempt to delve more deeply into the distillery customers and complex relationships stemming from the distillery. Three individuals have been selected for profiling. The first is Sarah McCarty Chichester, Thomson Mason's wife and resident of Hollin Hall (Gunston Hall Plantation 2000). She represents the planter class' interaction with the distillery, in which the distillery parallels the blacksmith shop as discussed in Chapter III. The second individual profiled is Laurence Hooff, who was introduced in the last chapter. Hooff was a butcher in Alexandria and in 1799 was the distillery's largest customer of whiskey by-products, livestock. His relationship parallels that of the fishery to the surrounding community. The last person profiled is George Gilpin, a man who had a long relationship with Washington of both a business and a personal nature (Miller 1991), as briefly discussed in Chapter V. He conducted a great deal of business at the distillery and had a complex and multi-faceted relationship with Washington. It seems that his interaction with the plantation, more than anyone else's, was a contributing factor to Mount Vernon's next economic evolutionary step after the gristmill.

Ledger 2 provides a great deal of information about the population interfacing with Mount Vernon. Before narrowing the focus to 1799, a brief overview of the size of the population identified in the ledger will assist in understanding the diversity of the

population and how those individuals profiled for their distillery activities in 1799 are characteristic of the group they represent. There are approximately 219 identifiable individuals or businesses listed in the ledger (Table 2). In addition to these 219 parties, there are another possible 53 individuals or businesses, which are unidentifiable because the names are incomplete. At least 16 of the identifiable 219 businesses and individuals recorded in the ledger are slaves. To further categorize this population, 84 individuals and businesses hold accounts with Mount Vernon. Those individuals and businesses that are not account holders (135 entities) are primarily listed in the cash account for 1799. These 135 individuals and businesses appear to have conducted business with the plantation a discreet number of times and therefore did not warrant an individual account. Of the 84 account holders, only 57 conducted business with the distillery (Table 3). These 57 entities account for approximately 26 percent of the known identifiable population. This small percentage of the original population can be further divided into groups by gender; whether or not an individual is a plantation employee, such as an overseer, or hired by the task, such as a doctor; whether or not the entity is a business; and whether or not the individual is a family member. There is overlap in some of these categories, as a woman will not only be categorized by gender, she will also be categorized by her interactions with the distillery.

For that segment of the population conducting business with the plantation via the distillery, Anderson recorded a variety of payment methods, including payments of money and barter of grain, flour, miscellaneous goods, and any combination of those transaction types. Of the 57 individuals and businesses that purchase whiskey, six received differing amounts of whiskey, presumably determined through negotiations, as a

part of an annual contract for services provided to the plantation. As a group, the employees consumed 147 gallons of whiskey, or approximately $1^1/_2$ percent of the total amount of whiskey recorded in Ledger 2 in 1799. Of the remaining 51 individuals and businesses who conducted business with the distillery, and as detailed in Table 10, 35 percent of the whiskey sales were paid strictly with cash, 19 percent of the sales were bartered for with a variety of grains, 29 percent purchased whiskey using a combination of money, grain and other goods, and 5 percent of the population that purchased whiskey from the distillery did not pay for it at all.

Table 10.
Categorization of Payment Methods by Distillery Clientele in Ledger 2 in 1799

Form of Payment	Number of Individuals	Percentage of Individuals
Cash Only	20	35.09
Grain only	11	19.30
Cash and Miscellaneous	6	10.53
Contract	6	10.53
Miscellaneous	5	8.78
Grain and Cash	3	5.26
No Payment	3	5.26
Flour	1	1.75
Grain and Flour	1	1.75
Grain and Miscellaneous	1	1.75
TOTAL	57	100

Sarah McCarty Chichester

Over the course of 1799, Sarah McCarty Chichester exchanged 603 barrels of corn and 243 bushels of wheat worth $785.38 for 7,000 herrings, 32 gallons of whiskey and one barrel of fine flour, with a combined total value of $32.78. The difference of $752.60 was credited to her account at the end of 1799.

Chichester's relationship with Mount Vernon, as recorded by Anderson in 1799, is evidence of Mount Vernon retaining its agrarian planter class relationship with the surrounding community and Washington's peers; Mount Vernon was never fully transformed into an open economy. Her type of interaction with the distillery was common among Washington's neighbors and peers, many of whom brought different grains to the distillery in large quantities in exchange for whiskey, flour, and fish, the three primary products manufactured by Mount Vernon in 1799. The information in the ledger in Chichester's account indicates that she received goods from the plantation's three main industries at a price far below the prices that were being charged to other customers. Additionally, Chichester was not paid $752.60 as compensation due her for the value of her corn and wheat; rather, that money was kept on the books as a credit in her account, thereby encouraging her to continue to obtain materials from Mount Vernon and reinforcing the internal structure of the planter class. At least in Chichester's case, it seems that she did not turn to a merchant in Alexandria to provide her with $33.28 worth of foodstuffs and alcohol. Instead, she relied on the peer relationships fostered and maintained by the planter class.

Additionally, the fact that she had such a large credit in her account leads to the further assumption that she may have anticipated needing goods produced by Mount

Vernon for a lengthy period of time; an activity that further reinforced the dependence of one planter on another, and obviated the need to look outside the group for basic resources. The social structure of the planter class contributed to an environment where neighboring plantations supported each other socially and economically when necessary and to the best of their abilities.

Mount Vernon's relationship with Chichester, through the distillery, can be viewed as a parallel to the types of economic activity fostered by the blacksmith shop during the 1760s. Washington's smiths provided services to Mount Vernon's neighbors, primarily members of Washington's peer group, until Mount Vernon was expanded to include many of his neighbors' farms. Pogue (1996) notes that the majority of the 134 individuals who patronized the blacksmith shop lived within a five-mile radius, or the catchment area, of the plantation. Chichester appears to have been within the catchment radius of the distillery as she traveled to Mount Vernon, one of the plantations in her neighborhood, to barter grain for foodstuffs.

Laurence Hooff

As discussed in Chapter II, it was common for distillers to keep pens of livestock at the distillery as a way to dispose of the grain mash created in the distilling process (Hall 1818). The result was grain-fed, penned hogs and cattle, many of which were sold for slaughter (Hall 1818). Washington's distillery was no different. On May 26, 1799 Washington wrote to William Russell, "for your further kind intention respecting the imported Swine, I feel much obliged; & if you should be so successful as to get into a *full*

Stock, would thank you for a pair; as I have a Distillery at which I rear many Hogs" (Abbott 1999:90, emphasis in the original).

Of all the distillery's customers in 1799, Hooff made the largest purchases of livestock from the distillery in 1799, presumably for slaughter and resale in his butcher shop in Alexandria. However, he was not the only person who bought livestock or meat. There are other individuals who purchase cuts of meat from the distillery, but many of them receive this meat as a part of their payment for one years' hire. While there are few references in Washington's letters to keeping beeves at the distillery, Ledger 2 indicates otherwise: "To Distillery for 2 Cows one 406 the other 376" and "To Distillery for 2 Cows 694#." Over the course of 1799, Hooff purchased four calves, four cattle, four cows, and one steer, with a total weight of 3,573 pounds for a total of $209.63, or approximately $.60 per pound. He paid for the animals with $292.00, "2 Rams for the Farms," and "127# Beef for Mt Vernon." While Hooff made only one livestock purchase after Washington's death, and he continued to make payments to Washington's estate until October 1800 in order to balance his account.

The economic benefit to Washington of the availability of livestock at the distillery is similar to that of the fish harvested at his fisheries, although, obviously, not on the same large scale. As described in Chapter III, the fisheries appear to have functioned as a hybrid operation by combining necessity with profit. The fisheries contributed to the plantation's food production and concurrently provided Washington with an income based in local, regional, and global marketplaces (Jackson and Twohig 1976). Livestock filled a need at the distillery, without it there was no efficient way to dispose of the mash and slop generated during the distillation process. At the same time,

however, it provided diversity in the distillery's revenue stream and was yet another way for Washington to make a profit on his distillery operation. While others interfaced with the distillery for the whiskey, Hooff capitalized on the ready availability of grain-fed, penned livestock, an opportunity for Washington to again combine profit with necessity.

George Gilpin

The largest purchaser of Washington's whiskey in 1799, as recorded by Anderson in Ledger 2, was George Gilpin. Gilpin was a well-known and successful merchant in Alexandria in the last decade of the eighteenth-century. He had his own warehouse and wharf, Gilpin's Wharf, on the southeast corner of Prince and Union Streets in Alexandria (Miller 1991). Over the course of 1799, Gilpin purchased approximately 2,238$^{3}/_{4}$ gallons of *whiskey* worth $1,208.45, or $.54 a gallon; 106 gallons of *rye* whiskey valued at $61.84, or $.58 a gallon; and 58$^{1}/_{2}$ gallons of apple brandy worth $36.56, or $.63 a gallon. Gilpin also purchased barrels of herring and shad. He paid for his purchases with a variety of goods required by the plantation, ranging from butter to oysters, from candles to tar, and from "soal leather" to salt.

Based on the information recorded in Ledger 2 in 1799, it appears that Gilpin had a complex and multi-faceted relationship with Washington and Mount Vernon via the distillery. There is evidence in Ledger 2 that Washington kept large quantities of whiskey in Gilpin's shop in Alexandria for sale: "To whiskie on hand for sale & waiting a market at sundrie with casks 643$^{3}/_{4}$ Galls." Additionally, it appears that Gilpin operated

as the "in-town" retail outlet for Washington's whiskey as he is recorded as having received commissions for "sales rendered."

In addition to collecting a commission on the sales of Washington's whiskey in Alexandria, Gilpin drew notes, which seemed to function as lines of credit, from Washington. All of the notes were tracked in Ledger 2 in an account titled *Bills Receivable*. The first recorded note was extended to Gilpin on December 24, 1798 for $200.00; the second on February 4, 1799 for $300.00 and the last recorded note was extended on April 16, 1799 for $200.00. Each of these notes had the same terms, due in 60 days, and in each instance, Gilpin paid the notes in full at the end of each loan period.

Gilpin's activity, initially on behalf of the distillery and ultimately on behalf of himself, is similar to the relationship of the gristmill to the community. The mill produced a diverse product sold to a diverse clientele. Washington was increasingly dependent on the market value of his flour commodity in local and global markets, thereby increasing his financial risk. Washington's relationship with Gilpin is similar in that Gilpin initially took Washington's whiskey on consignment, but by June 1799, after repaying the third and final note, appears to have operated as an independent retailer, as no further commission payments were recorded in Ledger 2. Gilpin began to purchase whiskey wholesale from the distillery and functioned as an independent businessman, rather than as a consignor for Washington. With Gilpin no longer serving as his consignment outlet, Washington was even further subjected to the vagaries of the marketplace, as he no longer had a guaranteed sale each month. This resulted in a slight downturn in the distillery's economy, as can be seen in Figures 3 and 4.

Conclusion

Based on the diversity in the whiskey product and the diversity in the distillery's clientele, it appears that the economic relationship between the distillery and the community was complex. The distillery itself produced large quantities of alcohol during the last two years of Washington's life. Had Washington not died at the end of 1799, one can presume that the upward trend would have continued for at least a few years.

The distillery interfaced with different segments of the community in different manners. Of all the industries at Mount Vernon, the distillery appears to have been the one with the widest public appeal, more so than either fish or flour. The distillery was an "equal-opportunity" moneymaking enterprise – it maintained some of the structure of the planter class, characterized by Chichester, and embraced the diversity and perils of a riskier free market economy, as demonstrated by Hooff and Gilpin.

Gilpin's changing relationship with the distillery is perhaps one of the more critical pieces of information regarding the transformation of Washington's economic relationship with the wider community outside the plantation. Throughout 1798 and the first half of 1799, Gilpin served as an in-town retail outlet for Washington's whiskey. In exchange, Gilpin received a commission on the sales of the whiskey and provided the plantation with a variety of foodstuffs and materials that it could not produce. As discussed by Kulikoff (1986) and Ragsdale (1996), this type of interaction between plantation owners and their in-town counterparts was typical.

In the summer of 1799, however, the relationship between Gilpin and Washington changed. At that point, Gilpin stopped serving as an in-town retail outlet for Washington's whiskey and began to purchase it outright for retail in his store in

Alexandria. This allowed Gilpin to retain all the profits from the sale of the whiskey and not have to rely on a commission. This change is noted in Figures 3 and 4, the point at which the volume of whiskey sold by the distillery returned to 1798 levels (Figure 4).

One can assume that the change in Washington's relationship with Gilpin also benefited Washington. He was no longer constrained by the limits of having a single retail outlet for his whiskey. He was able to search further afield for markets for his whiskey; there are notations in the ledger regarding one or two shipments of whiskey to an unidentified recipient in Richmond. And, whether intentional or not, by allowing the transformation of his business relationship with Gilpin to occur, Washington was forced into the open market – either his distillery was going to be a success or a failure. Based on the information in Ledger 2 for 1799 (Figure 3; Tables 7 and 9), it would appear that the distillery was going to succeed and that Washington would be safe in relying on an industry in which he had little faith and even less operational knowledge. Whether the reader relies on Anderson's accounting for 1799 or the author's accounting for 1799 (Table 4), it is clear that the distillery sold approximately 10,000 gallons of whiskey in 1799. As Rorabaugh (1979) points out, that is nearly double the amount of rum produced by some of New England's largest rum distillers after the American Revolution. One can only imagine the success of the distillery had Washington not died in December 1799.

CONCLUSION

This thesis initially proposed that Mount Vernon was an example of both the closed and open economic models proposed by Cancian (1989) and Roseberry (1989). Further, this paper attempted to determine that the anthropological theory of closed and open relationships, though initially defined within the bounds of Central and South American peasant communities in the 1960s, is relevant to developing an understanding of the complex economic relationships at Mount Vernon and its transition from a closed to an open economy. After reviewing the data in Ledger 2, it seems that the model of open and closed economic communities is overly simplistic, insufficient and inappropriate for characterizing and understanding the complex economic activities that occurred at Mount Vernon in the last half of the eighteenth century.

As noted in Chapter I, closed economies have been characterized by Cancian (1989) as (1) self-reliant in the community's ability to create and support its economy; (2) insulated from the surrounding community's so that the traditions and rituals established to support the closed society are not diluted and weakened; and (3) that both the society's self-reliance and its traditions are further supported and maintained by a strict and rigid social hierarchy. In contrast, an open economy has been described as (1) dependent on outside markets and economies for its own economy, i.e., reliance on the regional and global markets for survival; (2) embracing the surrounding communities and allowing for exchange of cultures and ideas, an environment necessary with heavy reliance on others

economies for survival of your own economy; and (3) a high degree of social mobility, which prevents the entrenchment of traditions that define an individual's position in society (Roseberry 1989). In this chapter, this model was applied to the eighteenth century in an attempt to characterize the Chesapeake planter class (closed) to the Philadelphia merchant class (open). This chapter summarized the anthropological theory to be tested by the data found in Ledger 2 as it pertains to the distillery in 1799.

Chapter III provided a summary overview of three different industries at Mount Vernon during Washington's tenure that preceded the distillery: the blacksmith shop, the fisheries, and the gristmill. These three industries, while all different from one another in their scope, scale and product have one element in common, they filled a need first and were expanded to capture a profit second. For approximately 40 years, Washington capitalizes on the abundance of a good that he was already processing for his own use; he merely expanded operations to make the fisheries and the gristmill more profitable.

The fisheries began as a means to feed the plantation's inhabitants, but it quickly became a way for Washington to also make money. The same is true of the gristmill. This operation created a level of complexity that had not yet been seen in the industries at Mount Vernon. The gristmill offered a variety of flours and meals and served a diverse clientele, including merchants from Alexandria and neighbors. Again, just as the fisheries were Washington's first step towards commercialization, the gristmill appears to have functioned as the next logical step in Washington's economic transformation, particularly as it appears that many of the economic relationships developed at the fisheries were expanded to the mill and the geographic reach of Washington's products extended even further.

The last two chapters in this paper discussed the activities at the distillery in 1799 in depth. The distillery was the last industry started at Mount Vernon before Washington's death. Building on what he had learned at the fisheries and the mill, Washington offered a variety of whiskies for sale at various prices. Additionally, his product was available to a wide range of consumers, including planters, Alexandria merchants, family members, and employees. However, perhaps the most convincing piece of evidence that Mount Vernon was evolving economically was the dramatic change in Gilpin's relationship with the distillery. Initially, Gilpin and his shop functioned as a consignment outlet in Alexandria for Washington's whiskey. However, by June 1799, commissions on the sale of whiskey were no longer recorded in Gilpin's account in Ledger 2, and, therefore, presumably not paid. At the same time, there was a dip in the monthly sales of whiskey (Figures 3 and 4), which, in the author's opinion, correlates to this change in the relationship from consignor to independent retailer. The change in their relationship, when Washington no longer had a guaranteed retail outlet available to him, is the most dramatic marker of Washington's new dependence on the local and regional markets for his financial success; the distillery was a major commercial operation whose success was defined by the product's popularity and free market conditions. Unfortunately, Washington died six months after this shift in his relationship with Gilpin and it is impossible to know if the distillery would have continued to be successful when wholly dependent on the popularity of the product in the marketplace.

Based on the information in the ledger, and the author's analysis of that information, it appears that the anthropological model of closed and open economic

communities is overly simplistic for the complex economic relationships surrounding Mount Vernon. Mount Vernon's economy was in transition and the distillery was a departure point for George Washington. Prior to the distillery, the industries at Mount Vernon, specifically the fisheries and the gristmill, capitalized on activities that were initiated and developed to provide food for the plantation. In these two instances, Washington took advantage of nature's abundance to increase his wealth. The distillery is distinctly different from these two industries, as it did not take advantage of nature's abundance; rather, it far exceeded Washington's estimation of raw materials needed to produce whiskey. In fact, Washington found himself in the position of having to purchase grain in order to meet the marketplace demand for his whiskey, a position previously unfamiliar to him with regard to his industries at Mount Vernon.

Kamoie (1999) has discussed the phenomenon of planter-businessmen. These were men who, during the eighteenth century, capitalized on a variety of resources in order to obtain financial security and to build on inherited wealth. Steps that many of these planter-businessmen took included changing the agricultural focus of their plantations from tobacco to grains, establishing fishers and more elaborate industries, such s large-scale ironworks. Washington was not atypical of his class in his commercialization of Mount Vernon; rather, he was part of a common trend among planters, diversifying his holding and blending agriculture and industry for fiscal success.

Table 1.
Distillery Daily Log for 1799

30th

Date 1799	Ledger 1799 Distillery	Rye Bu	Corn Bu	Dn Dolls	Cents	Date 1799	Contra Qty	Spirits Galls	Cn Dolls	Cents
Jany 1	To Grain on hand	250		167	50	Jany 7	Sold Wm & Joseph Cash ¾	208	117	
	" Spirits on hand 60 gall worth 3/6 }			35		12	" Wm Billington 3/6 Gauging off 3/9 }	181	104	96
to the 31	Mudy Hole this mo 3/6	146		85	16	23	" Coll[n] Geo Gilpin 116	116	67	81
to do	Doguerun do	84		49		31				
"	Daniel McArley do	29		16	92	23	" Moses Dowdal 3/6	152	9	4
"	William Violet do	50		29	16	24	" Daniel Mackarley do	29	16	92
"	Wm Tripplet do	3		1	75	"	" George Rawlins do	10	5	84
"	Henry Peake 18/		75	45		"	" Wm Violet do	50	29	16
"	George Gilpin 3/		90	45		"	" John Violet Alex[ria] do	62.2	36	42
"	Aquila Davis do		110	55	13	page 159 Old Ledger				
"	Used this month 27 Cordswood			27			" Wm Spence for Jasper Spence do	62-2	38	89
"	Bo[tt] 4 Brooms /9				50	28	" Alexander McKenzie do	63-2	37	4
"	One empty B[ll] <?>				75		" Wm Tripplet do	3	1	75
31	Gauging of 3 Casks wh				39		" Mt Vernon one B[ll] <?> no charge <?> of the Spirits			75
Feby 12	Gauging of 5 Casks wh				50		" W[m] Cash Sen[r] 3/6	29	16	92
"	Drayage of do & goods to the Scow }				25	31	paid Rich[d] Horwell do	29	17	6
"	" One Copper Gall & Lamp			3	50	"	George Gilpin 10 <?>	124	272	62
" 15	" Gauging of 2 Casks Whisk sent A M[c]Kenzie }				25	Feby	" Mount Vernon House	32	17	77
28th	Gauging of 4 B[lls] Wm Billington, Received}				50	" 12	" Wm Billington ¾	88	48	88
	" Yeast one B[ll] from C Cunningham Brewer }			8		"	" Alex[r] McKenzie do	124	68	89

"	Wm Cash Sen^{r} 16/ p B^{ll}		164	87	47	"	" Robert Gordon do	106	58	89
March 4	Mrs Lunon Washington 3/		40 ¼	20	12	15	" Alex^{r} McKenzie do	124	68	89
21	" Gauging 4/ & Drayage <?> of one H^{hd} & 8 B^{lls} Whiskie }			1	42	"	" William Billington do	116 ¾	64	86
						"	" Thomas Barker 3/6	28 ¾	16	76
						22	" Alex^{r} McKenzie ¾	114	63	33
	Ommissions						" Coll^{n} George Gilpin 3/6	138	80	50
	Jany 24 Drayage & Gauging $1.25					March 6	" Coll^{n} George Gilpin do	148 ½	88	29
	Feby 12 Billington 3 Tierces 4					"	" William Billington ¾	180	100	
	22 2 Tierces & B^{lls} 4					"	" Mount Vernon House ¾	31 ½	17	33
	March 10 4 Tierces 5					9	" James Lawson at this date 3/6	5 ½	3	20
	20 1 Do & 1 B^{ll} 2.25			16	50					
March						March 21	" George Gilpin on Com^{n}	117	65	59
22	Benj Higden 4/6	123		92	25	"	" Alex^{r} McKenzie, Cash ¾	125	69	21
30	Thos Claggett & C^{o} do	17½		10	20	"	" William Bartleman ¾	119	66	11
	M^{rs} Sarah Chichester of Corn at 16 p B^{ll} }					25	" Wm Violet, Cash ¾	28	15	55
	603 Bu, but of this a Qty for Mt Vernon }		603	321	60	28	" William Bartleman ¾	108	60	
	Used in the <?> past months					"	" Alexander MacKenzie do	67	37	22
	51 Cords wood 6/			51		"	" Nicolas Kingston do	31	17	22
	To 21 ¼ Bushels Rye 4/ from Geo. Gilpin}	21½		14	16	30	" Thomas & <Jeston> Claygett 3/6	190	115	50
						"	Hugh Violet do	33	19	25
							Carried over and fully 100 Galls on hand	3050¾	$1735	42
		724	1082½	1185	97					
			724							
			1806½							

31st

	Ledger Distillery	Bu	Dn				1799 Contra	G Qty	Cn	
1799	Brought over this amt of Rye & Corn	1806½	1185	97		1799	Brought over	3050¾	1735	42
April 1						April 1	Washington & Barker ¾	29	16	11
May 7	& 15 by John Wood of Rye 3/6	74 ½	55	12		"	Pitt Chichester	30	16	67
	By John F. Marshal do	5	2	92		3	George Gilpin 3/6	106	61	84
	Thos Clagget & Co do	180 ½	105	30		4	James Lawson 3/6	5	2	92
	Benjamin Higden 4/6	77	57	75		"	Robert Garret do	1		58
	Do 3/6	23	13	42		7	John F. Marshal for Rye 3/6	5	2	92
	Muddy Hole of Rye 3/6	55	32	8		10	Washington & Barker ¾	29	16	11
June 7	William A Washington of Corn at p Bu 3/6	713	415	92		10	Mt. Vernon Fishery do	30	16	67
	James Park p do 3/6	595	347	8		18	George Gilpin 3/6	130½	76	12
	To 72 Cords wood used to the end of June 6/	72				19	Alexr McKenzie ¾	54	30	
						20	William Billington do	30	16	67
							Washington & Barker do	30	16	67
	Muddy Hole the Ballance of Crop 1798 3/6}	111½	65	4		23	Do Do do	59	32	77
	River Farm in full of Rye 220½ 3/6	220½	128	46		26	George Gilpin 3/6 do	101	58	92
	Toll Rye do	1½				"	Washington & Barker do	8	4	44
June 28	Thomas Greenfield for ~~Rye~~ whiskie 3/6}	30	17	50		"	James Lawson Ditcher 3/6	2½	1	46
July 23	Isacc McPherson 194 Blls Ship stuff paid in whiskie }		284	58			Mt Vernon Fishery ¾	30	16	67
	Rye in exchange for whiskie 3/6	12½	7	29		28	Josias Browning ¾	10	5	55
						29	George Gilpin 3/9	139	86	88
						30	~~Robert~~ John Green ¾	31	17	22
						May 1	Laurence Hoof D. Distilled 5/6	31	28	42
						2	pd Hancock Lee ¾	30	16	67
							George Gilpin 3/9	62	38	75

	Carried over	3977½	2719	31	

	Hewes & Miller ¾	121	67	21
	~~Roger~~ John Wood Pescataway 3/6	31	18	8
	Molly Mackartey ¾	30	16	67
7	John Gardener Ladd ¾	66	36	67
8	~~Robert~~ John Green Alex^{ria} do	58	32	20
9	Peter Dejean Maryland 3/6	5 ¼	2	98
10	M^{rs} Sarah Chichester ¾	32	17	78
	Wm Bartleman & one B^{ll} do	62 ½	35	55
	James Lawson 3/6	2 ½	1	46
14	Do do	2 ½	1	46
	~~Roger~~ John Wood Piscaty 3/6	57	33	25
15	William Bartleman ¾	?	47	77
"	William Billington do	29	16	12
17	Wm A. Washington ¾	30 ½	16	95
	Carried over	4647	2660	60

32[d]

	Ledger		D[n]			1799		Cn	
	Distillery				1799	Contra			
	Brought over	3977½	$2719	31		Brought over	4647	2660	60
Sept[r] 1	John Thompson 3/6	12 ½	7	29	May 18	Wm A Washington Rectifyed 5/6	30	27	50
	Tobias Lear returned 4/	3	2		"	Wm P Flood Common ¾	14 ½	8	5
	William Cash 3/9	32	20			2 B[lls] 10/ & one half do 3/		2	17
	Daniel Mackartey 3/6	74 ½	43	46	27	James Lawson 2 ½		2	92
	Fielding Lewis	11 ½	7	66	June 7	Do 2 ½ 3/6	5		75
	Thomas Poole Corn 3/	102 ½	51	25		Mrs Lunon Washington 3/6	15	8	
	Dennis Poole do	80	40			& 10 pigs 6/ to Mt. Vernon		10	
						James Anderson one do to his a/c		1	
						Two Shoats $3 each		6	
						John Gardener Ladd ¾	60	33	33
					12	Wm P Flood & Cash 5/ do	30	17	17
						James Park 3/6	557	324	92
						3 Tierces & 13 B[lls] containing the same		17	17
					16	Wm Violet ¾	29	16	11
					17	James Lawson 3/6	2 ½	1	46
					"	Mount Vernon house ¾	33	18	33
					18	Thomas Greefield Maryland 3/6	30	17	51
					25	Tho[s] Diggs Maryland ¾	30	16	67
					29	James Lawson 3/6	2 ½	1	46
						Wm Keating Weaver 3/6	28	16	50
						William Fitzhugh ¾			
						& 2 B[ll] containing the same 6/	60 ½	33	61

						George Gilpin one Tierce one B[ll] 3/6	85 ½	2	
						John Green on B[ll] ¾	27 ½	49	88
						Peter Dejean 15			
					Cash }	Tobias Lear by W 8 ¾	23	15	28
						Blacksmith Natt in pay[t] of an empty B[ll] 1 ½ & Burning Coal ¼	1 ¾	12	78
	Carried over	4293½	$2890	97		Carried over $	5711¾	3321	16

33[d]

	Ledger		Rye	Corn	Dolls	Cts	Date		Whiskie	Dolls	Cts
	Distilery	D[n]					1799	Contra C[n]			
1799	Brought over		4293½		2890	97	June 4	Brought over	5711¾	3321	16
Sepb[r] ?	Muddy Hole	3/6	101½		59	20	to				
Oct 3	River Farm	do	106		61	84	Augt 10	By mowers of Grass ¾	17	9	44
Nov	Union Farm	do	116½		67	96	July	Union Farm Cradlers do	22 ½	12	50
Error	46 <Buy> <Less>						"	Dogue Run Cradlers do	19 ¾	10	97
"	John & Thomas Vowel	4/	35½		23	66	"	Muddy Hole Cradlers do	17 ½	9	72
	Mrs Gray Corn	3/		103	51	50	"	River Farm do do	21	11	66
	William Tripplet Old Corn 4/			31½	21		"	Henry Peake Harvest ¾	10	5	55
25	Thomson Mason Old do 4/			264½	176	16	July 6	John Green do	58	32	22
	Peter Dejean Rye ¾ Corn 3/		22	9	17	21		Robert Gordon do	30	16	66
	Molly Macartey	¾	30	06	16	67	15	George Gilpin do	90 ½	52	79
	John L Marshall	3/6	5		2	92	15	Do do	146 ½	85	31
	M[rs] Lun Washington	4/	114		76		17	John Green do	29	16	11
	William Violet	4/	289 ½		192	84	Augt 6	Capt[n] Henry Bowcock do	15	8	33
	Archibald Morton	3/6	26 ½		15	46		pd Richard Horwell do	29 ½	16	38
Decr 20	Sundries from Maryland in Exchange for Whiskie	3/6	60		35		"	Alex[r] MacKenzie do	148	82	90
23	George Wylie Do	3/6	12 ½		7	29	"	John Green do	29	16	11
	George Gilpin Rye & Storage		22 ½		14	52	16	Robert Gordon do	29	16	11
	Cattlet & Meeks & 2 Bags Seed Corn at 19/9 p B[u] }			200	132	31	19	Isacc McPherson pad[t] flour do	151½	84	16
	Samuel Taylor at 14 & 15 p B[ll] }		76 ½	---	36	66		John Green 2 B[lls] ¾	58	32	22
	Walter McPherson	3/3	31 ½		17	7	Sept[r] 4	" William Billington do	226	125	55
Oct[r] 12					11	64	Sept[r] 4	" Mount Vernon do	34	18	90
								" George Gilpin for Isacc M[c]Pherson flour } ¾	195 ½	108	61
								John Green do	59	32	77

	Thos F Greenfield do	21 ½		4	96	10	Sold John Jenecle for Cash do	72		
24	William Grayson 3/6	8 ½		29	16			32	40	
	Thomas F Marshall 3/6	50				"	Wm Keating to a/c 3/6		18	66
			607¾			"	Wm Hartshorne & Son Rectified} 5/6	32	29	33
	Corn as p Corn Column	607 ¾				17	" James Lawson this date 3/6	33 4	19	24
						"	Robert Garret 3/6	30	2	33
						"	paid Hancocke Lee ¾	30	16	66
						18	Thomas Diggs 3/6		17	50
						27	George Gilpin for Isacc M[c]Pherson} 3/6	155 ¾ 5	86	53
							Peter Dejean 3/6		2	92
	Carried over to page 45 of this Book			3962			Carried over to page 45 of this Book	7542½	4359	81

Ledger Distillery	Grain	D^{n}			1799 Contra		C^{n}	
Brought from page 33	6030½	3962	---	1799	Brought from page 33	7542½	$4359	81
Of which there was thro the Year eat by Hogs, Oxen Sows & Pigs Bu 700				Oct^{r} 3	By John Green whiskie 3/9	100	62	15
				"	" Close Maxwell do do	29 ¾	18	58
				Oct^{r} 15	" M^{rs} Cash paid in money 4/	30	20	---
returned the farms 300				"	" John Green --- --- ---- ---- 4/	131 ½	87	66
Rye to M Lewis 57½				"	" Wiliam Billington 4/	29 ½	19	66
Rye over charged on Union Farms} 46.				--- 20	" John Jenekle Frenchman 3/9	30	18	75
1103½				"	" George Gilpin 3/9	92	57	50
used by the Stills 4927				"	" Abel Wilis --- --- --- --- -- 3/9 in pay^{t} $5 for Raisons	28 ½	17	81
as above of grain 6030½								
Mary Taylor of Corn @ 14/ p B^{ll}	24	11	20	--- 26	" John Jenekle 3/8	58 ½	35	75
Ship Stuff from the Mill of Mount Vernon 4000# 8/p 100# }		26	66	"	" Thomas Smith 3/8	102 ½	62	63
Col^{n} Gilpins Coms^{n} on Sales of whiskie }		27	80	"	" John Green do	31	18	95
Freight of whiskie to Richmond		5	50	"	" Mount Vernon house apple brandy 3/6	67	39	8
To the Farms for the half value of the apple & Peach Brandy }		72	40		Peach brandy 6/	60	60	---
John Anderson Hire & <?>		300	---	"	" William Cash whiskie 3/6 for Rye	32	20	
6 Negroe man & Boys 20 each		400		"	" William Violet do 4/ of better kind	32 ½	21	66
1 Boy <?> Tim		30		Nov^{r} 4	" John Jenekle 3/6	133	77	58
Duty p Year		332	64	"	" Close Maxwell do	32 ½	18	96
Wood since the 1 July 150 Cords $1		150		"	" John Green 3/6	62	36	16
Hops p Year		60		---- 8	" William A. Washington 7 Barrels whiskie 3/6	219	127	75
Candles		30			" Do for 7 new B^{lls} cont^{g} the same	---	7	---
Gauging whiskie since 1 April								

	Grinding of 4000 Bu Grain valued at 3/6 the 1/10th is }		10			Shiped on board Captn <?> Schooner for the Rappahanock			
	Hhds, Tierces & Barrels bought		223	33		Callelet & Meeks 3/6 & 3 Casks 5/ each }			
	repairs of stills		40		13	" John Green 3/5	91	55	58
	Setting up do & Boiler		10	50		" Jas Kincaid 3/5	29 ½	16	79
	Hauling 40 Loads whiskie to market 10/ as always back loads were returned }		6		"	" James Wilkinson 3/6	58	33	2
					"	" Close Maxwell do	31 ¾	18	50
	Maintaining 4 Oxen to Haul wood & repairs of Cart }		66	66	18	" John Green do	28 ¼	17	6
	Cooperage of Mash Tubs and Barrels }		40	---	---	" Alexander MacKenzie do	70	40	84
	Cash paid Negroes at the Christmas Holy days }		20		-----	" Mrs Joseph Cash do	60	35	---
					-----	" Moses Dowdal 3/6	29 ¼	17	6
	6 Brooms for the Distillery		1	16		" William Violet 4	19	11	8
				75	26	Benjamin Higdon 3/6	60	40	---
						Peter Dejean Maryland whiskie 12	30	17	50
					Novr 1	Do ----- 12 ½ all at 3/6			
						and paid in Rye	24 ½'	14	29
		6054½	5826	60		Carried over	9376	5504	16

	Ledger	D^{n}				1799			
	Distillery	Bu Grain				Contra	<?>	$	Cts
	Brought over	6054½	5826	60	1799	Brought over	9376	5504	16
					Nov^{r} 27	By Daniel McCarty apple B 15			
						Do whiskie at Sundrie times 59 ½	742	$43	46
						pd by Rye @ 3/6			
					Dec^{r} 1	Mount Vernon House 3/6	19 ½	11	29
					5	John Green 3/3	60	32	50
					"	Close Maxwell do	29 ¼	15	84
					"	John M^{c}Leod do	48 ½	26	27
					"	Josiah Faxon & Co do	27	14	62
					"	Col^{n} Geo Gilpin 3/6	104	66	66
					11	Charles Jameson 3/4	29 ¾	16	53
					"	John Jenele do	33 ½	18	61
					"	James Wilkinson do	60 ½	33	61
					16	Mount Vernon house ¾	29	16	11
					22	Sundrie people in Maryland in Exchange for Rye 3/6 }	60	35	
					23	George Wylie in Exchange for do	12 ½	7	29
					Dec^{r} 24	Mount Vernon house, to give the Negroes a Christmas Dram }	30	17	50
						Bushrod Washington 5/8 of 4th proof & B^{ll} 6/ }	29 ½	28	4
						Col^{n} Gilpin in full of flour <I> <M^{c}>	9 ½	5	54
					1800				
					Jany 1	On hand in the Distillery 3/6	693	385	---
						On hand of Daniel M^{c}Carty's Rye & Sold Lawrence Lewis 3/6 }		33	34
						George Gilpin 57 ½ <Bu>of apple			

						brandy	58 ½	36	66
						Ommitted			
					Sept[r] 4	By John Thomson for 12 ½ Bu Rye 3/6	12 ½	7	29
						By John F Marshall for Rye 3/6	5	2	92
						By Thos Marshall for Rye 3/6	50	29	16
						By Error in Charting 46 Bu Rye to Union Farm more than came from it }		26	84
						Slope for 21 Cattle 6 mos $3		63	
						do for 10 Calves the same time			
						25 B[lls] Shipstuff for the Horses at Mount Vernon 9/ }		37	50
						169 empty flour Barrels 1/		28	16
						300 Bu Corn used by the Farms from out of the Distillery Corn } 3/6		171	66
						16,000[#] Pork killed $6		960	
	To the neat Proceed of Distillery		1848	66					
	Grain	6054½	$7674	66		Galls	10942	$7674	66
						To neat Proceeds of the Distillery in the Year 1799 recharged		1848	6

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott, W.W., Editor

1998a The Papers of George Washington, Retirement Series, Vol. 1. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

1998b The Papers of George Washington, Retirement Series, Vol. 2. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

1999 Papers of George Washington, Retirement Series, Vol. 4. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Atkins, Stephen Charles

1994 An Archaeological Perspective on the African-American Slave Diet at Mount Vernon's House for Families, Thesis for Master of the Arts to Department of Anthropology. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Cancian, Frank

1989 Economic Behavior in Peasant Communities. In Economic Anthropology, edited by S. Plattner, pp. 127-170. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Doerflinger, Thomas M.

1986 A Vigorous Spirit of Enterprise: Merchants and Economic Development in Revolutionary Philadelphia. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

1988 Farmers and Dry Goods in the Philadelphia Market Area, 1750-1800. In The Economy of Early America: The Revolutionary Period, 1763-1790, edited by R. Hoffman, J.J. McCusker, R.R. Menard and P.J. Albert, pp. 166-195. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Fitzpatrick, John C., Editor

1931 The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 3 (January, 1770 – September, 1775), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1939a The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 29 (September 1, 1786 – June 19, 1788), U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1939b The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 32 (March 10, 1792 – June 30, 1793). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1940a The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 33 (July 1, 1793 – October 9, 1794). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1940b The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 34 (October 11, 1794 – March 29, 1796). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941a The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 36 (August 4, 1797 – October 28, 1798). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

1941b The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745-1799. Vol. 37 (November 1, 1798 – December 13, 1799). U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.

Fusonie, Alan and Donna Jean

1998 George Washington: Pioneer Farmer. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia

Gunston Hall Plantation

2000 George Mason's Plantations and Landholdings.

Hall, Harrison

1818 The Distiller. J. Bioren, Printer, Philadelphia.

Isaac, Rhys

1982 The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Jackson, Donald and Dorothy Twohig, Editors

1976 The Diaries George Washington, 1766-1770, Vol. 2. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

1978 The Diaries of George Washington, 1771-1775, Vol. 3. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

Kamoie, Laura Croghan

1999 Three Generations of Planter-Businessmen: The Tayloes, Slave Labor, and Entrepreneurialism in Virginia, 1710-1830. Unpublished dissertation. The College of William and Mary.

2000 Diversification and Entrepreneurship in the Colonial South: Reassessing the Transformative Nature of the American Revolution. Paper presented to The Library Company of Philadelphia Program in Early American Economy and Society: Inaugural Conference.

Kulikoff, Allan
1986 Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

McMillan, Barbara
2001 Personal Communication

Miller, T. Michael
1991 Artisans and Merchants of Alexandria, Virginia 1780-1820. Heritage Books, Inc., Bowie, Maryland.

Mitchell, Beth
1987 Fairfax County, Virginia in 1760: An Interpretive Historical Map. Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, Virginia.

Mount Vernon Farm Ledger
1797-1798 Unpublished transcription by B. Alexander (2001)
1797-1801 Unpublished transcription by A. Anderson (2001)

Plattner, Stuart, Editor
1989 Economic Anthropology. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

Pogue, Dennis J.
1996 Blacksmithing at George Washington's Mount Vernon: 1755-1800. Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine. Volume XLVI (46), No. 1, pp 5379-5395

Ragsdale, Bruce A.
1996 A Planter's Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia. Madison House Publishers, Madison, Wisconsin.

Redfield, Robert
1955 The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.
1956 Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Redfield, Robert and Alfonso Villa Rojas
1967 Chan Kom: A Maya Village. Phoenix Books, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Rorabaugh, W.J.
1979 The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition. Oxford University Press, New York.

Roseberry, William
1989 Peasants and the World. In Economic Anthropology, edited by S. Plattner, pp. 108-126. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.

White, Esther C.
2000 Memorandum to King Laughlin re: Distillery Comparison. (Date: May 19, 2000)
2001 Personal Communication

White, Esther C. and Christy E. Leeson
1999 Results of Phase I and Phase II Archaeological Investigations at Washington's Mill Historical State Park (44FX2262). Mount Vernon Archaeology File Report No. 6. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

VITA

Anna Catherine Borden Anderson

The author was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 17, 1971. She graduated from St. Agnes School in Alexandria, Virginia, in June 1988. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology from Bryn Mawr College in May 1992. She entered the graduate program in Historical Archaeology, Department of Anthropology, The College of William and Mary in 1994.