The revolution before the Revolution?
A Material Culture Approach to Consumerism at George Washington's Mount Vernon, VA

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Eleanor E. Breen
December 2013

Copyright © 2013 by Eleanor Breen.
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to celebrate the numerous people and institutions who contributed to this dissertation beginning with my committee members. The possibility of studying with Dr. Barbara Heath, my committee chair, compelled me to take the PhD plunge. She is a consummate field archaeologist, material culture specialist, historian, and anthropologist and every aspect of my professional development has improved by working with her. She carefully helped to craft my research and writing and inspired my thinking on Mount Vernon's enslaved community while supporting the development of independent work. Dr. David Anderson, who needs no introduction, provided the encouragement I needed to persevere though the dissertation process and offered salient comments and questions along the way. Dr. Elizabeth Kellar's work with enslaved communities in the Caribbean expanded my view of the application of material culture theory in archaeology and her editorial contributions to the final dissertation product are significant. Everyone should have an English professor on their committee for obvious reasons. Dr. Katy Chiles also offered sage advice about finding a balance between nurturing a dissertation and a baby and introduced me to works that had profound influence on how I conceived of broad processes of culture change.

Nestled in the cozy confines of the football stadium, the UTK Anthropology Department has assembled an inspirational group of applied cultural anthropologists and biological and anthropological archaeologists and I am proud to be disciplinarily related to these scholars. I am also grateful to members of UTK's historical archaeology cohort (especially Kimberly Pyszka) and its affiliates (especially Kari Saylor Smith) who made moments of coursework and prelim prep more than just bearable. Outside the department, Dr. Robert Morrissey's history seminars facilitated and expanded the development of my historiography.

Informal committee members and work/life mentors Drs. Dennis “Buddy, Buddy” Pogue and Esther “Smart Girl Scientist” White have gone out of their way to provide the foundation for, encourage, support, and challenge my research and career trajectory and this dissertation truly could not have happened without them. The lessons I have learned and continued to learn from them – variously taught at the bottom of wells, back of conference hotel bars, or inside minivans on the way to Bardstown, KY – make me the professional archaeologist I am today.

Members of the greater Mount Vernon Archaeology community (volunteers, interns, and staff) generously devoted their time, mental energy, and special talents to my research including Betsy Alexander, Becky Garber, Michele Lee, Luke Pecoraro, Karen Price, and Mary Thompson. Wendy Miervaldis made major contributions to the statistical components of this dissertation and proves that archaeology is a discipline that benefits greatly from volunteers of all walks of life.

UTK provided financial support for my coursework. Additionally, the Archeological Society of Virginia, through the Sandra Speiden Scholarship, provided funding early on in the process and the Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association did so in the later stages through a pre-doctoral fellowship.

Jillian Galle, Fraser Neiman, Derek Wheeler, and the DAACS staff generously devoted hours to database training and support and object table design and development that made data collection and analysis possible. Monticello provided housing during this work.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their unflagging support. I owe my parents an enormous debt of gratitude to which I know they will say, “That’s just what the Breen family does.” Denis Breen, my full time dad and part-time research assistant, edited many early drafts and eagerly answered my statistical inquiries on time and on budget. Margaret Breen is the most

tireless, positive, and enthusiastic cheerleader (mom) that I have ever heard of. Ike Wardian helped this dissertation come to completion in ways he will never know. Matthew Wardian knows well all the ways he helped me during this process, reminding me why “we shall stick by each other as long as we live.”

ABSTRACT

Before the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) profoundly impacted the lives of colonial Americans, another revolution of sorts was taking place. This one occurred in the realm of the daily lives of all colonial Americans – free and enslaved, poor and wealthy. What made the 40-year period before the American Revolution unique was that access to consumer goods appears to have opened up for large segments of the colonial population through a more sophisticated and far-reaching system of distribution for imported items. But just how equal was this access? What can be learned about colonial culture and the maintenance of power relationships if this issue of equality of access to the material world is thoroughly and systematically investigated? This dissertation begins most simply with the question, what comprised the world of goods for individuals living in the upper Chesapeake region in the decades before the American Revolution? The research then progresses towards a set of questions that penetrates issues of power and access inherent in material culture. How was this world of goods different for individuals of separate socio-economic and racial categories? Why did individuals like George Washington maintain a commitment to the consignment system when stores offered the ease and convenience of local shopping? Who had access to which objects and what implications did this have for how material culture was employed or deployed towards the maintenance or destabilization of the colonial social order? I triangulate between three primary sources – Washington's orders to and invoices from his agents in England; the store inventories from a local Scottish-owned retail outlet; and the archaeological record at Mount Vernon – to address these questions using a material culture approach that draws upon these compatible datasets on historical consumerism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: Introduction 1
George Washington: Founder, Father, Consumer 7
Statement of Purpose 10
Significance.....12
Approach and Units of Analysis 17
Organization 22

CHAPTER 2: Material Culture Studies and Consumerism.....24
The Changing Landscape of Material Culture Theory 24

CHAPTER 3: Consumerism and the Chesapeake 41
Comparative Consumer Motivations 42
Materiality of Motivation.....65
Development of the Consumer Economy 70
Forms of Eighteenth-Century Commodity Exchange.....73
Conclusion 90

CHAPTER 4: The Development of the Upper Chesapeake Region through 1775 92
Regional Development.....92
Washington Families 107
Mount Vernon's Changing Landscape and Architecture.....123
The Enslaved Community's Mount Vernon 135
Conclusion 161

CHAPTER 5: George Washington's Invoices and Orders 163
Compiling the Dataset.....164
Summary of the Dataset.....172
Category and Subcategory Analysis 181
George Washington's Factors and Vendors 187
Fee Analysis.....193
Conclusion 197

CHAPTER 6: Alexander Henderson's Colchester Schemes of Goods 199
Compiling the Dataset.....200
Summary of the Dataset.....212
Category and Subcategory Analysis 216
Comments 222
Conclusion 224

CHAPTER 7: The Materiality of Access, The Constraints of Choice 226
Archaeology at Mount Vernon 227
Compiling the Database.....237
Developing the Dataset 241
Revealing Consumerism through a Material Culture Approach.....244

Conclusion 340

CHAPTER 8: Conclusion 349

LIST OF REFERENCES 358

APPENDIX 391

VITA 436

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1-1. Brief timeline of domestic events occurring at Mount Vernon, ca. 1735-1775 19

Table 2-1. Moments in material culture history through 2011 27

Table 3-1. Systematic studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century consumerism 66

Table 3-2. Transcription of the inventory of house furniture bought by George Washington from Colonel Fairfax's Belvoir estate auction, August 15, 1774 86

Table 3-3. List of goods purchased by George Washington from John Posey, October 2, 1767 87

Table 4-1. Counties encompassing Fairfax before its creation 93

Table 4-2. Demographic makeup of Lawrence Washington's enslaved community sorted on sex and age category 101

Table 4-3. Washington family genealogy and ownership history on Mount Vernon Neck 108

Table 4-4. Slave purchases recorded in George Washington's Ledger A 121

Table 4-5. Historical creolization model for the Madison slave community, 1720s-1850s (Chambers 2005:98-99) 138

Table 4-6. Importation of slaves to the upper Potomac Region, ca. 1735-1775, broken down by household 144

Table 4-7. Importation of slaves to the upper Potomac region, ca. 1735-1775, Aggregated 147

Table 4-8. Documents with citations pertaining to Mount Vernon's early enslaved community 152

Table 4-9. Fields and descriptions recorded in the Mount Vernon slave dataset 153

Table 5-1. List of George Washington's orders for goods and corresponding invoices 167

Table 5-2. Data entry fields for the Invoices and Orders Project 171

Table 5-3. Breakdown of individual invoices totals and invoices totals per year 179

Table 5-4. Frequency of categories of goods 182

Table 5-5. Frequency of subcategories of goods 184

Table 5-6. List of George Washington's agents by year 188

Table 5-7. Documented wait times experienced by George Washington.....191

Table 6-1. List of the schemes of goods entered into the catalogue, the date they were recorded in the letterbook, and the year Henderson intended to have the inventory stocked in his Colchester store (also the designation in the dataset).....201

Table 6-2. Foodways-related items transacted at Henderson's Colchester store from 1766 to 1768 (from Walsh et al. 1997:291) and their presence in the schemes of goods 204

Table 6-3. Land ownership distribution for Henderson's Fairfax County clients from 1760 to 1761 (from Reber 2003:23, table 1).....205

Table 6-4. Data entry fields for the Scheme of Goods Project 209

Table 6-5. Value of merchandise ordered by Henderson 215

Table 6-6. Frequency of categories of goods.....217

Table 6-7. Frequency of subcategories of goods 219

Table 7-1. Phasing the South Grove Midden.....233

Table 7-2. Phasing the House for Families.....236

Table 7-3. Ceramic dates for the South Grove Midden phases 240

Table 7-4. Ceramic dates for the House for Families phases 240

Table 7-5. Pipe stem dates for the South Grove Midden and the House for Families.....240

Table 7-6. George Washington's orders for table services, pre-1775 247

Table 7-7. Comparison of total tableware vessel forms by ware type ordered by George Washington (green) and Alexander Henderson (blue) in descending order 251

Table 7-8. George Washington's Purchases of Punch Bowls, pre-1775 257

Table 7-9. Estimating punch bowl capacity in the archaeological record 265

Table 7-10. Capacity estimates for mugs from the South Grove Midden 270

Table 7-11. Ceramic mugs sent to George Washington, pre-1775.....270

Table 7-12. Mugs stocked by Alexander Henderson.....271

Table 7-13. Buckles from the South Grove Midden.....283

Table 7-14. Buckles from George Washington's invoices and orders 284

Table 7-15. Buckles ordered for Alexander Henderson's store.....284

Table 7-16. Identifiable clothing buckles from the House for Families slave quarter 287

Table 7-17. Breakdown of bead color from the South Grove Midden and the House for Families 298

Table 7-18. Lawrence Washington's library at the time of his death (book size in bold) 308

Table 7-19. George Washington's charges for books (book size in bold).....310

Table 7-20. Books stocked by Alexander Henderson (book size in bold).....313

Table 7-21. Shot descriptions, diameters, and common names (Hanson 2001), linked to the South Grove Midden shot assemblage and period documentary references 326

Table 7-22. Pins types manufacture in France, ca. 1761 (Réaumur 1761).....329

Table 7-23. K-means cluster analysis on the South Grove Midden pin assemblage.....333

Table 7-24. Types of straight pins ordered by George Washington 334

Table 7-25. Pins ordered by Alexander Henderson for his store in Colchester.....336

Table 7-26. K-means cluster analysis on the House for Families pin assemblage.....337

Table A-1. A transcription of the inventory of the estate of Lawrence Washington appraised by the subscribers March 7 and 8, 1753 (Washington 1753) 392

Table A-2. Items and assigned categories and subcategories in George Washington's invoices and orders 405

Table A-3. Items and assigned categories and subcategories in Alexander

Henderson's schemes of goods 423

Table A-4. Books owned by George Washington at Mount Vernon before 1775 431

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-1. George Washington's first known order for goods placed to Richard Washington in 1755 2

Figure 1-2. Eighteenth-century denier gauge excavated from the South Grove Midden site (44FX762/17) made of copper alloy and glass with two iron pins 5

Figure 1-3. "The George Washington Look for the Ladies" inspired by his Revolutionary War uniform. 9

Figure 1-4. The Chesapeake Bay region today 14

Figure 1-5. The Upper Chesapeake region today 16

Figure 4-1. Elements of the Mount Vernon neighborhood ca. 1749 96

Figure 4-2. Numbers of enslaved individuals entering the upper Potomac region by decade 105

Figure 4-3. Mount Vernon Neck with the approximate location of Spencer/ Washington dividing line, ca. 1690 109

Figure 4-4. Household change by year, 1735-1775 113

Figure 4-5. Seating chart, Pohick Church, ca. 1770 119

Figure 4-6. Layout of Mount Vernon homelot ca. 1758 125

Figure 4-7. Layout of Mount Vernon's homelot, ca. 1775 131

Figure 4-8. Layout of Mount Vernon's homelot, ca. 1793 134

Figure 5-1. Number of items invoiced per year 174

Figure 5-2. Number of items ordered and invoiced per year 175

Figure 5-3. Number of items ordered per year 177

Figure 5-4. Relative invoice totals per year 179

Figure 5-5. Top most frequently ordered categories by year 183

Figure 5-6. Portion of the total invoice made up of packaging fees 196

Figure 5-7. Portion of the total invoice made up of shipping charges 197

Figure 6-1. Number of items ordered per year 215

Figure 6-2. Minimum value of merchandise ordered by the year Henderson intended to have the inventory stocked with estimates for 1763 and 1765 216

Figure 6-3. Top most frequently ordered categories by year.....218

Figure 6-4. Side by side top category comparison of George Washington's invoices and orders (left) and Henderson's schemes of goods (right) 221

Figure 6-5. Side by side top subcategory comparison of George Washington's invoices and orders (left) and Henderson's schemes of goods (right).....221

Figure 7-1. Locations of the House for Families slave quarter (left red "x") and the South Grove Midden (right red "x") on the plan of Mount Vernon drawn by Samuel Vaughan, 1787. 229

Figure 7-2. Plan view of the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17) post-excavation.....230

Figure 7-3. Plan view of the House for Families (44FX762/40&47) cellar 235

Figure 7-4. Two sets of porcelain plates excavated from the midden (left: later Flower Basket pattern; right: earlier Grape, Bamboo, and Squirrel pattern).....248

Figure 7-5. Alexander Henderson's orders for tea and tablewares by ware type 249

Figure 7-6. "The catch singers," publications attributed to Robert Sayer, second half of the eighteenth century 258

Figure 7-7. "Glee singers executing a catch," drawn by Robert Dighton, second half of the eighteenth century 259

Figure 7-8. An assortment of linked buttons from the House for Families 280

Figure 7-9. Buckles from the House for Families (left, 1007-40BB-WTS--00082; right, 1007-47K-FLT--00053) 287

Figure 7-10. Carved bone fan blades excavated from the South Grove Midden (left) and the House for Families (right) 291

Figure 7-11. Histogram of beads by length from the South Grove Midden 297

Figure 7-12. Histogram of beads by length from the House for Families 298

Figure 7-13. George Washington's monogram as engraved on a scabbard mount

fragment (left) and the butt end of a hunting whip (right) 301

Figure 7- 14. Objects marked with George Washington's name, coat of arms and/or monogram from the earliest known date of occurrence to his death in 1799 304

Figure 7-15. Washington family crest as seen on a bookplate, 1783 305

Figure 7-16. Subject to book title ratio represented in the libraries of Lawrence and George Washington and for sale in the Colchester store 316

Figure 7-17. Diameter of tacks excavated from the South Grove Midden 323

Figure 7-18. Scatterplot of straight pin measurements from the South Grove Midden 332

Figure 7-19. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the South Grove Midden 332

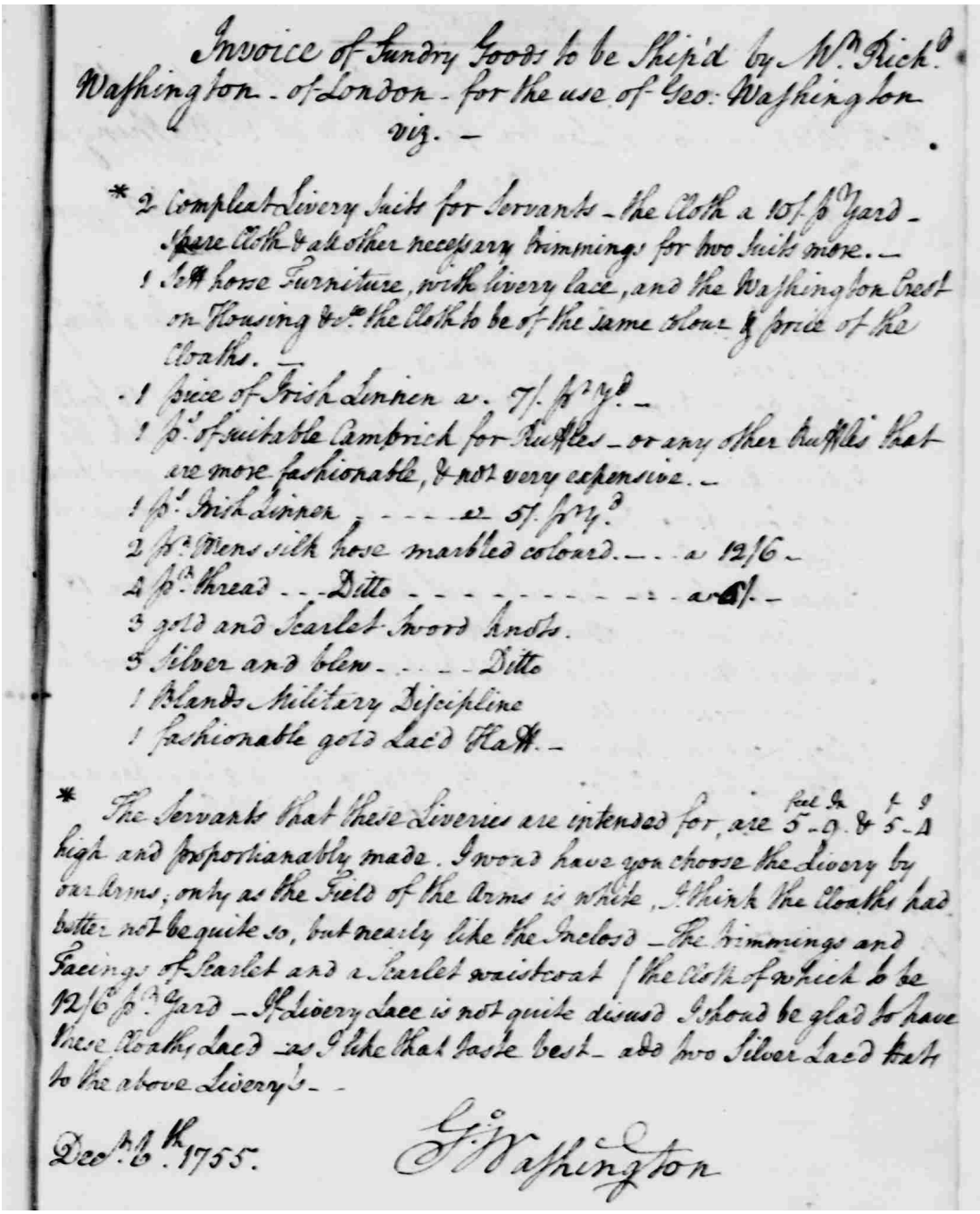
Figure 7-20. George Washington's orders for straight pins 334

Figure 7-21. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the House for Families 337

Figure 7-22. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the Fairfield Quarter 338

Chapter 1: Introduction

On a winter day before Christmas in 1755, a young George Washington sat down in his new home called Mount Vernon and penned a letter to a tobacco agent in London, England, a man by the name of Richard Washington. The letter dispensed with introductions and platitudes, for which George Washington subsequently apologized, and instead got right down to business. George Washington informed the agent that three hogsheads of tobacco were London bound and that he hoped Richard Washington would sell them for a most favorable price (Abbot 1983[2]:207-208). Enclosed in this correspondence was a list of goods (Figure 1-1) which he asked Richard Washington to buy using the credit from the sale of the tobacco "with this only desire, that you will choose agreeable to the present taste, and send things good of their kind" (Abbot 1983[2]:207-208). Among the goods that George Washington ordered were two complete suits of livery bearing the Washington family coat of arms to be worn by his attendants in the French and Indian War (Cadou 2006:27-28). The return invoice dated four months later shows that George Washington owed £70 for these "sundries," roughly equal to over $4000 in the year 2000 (Crews 2002). This correspondence represents our earliest documentation of an order and matched invoice recording George Washington's participation in the consignment system – the primary method through which plantation owners who grew tobacco on a large scale accessed the world of consumer goods in the eighteenth century by selling their crops for credit.



Invoice of Sundry Goods to be Ship'd by Mr. Richd. Washington - of London - for the use of Geo: Washington viz. -

* 2 Compleat Livery Suits for Servants - the Cloth a 10/. pr. Yard - Spare Cloth & all other necessary trimmings for two Suits more. -
1 Sett horse Furniture, with livery lace, and the Washington Crest on Housing &c. the Cloth to be of the same colour & price of the Cloaths. -
1 piece of Irish Linnen a. 7/. pr. Yd. -
1 pr. of suitable Cambrick for Ruffles - or any other Ruffles that are more fashionable, & not very expensive. -
1 pr. Irish Linnen - - - - a 5/. pr. Yd.
2 pr. Mens silk hose marbled colourd. - - - a 12/6 -
4 pr. thread - - Ditto - - - - - - - - - - - a 6/. -
3 gold and Scarlet Sword knots.
3 Silver and blew - - - - Ditto
1 Blands Military Discipline
1 fashionable gold Lacd Hatt. -

* The Servants that these Liveries are intended for, are 5 feet 9 In. & 5 f. 4 I. high and proportianably made. I woud have you choose the Livery by our Arms; only as the Field of the Arms is white, I think the Cloaths had better not be quite so, but nearly like the Inclosd - The trimmings and Facings of Scarlet and a Scarlet waistcoat (the Cloth of which to be 12/6 pr. Yard - If Livery Lace is not quite disusd I shoud be glad to have these Cloaths Lacd - as I like that taste best - add two Silver Lacd hats to the above Livery's - -

Decr. 6th. 1755. G. Washington

Figure 1-1. George Washington's first known order for goods placed to Richard Washington in 1755. (Courtesy of the Library of Congress.)

Just four years later, George Washington resigned from military service and committed himself to the pursuits of a planter. At this time another act of consumerism occurred, this one about 20 miles down the road from Mount Vernon in a bustling tobacco town on the upper Potomac River called Dumfries, Virginia. On a spring day after Easter in 1759, an enslaved individual named Juby entered the store of merchant Daniel Payne and purchased 15 bars of iron weighing 506 pounds for £8.8.8, roughly equal to over $500 in the year 2000 (Crews 2000; Hamrick and Hamrick 2007:10) . The name "Negro Juby" appeared under the account of Colonel George Washington, an infrequent customer of Payne's Dumfries store as indicated by only two purchases made there over a six-year period (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007). While Washington bought the bulk of his goods via the consignment system, a rapidly developing local retail trade could have met some consumer needs as they arose (Carr and Walsh 1994). Juby was not the only enslaved individual sent to the Dumfries store on owners' errands (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007; Martin 2008). Documentation from other local stores suggests that slaves were also beginning to enter the marketplace on their own behalf.

These acts of consumerism undertaken by George Washington and Juby in this bifurcated system of trade exemplify the development of a movement called the "consumer revolution," wherein access to goods appears to have opened up to large segments of the colonial population, in part fueling an increase in the quantities and varieties of goods flowing throughout the Atlantic World (Reber 2003). For men like George Washington, and his elder half-brother Lawrence, conforming to a code of refined, genteel behavior was central to their sense of self and crucial to how they presented themselves to the world. Among the ways that the Washingtons and their peers demonstrated their refinement and respectability was by acquiring and displaying a wide range of fashionable household goods, building architecturally ambitious

houses, creating elaborately modified landscapes, and knowing and following the rules for proper behavior appropriate to such settings. These displays are visible over two centuries later in the architectural and documentary records and in material survivals that conform to a colonial elite planter aesthetic called "high-style vernacular" (Sweeney 1994).

Artifacts excavated from the soil layers at Mount Vernon, George Washington's home plantation, give us pause to consider how he and other elite planters afforded this burgeoning genteel lifestyle. A singular artifact called a denier gauge, a small magnifying glass that counted threads per quarter inch of cloth, focuses our attention on the enslaved men and women upon whose labor refined styles of life were based (Figure 1-2). At the beginning of George Washington's tenure at Mount Vernon in 1754, he was the master of approximately 30 Africans and Afro-Virginians, a community whose numbers would increase to over 300 at the time of his death in 1799. These enslaved individuals worked for the profit of their owner by plowing the fields, forging the iron, cooking the meals, and weaving the cloth – the quality of which was measured and controlled by Martha Washington using the denier gauge. Enslaved communities in the eighteenth century were inextricably linked to and even "a product of the consumer revolution" themselves as "they performed work that augmented amenities – the superfluous material investments made by their owners – and they became part of the machinery of the fashionable house" (Kern 2010:75) But in their spare time, Washington's weavers, among other laborers, tended garden plots, raised chickens, and ventured to the bustling Sunday market in Alexandria to socialize, barter, trade, and buy (Thompson 2001). Not only were they a product of but also a participant in this consumer revolution.

Figure 1-2. Eighteenth-century denier gauge excavated from the South Grove Midden site (44FX762/17) made of copper alloy and glass with two iron pins. Square opening measures ¼" inch. (Photo by Mount Vernon Preservation; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

Without consumer goods, cultural anthropologist Grant McCracken (1988:xi) argues, "the modern world would almost completely come undone." Historian Cary Carson (1994:494) observes that "something new was in the air" when a man no longer judged his neighbor by the number of cattle in his pasture, "but the cut of his coat or the fashionableness of his wife's tea table." In fact, as early as 1748, a 16-year-old George Washington took time to record in his journal his preference for stylish clothing (Detweiler 1982:17). Living on another plantation on the eve of the American Revolution, at considerable distance west of Virginia's coastal region, a slave named Suckey bought for herself one looking glass and one ribbon for which she bartered four pounds of cotton seed (Martin 2008:173). As a growing body of documentary and archaeological data show, free white men were not the only participants in this revolution of sorts (Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2004; Morgan 1998; Martin 2008; Galle 2010).

Explanations for when, why, and how extensively a transformation in buying and using goods occurred remain the subject of considerable debate, but this notion that a "consumer

revolution" swept through colonial America in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries continues to capture the attention of material culture specialists from multiple disciplines (for example, Bushman 1992; Carson 1994; McCracken 1988; Butler 2000; Galle 2010). It is within this compelling interdisciplinary intersection of research on consumerism that I situate my study. Understanding the specific contours of this macro-historical event and how it affected the lives of plantation dwellers of all classes and races is a significant research problem for those studying early America and one that has implications for critiquing and illuminating our modern consumer culture. This dissertation pursues a multi-scalar study of the consumer revolution during the watershed years of ca. 1740 through 1775 by utilizing a material culture approach. This is an "age of" narrative that intensively focuses on a single period to more thoroughly understand the consumer transition.

While the specifics of the consumer revolution continue to be debated, archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, and historians over the years have, at least, converged on one theory of material culture: that artifacts, objects, and goods played and continue to play an active role in identity formation, self-conceptualization, and even historical change (Beaudry et al. 1991; McCracken 1988; Howson 1990; Breen 2004; Kellar 2004; Martin 2008; Voss 2008; Wilkie 2010). Material culture is powerful and transformative. To some, material culture is fundamental to the definition of historical archaeology. "Historical archaeology is a practice which recognises that artifacts and texts are more than just sources of evidence about the past [sic]; that they had efficacy in the past; and which seeks to determine the ways in which they were used in the construction of social relationships and identities in historically specific circumstances" (Moreland 2001:111). This theoretical stance frames this dissertation.

George Washington: Founder, Father, Consumer

Just as our world today would come undone without the ability to communicate through consumer goods, the same could be said for the pre-Revolutionary Chesapeake with George Washington often serving as the exemplar. Arguably the most commonly referenced statement written by Washington in regards to the consumer revolution reads, "And you may believe me when I tell you that instead of getting things good and fashionable in their several kinds we often have Articles sent Us that could only have been usd by our Forefathers in the days of yore" (Ford 1900:120; McClellan 1904:327; Coulter 1945:303; Ragsdale 1989:148; Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:56; McWilliams 2005:215; Ayers et al. 2009:108; Yokota 2011:90; Manca 2012:190). With the frequency of citations like this, Washington has entered our scholarly and even popular consciousness not only as founding father, but as the embodiment of eighteenth-century consumerism, gentility, and style.

In fact, George Washington's use of and relationship to material culture appears anecdotally excerpted in nearly every study of the eighteenth-century consumer revolution to such an extent that he has morphed from example to archetype (Bushman 1992; Brewer and Porter 1993; Martin 1993, 2008; Breen 1994, 2004; Carson et al.1994; Butler 2000; Styles and Vickery 2006; Yokota 2011). In the historiography of colonial material culture, George Washington often ushers in new chapters, enters at the crescendos of tightly woven arguments, and closes essays with a perfectly timed quote. By reviewing the literature written by historians and material culture specialists, a few recurring themes emerge that speak to the ways in which the documentary evidence by and about George Washington is commonly employed.

First, there is George Washington as arbiter of style and manners (Bushman 1992). In his extensive treatment of gentility as it emerged through the process of refinement, Richard

Bushman (1992) recounts multiple episodes in which the future president offers critiques on displays of gentility or lack thereof, for achieving true refinement was nothing without social commentary. Washington makes note in his journal of one particular ball he attended in Alexandria in the 1760s where guests used handkerchiefs in the place of napkins, the coffee and tea was so poorly brewed as to taste like nothing more than sweet water, and the foodstuffs did not vary much beyond plentiful amounts of bread and butter, leading Washington to dub the event the "Bread and Butter Ball" (Bushman 1992:56).

Secondly, George Washington appears in histories of the consumer revolution as a savvy manipulator of material culture (Butler 2000; Brekke 2006; Cadou 2006; Manca 2012). In the introduction of her article on masculinity, politics, and clothing, Linzy Brekke (2006) chronicles the drama surrounding George Washington's choice of a suit of clothing appropriate for his first inauguration in 1789. Despite the inferior quality of locally manufactured cloth, "at the most significant political event in the new nation's history, Washington appeared in a second-rate suit, opting for modesty and local manufacture over grandeur and fine imports" (Brekke 2006:228). Brekke interprets this choice as a symbolic, "shrewd political calculation" (Brekke 2006:225).

Finally, and most commonly, is Washington's role in the consumer revolution as archetype of gentility (Bushman 1992; Sweeney 1994; Breen 2004; Yokota 2011). George Washington features prominently in Kevin Sweeny's (1994) article that argues for the development of a home-grown, yet metropolitan-derived aesthetic that he calls, "high-style vernacular." Sweeney specifically draws on the architectural emblem of the Mount Vernon mansion to bolster his contention. Mount Vernon, as the domestic face of George Washington, represents to Sweeney that juxtaposition between ideal and reality or fashionable Georgian-style

architecture reinterpreted in the colonies. Aesthetic ideal meets local conditions, the effects of which Sweeney sees resonating in material forms from architecture to furniture.

The notion of George Washington as archetype of gentility, style, and taste has unsurprisingly entered modern popular culture, as seen in a 2001 *Forbes* magazine article on Washington as "fashion plate" (Rohleder 2001) and in the blogosphere. Washington, as "America's First Fashion Icon," graces the virtual pages of one fashion writer's blog called "History's Best Dressed" (History's Best Dressed 2011). She even offers followers an answer to their question, "how can I get George Washington's look?" (Figure 1-3).

Figure 1-3. "The George Washington Look for the Ladies" inspired by his Revolutionary War uniform. (Courtesy of History's Best Dressed Blog.)

These explanatory, narrative devices serve to illuminate and capture the interest and attention of readers in a way that purely analytical, statistical approaches cannot. However, by perpetuating this narrative approach to eighteenth-century material culture (Stone 1979), a vast and diverse body of data – archaeological and historical – pertaining to George Washington has been ignored, one that can more completely penetrate the contours of consumerism in this period. There is more to be learned about the social world that Washington inhabited through the application of a systematic, anthropologically-derived material culture analysis based on the voluminous primary documentation of his participation in the consignment system (beyond his common complaints to English factors), the rich and robust archaeological remains of these consumer behaviors, and even in the extensive holdings in Mount Vernon's museum collections. By contextualizing these datasets with information on what the common consumer had access to at his or her local store, a data-rich study of comparative consumerism can take place.

Statement of Purpose

Despite the sustained scholarly interest in consumerism and the consumer revolution that occurred in the eighteenth-century Atlantic World, what is lacking is an examination of the event from the diverse perspectives of the participants that utilizes multiple avenues of material culture evidence, which, though not comparable, are compatible. What makes the 40-year period before the American Revolution unique is that access to consumer goods appears to have opened up for larger segments of the colonial population through a more sophisticated and far-reaching system of distribution for imported items (Carr and Walsh 1994). But just how equal was this access? What can be learned about colonial culture and the maintenance of power relationships if this issue of equality of access to the material world is thoroughly and systematically investigated? This dissertation begins most simply with the question, *what comprised the world of goods for*

individuals living in the upper Chesapeake region in the decades before the American Revolution? The research then progresses towards a set of questions that penetrates issues of power and access inherent in material culture. *How was this world of goods different for individuals of separate socio-economic and racial categories? Why did individuals like George Washington maintain a commitment to the consignment system when stores offered the ease and convenience of local shopping? Who had access to which objects and what implications did this have for how material culture was employed or deployed towards the maintenance or destabilization of the colonial social order?* I triangulate between three primary sources: Washington's orders to and invoices from his agents in England; the store inventories from a local Scottish-owned retail outlet; and the archaeological record at Mount Vernon to answer these questions. I hypothesize that this triumvirate of sources will support the theory that the period 1740 to 1775 was truly a revolution of consumerism among all levels of society, but also that this was not a revolution in the democratic sense. Differential and controlled access to certain goods, sometimes in the most subtle yet recognizable ways, remained the purview of elite planters striving to preserve the exclusive domain of gentility. However, non-elites had avenues of access to goods all their own that allowed for the development of an altogether different material repertoire through which these individuals created communities and expressed identities.

By acknowledging the unmistakable economic realities of colonial America, we would assume that the material worlds of George Washington and Juby would have been visually striking in their contrast. But excavation after excavation, and store ledger entry after store ledger entry reveals a remarkably similar, nearly indistinguishable assemblage of portable material culture utilized by wealthy, middling, and poor whites, and house and field slaves. However, I

propose that the interdisciplinary intersection of these three sources, approached systematically and analytically, will illuminate material differences that have previously gone unrecognized.

Significance

The literature – archaeological, historical, and anthropological – on consumerism in colonial American is extensive and mature. Nevertheless, this research seeks to make original contributions to the field through the analytical, chronological, and regional approaches to these unique datasets.

The core of this dissertation research is undertaken utilizing a material culture analytical approach that seeks to incorporate multi-disciplinary bodies of data to accomplish a more holistic and complete understanding of consumerism in the mid-eighteenth century upper Chesapeake region. This unique approach will bring to bear multiple sources of available evidence on the consumer revolution while additionally serving as a lens through which we might better illuminate avenues of access to categories of goods. Most studies of the consumer revolution to date resulted from the compilation and analysis of data on consumerism recorded in the probate inventories of the deceased. Despite their inherent biases (see Pogue 1993, 1997 and Veech 1998 for discussions), probate inventories have allowed historians (Kulikoff 1986, Carr and Walsh 1994, for example) and archaeologists (Shackel 1992, Bell 2000, for example) to gain a fuller, diachronic, and even comparative picture of a lifetime of household consumption and wealth accumulation, and trends developing in the consumer revolution. While these studies have formed the foundation of the argument that a transformation in the material lives of colonists did in fact occur at multiple levels of society, by limiting research to this singular dataset, it becomes difficult to illuminate the totality of this revolution and the implications of its disparity. Through the approach that I propose, the archaeological record will form the core dataset of consumer

activity, with George Washington's orders for goods to his factor in England illuminating the mechanisms of elite consumerism and the store inventories of John Glassford and Company illustrating non-elite consumerism. The goal of this research, then, is to take a comprehensive, systematic, and interdisciplinary approach to this historical watershed moment to more completely understand who bought what and why and to contribute to the broader discourse on consumer scholarship (Mullins 2004:197).

Secondly, the majority of the work undertaken to address the consumer revolution from an archaeological perspective in the Chesapeake (Figure 1-4) has focused on the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, with the *terminus ante quem* of consumer studies most often 1730 (see King et al. 2006 for the most recent, comprehensive study), picking back up again in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Miller 1980, 1991; Mullins 1999; Penningroth 2003; Heath 2004; Lee 2008, 2012; Galle 2010). Archaeologists noted patterns of increased specialization and elaboration in the realm of foodways, greater commitment to permanent forms of architecture, and a general increase in quality of furnishings and personal adornment in these pre-1730 studies (Pogue 2001a; King et al. 2006). These archaeological narratives of change terminate in the 1730s, just as historians argue the consumer revolution truly intensifies for free whites and emerges for enslaved blacks (Yentsch 1990, 1991a; Breen 2004). An intensive focus on these crucial decades before the Revolution, at one plantation specifically and throughout one Virginia sub-region more broadly, should illuminate the patterns that made this period of consumerism unique in these under-studied decades.

Figure 1-4. The Chesapeake Bay region today. (Map by Luke Pecoraro, 2012.)

An in-depth, material culture analysis of Mount Vernon will contribute to our growing database of well-reported and analyzed sites outside of the lower Chesapeake region (Figure 1-5). Much of our understanding of colonial Virginia emanates from sites excavated in the greater Williamsburg area. Recently, however, scholars have begun to question the notion that the tidewater region is Virginia (or colonial America, for that matter) *writ large* (Menard 1997; Walsh 1999). Specifically, scholars have argued that the upper and lower Chesapeake differed in fundamental ways: in agricultural and animal husbandry practices (Walsh et al. 1997; Walsh 1999); in the cultural make up of the enslaved populations and, therefore, their material traces (Walsh 1997, 2001a; Samford 2007; Coombs 2011); and even in foodways practices (Walsh et al. 1997). Scholars are also arguing for important differences between the tidewater and piedmont regions (Morgan and Nicholls 1989; Heath and Breen 2012). With the archaeological and documentary work completed on Mount Vernon, and available for comparison with sites like the John Carlyle House (44AX3) up-river from Mount Vernon in Alexandria, Virginia (Fauber 1980; Kimbel 2010), Oxon Hill Plantation (18PR175) across the Potomac River from Alexandria in Prince George's County, Maryland (Garrow and Wheaton 1986), and sites in Mount Vernon's neighborhood including Potomac Overlook (44FX885) (Gardner et al. 1996; Pecoraro 2012), Belvoir (44FX4) (Shott 1978), and Lyndham Hills (44FX223), future research can begin to address these questions and challenge or support the conclusions previously based on one sub-region alone.

Figure 1-5. The Upper Chesapeake region today. (Map by Luke Pecoraro, 2012.)

Approach and Units of Analysis

The material culture approach presented here weaves together multiple strands of the colonial consumer story with the burden of evidence continually shifting between archaeology, primary sources, and even museum object data. A systematic, class-by-class, object analysis (Mullins 2004) lends fresh insight into the nature of the mid-eighteenth century consumer revolution and answers questions about elite and non-elite consumer behavior, material inequality, and the implications of differential access to the colonial social order (Carson 2001).

This dissertation advocates a material culture approach that adheres to one of the primary definitions of historical archaeology, that its undertaking be interdisciplinary. The conclusions made in this material culture study, then, are the result of triangulating between three points, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and history, and three sources, the archaeological record at Mount Vernon, George Washington's orders and invoices, and local store inventories. This study does not compare the strengths and weakness of archaeological versus historical datasets or use archaeology as the lab in which to test the truthfulness of the historical record. Instead, it understands the relationships of the disciplines and their data as co-dependent. It simply views the interdisciplinary contributions of these datasets as integral to the study of the consumer revolution, while maintaining the archaeological record as the heart of the study from which questions are posed and hypotheses tested.

Archaeological Units. George Washington's Mount Vernon has been the location of extensive and sustained professional archaeological research since the late 1980s. The two most significant sites excavated to date pertaining to the lives of the Washington households and the enslaved individuals owned by these relatives are the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17) and the House for Families slave quarter (44FX762/40 and 47). These sites form rich repositories for

extensive studies of consumer behavior, with the South Grove Midden representing the larger of the two data sets.

Archaeologists at Historic Mount Vernon excavated the South Grove Midden feature between the years of 1990 and 1994 with the help of field school students, volunteers, and staff. The domestic refuse (generated from the mansion, kitchen, and dairy) accumulated in a natural, oval-shaped swale in the original ground surface that measured as wide as 25 feet and as deep as one and a half feet. The site dates from ca. 1735 through the twentieth century; however the area was used most extensively and purposefully as a midden from ca. 1735 to 1775. The period to which the archaeological record can most clearly speak reflects the activities occurring in the Mount Vernon mansion and nearby outbuildings as undertaken by: the Lawrence Washington household, from ca. 1740 to 1753; the bachelor George Washington household, from ca. 1754 to 1758; and the early George and Martha Washington household, from 1759 to 1775. The later, better documented period of George Washington's lifetime is poorly represented in the midden (Table 1-1). The refuse that accumulated within this deposit represents aspects of the daily lives of a broadly defined, typical pre-Revolutionary Virginia plantation household whose members included the white plantation owner's family and the enslaved men and women who lived and labored in and around the mansion and outbuildings. Plantation middens like this one represent a kind of spatial and artifactual middle ground between the mansion and the quarter that force us to acknowledge the inherent racial and gendered complexities of plantation household compositions and day-to-day activities (Yentsch 1994; Breen 2004).

Table 1-1. Brief timeline of domestic events occurring at Mount Vernon, ca. 1735-1775.

Date	Event
1735	The original Mount Vernon was constructed and occupied by Augustine Washington, George Washington's father, and his household.
1743	Augustine died and Lawrence, George Washington's elder half-brother, inherited the plantation and lived there with his wife, daughter, and dozens of slaves.
1752	Lawrence died and George Washington entered into an agreement with his widow in 1754 to rent the property, household goods, and slaves left with the estate. George Washington inherited 8 enslaved individuals from Lawrence's estate.
1755	Mount Vernon was left under the management of George Washington's brother, John Augustine, in his absence during the French and Indian War
1758	George Washington returned to Mount Vernon after serving in the war. The enslaved community by this point had probably increased naturally, but also through the purchases of slaves made by Washington.
1759	George Washington married Martha Dandridge Custis, a wealthy widow from Virginia's tidewater. Martha moved to Mount Vernon and with her she brought some of her dower slaves and inherited household goods.
1775	Though Lawrence and George Washington had made substantial changes to the house and surrounding landscape previously, the renovation campaign begun by George Washington in the early 1770s was unprecedented. In addition to enlarging the mansion and realigning the outbuildings, Washington had a large brick drain constructed ca. 1775 to direct water run-off from the south side of the mansion down slope. The architectural feature intrudes the pre-1775 refuse layers and therefore provides a solid *terminus ante quem* for this phase of the midden.

Though finds from the site appeared in *The Magazine Antiques* (Pogue et al. 2005), in museum exhibits such as Colonial Williamsburg's *Salt-glazed Stoneware in Early America* (Skerry and Hood 2009), and in numerous theses and dissertations (Madsen 1995; Veech 1998; Breen 2003), the site has yet to undergo a complete analysis and reporting. In addition to generating this dissertation, the re-cataloguing and analysis efforts and interpretations appear in digital format on Mount Vernon's website, www.mountvernonmidden.org (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012a), and on the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery's (DAACS) website, www.daacs.org (DAACS 2011).

The second archaeological dataset to be brought to bear on this study of comparative consumerism is the House for Families cellar, originally bisected in 1984 by the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks under contract with the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association

(MVLA) and completed in 1990 by archaeologists on staff with the MVLA (Pogue and White 1991). The House for Families once stood on George Washington's Mansion House Farm and was most likely constructed during Lawrence's tenure. The large slave dwelling once stood two and a half stories high and encompassed approximately 4,000 square feet of space, but was represented archaeologically only by a small brick-lined cellar that, after 1759, served as a convenient trash receptacle for the quarter's inhabitants until the building was destroyed in 1793 (Pogue 2001b, 2002).

Excavated nearly thirty years ago, this collection has often been revisited by scholars and the public alike. Most recently, the artifact assemblage underwent a large scale re-cataloguing effort on the part of Monticello archaeologists under the DAACS initiative (DAACS 2011). The site's artifacts have been available to scholars in a searchable database since 2004; however, to date, new analyses and interpretations arising from this initiative about the House for Families are lacking. The high quality of excavation techniques and recovery methods employed for both the South Grove Midden and the House for Families cellar, their overlap in date range, and their comparability of cataloguing protocols (through DAACS) finally allow archaeologists a complete dataset through which to study consumerism amongst multiple types of households at one plantation.

Documentary Units. Two documentary datasets facilitate this study of comparative consumerism and allow researchers to discern the differences in goods available through consignment and at the local store. The correspondence between George Washington and his English factors, primarily published in the *Papers of George Washington*, represented an untapped dataset for the study of the consumer revolution. Washington consigned his tobacco to a series of factors who served both as tobacco salesmen and personal shoppers. These extensive

shopping lists created by Washington and the detailed invoices mailed in return with the shipment of goods are ripe for analysis. By matching the documentation of each individual order for an item placed by Washington with its invoice charge and then cataloguing that information into an Excel row (with columns for date, description, cost, quantity, etc.), a dataset of nearly 4000 entries was compiled spanning the years from 1754 through 1775 from 72 unique documents. In addition to the ordered and invoiced goods listed in these documents, the entries also contain valuable information on the price (financial and otherwise) that individuals like Washington paid for their participation in the consignment system.

Store-related documents offer the perfect counterbalance to the orders and invoices database. Just as dynamic, these records provide insights into consumer habits of all levels of colonial society. John Glassford (1715-1783), the man behind Glassford and Company, owned the most prosperous Scottish trading firm in the Potomac region. Glassford himself never came to America, but instead sent Scottish agents to act as his merchant representatives at retail outlets in Virginia and Maryland (Cuddy 2008:61-62). Records for these stores or trading posts survive from Baltimore, Bladensburg, Chaptico, Leonardtown, Lower Marlboro, Newport, Nottingham, Piscataway, Port Tobacco, Rock Creek (Georgetown), and Upper Marlboro in Maryland, and for Alexandria, Boyd's Hole, Cabin Point, Colchester, and Dumfries in Virginia (Hackett 2000). Alexander Henderson, one of Glassford's merchants, was involved with many of the Virginia stores including those in Dumfries, Colchester, and Alexandria (Cuddy 2008).

Though the Glassford store accounts have been referenced in multiple sources (Veech 1998; Crane et al. 1999; Reber 2003; Furgerson et al. 2005; Cuddy 2008) they do not exist in a transcribed format. Currently available as a transcription, however, are the crucial schemes of goods for the years 1759 to 1765 (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999). These records contain detailed

information about the items that merchant Alexander Henderson wished to stock in his Colchester store every year, the store closest to Mount Vernon in this pre-Revolutionary period. The schemes of goods were sent to John Glassford in the late summer or early fall of the preceding year, just as the tobacco crops were being harvested and brought to town for sale. The scheme of goods data was catalogued in Excel in a format similar to the orders and invoices for ease of analysis. Over 2300 entries appear in the orders requested over the course of the 6 years for which records survive, making this the smaller of the two documentary datasets.

Organization

Based on this material culture approach and archaeological and documentary units of analysis outlined here, this work is divided into eight chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature on the intersection between material culture studies and consumerism in the fields of anthropology and archaeology. Chapter 3 specifically traces the historiography of multi-disciplinary studies of consumerism in the Chesapeake region of Virginia and the many theories about what motivated elite and non-elite consumers to participate in the consumer revolution. Subsequently, the historical contours of the development of the eighteenth-century consumer economy are explored setting the stage for a study of avenues of access to goods. Chapter 4 focuses on the development of the upper Chesapeake region of Virginia before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War and then focuses its lens on Mount Vernon, detailing the generations of Washington households living on the neck of land on the Potomac River, the landscape and architectural changes made by these Washington colonists, and the enslaved communities beginning to make lives for themselves within the bounds of slavery. The analysis of relevant data on consumerism begins in Chapter 5 with George Washington's invoices and orders for goods. The chapter outlines the trends in Washington's

consumer behavior and assesses the viability of the consignment system to elite planters from a variety of angles. Chapter 6 is devoted to analyzing the types of goods stocked in the store of Colchester, Virginia and comparing the availability of goods through consignment and at the local store on a macro-scale. Chapter 7 develops the material culture approach by systematically studying 21 artifact groupings excavated from the South Grove Midden and House for Families slave quarter cellar to assess whether different goods or different types of goods were available through consignment versus purchase at a local store, and how these differences, if present, might be teased out archaeologically. The chapter concludes with a discussion of potential consumer motivations, which is expanded upon in the concluding Chapter 8.

Chapter 2: Material Culture Studies and Consumerism

Consumerism has been defined as "the cultural relationship between humans and consumer goods and services" that is dependent upon historical circumstance (Martin 1993:17). Consumption, then, is the process through which goods move through society from their creation to their use to their discard and, in some cases, to their resurrection. At each stage, items of material culture are imbued with situational meanings which in turn have the power to transform their users and observers. Michael Nassaney (in Mullins 2011:x) states, though it might be cliché, that "all historical archaeology is the archaeology of consumer culture." Paul Mullins' (2004:197) definition of consumerism is much more targeted. He writes that "an archaeology of consumption should represent a complex range of politicized consumption patterns that variously reproduce, negotiate, and resist dominant ideology and structural inequalities" to ultimately better illuminate modern capitalist conditions. More recently, Majewski and Schiffer (2009:192) define consumerism as "the complex of technologies, organizations, and ideologies that facilitate the mass production, mass distribution, and mass consumption of goods." Further, they argue that within the academic arena of modern material culture studies, consumerism should be the focus. To that end, they offer a new phrase, consumerist archaeology, whose goal is "to explain through comparative studies, the differences and similarities in consumer societies and in their developmental trajectories." A consumerist archaeology, therefore, would be free of temporal boundaries and inclusive of all theoretical approaches and paradigms.

The Changing Landscape of Material Culture Theory

Consumerism is part of the larger academic pursuit of material culture research originally pioneered by anthropologists and archaeologists (Schlereth 1985; Martin 1993). Schlereth's (1985) definition of material culture sought to disassociate terms like "artifacts" and "objects"

from the broader category of "material culture." Material culture studies, unlike the study of individual artifacts or artifact assemblages, seek to understand the relationship between objects and culturally-defined human behavior. Schlereth (1985:3) writes, "…the phrase continually presses the researcher to consider the complex interactions that take place between creators and their culture. In other words, the assumption is that there is always a culture constituted through the material." Prown (1996:21) defines material culture as "the study of material, raw or processed, transformed by human action as expressions of culture." More specifically, Mullins (2011:3) contends "that material culture reflects and shapes people's definitions of self and collectivity." Further, he believes that historical archaeologists are uniquely situated to study material culture because of our tight control on context and our broad view of the full spectrum of what constitutes the material world – from the mundane and prosaic, to the elaborate, ceremonial, or artistic. Mullins (2011:174-175) does admit that a historical archaeological study of "material culture is not an utterly objective window into consumption and everyday material life, but alongside historical data and oral testimony, archaeology can provide an exceptional picture of consumer life in the colonial and postcolonial worlds." Beaudry et al. (1991:153) similarly feel that, "Material culture is viewed as a medium of communication and expression that can condition and at times control social action" and that historical archaeologists must recognize their active roles in our historical past. James Deetz' (1977:35) definition reads, "the vast universe of objects used by human-kind to cope with the physical world, to facilitate social intercourse, and to benefit our state of mind." He then broadens this definition to include not only artifacts, but also "that sector of the physical environment that we modify through culturally determined behavior." This definition encourages archaeologists to consider not only individual

artifacts, but also architectural remains, landscapes and yardscapes, and even kinesics and proxemics.

Material culture, then, is the bread and butter of historical archaeology. Material remains are the stock in which we trade. Therefore, understanding the contours of modern consumption practices – how the use and discard of goods changed over time and the context in which goods gave and were given meaning – is of crucial importance to historical archaeologists. Table 2-1 lists highlights in the historiography of material culture studies from the nineteenth century through today. What becomes overwhelmingly clear from this timeline is the interdisciplinary appeal of material culture as a way to illuminate the past and simultaneously comment on the present. Scholars on this timeline are or were Marxists, structuralists, processualists, evolutionary theorists, and post-modernists from the fields of economics, archaeology, art history architectural history, cultural anthropology, history, and sociology. Additionally, whereas the study of consumer goods and their link to culture was recognized as early as the nineteenth century, our current understanding of goods as active participants in cultural continuity and creation was not realized until the 1970s.

Table 2-1. Moments in material culture history through 2011.

Date	Event
19th c.	First use of the term 'material culture' (Buchli 2002).
late 19th c.	Unilineal cultural evolutionists viewed material culture as directly linked to notions of human/cultural progress from savagery to civilization (Buchli 2002).
1899	*Theory of the Leisure Class* published. Veblen presents ideas of conspicuous consumption and emulation.
1904	Simmel publishes on the trickle-down theory.
early 20th c.	Cultural anthropologists favor participant observation as opposed to interpretation of ethnographic collections. The study of objects declines in the field of anthropology (Buchli 2002).
mid-20th c.	Processualists breathe theoretical life back into the study of artifacts as they materialized social processes (Buchli 2002).
1960s	Emergence of social history emphasizes everyday life, material surroundings, and consumption practices (Mullins 2004).
1970s	Historical archaeologists begin to explore class and status as displayed through material culture (Mullins 2011).
1975	Glassie's work on vernacular architecture represents a step away from New Archaeology (Mullins 2004).
1977	Deetz publishes his book all about small things.
1979	Douglas and Isherwood highlight the anthropological forces behind economic activities such as production and consumption.
1980s	Beginnings of the view of artifacts and objects as active participants in cultural creation and change. Focus shifts from models of economic rationality to social and cultural meanings of consumption. Movement towards the study of consumption and consumerism as a legitimate way to understand culture.
1982	McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb revitalize Veblen's emulation model in order to explain the consumer revolution and focus on fashion.
1984	Bourdieu discusses the idea of taste and its use to distinguish and legitimize social groups.
mid-1980s	Archaeologists move away from interpreting social status through assemblages and towards artifacts as symbolic and communicative devices (Cochran and Beaudry 2006).
1986	Appadurai publishes *The Social Life of Things*.
1987	Miller works on *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*.
1988	*Culture and Consumption* by Grant McCracken is published.
1991	"Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse" Beaudry et al. challenges the static role of material culture.
2008	Ann Smart Martin's *Buying Into a World of Goods* offers documentary evidence for her theory of material culture.
2011	Paul Mullin's *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture* offers a summary of archaeological studies of consumer behavior.

Anthropological Approaches. Before the 1970s, much of consumption theory was underpinned by the works of Thorstein Veblen (1899) and Georg Simmel (1904) who argued that objects were purchased and used as signals of socioeconomic status to peers, that the middling and lower classes emulated the consumption patterns of their betters, causing the upper classes to consume differently in order to differentiate themselves, and that goods tended to gravitationally diffuse down the class ladder. The impact of their theories on consumer motivations in the Chesapeake will be elaborated upon in Chapter 3. These studies of the meaning of material culture in social life left a deep and lasting legacy on the ways in which scholars studied objects in early and late modern life and thus must begin any exploration of the historiography of material culture.

Veblen argued that, for the nineteenth-century leisure class, individuals over-consumed in obvious ways to signal their status to others in their community. Working class individuals witnessed these consumer habits and were motivated to follow in their footsteps in order to replicate, to the best of their abilities, leisurely lifestyles in their own homes. This trickle down movement of fashions, as conceived of by Simmel, then explained changing styles as the leisure class sought to differentiate and the working class sought to emulate. Promoted by Veblen (1899), the notion that individuals used objects as communicators of social status in an attempt to show off to their peers and create social distance from subordinate classes infuse historical narratives just as it informs modern depictions of wealth and socio-economic success (explaining the popularity of shows like *My Super Sweet 16*, an MTV program highlighting the extravagant lengths to which parents will go to please and mollify their teenage children, and themselves). Members of the leisure class possessed the economic resources to make frivolous expenditures on material items that Veblen interpreted as an overt act of flaunting of time and money wasted.

These wasteful expenditures did allow elites to accrue a kind of symbolic capital, however, such that the economic losses were made up for by these cultural gains. However, both Simmel's and Veblen's works provide a cultural critique, a pejorative association of consumption with frivolity and wasteful material excesses. To be surrounded by meaningless things, knick-knacks and brick-a-brac, to Veblen in particular, suggested a kind of wanton and thoughtless behavior and demanded scholarly attention only in so far as it was motivated by critique. These concepts simultaneously initiated and stifled future research on material culture and its meaning.

It would not be until decades later that anthropologists, historians, and archaeologists began to reconsider the scholarly legacies of Simmel and Veblen. Was consumption frivolous? Were objects merely reflections of status or connections to a social class to which the working classes could only dream of belonging? Was emulation the primary motivation for consumption? Could a systemic, anthropological approach to consumption help scholars better understand culture? Later works can be situated within a movement that sought to refute the conspicuous consumption and emulation model put forth by Veblen and the trickle-down theory offered by Simmel and fought for the recognition that artifacts and objects actively maintain and change culture in ways that are much more complicated, dialectical, and multi-vocal. These material culture theorists argued against the historically negative connotation of materialism and consumerism, and argued for the legitimization of consumption theory as a key to understanding cultural principles and for the communicative and symbolic properties of goods.

Leading this charge were Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (1979:37) who proposed that, "Consumption is the very arena in which culture is fought over and licked into shape." These scholars, the former a cultural anthropologist and the latter an economist, joined forces to re-legitimize the study of material culture from a dual perspective. It is to them that we can credit

the reinvigoration of material culture theory. The primary theoretical argument offered by Douglas and Isherwood is this – to consume is to gain, transmit, and maintain information. Information is power; therefore consumption can be conceived of as accruing a kind of social and cultural power. They argued that consumer goods acted as bridges and fences. Consumption could simultaneously include and exclude individuals from social groups and communities. "His [man's] overriding object as a consumer, put at its most general, is a concern for information about the changing cultural scene. This sounds innocent enough, but it cannot stop at a concern merely to get information; there has to be a concern to control it" (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:67). But in order to understand how material culture acts, it must be approached from an anthropological perspective. Consumers do not always behave rationally, as economists had suggested, and in understanding this irrationality, the work of anthropologists was most needed. Additionally, the authors took the legacy of Simmel and Veblen head on, as others would do, and argued that goods did more than reflect status, that individuals bought for reasons other than emulation, and that goods moved through routes beyond trickling down. Essentially, consumption is an inherently culturally expressive act.

Daniel Miller (1987) suggested that even the lowliest of mass produced goods, devoid of uniqueness or character, could be encoded with meaning and, therefore, used to shape thought. Artifacts have agency – an artifact is not a "human mirror" but instead of a "constitutive character" (Miller 1987:112). Miller championed the relevance and integrity of the study of mass produced goods in modern life. Scholars before had lamented the globalization and McDonalds-ization of the twentieth century. Miller argued, however, that through processes of recontextualization, mass-produced items could be considered to be just as legitimate a way to access culture as were homemade, folk, or craft items. Much of the work on material culture

today has been influenced by these scholars. No longer is consumption seen as a trivial action, but instead a meaningful practice. Artifacts are not static material residues of past human behavior, but active agents in cultural creation and maintenance. Finally, the relationship between class and object has been complicated by the other ways in which material culture is used to define and redefine how identity is formed: gender, race, class, and ethnicity.

In Pierre Bourdieu's (1984) work we hear echoes of Douglas and Isherwood's notion of the power relations and political motivations that underlie consumption. Bourdieu argued that historical change takes place in the dialectic between individual agents and social structures. The actions of individuals operate within larger structures; however, it is through our (as individuals) actions that we have the power to affect structural change. Bourdieu's notion of habitus allows anthropologists to conceive of how individual actions are conditioned through the processes of social learning. Habitus, then, is the socially conditioned and learned everyday habits, beliefs, preferences, routines, and ideas of individuals. In his work, *Distinction*, Bourdieu (1984) argued that taste (embodied preferences and practices) is an element of distinction. From a very young age, individuals learn likes and dislikes, which Bourdieu argued are class specific. Taste, then, becomes a weapon of power and a tool of social class legitimization. He urged archaeologists and historians to think about taste not as a neutral preference but potentially an agent of exclusion in class struggles.

Grant McCracken (1988) charged scholars with thinking of material culture as active and generative in the past and present. His work, *Culture and Consumption,* is less a cohesive theory of material culture, and more a set of ideas about how we should think of objects in certain contexts. Foremost, McCracken argues that objects are the material embodiments of culture itself. McCracken built on Simmel's idea that consumer goods trickle-down through society. He

argued instead that fashions and styles can be purposely co-opted by certain groups for symbolic reasons. Additionally, McCracken suggested that consumer goods embody cultural principles, can act as ballast or catalysts in times of social distress, communicate ideas in ways that differ from language, and that objects have a historical value that changes over time.

Ann Smart Martin's (2008) work is particularly relevant and represents one of the most recent conceptions of material culture theory and consumption. Her concept of consumer goods is this – that they are complex bundles of individual, social, and cultural values, beliefs, and norms that are grafted onto things that can be seen, touched, and used. In this model, she builds on the work of McCracken in suggesting that through objects, we can learn of cultural principles communicated materially.

Archaeological Approaches. Historical archaeologists began to study consumerism as a reflection of status and class in the 1970s, perhaps best embodied in the groundbreaking work of John Solomon Otto (1984), the first anthropologically-trained historical archaeologists to test for patterns of status and class in the archaeological record (Orser 1987; Mullins 2011). Otto carried out this case study on the late eighteenth- through nineteenth- century Cannon's Point Plantation in Georgia where he could compare the artifact assemblages of the white plantation owner, the free white overseer, and the enslaved black laborers. Otto hypothesized that three potential status patterns would be evident in this comparative analysis. A white dominance pattern would be reflected if the planter household and overseer assemblages were the same and the slave assemblages exhibited differences. If differences between owner, overseer, and slave were found, then a hierarchical pattern that reflected status and occupational differences would exist. Finally, if the slave and overseer assemblages were the same, but the planters' exhibited distinct differences, then a wealth-poverty pattern would become apparent, reflecting economic

differences between owners and workers, enslaved or free. Interestingly, what Otto found in the material assemblages of the three contexts was much more complex – a mix of all status patterns occurred in the architectural, foodways, and possessions domains. For example, the planter's refuse contained an assemblage of diverse, non-local species, while the slaves' and overseer's diets evidenced a hunting and harvesting pattern representing acquisition of nearby resources. Additionally, the planter used more transfer-printed flatwares, while overseer and slaves used more hollowwares and banded, edged, and undecorated wares. The wealth-poverty model would explain these patterns. On the other hand, the dwellings of the owner and overseer were more architecturally similar, both constructed of higher quality materials built to last longer durations in contrast to the impermanent, low-cost solutions evident at the slave quarters – this is an example of the white dominance model. Therefore, Otto concludes that the archaeological record contains evidence of multiple status patterns.

These findings, in fact, foreshadow future directions of historical archaeologists' approaches to status and identity in the archaeological record. Problematically, this early work defined class as a ladder into which individuals are ranked depending on wealth. More recent definitions of class take into account the agency of the individual and the fluidity of class definitions (Wurst 1999; Mullins 2011:18). Additionally, archaeologists have come to understand identity as the complex intersection of multiple contexts including class, race, gender, and ethnicity and that the use of material culture may be a reflection of a combination of these constituent parts of identity formation at any given point (Delle et al. 2000).

George Miller's (1980, 1991) development of the ceramic indexing method remains arguably one of the most consistently applied analytical tools in historical archaeology, even today. As opposed to Otto's micro-scaled approach of one plantation context, Miller developed a

broad comparative methodology that would allow archaeologists to assess economic investment in ceramic assemblages from archaeological sites dating to the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Miller (1980:10) argues that "for the archaeologist, or any other scholar studying material culture, the ability to scale assemblages in socio-economic terms is very important." Utilizing documentary data that recorded ceramic prices in the form of price-fixing agreements between pottery factories, Miller derived a baseline index value of 1 for the most stable and cheaply-priced ceramic (plain, undecorated creamware) available throughout the nineteenth century (ca. 1796 to 1860) from which all other ceramic decoration types and forms could be compared and ranked in terms of relative index value. He calls this the "CC index." For example, in 1796, transfer-printed dishes measuring 14 inches in diameter had an index value of 6, meaning that this type of decorated vessel had an economic value 6 times that of undecorated creamware at the end of the eighteenth century (Miller 1991). Unfortunately, the vast amount of data and research that Miller collected for these studies has been used in fairly basic, comparative analyses. Beyond calculating the index value for a series of sites dating to the same period, little theorizing has been undertaken to explore what might account for the differences, if they are even significant (however, see Miller and Hurry's (1983) study of consumer choice affected by non-socio-economic factors). Mullins (2011:20-21) comments, "Much of the 1980s archaeology examining ceramic index values was focused on how to interpret these measures of ceramic expenditure and model consumption processes, and in retrospect some of the definitions of status and identity in those studies were under-theorized, reducing social identity to a single graduate ladder largely determined by wealth." One assemblage's total index value might be lower than another's for multiple, cross-cutting reasons including household wealth, access to market, personal taste, investment strategies, not to mention site formation processes.

This vein of research on economic scaling and status culminated in the edited volume, *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology* (Spencer-Wood 1987). The authors generally argued that socio-economic status is the principle determinant in consumer choice, while also acknowledging that a consumer choice framework must take into account additional factors such as: the American market economy; social stratification; market access; ethnicity; and household size and structure. Editor Suzanne Spencer-Wood (1987:1) wrote, "Considered as a whole, this volume begins to differentiate those situations in which archaeological patterns can be related to socioeconomic status behaviors and those situations in which other behaviors may be more strongly related to the archaeological patterns."

Though the preceding works may be critiqued for their single-minded focus on wealth as a motivator for consumer behavior and their static definition of class, their work reminds us that concepts of meaning and identity are grounded in certain economic realities. "Economic anthropologists and archaeologists both consider social status differences that are related to economic roles as one of the major factors in unequal access to goods. Current consumer behavior research has established the highest correlations between occupation, social class, and types of consumer goods selected by house residents from the market" (Spencer-Wood 1987:6). This statement in and of itself is probably accurate. The difficulty arises, however, when confronted with an actual material assemblage. Correlating patterns of artifacts to specific, static socio-economic groups (which are actually quite fluid) masks underlying elements of choice, significance, and meaning that go into creating and being created by one's material world. "A challenging archaeological picture of consumption requires us to push beyond the facile archaeological presumption that the past has been peopled by economically rational consumers whose materiality reflects orderly circumscribed identities projected onto symbolically static

things. Instead, archaeologists are compelled to wrestle with somewhat messy dimensions of desire, identity fluidity, and symbolic multivalence" (Mullins 2011:3). Though historical archaeologists have sufficiently problematized the concepts of class and status, studies of consumerism "will likely always examine relative affluence and the relationship between wealth and social standing" (Mullins 2011:177).

While not specifically focused on consumerism, Beaudry et al.'s (1991) article argued for the adoption of a new approach to artifacts that recognizes their communicative and discursive potential in the act of identity formation, reaching beyond positivist stances and Marxist interpretations, and putting distance between the association of artifacts with socio-economic status. The work reflects a turn from processual-oriented studies of historical archaeology to those that fall within post-modern frameworks. Instead of viewing material culture as an external representation of class categories, Beaudry et al. (1991) contend that artifacts act as symbols of group identity definition and boundaries for not only the empowered in society, but the disenfranchised and non-mainstream subcultures as well. The authors use their work at the Boot Mills in Lowell, Massachusetts to show how the working class engaged the managers in a subversive, dialectical discourse using artifacts such as tobacco pipes, alcohol, and ceramics. These hegemonic discourses that occurred in the material realm allowed "for working-class ideology and working-class culture creative, active roles in the social process, rather than viewing them as dictated by and distilled from the ideologies and cultures of politically or economically dominant groups" (Beaudry et al. 1991:165).

Paul Mullins' (1996, 1999) study of Annapolis from 1850 to 1930 explores the intersection of consumerism and racism during a period when, concurrently, consumer culture became normalized within American culture as did the adoption of a racial ideology. McCracken

(1988:22) characterizes this period as one in which the consumer revolution had become a "structural feature of social life," which he attributes to the development and institutionalization of the department store. Unlike the eighteenth century, during the nineteenth century, mass consumption became a descriptive term that assumed all of America society participated in events such as shopping, gazing at prized items through department store windows, and succumbing to clever marketing campaigns. Mullins (1999:34) notes, "Consumer culture is often seen as a 'mass culture': i.e., it replaced significant class distinctions with mass standards of living and social conventions shared by virtually all citizens." His research into African American consumerism at the turn of the twentieth century found, however, that "African American consumers were never free of racism and that they adopted a series of strategies to struggle against how they were defined as consumers" (Orser 2007:29). These strategies were class-dependent in the African American community – elite blacks invested in expressions of genteel social performance whereas middle and lower class blacks consumed portable objects of material culture that fall into the category of knickknacks and bric-a-brac (Mullins 1996). Archaeological evidence suggests that African Americans favored national brands, specifically in their use and discard of branded bottles in the nineteenth century. Mullins argues that this tactic circumvented local chains and markets where racism was experienced most strongly and tapped into national retail chains where racism was less pervasive (Mullins 1999). Finally, the archaeological record shows a pattern of decreased reliance on fish as a dietary staple in deposits dating to this period which he interprets as a conscious effort on the part of African Americans to distance themselves from prevalent racist stereotypes.

Excavations of the infamous nineteenth century Five Points neighborhood in New York offers another opportunity to explore the intersections of race, class, ethnicity, and consumer

behavior. Brighton (2001) argues that in mid-nineteenth century New York, access to goods (ceramics in particular) was equal to all residents of the city, whereas this was not the case for contemporaneous rural farmsteads. Despite this equal access, a reading of period literature would suggest that the ceramic assemblage of a typical working class, Five Points resident would reflect an eschewing of middle class values – including gentility and temperance. Orser (2007:110) further describes the process by which Irish immigrants were racialized as "nonwhite because of their customs and beliefs." The CC index (Miller 1991), though slightly lower than values for contemporaneous middle class assemblages, and other characteristics of the ceramic assemblage (such as matched sets and symbolic transfer prints) presents a different picture of the consumer motivations of the households living on one block of the Five Points neighborhood. Similar to Mullins' interpretation of African American consumer behavior, Brighton (2001:21) believes that "the acquisition of fancy ceramics provided the tenants with the outward appearance of 'gentility' and confronted the oppressive judgments of the American public." Therefore, the Irish immigrants living in the Five Points neighborhood chose fashionable ceramics as part of a strategy to normalize their existence in middle class, nineteenth-century American culture. Irish immigrants literally purchased ideals of Victorian gentility and morality as exemplified in the flower pots that beautified their home exteriors and the transfer-printed vessels, inspired by the temperance movement, that served both utilitarian and educational functions on their tables. In doing so, they countered the anti-immigrant narratives and stereotypes propagated in nineteenth-century popular culture while maintaining ethnic and working class traditions (Brighton 2001).

Dylan Penningroth explores the world of consumables amongst nineteenth-century Africans and African Americans by specifically interrogating the active and dialectical

relationship between the concepts of kinship and property ownership. Along the lines of Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and McCracken (1988), Penningroth argues that property studies are significant beyond their ability to inform historians of economics, "for the social relationships they embody, ready to be called into action" (Penningroth 2007:1066). Union and Confederate soldiers raided the property of both slaves and owners alike in the final years of the Civil War. Years later, the Treasury Department established the Southern Claims Commission where ex-slaves could file petitions and seek compensation of things lost in these foraging expeditions. It is through these documents that Penningroth (1997, 2003, 2007) weaves the story of slavery, kinship, and the meaning of property ownership to nineteenth century blacks to better understand exactly how slaves and ex-slaves owned property despite its illegality. At the core of his argument is the fundamental fact that concepts of property and ownership are culturally defined. "Whereas Americanists tend to think of property as the legal and social foundation of slavery, most Africanists argue that family was one of the basic building blocks of all clams to property, labor and other resources, including the claims of slavery" (Penningroth 2003:108). Historians and archaeologists (i.e., Berlin 1998; Morgan 1998; Heath 2004; Lee 2012) have repeatedly documented how slaves acquired goods and foodstuffs by working outside of the duties required by their masters; Penningroth, however, demonstrates how this material culture was transformed into property within a system of social relationships defined by familial or community ties. Through the files of the Claims Commission, Penningroth documents the finding that for blacks "– slave or free – what turned possessions into property was a complex interchange of display and acknowledgement, guided by people's shifting notions of what was customary in their neighborhood" (Penningroth 2007:1055). In other words, in order to store, work, trade, or

consume livestock, garden plots, or consumer goods, members of communities had to acknowledge or informally recognition who owned what.

Conclusions. Each of these material culture specialists has influenced the way that I conceived of material culture – as a lens into cultural beliefs, values, and norms, as an active agent in the construction of identity and social relationships, and as not reflective, but in fact generative in historical circumstances. Specifically, however, Douglas and Isherwood and McCracken's works have particular resonance and utility for archaeologists and this work on plantation archaeology. Material culture theory has become more multi-vocal, holistic, and less static and reflective since the early nineteenth century. The general theoretical approach to material culture as a generative and catalytic agent in the past is a model that is most persuasive in this work.

Chapter 3: Consumerism and the Chesapeake

The chapter will review and critique the literature on consumer motivations as it applies to that transformation in the consumption and use of material culture that occurred in the mid-eighteenth century Chesapeake both for elites and non-elites of colonial America. Additionally, I explore the development of the eighteenth-century consumer economy. What made this period unique was the increased availability of novel kinds of goods to diversifying groups of people, supported by a more sophisticated distribution system that enabled those goods to reach broader markets (Carr and Walsh 1994:134; Breen 2004). Therefore, any discussion of material culture theory must be underpinned by an understanding of changing economic circumstances during this period. What facilitated entry into the marketplace on the part of middling and small planters and slaves was the growth of the local retail market, which in the upper Potomac region, was dominated by Scottish merchants. Conglomerates like Glassford and Company opened retail stores along the Potomac River with increasing frequency in the 1750s and 1760s (Kulikoff 1986:123). These stores allowed customers to purchase goods with the credit from their tobacco or grain crop, with cash, or even through barter. A close reading of the documents associated with the local retail system increasingly begins to show just who was doing the buying (Martin 1993). Transactions occurred between store keepers and large, middling, and small plantation owners, farmers, tradesmen, and free and enslaved African Americans. Archaeological evidence supported these findings as storage pits and surface middens surrounding slave dwellings and other non-elite sites contain refuse that clearly evidence consumerism (Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 1999c). The formal eighteenth-century economy was also a trans-Atlantic endeavor realized through the consignment system where large-scale planters entered into relationships with agents in England to whom they would sell their agricultural surplus in exchange for the

credit with which to buy imported English products. As McCracken (1988:17) noted, "Consumption was beginning to take place more often, in more places, under new influences, ***by new groups***, in pursuit of new goods, for new social and cultural needs." This watershed moment, then, can be described as the first truly "mass consumption" event (McCracken 1988:21).

Comparative Consumer Motivations

Much of the literature on consumerism in historical and archaeological circles initially focused on the link between increased consumption and technological innovations that spurred on mass production in an increasingly globalized world (Miller 1980; McKendrick et al. 1982; Spencer-Wood 1987). Since the 1980s, "however, scholars have argued that consumer demand and motivation, not changes in production, drove consumption" (Galle 2006:22). The chapter presents the range of motivations suggested by scholars and concludes with a discussion of the materiality of motivation, or how archaeologists might attempt to extract the meaning behind consumer behaviors evident in the archaeological record.

Emulation and Conspicuous Consumption. Perhaps the longest-running and most dominant theories used to explain consumer behavior among elites trying to stay ahead and non-elites trying to get ahead are the complimentary ideas of emulation and conspicuous consumption. Much of the modern scholarship on consumerism has been affected by, even indebted to, Veblen's theory of conspicuous consumption (Bell 2000). Models of emulation and conspicuous consumption have undergone major critique, particularly since the 1990s when research on consumer behaviors among non-elites began to intensify. For example, Mullins (2004:196) cites Glassie's (1975) work on vernacular architecture and folk objects as an example of the "long-term cultural continuities" that exist in some forms of material culture despite

frequent changes in fashion and style in others. Other works that reject or diverge from these early models are discussed below as many of the modern theories of consumer motivation have developed as a reaction to this early model. Worth noting, however, is the staying power this theory has held in academic studies of consumerism. Bell's (2000:30-39) research found that Veblen's ideas permeate many major historical and archaeological works on the consumer revolution in the twentieth century, including Leone (1984, 1988), Yentsch (1990), Shackel (1992), Carr and Walsh (1994), Carson (1994), Sweeney (1994), and Veech (1998), suggesting its relevance continues.

Shifts in Worldview. In his seminal work, *In Small Things Forgotten*, Deetz (1977) presents his interpretation of culture change and its effects on material culture in colonial New England and the Chesapeake by applying Straussian structuralist anthropological theory. Deetz studied ceramics, gravestone styles, faunal remains, music, and architecture to provide evidence to support an underlying shift in mental structure from gemeinschaft (translated from German as "community" and used to describe the seventeenth-century medieval, agrarian, rural old English tradition) to gesellschaft (translated from German as "society" and used to describe the eighteenth-century cultured, individualized, Georgian worldview), also referred to as the process of Georgianization. As Greene (1988:xii) notes, "For more than half a century, many scholars have written the history of colonial British America in terms of the gemeinschaft-gesellschaft model developed by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century social scientists and more recently elaborated by proponents of modernization theory." Others include Isaac (1982), Lockridge (1985), and Demos (2004).

In Deetz's (1977:77-85) interpretation, ceramic vessel evidence, for example, displayed a trend from communal hollowware forms to individual vessels meant for personal consumption.

In order to outfit this new worldview, individuals needed more elaborate and specialized dining equipment and the furniture to store it and enjoy it. As Pogue (2001a:49-50) summarizes: "Deetz has framed the dichotomy between the old and new worldviews as structuralist bipolar opposites. Thus, where the old view was organic, asymmetrical, and corporate, the new is mechanical, balanced, and individualized. As an example, houses evolved from unpainted rambling vernacular piles to tidy whitewashed fashion statements." The consumer revolution as it applied to Anglo-Americans, therefore, was an outgrowth of a shifting worldview. Deetz was the first historical archaeologist to theoretically consider the by-products of consumerism *en masse* as they changed over time. Left unexplained from this meta-narrative, however, are the consumer habits of those who did not share an Anglo-American worldview. Additional critiques include the fact that models such as this one have no concrete mechanism for change (Pogue 2001a). In other words, what causes a shift in mentality? Structuralism is also a theory that must be taken on faith, as there is no way to independently and scientifically test cause (shift in binary opposition) and effect (changes in material culture evident in the archaeological record).

Yentsch's (1994) work on the Calvert households of Annapolis, Maryland built on Deetz's Georgian worldview framework, but delved more deeply into the archaeological and documentary records. Though neither explicitly explored the terms gentility or consumer revolution, both Deetz and Yentsch touch on the fact that the use and meaning of artifacts shifted in the first half of the eighteenth century. Yentsch intensified the discussion of the relationship between artifacts and status, particularly in the domain of foodways. She noted that the Calverts used fine ceramics and elaborate methods of food preparation and presentation to align themselves with British aristocracy and to set themselves apart from both their peers and those of

different social classes (Yentsch 1994:147). Therefore, Yentsch's work added nuance to Deetz's broad strokes.

Marxism. Mark Leone (1984, 1988, 2005) was one of the first archaeologists to problematize gentility, specifically through the application of critical theory. Leone built on Deetz's Georgian worldview model. Instead of rejecting Deetz's premise, Leone argued that it needed to be understood through the lens of capitalist ideology. Leone's theoretical approach has been modified and updated based on critiques (Beaudry et al. 1991) and a re-reading of theories on the role of ideology in capitalist societies (Leone 2005). The core of his argument remains the same – that the changes in material culture seen in the pre-Revolutionary eighteenth century result from the development of an ideology wherein those tenets of society taken as givens serve to mask and perpetuate the real social conditions when accepted uncritically. In other words, the mid-eighteenth century ideology embraced by the gentry "served to remove the arbitrary Georgian conventions [of, for example, the compartmentalization of domestic space, the regularization of time, the organization of landscape] from challenge by making them appear to be derived from nature or antiquity" (Leone 1984:27). Much like Isaac (1982), Leone understood the gentry class as being under threat around mid-century and responded to this conflict with increased attempts for order and control.

Leone continued this line of reasoning with an exploration of the material culture of gardens. In studying the garden of William Paca, a wealthy gentleman, in Annapolis, Leone found that Paca applied gardening principles that arranged space so as to utilize the principles of optical illusion and perspective. Leone extrapolated from the application of these techniques, which divided and ordered space and controlled nature, to the naturalization of division and order of social class. He writes (Leone 1984:34), "The formal garden was not an adornment, the

product of spare time; it was not [as a source of] food and still less for an idle fashion." Instead, the garden can be seen as an attempt to naturalize and rationalize one of the fundamental contradictions of colonial society, that while individuals like Paca fought for freedom from British tyranny, they oppressed and maintained control over the enslaved African and African American population.

Following in the same theoretical vein, Shackel (1992:208) utilized objects related to dining, documented in probate inventories and the archaeological record, "to demonstrate how a socially dominant group manipulated material culture and a new personal discipline to exclude the encroaching lower wealth group and to create a culture in which modern inequalities are rooted." Like Douglas and Isherwood (1979), Shackel views material culture as a boundary maintenance tool and tool of hegemonic legitimization. He draws on the hypothesis of Douglas and Isherwood (1979) – that homogeneity in the material culture record resulted from a tendency to standardize consumption as one moves closer to the center of the market system.

> At the fringes of the market system, where turnover is slower, where knowledge is incomplete, and big profits riskier, discrepancies in standards can pass. But where the competition is hottest, standardization emerges… When the tendency to standardize values is strong, some crucial form of social control is being exerted: it is a sign that we are near the hot center of a competitive system where small differences matter a lot (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:106).

Shackel argues that the 1720s and 1730s were a period of social and economic tension in colonial Maryland as wealth disparities increased and the tobacco market became depressed. He suggests that during this period, anthropologists should see evidence of a consolidation of power among the elite and the utilization and standardization of a new-found material culture to

legitimize their place and block others from intruding. He calls this effort not the development of a genteel ideology, but instead personal discipline.

He combs through probate inventories in Annapolis, Maryland for evidence of fork and knife sets and formal and segmenting dining items (as opposed to the communal eating utensils and vessel forms seen in the seventeenth century). By dividing the probated accounts into four wealth categories and the time period, from 1688 to 1777, into four subsets, Shackel documents the emergence of this personal discipline for elites during the critical decades of the 1720s and 1730s, while the distribution of these objects levels out by wealth category over time. Shackel (1993:163) expands this argument to the archaeological record in subsequent work and finds that despite the democratization of the consumer revolution in the eighteenth century, "Consumer choice is usually more than a function of wealth or access to resources. Consumer choice is to a large extent dependent upon the symbolic values of goods. Members of the same group will choose similar symbols and thereby construct the group's social boundaries."

Gentility. Selected essays in the volume, *Of Consuming Interests* (Carr and Walsh 1994; Carson 1994; Sweeney 1994), begin to cement the linkage between the consumer revolution and the burgeoning phenomenon of gentility. Cary Carson's development of the consumer revolution argument, much like Deetz's, is a change over time story beginning back in the medieval ages. Before the turn of the eighteenth century, material goods and furnishings had less bearing on one's social status or perceived place on the social ladder, and were primarily non-portable and therefore evident to only a select few. Much has been written on the consumer revolution, particularly the first wave that occurred between 1670 and 1720 in colonial America (Pogue 2001a; King et al. 2006; Graham et al. 2007; Carson et al. 2008). Carson's (1994:488) definition for this first wave of the consumer revolution remains the clearest and most concise: "… the term

historians now give to that great transformation when whole nations learned to use a rich and complicated medium of communications to conduct social relations that were no longer adequately served by parochial repertoires of words, gestures, and folk customs alone." The catalyst of this need for a new-found material repertoire was bound up in the conditions of colonization, frontier settlement, and population mobility, according to Carson. In other words, as future American colonists left their villages in the Old World to face unfamiliar circumstances and strange cultural groups in the New World, the old system of communicating identity, status, and social relationships founded in familial lineage, property, and title began to break down. In its place, a system developed dependent on the material world to facilitate communication among strangers. Carson (1994:693) writes, "The history of material life tells its own important story, an account of people's growing dependence on inanimate objects to communicate their relationships with one another and mediate their daily progress through the social worlds they inhabited." Slowly, though, colonists entered "the brave new world of material goods [that] offered an irresistible shortcut to the good name they lacked at home or left behind" resulting in a "radically new way of thinking that deployed personal possessions in support of social hierarchies built not upon precedence but on manners" (Carson 1994:556-558).

Carson's work drew our attention to the fact that a demand for goods arose in the eighteenth century because goods acted as intermediaries between strangers and stood in as proxies for social relationships and dynamics in ways unnecessary in previous decades. This need for a new portable system of materially-derived signs and signals assumed the form of what came to be called gentility. Gentility involved the complex acquisition of not only fashionable and stylish new goods, but also the system of manners and actions that underpinned their proper use and presentation. Carson argued that by the mid-eighteenth century, persons of means who

could afford the fullest expressions of gentility soon found crowds of imitators, members of lesser classes who could afford certain hallmarks of gentility to outwardly signal their success and upward mobility. Carson (1994:673-675) left readers wondering about the specific motivations for the adoption of the genteel ideal. He posited that the continual chase and flight scenario may be one motivation wherein, as Veblen originally suggested, upper class individuals continually strove for the newest and most fashionable goods, houses, forms of entertainment, as the lower classes nipped at their heels to emulate and imitate. Or is gentility simply an expression of an underlying desire on the part of eighteenth-century Anglo-American cultures to live more refined, beautiful, and enjoyable lives, as Bushman (1992) supposes? Carson's narrative more than adequately answered the question of why demand, but insufficiently addressed the follow up question, why gentility?

In the most extensive treatment of gentility to date, Richard Bushman (1992) found that lavish gardens, beautified public squares, and large and stately mansions could not be simply attributed to displays of wealth for the purposes of showing off, or to slavish imitation of English gentility. These material changes, he argued, resulted from a deep desire to live in a more pleasing, polite, disciplined, moral, and refined world on the part of those with means to make close approximations of this ideal a reality. Colonial Americans found this world detailed in courtesy books that described a courtly tradition wherein "genteel behavior always reflected the belief that somewhere a glorious circle existed wherein life was lived at its highest and best, where fashions were set, and where true gentility was achieved, where harmony, grace and beauty could be found" (Bushman 1992:37). Setting one's surroundings and behaving in certain ways evoked the idea of performance, where the perfect stage was set and everything was on display to peers and commoners alike. However, while commoners observed and sometimes

emulated the genteel, "through the eighteenth century, it was not their culture. Gentility with all its material forms and preferred habits of conduct belonged to the gentry" (Bushman 1992:186). In fact, emulation of gentility was often assumed to be the primary motivating factor that spurred the mid-eighteenth century consumer revolution and created shoppers out of colonial commoners (Bell 2000:28-29). Genteel culture set defined boundaries between participants and observers, remained an exclusive club, and reinforced cultural divisions. Division of populations by wealth also took on a moral cast – the genteel were more refined, civilized and moral; the common folk were rude, vulgar, and ignorant (Bushman 1992:183).

Archaeologists have explored the phenomenon of gentility most extensively from the perspective of the social climber. Specifically, Lorinda Goodwin (1999) tackled manners and the polite world as experienced by colonial New England merchants – a group of individuals placed in a somewhat liminal social role during the eighteenth century. As opposed to the landed gentry, these individuals were viewed as upstarts who perhaps had the money, but not the knowledge, to enter the upper echelons of refined culture. Slowly, however, through the adoption of mannerly behaviors prescribed in courtesy literature and the use of material culture that embodied the tenets of gentility, luxury, novelty and patina, the merchant elite became a more well-respected social group in colonial New England. Andrew Veech (1998) shifted the focus from a social group to an individual who stood as a microcosm for the heel-nippers that Carson so thoroughly portrayed. Through the archaeological and documentary records, Veech developed a picture of Abraham Barnes, a neighbor of George Washington, who attempted to utilize this new material repertoire to enter higher social circles. Veech interchangeably used the terms "social aspirant," "parvenu," "pretender," and "Macaroni" to describe Barnes' inability to move beyond the mere superficial adoption of a genteel lifestyle. Barnes literally went broke attempting to buy the

identity of a gentleman, when what he lacked all along was the education, manners, etiquette, habits, and proper knowledge of the world that a true gentleman possessed.

The Plight of the Planter? The implications, nature, and purpose of gentility as facilitated or fueled by the consumer revolution has been acknowledged, but gone relatively unexplored anthropologically. Even as Carr and Walsh (1994:144-145) uncovered the specific contours of consumerism among elite and non-elite white households, they voiced concern over the obscurity of the roots of gentility and its application as an anthropological theory of material culture. They write, "But why Englishmen, either at home or in the colonies, developed the particular sets of attitudes towards household artifacts and their uses that gentility required, or accepted the dictates of ever-changing fashions in pursuing it, is a question that needs much greater understanding than we currently have of how and why cultural change occurs." This critique of gentility raises pressing questions. Why did elites, particularly in this period of increasing demographic and economic stability and class consolidation, need to distinguish themselves from their slaves or lesser neighbors by adopting a genteel ethos, by building imposing mansion houses, by traveling in embellished carriages? Why did they cling so tightly to a sometimes unreliable middle man thousands of miles away to procure goods of the most current taste and fashion, and then complain bitterly when he failed, while in the same letter asking for more? What reasons could the planter elite possibly have for needing to distinguish themselves from their slaves or poorer neighbors materially when, by the mid-eighteenth century, historians and archaeologists agree that "the Chesapeake gentry class was strongly entrenched in power" (Kulikoff 1986:261)? Historians and archaeologists have offered some intriguing answers to these questions.

Debt and Dependence. While the economic prosperity in the decades surrounding the mid-eighteenth century opened up colonial access to credit from Britain and resulted in a "buying spree" of consumer goods, it had the destabilizing effect of introducing a world of debt thus far unknown to large-scale planters. Gentility, therefore, had a price. The entangling web of credit and debt was a direct result of the consignment system through which planters sold their tobacco to English agents, who extended the credit tobacco growers then used to purchase a range of imported goods. As the colonists quickly discovered, it was not a perfect system. Colonial planters often thought that their crops were valued too low, often made purchases in excess of the credit earned through the tobacco sale, and often grew more indebted as crop failures led to credit extensions from one season to the next (Breen 1985). George Washington faced these uncomfortable circumstances created by a desire for English goods (which began possibly as early as 1754 when he was just 22) and a decrease in the amount paid for this tobacco such that a decade after his first recorded purchase of English goods, he owed his London merchant £1,800 (Pogue 1994:106). This flawed system led to a credit crisis and severe credit contractions in the 1760s and again before the war when English factors began to call in their debts – all the while, debt doubled from 1766 to 1776 (Breen 1985:128). Today's culture of debit is largely anonymous and impersonal – one could hardly imagine sending a personal letter to a large bank asking for leniency. However, Breen (1985:91) argues that because independence and personal autonomy were highly valued by the planter elite, they came to associate being in debt with the loss of personal liberty and of an affront to a person's independence. "When hard-pressed British merchants began to call insolvent Tidewater gentlemen to account, the planters acted like 'friends' betrayed" (Breen 1985:123).

Colonial planters were not only at the mercy of English factors for the value of their tobacco and the extension or retraction of their credit, but also for their role as personal shoppers. Despite the fact that George Washington and other gentry planters had access to a wider range of goods from England, they were still dependent on a middle man, on a metropolitan arbiter of taste, to deliver the goods they desired (Rozbicki 1998; Yokota 2011). "George Washington's orders for supplies to be shipped from England to Mount Vernon by his merchant Robert Cary exhibit two conspicuous characteristics: first, an acute concern that all objects be as close to what was currently the approved high taste as possible and, second, an equally acute reliance on Cary to decide for Washington what was 'in the newest taste'" (Rozbicki 1998:141-142). We know from Washington and Cary's correspondence, that the former's expectations often went unmet (Ragsdale 1989). Subservience, frustration, embarrassment, fear of losing personal autonomy, threats to the tobacco culture and, therefore, the Virginia planter's way of life, all caused an unease and anxiety on the part of the gentry during this period.

Religion and the Challenge to Cultural Legitimacy. Economic challenges and their effects on ideological confidence were not the only ones faced by Virginia's mid-eighteenth century elites. Rhys Isaac's (1982) anthropologically-inspired historical narrative of religious change in the Revolutionary period depicts a society organized by the ideals of patriarchy transforming to one defined by values of toleration, morality, mutual compact, and individual autonomy. During the period from 1740 through 1790, "distinct gentry families emerged and came to be more and more set apart by an increasingly refined way of life" as seen in architecture, landscape change, and other forms of material culture (Isaac 1982:73). By the mid-eighteenth century, the gentry sought class exclusion and a strict social hierarchy during all governmental and popular events, from court days to church services to cock fights. Even as they

sought to isolate themselves at the top of this ladder by concentrating resources and positions of power in all aspects of colonial life, their position was weakened by revolutionary popular movements, both political and religious, through the destabilization of the consignment system, and through the continued control of colonial society by the British (Isaac 1982:137-138). The popular religious movement called the Great Awakening provided colonists with the vocabulary to express their challenge to the hierarchical power structures symbolically reinforced in every manifestation of material culture from the traditional, in landscape, architecture, church, and court, to the phenomenological, interpersonal interactions between travelers on roads and during popular sporting events. Before the Great Awakening, power and hierarchy characterized colonial mentality influenced by Old World ideals. After the Great Awakening, a shift in mentality occurred as the colonial experience, through the form of religion, challenged the traditional social order and sought to instill a new one.

Provincialism and the Struggle for Cultural Legitimacy. By the mid-eighteenth century, Kulikoff (1986:280) argues that the Chesapeake planter elite had coalesced into a dominant, powerful, and self-conscious socio-economic class. Wealthy families in previous decades still had to contend with a rebellious workforce in need of constant supervision that lessened time for leisurely and educational pursuits that would distinguish them from yeoman planters (Kulikoff 1986:276-280). Despite the formation of this cohesive ruling class, Rozbicki (1998) argues that the group struggled for cultural legitimacy and recognition of authority not from unruly yeoman planters or rebellious enslaved African Americans, but from their peers in England. The goal of upper class colonial Americans and Englishmen was the same, Rozbicki (1998:24) suggests, to retain "control over the symbolic power of gentility." Control, in the form of restricted access to objects embodying taste, architectural forms, education, among others, provided legitimacy and

cultural acceptance of genteel authority. Therefore, if we are to apply this model to material culture, planter elites controlled these hallmarks of gentility to provide legitimacy or acceptance of authority. However, problematically, gentility was an ideology that necessitated legitimization on the part of appropriate arbiters. Yokota (2011:10) uses words like "marginality", "inferiority", and "liminality" to describe the relationship between colonial expatriates and British still living in England. Purchasing and importing goods from these "arbiters of taste" formed a bridge between subject and colonizer, between frontier and motherland (Yokota 2011: 75). For an ideology to be legitimate, it must be deemed so by arbiters who were in a position to judge such things.

> For genteel style, taste, literary and architectural forms, manners, dress, or virtues to be recognized as authentic and reputable, they had to carry the mark of approval by an authority qualified to declare such standards legitimate... For colonial gentry there was practically only one available source of such arbitration, the metropolis that not only defined what was polite and refined but also controlled this precious capital by assigning it to the anointed (Rozbicki 1998:24-25).

Unfortunately for the colonial gentry, metropolitan elite judges did not comment favorably upon colonial attempts at gentility and, therefore, cultural legitimacy. Rozbicki (1998:77) remarks that negative cultural commentary in the form of "condescension and patronizing stereotypes" was so ubiquitous as to only require a sample in his study. Captured in a "wide variety of publications, from journals, travel literature, political pamphlets, and scientific treatises to novels, drama, and poetry," patronizing commentary found by Rozbicki included common themes of ridicule and mockery centered on provincialism, lack of education, tendency towards alcoholism and vulgar behavior, participation in the slave system, and simply bad taste –

all affronts to the legitimacy-seeking colonial elite (Rozbicki 1998; Yokota 2011). Rozbicki (1998:37) writes, "It was the relative rapidity with which – after the introduction of slavery on a large scale – wealth and power were concentrated in the hands of the planter gentry that played a key role in creating a demand for gentility." In other words, Rozbicki argues that the phenomenon of gentility did not arise from a benign desire for a beautiful and polite world, as Bushman (1992) suggests, but instead that the colonial gentry purposefully sought out a cultural norm imported from England and enacted on American soil in order to legitimize their claim to authority and control of colonial society. It was a tool of social control and order, and not simply a model of virtue and refinement. My primary critique of Rozbicki's study is that he leaves unexplored the material realm to support his contention that behind a genteel lifestyle was a struggle for power, control, and legitimacy.

Therefore, despite the fact that the colonial planter gentry lived stably entrenched at the top of the colonial social hierarchy, their steadfast pursuit of a genteel life bolstered by access to and acquisition and display of fine imported goods becomes better contextualized in light of their growing debt and dependence in the international marketplace and their desire for approval from their perceived peers back in England. As she details the process of nation building in America in the decades after the Revolutionary War, Yokota (2011) discovers that the gravitational pull of the motherland was so strong that Americans continued to seek out European models of culture and gentility embodied in imported goods even after they won their freedom. "When Washington and other colonial elites pledged to change their life-long purchasing habits by signing non-importation and non-consumption agreements, they did not agree to abandon European standards of gentility," standards that drove consumption into the nineteenth century (Yokota 2011:86). Decades passed before Americans found their footing in the global marketplace by, for example,

forging direct trade relationships to China for their prized porcelain and other exports and eschewing the English middle man (Yokota 2011). This context forms the backdrop from which my hypothesis about differential access to goods is based.

To conclude, the consumer revolution of the mid-eighteenth century was concomitant with the shift among gentry planters towards the wholesale adoption of ideals of gentility and refinement as applied to one's daily life and material surroundings. The two phenomena – gentility and the consumer revolution – went hand and hand as evidenced in this discussion of changes that George Washington wrought to his mansion over time, "the reshaping and furnishing of his mansion also made it an enduring monument to the consumer revolution and to the pursuit of gentility and power that affected the lives of many of the Virginian's contemporaries" (Sweeney 1994:1). This all-encompassing goal of genteel lifestyles on the part of the planter elite motivated consumerism to new heights as seen in all forms of material culture from grand architecture to everyday eating utensils. Some scholars have dedicated their research to documenting and detailing all aspects of genteel material culture (i.e., Carr and Walsh 1994) while others have sought to problematize and theorize its origins and functions (i.e., Shackel 1993; Leone 2005). What these studies have in common, however, is an adherence to gentility as the grand narrative of consumerism. Such a grand historical narrative is absent to date from consumer studies focusing on non-elite habits. Out-dated models, such as the motivation to emulate upper classes (Veblen 1899; Simmel 1904), have largely been discredited in this post-modern era. What is left are competing theories of consumer motivation that either more accurately reflect colonial conditions or modern theoretical fractures.

Non-elite Consumerism. The narrative explaining non-elite consumer motivations is comparatively more diffuse, less well-formulated, and understudied for this region and time

period. It may be that slaves and poor and middling whites were not motivated to enter stores to accomplish one single-minded goal, such as the pursuit of gentility, but many, both economic and cultural. To date, most of the literature on slave-related material culture falls within the conversation of creolization and cosmology (Samford 1996), and not within the framework of consumerism and consumer choice, with some exceptions (Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2004; Galle 2006, 2010). Heath (1999b:48) cautions that "the focus on ethnicity and cosmology itself as the principle explanatory device for interpreting the detritus of quarters, shops, and other spaces inhabited by slaves risks diminishing the impact of slavery itself on individual choice and on the creation and maintenance of group identities." Perhaps because of this singular focus on discovering and tracing "Africanisms" in the archaeological and documentary record, the world of slave consumerism remains less theorized than that of elite whites.

Conspicuous Production. Bell's (2000) dissertation is one of the few to explore consumerism among a broad swath of wealth categories in rural Virginia. Her findings, from probate inventories and the archaeological record, suggest that consumer motivations of the majority of Virginia's colonial and nineteenth century residents were complex. Theories of emulation cannot explain the fact that most consumers put economic and agricultural needs at the tops of their shopping lists, as opposed to fine consumer goods meant to serve as symbols of conspicuous consumption. By individually cataloguing and analyzing probate inventories dating from 1700 to 1900, Bell is able to establish the fact that domestic amenities made up a much smaller proportion of one's estate than did agricultural goods, especially amongst wealthier planters – hence her argument for conspicuous production as opposed to conspicuous consumption. Conspicuous production, a way to signal success through products tied to agriculture, was a consumer motivation shared by both elite and non-elite rural Virginians.

Costly signaling, Bell argues, can be found mainly in categories of material culture like property, livestock, and slaves, and in addition to fine ceramics, wigs, and clocks. Investments in expenditures related to an agrarian way of life brought disparate consumers together under a shared motivation – to succeed at farming and animal husbandry and to ensure the economic viability of future generations of family members. Her work alerts us to the fundamental idea that material culture of all levels, from high style to mundane and prosaic, has the potential to inform us of cultural principals enacted in tangible remains.

Costly Signaling. Jillian Galle's (2006, 2010) work offers the most recent example of an anthropological approach to slave consumption to date. In her use of DAACS, the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS 2011), Galle employs costly-signaling theory, an outgrowth of evolutionary theory, to suggest that slaves living in Virginia increasingly purchased goods of European manufacture to communicate to each other certain personal, non-readily apparent qualities such as knowledge of fashion, economic independence, and reproductive fitness. Much like Carson's (1994) argument that the consumer revolution developed during a time of high population mobility and within a "world of strangers," Galle too approaches the material record as a collection of signs and signals between individuals and groups whose personal qualities were widely unknown. There is still much room in the theoretical arena of slave material culture because, as Heath (2010:4) notes, costly-signaling theory "runs the risk of explaining all motivations, and masking nuanced behavior that may not have responded to evolutionary imperatives."

Agency Theory. Other approaches to consumerism, not just on the part of enslaved individuals, have fallen under the general category of agency theory. In other words, individual, free actions are visible in the archaeological record through consumer items as proxies for the

expression of choice, identity, and personhood. Focusing on the free white population in the colonies during the years before the American Revolution, Breen (2004) offers the compelling argument that it was the collective action of consumerism – be it in a store or through the consignment system – that allowed for the development of a shared language of protest and resistance fundamental to the developing politics of independence. As the act of consumption became more common, "ordinary colonists believed that they had a right to make choices from among contending products in a consumer marketplace. Selections reflecting personal preference for color, weight, and texture were expressions of a cultural process known as self-fashioning" (Breen 2004:243). The freedom that colonists derived from choosing consumer goods allotted them a modicum of independence not felt before in their provincial standing and peripheral relationship to England. Paradoxically, despite this feeling of independence cultivated by consumerism, some have argued that the colonists were becoming more British than the British themselves through their purchase and use of imports from England (Deetz 1977). Those freedoms underwent challenges with the Stamp Act of 1765, addressed by the subsequent adoption of the non-importation acts, and were the colonists' way of politicizing consumerism and making their nascent independence known to the English merchants and the parliament. These individual acts become collectively political as colonists also began to realize that by withholding the expression of choice, ideas of independence could be communicated. The group agency which drew from the experience of interacting with this newly developing world of goods offers an inspiring model for scholars of material culture research.

Martin's (2008) study, too, focuses on the importance of choice among enslaved shop-goers in Virginia's backcountry during the eighteenth century. Martin provides a detailed study of the purchases made by slaves who patronized the store of John Hook in the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth century. She (2008:174) writes, "The ability to purchase consumer goods put slaves on the same performance stage as poorer whites, and it allowed them to make choices – however limited." Further, "but it is through their purchases at John Hook's store that these slaves exercised powers of agency… Despite the horrors of their servitude, they too participated, in the smallest of ways, in a consumer world" (Martin 2008:192). For example, she uses the purchase made by a slave named Suckey, a looking glass or mirror, as a departure point for an interpretation of the meaning of this object to an enslaved woman. Through a cross-cultural study of the significance of mirrors, Martin posits that the object may have possessed a cosmological purpose for its owner. Here we see the effects of choice, and the meaning of choice, operational on an individual level.

The Politics of Choice. Marxist historical archaeologists and critical theorists have recently engaged scholars of consumerism in a debate about agency. Specifically, Wurst and McGuire (1999) and Mullins (2004) have argued that by emphasizing enslaved African and African American participation in the marketplace and acts of consumption, we run the risk of ignoring the tensions of domination and resistance, of power and inequality that existed in the pre-emancipation period. Wurst and McGuire (1999:198-199) caution, "the focus on individual meanings and consumption masks the social relations that lay beneath, sustaining the illusion that inequality and exploitation do not exist in modern core capitalism." In Wurst and McGuire's critique of consumerism and consumer behavior theory, not just as it applies to enslaved Africans but to all consumers, they argue that freedom of choice is a false notion and that even within constrained options not all choices are equal. These authors suggest that access to the marketplace may have been denied to some individuals at certain times and in certain places. This was surely the case for enslaved individuals living in the vicinity of Alexandria who were

only allowed to travel to market early on Sunday mornings (Thompson 2001:92). Additionally, once at market, consumers' choices were not boundless, but instead constrained by factors such as geographical access, socio-economic status, and gender and household composition or stage of lifecycle (Heath 2004). "We find it self-evident that all people are not equivalent. In any social context only certain individuals—holders of privileged social status within certain social groups—will have broad freedom of choice" (Wurst and McGuire 1999:193).

Mullins (2004), on the other hand, is not quite so dismissive about the potential of consumer studies to illuminate agency in the archaeological record, but is critical of the historical archaeology of consumerism to date – he argues that our efforts thus far have found little relevance beyond our disciplinary boundaries despite the subject's broad scholarly appeal. He cites two reasons for our lack of cross-disciplinary impact. The first echoes Wurst and McGuire's critique: that we have yet to fully appreciate consumption as a political act and recognize "a complex range of politicized consumption patterns that variously reproduce, negotiate, and resist dominant ideology and structural inequality" (Mullins 2004:197). He (2004:210) stresses, we must be "critical of the empowering aspects of material consumption" and understand that though the consumer movement of the eighteenth century had revolutionary qualities, it did not affect everyone equally. But despite the fact that the consumer arena was an unlevel playing field, Mullins urges historical archaeologists to explore the competing forces that operate on the unequal yet transformative potential of material goods.

For example, returning to the previous discussion of consumer motivations, most historiographies of consumerism begin with emulation models and trickle down theories of material culture (Veblen 1899; Simmel 1904). Mullins' perspective on consumer motivations challenges archaeologists to potentially allow room for a discussion of a revised theory of

emulation for the movement of material culture. "Emulation is infeasible in its most mechanical caricature as poor people instrumentally parroting the elite, but it is not without some genuine interpretive power… There is clear evidence that many middling or impoverished consumers were swayed by consumer goods and consumption patterns they literally saw displayed in public [or private] space: African-American and European immigrant domestics, for example, often were introduced to particular goods through their labor in White genteel homes…" (Mullins 2004:205). Kern (2010:80-83) writes evocatively of the enmeshment of enslaved cooks and kitchen assistants in the material world of their elite owners, from Anglo-American food preparation and service traditions, to the actual English-made implements that aided in cooking and presenting meals. It was quite likely that these slaves were as well or even better versed than their white owners in a culture of foodways that was not their own and that they acted as agents of enculturating white elite youth into appropriate genteel behaviors at the table. Her work raises the question, are the forces of emulation at play when enslaved individuals made purchases of punch bowls made in the Netherlands or stonewares made in England? Or are we witness to a process of enculturation and socialization, which starts at birth? Or did enslaved individuals working in close proximity to white households appropriate, emulate, and borrow objects of gentility to bolster their positions within the slave community, internalize the ideals of freedom that come from expressions of choice, or communicate aspects of identity, skill or success? Mullins goes on to suggest, however, that while the practice of emulation may have, and still does, exist, there is much more complexity in how goods and therefore ideals were emulated, and how properties such as appropriation and reinterpretation might have affected an object's original intention.

The second critique leveled by Mullins suggests that our methodological approach to consumerism is flawed. It is worth revisiting Wurst and McGuire's (1999:193) contention that "choice is a privilege of the powerful and well to do" in comparison with the vision Breen (2004) has for the power of material culture in colonial America. He writes, "The Anglo-American consumer economy of the eighteenth-century was in many ways strikingly egalitarian. Anyone with money could purchase what he or she desired." Was the colonial marketplace egalitarian? Or was it solely in control of the powerful privileged class? The fundamental question posed by this dissertation in regards to differential access to consumer goods is not a new one, just one that has remained unexplored since Carson initially posed it in 2001, "How evenly or unevenly have [material possessions] been distributed and how have those differences rearranged the social order?" I believe that this disagreement over the level of choice available to anyone but the colonial elite stems directly from the fact that this concept has not yet been systematically explored from a multi-source material culture approach. Theorizing about choice and its nature can only be made relevant and tested through data collection, the application of middle range theory, analysis, and theoretical interpretation. Compellingly, Mullins (2004:208) seems to be suggesting just the kind of approach needed to reconcile the perspectives of Wurst and McGuire and Breen, "**despite the overwhelming turn to consumption [in archaeology], it seems that few scholars have wrestled with how systematic object analysis might provide fresh insight into how things structure and encourage various forms of desire and identity formation."** Systematic, comparative object analysis from multiple sources of evidence in combination with a critical approach to the empowering act of consumption and consumer choice – these are the goals of this dissertation research. This is where a triangulation of sources representing the totality of the mid-eighteenth century consumer revolution – George Washington's orders for

goods, local stores accounts and inventories, and the archaeological record – and a querying of avenues of access to goods become integral in working through the complexities of consumer motivations among non-elites.

Materiality of Motivation

How have scholars tackled the study of this complex subject from a methodological perspective? Research on consumerism can be characterized as solidly interdisciplinary and primarily based on systematic data analyses (Table 3-1). The bulk of the analytical work on the consumer revolution as it pertains to the New World began in the early 1990s simultaneously from archaeological and historical perspectives. Carr and Walsh's (1994) study of probate inventories from multiple Chesapeake counties exposed in detail the trend of consumerism as a commonality of different social classes (with estate values from £0 to £491 and above) and paved the way for future studies that have built on this foundational research. They developed a list of 12 amenities, called the "amenities index," that allowed for a statistically-based measure of lifestyle change in the eighteenth century. They found that prior to 1700, the acquisition of amenities remained low; however after 1700 the score gradually increased until it reached an average of five amenities per household in 1770. This trend was not just observable among the highest wealth categories, but the data "make clear that inhabitants at all levels of wealth were improving their standard of consumption" (Carr and Walsh 1994:70).

Table 3-1. Systematic studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century consumerism.

Authors	Publication Date	Datasets	Area of Study	Period of Study	Subject
Martin	1993	Store Accounts	Regional (VA's Backcountry)	1760-1810	Exploration of Consumerism amongst Ethnic, Racial, Class Categories
Shackel	1993	Archaeological Record and Probate Inventories	City (Annapolis, MD) and Region (Anne Arundel County, MD)	1690s-1870s	Comparison of Wealth Categories over Time
Carr and Walsh	1994	Probate Inventories	Regional	1680s-1770s	Comparison of Wealth Categories over Time
Heath	1997	Store Accounts	Regional (Bedford and Franklin County, VA)	1771-1776, 1800-1808	Comparison of Consumer Habits of Slaves over Time
Veech	1998	Archaeological Record and Store Accounts	Local (Barnes Plantation, Fairfax County, VA)	1740-1770	Study of Abraham Barnes' Consumer Habits in Comparison to nearby Plantation Owners
Crane et al.	1999	Archaeological Record and Store Accounts	Local (Dumfries, VA)	1760-1775	Exploration and Comparison of Consumer Behavior of Boarding House Owner
Goodwin	1999	Archaeological Record and Courtesy Literature	Regional (MA)	1660-1760	Study of Merchant Class Consumerism
Bell	2000	Archaeological Record and Probate Inventories	Regional (VA's Piedmont and Tidewater)	1700-1900	Comparison of Wealth Categories over Time
Reber	2003	Store Accounts	Local (Colchester, VA)	1759-1766	Exploration of Consumerism amongst Fairfax County Residents
Heath	2004	Plantation Ledgers and Store Accounts	Regional (VA's Piedmont)	1770-1810	Comparison between Enslaved Men and Women as Producers and Consumers
Clemens	2005	Probate Inventories	Regional (Rural Mid-Atlantic: MD, PA, CT)	1760-1820	Comparison of Wealth Categories from Rural Areas over Time
Martin	2008	Store Accounts	Regional (VA's Backcountry)	1760-1810	Exploration of Consumerism amongst Ethnic, Racial, Class Categories
Nash	2009	Probate Inventories	Atlantic World (SC, VA, MA and England)	1670-1770	Comparison between Colonies and England and amongst Wealth Categories in SC
Hatch	2009	Archaeological Record	Regional (VA)	1670-1850	Comparison of Consumer Goods between Slave Sites over Time
Galle	2010	Archaeological Record	Regional (VA)	1700-1800	Comparison of Consumer Goods between Slave Sites over Time
Lee	2012	Archaeological Record and Plantation Ledgers	Local and Regional (Poplar Forest Plantation, Bedford County, Piedmont, VA)	1840s-1860s	Slave Production and Consumption Practices on an Antebellum Plantation

This methodology has resonated so profoundly in historical and archaeological communities as to have spurred at least seven mutations of the original amenities index (see Shackel 1993; Veech 1998; Bell 2000; Clemens 2005; Hatch 2009; Nash 2009). Around the same time, Shackel (1993), in addition to an analysis of probate inventories, brought the archaeological record to bear on the picture of consumerism in Annapolis and surrounding Anne Arundel County. His question had less to do with detailing the specifics of the revolution and more to do with the cultural implications of capitalism and its effects on consumer habits. This was the first data-driven, anthropologically-based study of consumerism for this specific phase of the consumer revolution. Analyzing the consumer revolution through probate inventories continues as a productive approach today (for example, Bell 2000; Clemens 2005; Nash 2009), despite their inherent biases (see Pogue 1993, 1997 and Veech 1998 for discussions).

In light of research questions devoted to African-American consumer habits and in response to some of the biases that hinder full interpretation of the material world through probate inventories, archaeologists and material culture specialists increasingly began to examine documents like store ledgers as early as the late 1990s (Heath 1997; Veech 1998; Crane et al. 1999). While probate inventories offer a snapshot of material ownership at the time of death of free individuals, store accounts instead present a dynamic record of consumer purchases on the part of wealthy individuals like George Washington and George Mason (Hackett 2000), but also by small and middling planters as well as enslaved individuals who entered stores on behalf of their masters, neighbors, relatives, or for themselves. Preliminary findings of this research suggest that the purchases made by slaves and free consumers were remarkably similar (Martin 2008:179-178). Archaeological research supports this initial finding that lower class whites and slaves are for the most part materially indistinguishable, at least when applying traditional

criteria (Heath and Breen 2012). It is the hypothesis of this dissertation work, however, that real, yet subtle differences in the materiality of consumer choices made by different groups are measurable in the archaeological record once the totality of data available is brought to bear on the question of consumerism in this crucial period.

Determining consumer motivations from patterns of material remains presents a challenge to historical archaeologists. However, it is hypothesized here that through the lens of material inequality and restricted access to both high style and everyday objects, it is possible to discern consumer motivation in the archaeological and documentary records. If simple emulation or a benign quest for gentility were at play facilitating and cultivating the emerging consumer revolution on the part of gentry planters, then I would suggest little disparity would exist in terms of the availability and distribution of both costly and cheap goods in the colonial marketplace. The question remains to be explored – how different were the goods stocked in stores versus those available through consignment? As the Scottish retail network developed along the shores of the upper Potomac region, we should see a decrease in the reliance on the part of large-scale tobacco producers on the consignment system. This expectation, however, is not met. George Washington, for example, heavily and consistently invested in thousands of goods from his factor in England with the exception of two years: in 1758, when he was away fighting the French and Indian War and in 1769, during the height of the non-importation agreements, as will be extensively explored in Chapter 5. Additionally, Washington and his peers relied on their factors for not only high style, but also utilitarian goods like storage jars and milk pans, though these were more conveniently available at the local store than those imported through consignment.

Shopkeepers and merchants like Alexander Henderson tried to meet the needs of their upper class patrons, but usually were not rewarded for these efforts. For example, Henderson's schemes of goods show that in the first two years of Colchester's documented operation, he ordered hundreds of more costly Chinese export porcelain vessels to be sold to those who could afford them. However, after 1760, no additional porcelains were ordered suggesting that they were not, in essence, flying off the shelves (see Patrick 1990 for similar findings at other Chesapeake stores). This consumer evidence raises the question, why did George Washington and others of his socio-economic class remain loyal to the consignment system even as store owners tried to meet their consumer needs? Patrick (1990:68) writes that some merchants in his study attempted to expand to a larger market in the late 1760s and 1770s, but "old habits were slow to die in Maryland and Virginia, and the elite population's persistent attachment to the consignment system method continued to plague local merchants eager to expand their markets." Was this pattern really just a symptom of inertia? Or was there something more to this commitment to a relatively closed system of access to consumer goods on the part of an increasingly anxious and destabilized group?

In his work, Patrick (1990:72-73) just begins to explore the margins of this issue:

> "No real logical answer exists for why the Chesapeake gentry foreswore local shops, with the exception that British agents offered the highly desirable services of banker… Perhaps the elite's tenacious grip on the traditional method of conducting business had a symbolic meaning for them… If the colonial gentry in the Chesapeake truly permitted a materialistic determinism based on consumption to assist in creating structured social distancing, then undoubtedly they clung to the consignment system beyond its usefulness."

I would even grant the Chesapeake gentry less reason than Patrick does, for throughout the ledgers of Glassford and Company, we see that merchants and stores also acted like banks, by extending credit on tobacco sold to them (see also Cuddy 2008). Patrick (1990:76) concludes, "Thus, the geographical pocket centering around the Chesapeake [as opposed to New England] where the consignment system was preferred by the elite was one more attempt of the wealthy to remove themselves and control commoners." I hypothesize that through the systematic exploration of object access and distribution, elite material consumer motivations will become even clearer.

That being said, however, as Bell (2000:576) writes, "Motive is enormously complex – difficult to sort out among living populations, and even more so at an historical distance." Through a systematic exploration of object access and distribution, I will create the baseline of a material universe from which individuals could express varying levels of choice. Without it, motivation is completely obscured. With it, we may be able to arrive at a more nuanced interpretation of motivation that allows room for different defensible expressions.

Development of the Consumer Economy

Understanding consumer motivations must be based on an exploration of the ways in which goods traveled throughout colonial society. The following pages discuss these avenues, which were available to different segments of the colonial population, and why certain individuals chose the avenues that they did.

Early Retail Trade. Before the large-scale expansion of retail stores along the Potomac River watershed in the 1740s, individuals obtained goods through the consignment system either directly or indirectly through a nearby planter with a relationship to a British agent, by frequenting plantation-operated stores, or via a system of peddling where merchants traveled

between plantations, usually by boat. By the 1690s, large planter participation in the consignment system became the primary mode in which tobacco was sold and goods were imported to the Chesapeake (Ragsdale 1996:4). In these personal planter-factor relationships, forged during the unstable years of the tobacco trade between 1690 and 1720, planters were willing to pay high prices for shipping, duties, insurance, unloading, and storage of the cargo with the hopes that a motivated factor could procure for them the highest prices for the sale (Ragsdale 1996:4; Reber 2003:21). The factors were inspired to perform on behalf of the planter because of the sales commission (approximately two and a half to three percent), which was dependent, of course, on the price (Ragsdale 1996:5). As the consignment system matured, these British agents began to offer their clients additional services such as banking and personal shopping. Planters, too, began to assume a different role in their local communities, particularly in their relationships with smaller-scale planters. They offered their neighbor yeoman planters credit with which to buy land or slaves and bought their tobacco to re-sell on the European market.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, smaller planters had fewer choices than their larger-scale neighbors in terms of opportunities to sell tobacco and purchase goods than they would by mid-century. Few permanent stores existed, except those run by merchant-planters on their plantations or nearby. "'Great' men saw them as a profitable sideline integral in an overall package of financially productive plantation activities, but they also may have been seen as a means of expressing individual largesse service to the community, providing necessities to smaller planters, servants, and laborers whose low incomes prevented direct orders or stockpiles of goods" (Yentsch 1994:134-135). For example, the inventory of the wealthy Addison family who resided at Oxon Hill, just across the Potomac from Mount Vernon, indicates

that Thomas Addison possibly operated a store by the time of his death in 1727 (Garrow and Wheaton 1986; Yentsch 1994:134). Martin (1993:179) writes of more informal transactions wherein planters purchased goods from England to sell to their neighbors until supplies ran out. Yeoman planters could procure goods through the services of occasional peddlers and traders. Martin (2008:13) describes, "The first retail trade thus constituted a kind of waterborne peddling in which merchants traveled to countless private landings to buy tobacco and sell goods." John Mercer, the individual associated with the establishment of the town of Marlborough, Virginia, began his career as a trader with the help of a sloop, as evidenced in his ledger (Watkins 1968:16). He bartered deerskins for "sundry goods" which he then sold to various individuals; his payments included tobacco and cash. He purchased a lot of earthenware from William Rogers of Yorktown and a load of oysters, again presumably for resale.

Development of a Consumer Marketplace. Beginning in about 1730, the tobacco trade and its economic and material consequences underwent a profound restructuring resulting in a change in the ways in which residents of the Chesapeake sold tobacco and purchased consumer goods. Scholars attribute the catalyst of this restructuring to the establishment of the Inspection Act of 1730 and the development of the direct trade system of tobacco sales (Isaac 1982; Ragsdale 1996; Reber 2003; Martin 2008). With the passage of the tobacco inspection act, there was a concerted effort on the part of lawmakers and their gentry supporters to improve the overall quality of Chesapeake tobacco and avoid the boom and bust cycles that had plagued the tobacco market in previous decades. Therefore, with the passage of the act, low grade or "trash" tobacco was to be destroyed and all tobacco had to be inspected at officially-designated warehouses that would then store the acceptable tobacco for export. The effects of the act, some unintended, were three-fold. First, it aided in standardizing and making more efficient the

tobacco trade by offering exporters a few designated ports of departure and shorter waiting times for crop pickup and loading. Second, it took the onus of tobacco grading off of the merchant and placed it onto an independent inspector. This spurred on what came to be known as the direct trade system of tobacco sales (as opposed to the consignment system) that allowed merchants to "purchase tobacco sight unseen and trust that it would sell on the reexport market" (Ragsdale 1996:12). Those who took the most advantage of this new direct trade system were the Glasgow merchants who, by the eve of the Revolution, bought half of the tobacco grown in the Chesapeake (Ragsdale 1996:13). Reber (2003:22) refers to this restructuring as the "bifurcation of the trade." Finally, the tobacco inspection act created a series of inspection stations throughout the Chesapeake, which subsequently offered centralized locations for a full range of associated activities. In fact, Scottish merchants took advantage of these new, convenient nodes of commercial activity and often set up their stores nearby (Ragsdale 1996:14; Martin 2008:14).

Forms of Eighteenth-Century Commodity Exchange

Therefore, by the mid-eighteenth century, there existed two primary, formal avenues for procuring consumer goods: the consignment system and the direct trade system. By formal, I mean those transactions for which there was usually a paper trail of some kind. This bifurcation of trade and resulting bifurcation of avenues of access to consumer goods, though not exclusive, tended to divide along lines of class and race. These two avenues were supplemented by other formal avenues of access to goods including auctions, inheritance, and marriage.

Why Consign? Various scholars have raised the question of why large-scale planters continued with the consignment system after direct trade became a standard economic mode ca. 1740. The reason certainly cannot be explained by convenience, as George Washington and his peers often had to wait appreciable amounts of time for their goods to arrive. "By choice, the

elite preferred the aggravation and anticipation of waiting for the return of their orders from London, perhaps as much as a year later from initial placement" (Patrick 1990:69). Hypotheses have been offered ranging on the spectrum from economic to cultural to a combination of both.

One of the most often cited reasons for the continuation of the consignment system is that it allowed elites open, unrestricted access to the trans-Atlantic world of goods, a mainline to fashion, gentility, and high taste (Patrick 1990; Ragsdale 1996; Martin 2008). Bushman (1992) argues that gentry planters like George Washington in the 1760s "did not consider New York or Philadelphia shops [much less those closer by in Virginia or Maryland] adequate for his fashionable needs… Virtually every item Washington ordered could be purchased in Philadelphia in the 1760s, though perhaps not always to meet Washington's standards." Additionally, British factors could supply the operators of large plantations with the quantity of goods necessary for continued operation, for example, large quantities of oznabrigs for slave clothing or farming implements to keep fields maintained. As Martin (2008:43) notes, "A consignment system allowed planters to order almost anything they desired" regardless of price, fueled by the extension of generous credit. Additionally, "the consignment system gave the purchaser almost unmediated access to all the shops in England, constrained only by the diligence of one's merchant factor or friend" (Martin 2008:43). Therefore, if pursuit of fashion dominated the interests of a gentleman, the consignment system could answer the demand with a direct line to the fashion center. Ragsdale (1996) casts this reason for the continuation of the system in light of the personal shopper relationship, wherein one individual was responsible for procuring the goods that the planter trusted were of the latest fashion. When the factor failed to perform, elite shoppers may still have preferred the slights in taste of an Englishman than a colonist. The personal shopper aspect of the relationship was considered a "distinct privileged of

the colony's wealthiest planters" (Ragsdale 1996:32). This argument aligns well with that offered by Rozbicki (1998) – that elite Virginians sought cultural legitimacy from their peers in England, as opposed to those more conveniently located. Further, Ragsdale (1996) suggests that the simple fact of enjoying a personal relationship with a British factor, even if he did work for the planter, was a social advantage.

Not only was open access to high quality and high quantities of goods a foundation of the continued factor-planter relationship, but so too was the extension of serious quantities of credit. Though Scottish merchants made credit available to all of their customers, they were unwilling and unable to supply the large sums of credit necessary for establishing and maintaining large, diverse plantation operations (Ragsdale 1996:30-32). For this reason alone, it would have been difficult for Washington and his peers to extricate themselves from the bonds of the system even without the other motivating factors. As mentioned previously, elite planters were all too well-aware of these credit and debt issues.

Additionally, British factors maintained a monopoly on the high-end of the tobacco market. These individuals had the time and resources to invest in the marketing and sale of high grade tobacco of the sweet-scented variety, outlets to which the Scottish merchants did not have access. Therefore, planters in the lower tidewater region, where the soil was richest for the cultivation of this tobacco product, had incentive to keep the consignment trade alive and active (Ragsdale 1996:30-32).

The final economic reason for the continuance of the consignment system, Martin (2008:44) suggests, was that it was, in fact, cheaper because it "allowed one to avoid the profit markup that local merchants took as middlemen." However, this observation is open to question, largely because it has not yet been systematically addressed. Did agents really offer goods at a

cheaper rate when taking into account shipping expenses, insurance, commission, and other fees that were a fact of consignment? In fact, Ragsdale (1996:32-33) cites economic expense as one of the main reasons that, as the tobacco trade began to decline, the disadvantages of the system began to outweigh the advantages. Quoting wealthy planter Landon Carter,

> "it must be madness that can continue attached to such a trade and the favour or whatever it is that inclines a man to trade to London is very dearly purchased." And, indeed, the charges for freight, duties, insurance premiums, loading and unloading, storage, brokerage, and the merchants' commission inflated the costs of marketing the crop, all at the expense of the planter. The sources of the merchants' profits was the commission of 2 ½ or 3 percent of the final sales price and the manipulation of customs duties (Ragsdale 1996:32-33).

The displeasure that planters sometimes expressed with the system, be they motivated by perceived costliness, delays in shipping, or aggravation over the reliance on a middle man to interpret one's material wants and needs, were never outweighed by the advantages previously mentioned until the complete economic restructuring that came with the American Revolution.

However, perhaps the economics of the situation do not explain the entire consignment saga. As Patrick (1990:75-76) notes,

> Because the answer does not appear to be of a rational, economic need for the maintenance of the consignment system, then what? The gentry's solid stance behind the superannuated consignment method is summed up by George Washington who maintained the consignment status quo until the political calamities of 1774, yet as early as 1766 had been reminding his London agent that he could shop more cheaply and satisfyingly in local shops. Washington was merely posturing and threatening in this

> statement; the documents prove that. But his frustration is palpable and thus places the attraction of personalized selling, purchasing and banking (being a mark of distinction and class) over the difficulties of shopping through a British agent.

Symbolic or cultural meanings for the maintenance of the consignment system, and the objects entangled in its transactions, offer some illuminating interpretations as to its survival. Grant McCracken (1988) suggests that consumer goods can act in two ways – as instruments of cultural continuity and change. Therefore avenues of access to these goods do the same. Because, as Douglas and Isherwood (1979) propose, consumer goods are the tangible representatives of cultural principles, goods and their systems of procurement can act as stabilizers or cultural moorings in a world of change. "Goods," McCracken (1988:131) writes, "create a kind of ballast that works against cultural drift." Kellar (2004) found evidence of this principle in action in her study of the material culture of slaves living on St. John's Island in the Caribbean. The artifacts revealed a reliance on goods that embodied conservative cultural principles and ties back to Africa in the earlier contexts, a reliance that diminished over time. Does the continued participation on the part of elite planters in the consignment system represent a kind of ballast of tradition, an instrument of continuity during a period of significant colonial change? Did the consignment system act as an anchor when "everywhere a frenetic chasing after fashionable goods had generated disorder" (Breen 2004:156)?

Kellar found that in addition to artifacts acting as ballast, the early contexts also showed evidence of goods operating as fences or socio-cultural barriers, a concept developed by both Douglas and Isherwood (1979) and McCracken (1988). In her example, the slaves of St. John used goods as a method to separate and insulate themselves from the dominant culture. Goods and their systems of procurement could also be said to act as fences to insulate and separate

dominant cultures from subordinate ones or as ways of marking or bounding socio-economic and racial territory. In this way, perhaps, the consignment system reflected a kind of barrier to the emulative advances of lower classes striving for the positive effects of donning fashionable clothes or eating in mannerly ways. Perhaps the consignment system was another tool in the development and protection of the genteel ideology as described by Rozbicki.

Why direct trade? Scholars have noted that the Scottish merchants predicted that stealing gentry planters away from their agents might be difficult and instead decided to focus on the smaller planter's business (Patrick 1990; Yentsch 1994; Ragsdale 1996), or those "growers who often owned only a couple of slaves and a few acres of arable land but who nevertheless accounted for over two-thirds of the tobacco produced in Virginia and Maryland" (Breen 2004:123). These planters now had a world of goods catering to their needs open up in the form of these Scottish stores. Additionally, Scottish merchants targeted less well established parts of Virginia outside the lower Chesapeake region either "along the Potomac where the local Oronoco leaf sold well on the French market or increasingly in the Upper James district and throughout the Piedmont" bringing stores filled with inexpensive household and plantation goods to the newly settled areas of Virginia (Ragsdale 1996:16).

To their benefit, yeoman tobacco planters were no longer reliant on their large-planter neighbors to buy their tobacco and, in addition, had easier access to credit to buy goods once their tobacco was sold to the store merchant. Small planters, therefore, could purchase the goods they desired well in advance of their ability to pay for them, while the merchant benefitted from increased business by those to whom they extended generous credit – therefore debt could equally affect large and small planters alike. Debt was often allowed to accumulate for more than

four years before merchants began to collect payment either in the form of tobacco notes or other collateral (Cuddy 2008:62). Isaac (1982:137) describes,

> The Scots interlopers, much resented yet highly successful, operated differently. Instead of receiving and returning consignments, they sent out employees to establish trading stores in many places throughout the colony. At such outposts these 'factors' sold imported goods on credit at a high markup. In exchange they took tobacco, which they shipped to Glasgow, where it was disposed of – largely on the expanding Continental market – for the merchants' profit. This new system reduced the role of colonial gentlemen as intermediaries between small growers and overseas markets.

Reber (2003) suggested that these realigned relationships formed in the direct trade or direct purchase method were not without their costs. On the plus side, farmers did not have to assume the costs and risks of shipping the tobacco. They did, however, have little choice in the price at which the tobacco was sold to the merchant (the standard price) (Reber 2003:22).

The potential to rack up high amounts of debt was not the only thing that consigners and store customers had in common. It appears that complaints about the merchandise were heard from consignment customers and direct purchasers alike (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999; Martin 2008). The correspondence between piedmont merchant John Hook and his suppliers reveals patterns of complaint and disappointment with not only the cost that Hook was charged for shipments of goods, but also of their quality. Hook complained that the buttons he was sent did not match the fabrics he offered for sale rendering them unsellable. He also repeatedly reported on the unsuitability of the agricultural implements he was sent – skinny scythes, small hoes, bad quality sickles – suggesting that both fashion and function were on the minds of Hook's customers (Martin 2008:56-59). Though we do not have the commentary of the customers

themselves, their savvy in participating in this consumer revolution was reflected in Hook's correspondence when he wrote that the success of the store "was absolutely dependent on the 'dispatch, exactness, and judgement in the choise of goods, respecting the quality, collours, patterns and fashions'" (Martin 2008:59). Colchester merchant Alexander Henderson's letterbook reveals a similar pattern of distressed communications back to John Glassford in Scotland. Henderson groused that the "earthenware from Glasgow is intolerably bad and 50% dearer than from Liverpool," complained that the "Princess Linnen last Sent was very bad," prayed that the "printed Cottons be of good patterns," let it be known that "there is great complaints of my China" and concluded that "the Complaints of the Shoes Sent in for these two years have been so great & frequent that I cannot help taking notice of it again" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999). Henderson clearly catered to customers who knew what they wanted and were not afraid to make their voices heard.

Despite the characterization of the bifurcation of the tobacco economy which directed sales of the crop either to British factors or colonial merchants, the wealthy did make purchases of consumer goods at colonial stores. In a pinch or perhaps as a part of a trip for business or pleasure, gentry planters had the ability to "travel to higher-order towns in which greater selection of goods existed" (Martin 2008:44) in addition to the stores in smaller towns. George Washington's plantation ledger records a few of these types of transactions. On July 6, 1757, he paid "Jones the Taylor in Williamsburg" £5.0.9. In 1766, Washington paid his neighbor George Fairfax £1 "to buy sundry trifles in Williamsburg." Similarly, neighbor George Mason paid Washington £1 for "two pr of Snap Earings (in Williamsburg)" that he picked up for Mason's daughters. Closer by, on January 12, 1759, Washington paid £0.6.6 for unknown "Expences at Colchester." This entry into Washington's cash accounts occurred 14 additional times through

1774 (Washington 1750-1774). Martin (2008:44-45) notes, "Options for the acquisition of goods exploded for the wealthy. They could tap into vast formal and informal local systems used by ordinary Virginians… Thus few barriers confronted wealthy Virginians who wanted to acquire particular goods, even luxury ones. They could use the web of relatives and friends and business associates and mercantile partners locally and abroad."

There was a more informal aspect to the direct trade system that opened consumer opportunities for customers possessing purchasing power through resources other than tobacco. The entry of slaves into the eighteenth-century market system has only recently come under study as "the nature of slaves' access to consumer goods and the items they chose to buy remain largely undocumented, testimony to the uneasiness and ambivalence that such slave activities produced among whites and how difficult it was to keep legal or customary boundaries" (Martin 2008:176). For this reason, scholars have begun to turn to the archaeological record for evidence of goods potentially purchased at stores (Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2004; Galle 2006, 2010). Slave presence in stores, however, was not uncommon by mid-century. Often serving masters as errand-runners, George Washington trusted Juby enough to dispatch her to Daniel Payne's store in Dumfries to purchase 15 bars of iron, just as James Mercer did for Tom and Reginal Graham did for Jack (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007:10, 12, 23). Perhaps merchants' comfort level in transacting with slaves acting as customers on behalf of their masters eased their participation in stores as consumers themselves.

Much of this research hinges on the productive potential of slaves living on plantations in the eighteenth and nineteenth century who possessed enough free time and energy to undertake economic endeavors after their required duties ceased for the day (Hudson 1994; Heath 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Thompson 2001; Galle 2006; Martin 2008). Martin (2008:174) argues that slaves

initially worked for themselves to provide for basic needs not met by planters' provisions. Over time, this labor resulted in a production of goods or services that surpassed the individual's or family's needs and allowed slaves to participate in economic transactions such as barter or sale of goods. Galle (2006:27-28) writes,

> Merchants' account books and slave owners' journals demonstrate that by the 1770s enslaved Africans and African Americans in the New World were actively pursuing the acquisition of cash money. Just as the elite and middling classes were scrambling for the latest fashions, primary sources indicate that slaves sold vegetables, chickens, eggs, crafts, and, in some cases, their own labor to earn money to purchase European goods from stores and urban and rural markets. They worked into the night cultivating their own gardens, making brooms, baskets, and quilts, and occasionally completing jobs for which they were paid.

Most of this kind of documented activity occurred at Mount Vernon in the post-Revolutionary period (Thompson 2001). There is some evidence, however, that George Washington paid slaves in cash for unknown goods or services in the pre-Revolutionary period (Washington 1750-1774). There are 18 unique instances of George Washington's transactions with slaves. The clearest reference occurs in 1757 when Washington paid his slaves £0.7.6 for potatoes, etc. He also gave cash directly to his slave Negro Joe for unknown reasons in 1760 and 1764 (Negro Joe). Two of the entries mention the phrase "taking up," which had many historical definitions including to hire, to borrow, to accept or pay, and to take into one's protection, patronage, or other relation (Oxford English Dictionary 2012). It is unclear if these transactions represent payments to slaves or something else. Most of the entries mention the names of enslaved individuals owned by other people. Though speculative, I believe that these transactions represent payments of Washington

directly to the slaves, as opposed to payments to the master mediated by the enslaved person. This is because none of the transactions are repeated in the section of the plantation ledger that is organized under the specific account holder's name. For example, there is no entry in Colonel Fairfax's account that shows Washington paying him, for example, for renting the slaves mentioned.

What they did with this cash or goods in some cases is best documented in a few ledgers such as the "Memorandum Book" for negroes kept by Andrew Bailey, a storekeeper in Virginia, and the "ledger for blacks" kept by Anne Frame of Berkley County, and the ledgers John Hook kept for slaves who frequented his store (Martin 2008:177). There is also a more sporadic record of these types of transactions in accounts like those of William Johnston who operated a store in Yorktown in the 1730s or Alexander Henderson of Colchester who intermixed slave accounts with white or possibly free black accounts (Martin 2008:177-178). Finally, there are intriguing yet speculative suggestions of slave participation in the formal marketplace through the myriad entries in "Accounts of Goods Sold for Ready Money" and "Goods in Barter" that record transactions between Alexander Henderson and individuals who either did not have accounts or who paid for the goods in cash or for those individuals paying in goods instead of cash (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 1764-1769).

Beyond Consignment and Direct Trade: Other Formal Avenues of Access to Goods. Documents reveal consumer practices in addition to planter sale of tobacco to either English factors or local merchants; both wealthy and poor individuals could formally acquire goods through auctions, sales between individuals, and through life events such as marriage and death. Martin (2008:46-47) writes, "An obscure part of the local economy involved the auctioning of goods to satisfy sanctions of wills or pay off debts, to sell off overstock or the estates of stores."

Unknown is "whether 'secondhand' purchase remained significantly cheaper than new items at a local store, but obviously such sales provided an alternative, if only occasional, venue for the purchase of goods." Though these auctions and vendue sales (or wholesale auctions) remain obscure to material culture researchers because of their inconsistent generation of documentary evidence, Breen (2004:140) believes that, "From the perspective of less affluent Americans… vendue sales and peddling may have brought more British manufactures into colonial homes than did urban shops and country stores." Auctions date back to the late seventeenth century, but their size and scale kept constant with the growth of the consumer revolution such that by 1750 "they functioned as a major outlet in the great chain of acquisition" (Breen 2004:140). Often, merchants sponsored vendues to unload quickly excess, unwanted, or unfashionable merchandise or to liquidate a store's estate in the event of closure or relocation (Breen 2004; Martin 2008).

We know, for example, that George Washington participated in at least one public auction in the years before the Revolution. Long time family friends, the Fairfaxes of Belvoir (specifically George William and Sally Cary Fairfax), returned to England in 1773 and directed Washington to rent the nearby mansion and sell the household furnishings at auction (Shott 1978:8). Washington did so and spent £169.12.6 on furnishings for his own use (Table 3-2). Washington invested over £10 each in carpets, blankets, a mahogany chest of drawers, a mahogany sideboard, a sette bed, a mirror in a gilt frame and over £30 each on 12 chairs and 3 curtains. Smaller-scale purchases included pickle pots, a roasting fork, fireplace implements, and a bust of the "Immortal Shakespeare." Most of these items were easily procured through British factors, though furniture like chests and sideboards are underrepresented in Washington's invoices and orders suggesting that these were goods more often procured locally (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 1774). Washington's plantation ledger records a large payment of

£123 to the executors of John Spotswood's estate for "Sundrys bought at the Sale" in 1761 (Washington 1750-1774).

Documentary evidence also exists of a transaction between John Posey and George Washington wherein the former sold the latter £200 worth of livestock and household and plantation furnishings (Table 3-3) (Posey 1767). Posey, like the Fairfaxes, lived on a neighboring plantation to Mount Vernon suggesting that community ties often influenced the flow of goods in colonial society. Posey, unlike the Fairfaxes however, was not considered one of the area's elite. He suffered financial difficulties which eventually entangled the likes of George Washington and George Mason, from whom he borrowed money. In 1763, for example, Posey owed Washington £700; to secure this debt, Washington took a mortgage on Posey's land, slaves and livestock (Thompson 1989:38). When Posey could not repay his debt to Washington in 1767, he sold these goods as partial payment (Pecoraro 2011). The nature of the goods purchased from Posey differs from that sold by the Fairfaxes – probably due in part to the financial situations of the former owners. The list of goods does include silver utensils and other implements, a mirror, and two desks, but most of the items are related to plantation work including a substantial quantity of livestock, barrels of flour, bushels of oysters, and an ox cart. Therefore, satisfying debts between individual parties also instigated the movement of goods.

Table 3-2. Transcription of the inventory of house furniture bought by George Washington from Colonel Fairfax's Belvoir estate auction, August 15, 1774.

Description	£	s	d
Gilbert Simpson 5 butter or pickle potts		7	6
2 potts from [Lawson] Parker Do.		2	
6. pickle pots of different sizes		4	6
2 doz mountain wine	1	4	
4 chariot glafses and frames		12	6
irons for a boat canopy in the cellar		12	6
10. pewter water plates	1	6	
1 Mahog.^{y} Shaving Desk	4		
1 sette bed and furniture	13		
4 Mahogany chairs in use	4		
1 chamber carpett	1	1	
1 oval glafs w.^{t} Guilt Frame in the Green room	4	5	
1 Mahog.^{y} Chest of Drawers in Mrs. Fairfax's Chamber	12	10	
1 Mahog.^{y} sideboard	12	5	
1 Mahog.^{y} Cistreen and stand	4		
1 Mahog.^{y} Voider, a dish trea and knife trea	1	10	
1 Japan bread trea		7	
12 Chairs and 3 window curtains from Dining Room	31		
1 looking glass and Guilt frame	13	5	
2 Candlesticks and bust of the Immortal Shakespeare	1	6	
3 floor carpetts in Chintz room	3	5	
1 Large Carpet	11		
1 Mahog.^{y} wash desk, bottle and &c	1	2	6
1 Mahog.^{y} close stool….pan broke	1	10	
2 matrafses	4	11	
1 pr. andirons, tongs, fender and shovell	3	10	
1 pr. Do Do Do Do	3	17	6
1 pr. Do Do Do Do smaller	1	17	6
1 pr. Dogs in the Great Kitchen	3		
1 pott rack in Do.	4		
a roasting fork		2	6
a Plate Baskett		3	
1 Mahog.^{y} Spider made Tea Table	1	11	
1 old screen		10	
1 carpett	2	15	
1 pr. bellows and brush		11	
1 window curtains	2		
1 large marble mortar	1	1	
a pott rack (ceiling) in the cellar	1	7	6
a Mahog.^{y} card table	4		
To a bed a pair blanketts & 1 quilt or coverlaid Pillows bolster & ca	11		
1 Mahog^{y} Card Table from Col^{o} Lee	not given		
TOTAL	169	12	6

Table 3-3. List of goods purchased by George Washington from John Posey, October 2, 1767.

Quantity	Description of Purchase
20	horses & mares
40	head of black cattle
3	yoke of work steers
80	head of hogs
40	head of sheep
1	ox cart
1	horse cart
8	good feather beds
1	clock
1	large looking glass
2	desks
4	guns two of which are silver mounted
1	Hat
1	ferry boat
1	battoe
1	scow
1	tent and Marquee
1	pair of canteens
3	cases with silver spoons
1	large silver spoon
1	silver strainer
1	silver ladle
2	silver salts
1	silver cruet stand
12	silver table knives
12	silver forks
2	table silver Candlesticks
1	silver stand for snuffers
1	forty gallon Copper Kettle
1	twenty gallon Copper Ditto
1	thousand bushells of Oister shells
2	new wheat fans
1	four wheele carriage with new harnefs
340	new flower Barrels
Total Value	200 pounds sterling

Martin (2008:47-49) discusses inheritance as a primary mode in which goods were transferred between individuals, particularly among family members. As discussed in Breen (2003), our best and earliest glimpse at the material world of Mount Vernon is found in Lawrence Washington's estate inventory of 1753. His will stipulated that his wife and heir Ann Fairfax Washington could choose what she wished from the inventory and sell the rest to repay debts. It is unknown what articles Ann chose for her new household, which she established with George Lee five months after Lawrence Washington's death, or which were sold to repay debts; however it is possible that the things she left behind would have been there when George Washington leased the property beginning in 1754 (Abbot 1983[1]:232-235). Supporting evidence documents that Washington paid £55 for "sundrys" left behind in the house (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:37). Additionally, in the pre-Revolutionary period, we know that George Washington's material world changed upon his marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis in 1759, a wealthy widow living in the lower tidewater region.

Upon the death of her first husband, Daniel Parke Custis, Martha inherited one-third of her late husband's property (Breen 2003). Archaeological and museum collections data provide evidence that Martha Custis brought with her household items that she inherited. Additionally, a list of "Sundrys taken and usd by Mrs Custis out of the Inventories" suggests that some of these goods may have been introduced to Mount Vernon in 1759 (Abbot 1988[6]:232-235). The more expensive items in this list include livestock, horses, a chariot and harness, and wine. Other foodstuffs, beverages, household furniture, and tablewares are listed, as are agricultural implements.

Informal Avenues of Access to Goods. Goods traveled through eighteenth century hands in ways for which little documentation exists. Archaeologists entered into this dialogue and

sought to detail internal plantation dynamics that accounted for the existence of certain artifacts on slave-related sites. These informal avenues of access most often cited include: provisioning; theft; handing down of out-dated or old items; allotting rewards to slaves during holidays or after periods of intense labor; gardening, hunting, or fishing; and trade and barter (for example, Otto 1984; Orser 1987; Samford 1996; Morgan 1998; Heath and Bennett 2000; Pogue 2001b; Thompson 2001; Penningroth 2003; Breen 2004; Galle 2006; Kern 2010). Some tension has always underlain this discussion of access to goods through these avenues, in addition to consumerism, because of the notions of power and resistance inherent in the act of coming into or taking possession of material culture (Galle 2006). Power relationships imbued in the transfer of objects deserve exploration; however, it is important to acknowledge the complexity of how artifacts were obtained, used, and discarded and that all of these avenues could have been occurring simultaneously for diverse segments of colonial society. For example, theft served as a way in which slaves obtained goods from their masters. George Washington's apprehension of this activity is captured in a document relating to the possibility of the wife of a carpenter opening a shop in Alexandria. Washington feared that if she was to have dealings with Mount Vernon slaves coming to the store, the shop would become "no more than a receptacle for stolen produce" (Thompson 2001:95). Breen (2004:104-111) regards theft from stores as but another avenue of access to goods in the "great chain of colonial acquisition." Colonial newspapers document the widespread occurrence of theft on the part of whites with "a larcenous turn of mind" taking advantage of "the wonderful new opportunities presented by an empire of goods" (Breen 2004:104). Theft, then, contributed widely to the movement of goods in colonial society, just as it does today. These small acts of larceny must be contextualized in the broader context of

theft that occurred throughout the colonial world – theft of Africans from villages into the system of slavery, and theft of slave labor on the part of white masters.

Glimpses of other informal avenues of access are afforded to peddlers and itinerant traders who continued to operate after the establishment of stores, visiting plantations and offering their wares to whomever might be interested (Berlin 1998:137; Martin 2008:46). They operated much to the opposition of country store owners who complained about the competition (Breen 2004:144). Because of their liminal status in colonial society (they were rumored to spread disease and sell stolen goods), peddlars' commercial activities were often legislated against in an effort to limit their commerce (Breen 2004:145), offering another piece of evidence of their existence. Occasional or regular public markets (often accompanying court days) offered spaces for economic as well as cultural exchanges for blacks and whites alike (Martin 1993:161; Morgan 1998:372). Alexandria in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century had just one of these markets open Sundays and to slaves, before 9:00 am (Thompson 2001:92). Artisans and local craftsmen occasionally catered to planters like George Washington by making shoes or performing specialized services such as carpentry, knitting, or midwifery (Martin 2008:49-51; Washington 1750-1774).

Conclusion

As the eighteenth-century consumer economy began to bifurcate into a dual system of tobacco consignment and retail trade at local stores, other forms of economic exchange continued to operate outside the bounds of the formal, documented economy. For elites, consigning their tobacco to English factors gave them the credit they needed to purchase all sorts of goods. These items enabled wealthy men and women to re-create a genteel existence mimicking to the best of their ability the English model they knew or thought they knew.

Problematically, this bridge back to the heart of the trans-Atlantic world (the source of high culture and fashion) was not as stable as George Washington and his peers expected. Forces such as debt, dependence on a middleman (who was that ill-fitting combination of friend and business partner), popular religious movements, and a struggle for cultural legitimacy in the eyes of disdainful metropolitan arbiters continually destabilized these attempts a bridge building. The weakness in many of these narratives is the primacy of documentary sources as opposed to systematic analyses of the other important primary source – the material culture itself. The only real theoretical challenge to this narrative argues for an acknowledgement of the concept of conspicuous production and the importance of agricultural success based on material possessions, as opposed to conspicuous consumption and a single-minded emphasis on objects of luxury and extravagance. The goals of agricultural self-sufficiency and prosperity bound plantation dwellers of all kinds under a common motivation – to consume and pass onto future generations those tools of production to support and sustain a rural existence.

For non-elites, the interpretation of consumer desires, once mired in models of emulation and top-down movements of goods and ideas through society, has now focused on theories of agency countering that people of lower classes bought into the consumer revolution to signal their personal successes or attunement to fashion, create communities, protest inequalities, and perhaps even emulate their elite neighbors, employers, or owners but purposefully and in complex ways that may have punched holes in the fences erected by elite participation in the economically exclusive consignment system. Within the current literature, there is much room to explore the constraints of one's ability to act as a free agent within the bounds of the colonial marketplace, but also to explore the reasons behind the consumer choices they made, though hindered, at one well-documented, well-excavated plantation.

Chapter 4: The Development of the Upper Chesapeake Region through 1775

Histories of Mount Vernon abound. Research on the plantation's slaves and George Washington's sentiments on slavery pervade the historical literature. Biographies of the first president are even more prevalent. However, there is room within these crowded fields for discussion of four important topics which contribute specifically to this dissertation. The first focuses on the regional and demographic development of the upper Potomac. The second presents a picture of the Washington households on Mount Vernon Neck in the decades before the Revolutionary War. The third contributes a micro-scale history of the landscape and architecture of early Mount Vernon. The final section offers a glimpse at the charter generation of slaves brought to the upper Potomac region generally and then to Mount Vernon more specifically. These four discussions offer the context necessary for a discussion of consumerism.

Regional Development

Early Settlement. Fairfax County was carved from the lands of the Northern Neck (located between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers) and originally established as a proprietary in 1649 by King Charles II (Sweig 1978:5-8). As the colonial population grew and spread from Northumberland County, new counties were created (Table 4-1). Therefore, Fairfax County was first in Northumberland, then Westmoreland, then Stafford (Sweig 1978:8). The area saw the greatest land rush when encompassed by Stafford County, specifically during the 1720s and early 1730s (Sweig 1978:15). Speculators, who anticipated the creation of a new county and who were looking to turn a profit while land values were still low, instigated the boom. Gentry planters in more well-established counties of the lower Northern Neck became the absentee large landowners of the future Fairfax County. Stafford became Prince William County (from 1731 to

1742). Prince William had only been in existence for a year when its residents began petitioning for the establishment of a new county called Fairfax (Sweig 1978:6).

In 1741, William Fairfax, the Collector of Customs for the South Potomac River and cousin of Lord Fairfax, the proprietor of the lands that would become Fairfax County, finished construction on Belvoir Mansion (Sweig 1978:6). This event was significant, for the imposing brick plantation house was the first of its kind in the area and embodied the immense wealth and power of the Fairfax family (Dalzell and Dalzell 1999:29; Veech 1998:121). In December of 1742, the county of Fairfax was created and named for Lord Thomas Fairfax, the sixth Lord of Fairfax and proprietor of the Northern Neck (Sweig 1978:10). The Fairfaxes were titled lords who held lands and positions in England and Virginia. They exemplified genteel society and "when it came to matters of refinement, tastefulness, and elegance, all eyes in Fairfax County looked toward the Barons of Belvoir Mansion" (Veech 1998:121). Lawrence Washington inherited the Little Hunting Creek tract (Mount Vernon's earlier name) just as the county of Fairfax was being carved from Prince William County (Sweig 1978:9-10). In 1742, when Fairfax County was created, its boundaries overlapped with Truro Parish and it encompassed Loudon and Arlington counties and Alexandria City. It was later reduced in size by further divisions in the region (Sweig 1978:36).

Table 4-1. Counties encompassing Fairfax before its creation.

Year Established	County
1648	Northumberland
1653	Westmoreland
1664	Stafford
1731	Prince William
1742	Fairfax

Only the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg ranked higher than Belvoir as Virginia's nexus for genteel social and political life (Veech 1998:125). With this beacon of hope to free white planters, the settlement of the county proceeded rapidly. Roads, a county court, three Anglican churches, and tobacco warehouses served the earliest residents of Fairfax County (Sweig 1978:11). Three tobacco warehouses existed between the years 1732 and 1742 on the future lands of Fairfax County: on the Occoquan River; at the little falls of the Potomac; and at the mouth of Great Hunting Creek (which would later become Alexandria) (Sweig 1978:24, 26). The Virginia assembly facilitated access between the opposing banks of the Potomac between 1738 and 1742 by authorizing three ferries. In 1753, it became even more convenient for Mount Vernon's neighbors to access Maryland when John Posey's petition to establish a ferry on his lands was granted (Sweig 1978:58). The creation of a new courthouse on the Occoquan River may have facilitated the land boom of the 1720s as speculators then had reason to come to the undeveloped area and easy access via the ferry associated with the courthouse (Sweig 1978:17).

Economic Networks. In the early years of the settlement of Fairfax County, rivers and other waterways determined patterns of occupation, for roads were still primitive (Sweig 1978:20). The major plantations of Mount Vernon, Gunston Hall, and Belvoir were situated on the Potomac River in part because of the access this waterway offered, and the major towns of Alexandria and Colchester and tobacco warehouses were established on tributaries of the Potomac. There was one road that offered access from the ferry across the Occoquan at the town of Colchester (established in 1753) north to Alexandria (established in 1749), following an Indian trail called the Potomac Path (Sweig 1978:20, 37, 49). To give easier access to the large plantations sprouting up along the Potomac, the road split into River Road to the east and Back Road to the west (Figure 4-1). Colchester was about 7 miles from Mount Vernon by way of this

River Road and 18 miles from Alexandria. Alexandria sat 6.5 miles from Mount Vernon by way of the River Road. Road and bridge building kept pace with population growth in the 1750s; however, despite rapid development and increasing lands under cultivation, the majority of Fairfax County in this period was very much a forested landscape (Sweig 1978:56-58).

As the routes of these roads prove, Colchester and Alexandria provided the economic and social anchors of young Fairfax County. The two towns offered planters of this upper Potomac region places to sell their tobacco, after inspection at the warehouse, and other commodities, for resale in local and foreign markets. They also offered places to buy the goods necessary to establish and operate home and plantation, in addition to other services. Both Colchester and Alexandria had stores operated by John Glassford (b.1715-1783), owner of Glassford & Company, a large Scottish trading firm that consisted of several stores on the banks of the Potomac River in Virginia and Maryland. Merchant Alexander Henderson managed stores on behalf of Glassford in both towns, opening the Colchester store in 1758 and the Alexandria store in 1767 (Cuddy 2008:62).

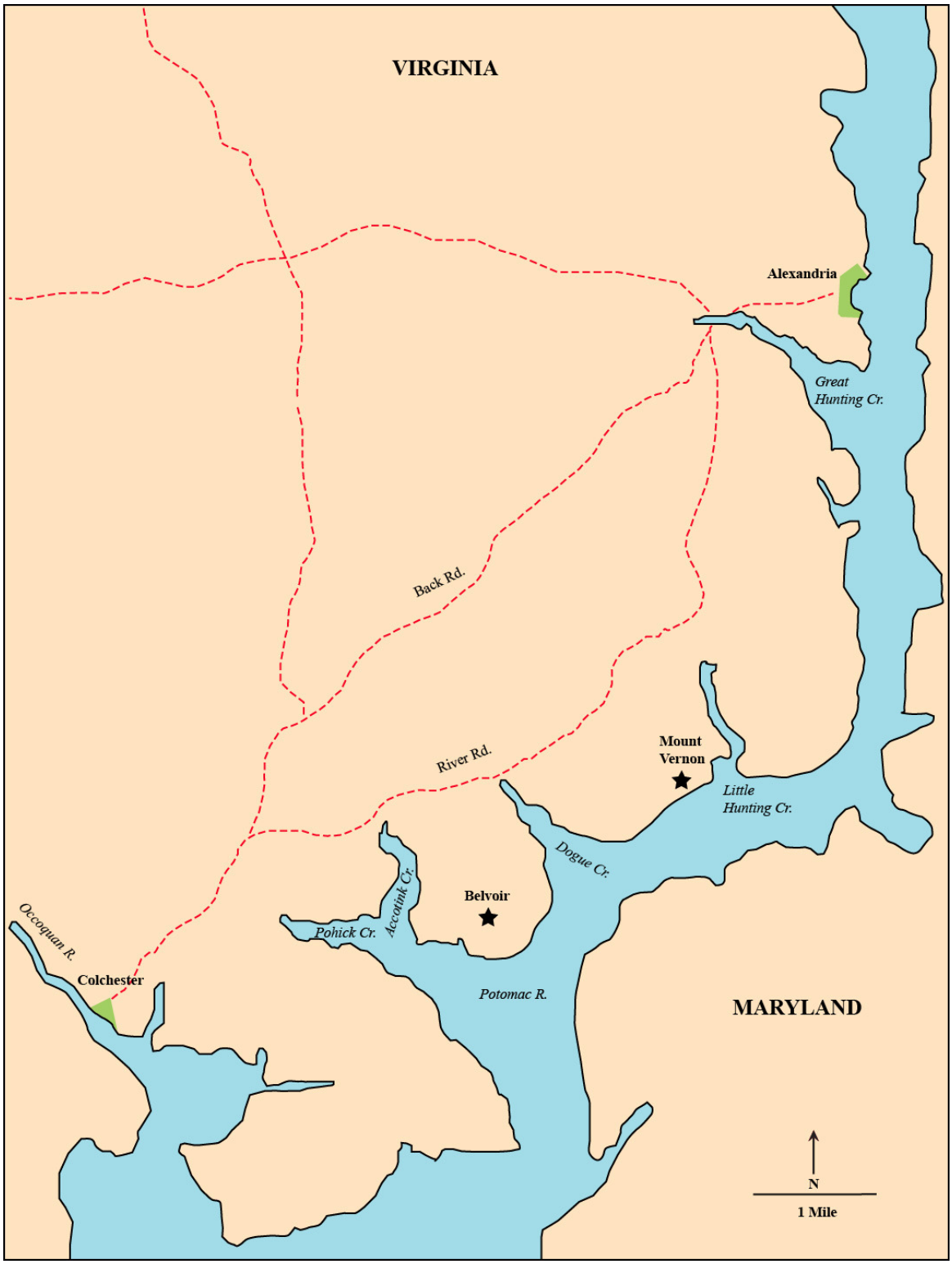


Figure 4-1. Elements of the Mount Vernon neighborhood ca. 1749. (Map by Luke Pecoraro, 2012).

Before Colchester was formally established as a town in 1753, a blacksmith's shop, a church, and a ferry across the Occoquan made the vicinity a convenient stopping point for residents and travelers (Sprouse 1975:16). The town was first surveyed in 1754 and 42 lots and 4 streets were laid out within its triangular boundaries (Sprouse 1975:20). Commercial activities dominated life in Colchester. George Washington paid cash for unspecified expenses at Colchester multiple times in the late 1750s through the early 1770s (Washington 1750-1774). At least three shops conducted mercantile activities in the decades before the Revolutionary War. Alexander Henderson feared his two competitors: Scottish merchant Benjamin Grayson and Hector Ross, merchant for George Oswald and Company of Glasgow (Sprouse 1975:26-29). Hector Ross purchased tobacco and corn from George Washington and provided clothing and other items for Washington's white servants, tenants, and slaves (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:263). Grayson owned the lots upon which the tobacco warehouse, relocated to Colchester in 1761, was to be built (Sprouse 1975:55). Other commercial operations in Colchester included a vineyard and taverns (Sprouse 1975:59-66).

Commerce drew colonial Virginians to the area that would become Alexandria, as well. A tobacco inspection station at the end of Oronoco Street, known as Hugh West's Hunting Creek Warehouse, brought planters to the future town in the 1730s and by the early 1740s, at least three merchants had settled nearby (Cuddy 2008:23). In 1749, planters petitioned the assembly who authorized the acquisition of 60 acres of land from Philip and John Alexander and Hugh West to be divided and the lots sold to Alexandria's first residents. George Washington, in his early career as a surveyor, drew the Plan of Alexandria in 1749. Alexandria's initial success was marked by petitions for expansion merely 12 years after its establishment as a town (Reps 1972:202, 207-213). In the meantime, the Fairfax County courthouse was moved to Alexandria

in 1752, fairs were authorized to be held twice a year, and a church was erected in 1751, solidifying the town's position as not only a commercial, but a governmental and social center in the upper Potomac region (Sweig 1978:37, 40). Seven ordinaries were licensed for Alexandria in the 1760s and five in Colchester, more than anywhere else in Fairfax County, which provides evidence that these two towns had become the natural gathering places for residents and visitors (Sweig 1978:72).

The 1760s represent a period of further development of the upper Potomac region and significant change in the plantation system. Alexandria and Colchester continued to be centers of trade and commerce throughout the decade (Sweig 1978:72). However, by the 1770s the two towns had begun to diverge onto two different economic trajectories. In 1771, the court ordered that a larger tobacco warehouse be constructed in Colchester to accommodate the excess tobacco inspected there. Sweig (1978:81) suggests that while Colchester continued to serve as a center for the tobacco trade, "Alexandria had begun to give more attention to wheat, flour, and other commercial enterprises than to tobacco. This may have saved the town, for with the end of the tobacco boom in the later eighteenth century, a town such as Colchester, built almost solely on that staple, was doomed." The tobacco boom had already begun to dwindle by the late 1760s in the upper Potomac. While tobacco remained the largest export from the South Potomac Naval District from 1749 through 1766, it was thereafter quickly surpassed by wheat (Preisser 1981). The fast rise in grain and flour exports is attributed to the increased settlement of the northern Piedmont and Valley regions of Virginia by settlers experienced in grain cultivation, the well-suited soils, and the intensified demand for the staple product by Europe and the West Indies (Preisser 1981:289). Additionally, many local planters began the switch to mixed grain agriculture. Alexandria cornered the market on this trade.

George Washington perhaps best exemplifies the regional agricultural developments during this period. From 1754 through 1766, Washington remained committed to tobacco as his main agricultural product. To that end, he more than doubled the size of his plantation between 1757 and 1761 from 2,300 acres to almost 4,800 and significantly increased his slave workforce through purchase, inheritance, and marriage (Pogue 1994:103). The plantation encompassed 5,500 acres by 1764 when he temporarily ceased purchasing additional lands due to mounting debt (Pogue 1994:103). In 1766, Washington turned to mixed grain cultivation, an agricultural enterprise that demanded shorter periods of intense labor instead of the year-round slog of tobacco cultivation. With more field hands to profitably utilize, Washington recommitted himself to developing a self-sufficient, diverse plantation, which included fisheries and cloth production (Pogue 1994:106). A depression in the price of tobacco, fields poorly suited to tobacco cultivation, growing indebtedness, and dissatisfaction with the consignment system prompted these sweeping changes (Pogue 1994:106).

Demographics. In 1742, the year of Fairfax County's founding, the total population is estimated at 4,000, one third of which were slaves (Sweig 1978:19, 26). Population estimates based on tithable lists for 1749 show appreciable population growth and a steady ratio of whites to blacks. The total population of Fairfax County in 1749 is estimated at 6,260, with 4,452 (or 71 percent) white and 1,808 (29 percent) black. In 1782, the next year for which data allow for population approximations, Fairfax County's black population had grown to 41 percent (Sweig 1978:35).

The mid-century estimates were derived from two tithable lists recorded by the Reverend Charles Green, minister of Truro Parish, for both Truro and Cameron Parishes that comprised Fairfax County at the time (Sweig 1978:30). These lists offer a glimpse into slave ownership in

the county and also for Lawrence Washington, George Washington's elder half-brother from whom he inherited Mount Vernon plantation. The majority of slave holders owned six or fewer slaves; however, this population amounted to only a quarter of the total slave population. Stated another way, an enslaved individual living in Fairfax County in the mid-eighteenth century would have most likely lived on a large plantation in a group of 20 to 40 individuals (Sweig 1978:30). Additionally, the 1749 list for Truro Parish, containing Mount Vernon, recorded noteworthy information regarding Lawrence Washington, which suggests that he typified the pattern of other large slave owners. Specifically, Washington was one of only four men owning more than 25 slaves. In fact, he was the third highest slaveholder, owning 27 slaves above the age of 16 (Steadman 1964:537; Sweig 1978:32, table VI) and among the 13 percent of plantation owners who held almost half of the total slave population (Sweig 1983:30). Those slaves labored on a large plantation of more than 2,000 acres (Toner 1891:13). A plantation of this size ranked George Washington among the top seven percent of Fairfax County land owners in the early 1760s, and presumably would have ranked Lawrence Washington similarly high a decade before. Only 37 Fairfax County residents owned plantations larger than 999 acres in the early 1760s (Reber 2003:23, table 1).

In terms of demographic breakdown of the region's slave population, a survey of probate inventories dating from 1742 to 1770 found a relatively equal ratio of enslaved men to women (Sweig 1983:14). The list of slaves recorded as part of the settlement of Lawrence Washington's estate in 1754 evidences a similar ratio (Abbot 1983[1]:229) (Table 4-2). Assigning sex based on given names, which I have done to the best of my ability, given that some are ambiguous. Washington's slave community in 1754 was comprised of 56 percent (n=35) males and 44 percent (n=27) females. Though clearly male-dominated, the relatively even sex ratios could

have promoted the formation of families and data on the high proportion of slaves that were children support the development of a native born enslaved community. Again referring to the 1754 list of Washington's slaves, approximately one quarter (16 of 62) of the individuals listed were children (Table 4-2).

Table 4-2. Demographic makeup of Lawrence Washington's enslaved community sorted on sex and age category.

Name	Sex	Age
Old Moll	F	Adult
Barbara	F	Adult
Moll	F	Adult
Milly	F	Adult
Hannah	F	Adult
Penny	F	Adult
Nan	F	Adult
Nan	F	Adult
Dula	F	Adult
Grace	F	Adult
Phillis	F	Adult
Kate	F	Adult
Phebe	F	Adult
Pharrow	F	Adult
Couta	F	Adult
Nell	F	Adult
Sall	F	Adult
Bella	F	Adult
Barbara	F	Adult
Lett	F	Adult
Jenny	F	Adult
Farrow	F	Child
Doll	F	Child
Sue	F	Child
Murreah	F	Child
Betty	F	Child
Lucy	F	Child
Lydia	F	Child
Frank	[M]*	Adult
Lawrence	M	Adult
Ben	M	Adult
Will	M	Adult
Will	M	Adult
James	M	Adult

Table 4-2 (continued).

Name	Sex	Age
Dublin	M	Adult
Acco	M	Adult
Harry	M	Adult
Roger	M	Adult
Ceasaer	M	Adult
Peter	M	Adult
Abram	M	Adult
Anteno	M	Adult
Sando als Dicer	M	Adult
Aaron	M	Adult
Judah*	M	Adult
Ned	M	Adult
Camero	M	Adult
Sambo	M	Adult
Sando	M	Adult
Scipio	M	Adult
Tomboy	M	Adult
Judah*	M	Adult
Tom	M	Adult
Charles	M	Child
George	M	Child
Glasgow	M	Child
Phill	M	Child
Tom	M	Child
Prince	M	Child
Sam	M	Child
Tom	M	Child
Tobey	M	Child

*Frank could refer to a man or woman, but I have assumed man merely based on modern naming practices. The context of the document does not provide additional context and we have no other references exist pertaining to this individual.
**I believe both of these individuals to be men based on the fact that they are listed next to enslaved women in another document suggesting a slave marriage (Abbot 1983[1]:231).

Lawrence Washington, then, for the most part characterized the broader pattern of slave ownership in early Fairfax County. To summarize, many of Fairfax County's slaves in the mid-eighteenth century lived on large plantations, like Washington's, with large enslaved communities. His pattern of land and slave ownership fits with Sweig's (1978:30) characterization of Fairfax County at mid-century as "a land of great plantations run by slave

labor" as opposed to one of "small farmers where the slaves would labor alongside their white masters." This pattern was particularly prevalent for plantations along the Potomac River, like Washington's, where the proportion of slaves in the population reached approximately 50 percent (Sweig 1983:10-11). The demographic breakdown of Washington's slaves also tracks with the larger population trends where men and women were evenly weighted, promoting the formation of family groups and offspring. The only point of difference between Lawrence Washington and his large planter peers was that most preferred to manage their upper Potomac lands from more comfortable and established locations further down the Northern Neck (Sweig 1983:31). Washington, instead, was one of the few large plantation landlords in residence.

These demographic details are of consequence to the development of black culture in this region. Sweig (1983) argues that the following factors led to the development of a locally informed, African-derived culture: absentee owners; concentrations of large slave communities on large plantations; and even sex ratios with high proportions of children. Sweig (1983:10) contends that "when absentee ownership coincided with large holdings, as it did in Fairfax, the opportunity for slave culture, little affected by white values, to develop was increased." In addition, the concentration of these larger plantations along the Potomac River could have facilitated inter-plantation contact and the promotion and spread of a unique African-American culture (Sweig 1983:12). As networks of roads began to develop, one unintended consequence was the formation of cross-plantation networks (Kulikoff 1986:340). Sweig (1983:12) suggests that the Potomac River provided this link between plantations that facilitated marriages abroad. The mobility of the slave population at mid-century is captured in one local store's account book. Between the years of 1758 and 1764, merchant Daniel Payne conducted transactions with slaves outright or on behalf of their masters on at least 14 different occasions (Hamrick and Hamrick

2007). The practice of renting and hiring slaves for short term projects also speaks to slave mobility. For example, George Washington hired an enslaved bricklayer named Guy from a Mr. Daingerfield, who lived on an unknown plantation in Virginia, from May of 1762 until October of 1763 (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:297-298). The system worked the other way, as well. For example, in 1760, Washington contracted to have an overseer and six enslaved carpenters build a barn on a neighbor's plantation (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:291-292).

Historians generally agree that a cohesive social life for enslaved individuals began in the Chesapeake around 1740 (Kulikoff 1986; Berlin 1998). The rates of immigration of blacks from African to different regions of Virginia varied, particularly between the tidewater, upper Potomac, and piedmont. The proportion of blacks in 1755 who had arrived in Virginia 5 years earlier varied from 4 to 8 percent in the lower tidewater to 15 to 21 percent in the upper Potomac. By 1755, most blacks brought to Virginia went to the newly settled lands of the piedmont. The decline in the slave trade and the increase in a native-born population meant diminished differences of African cultural heritages between blacks on plantations (Kulikoff 1986:335).

If we isolate numbers of enslaved individuals imported to the upper Potomac region (to both the South and North Potomac Naval Districts) in the decades between 1710 and 1770 based on existing documentation, these numbers support Kulikoff's (1986:65-75) conclusions in regards to a decline in imports after 1750 for the greater Chesapeake region, also drawn from naval office records (Figure 4-2). The highest period of slave imports to this region took place in the 1730s, followed by a significant decline in the 1740s. The numbers pick up again in the 1750s, but never returned to the 1730s levels. The peak in the 1750s may be indicative of the developing piedmont region – perhaps more specifically, the future counties of Loudon and Fauquier (Stevenson 1996).

Figure 4-2. Numbers of enslaved individuals entering the upper Potomac Region by decade.

Taking a step back from a region-specific focus, we can see where Fairfax County fits within the larger transformations of slavery over the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ira Berlin (1998) encompasses the development African American culture within a larger narrative of the transition of "societies with slaves" to "slave societies." Berlin characterizes the former as societies wherein slaves were not the dominant means of production or economic viability. Slave societies, on the other hand, were organized entirely under the master-slave model, which applied to all social relations including husband and wife, or parent and child. The catalyst for this transformation usually came in the form of the discovery of some commodity; in the Chesapeake, it was tobacco. Once discovered, the quest for riches impelled planters to abandon most other forms of labor and exclusively rely on slaves, bolstered by the codification of power relations in the legislative realm. Skyrocketing rates of direct importation of African slaves also defined a slave society. Additionally, in the Chesapeake region, the commitment to a tobacco

economy was concurrent with the increasingly rigid social hierarchy where the planter class seized power and "was able to command the region's resources, mobilize the power of the state, and vanquish competitors" (Berlin 1998:10).

Berlin's (1998) comparative regional framework presents the experience of the charter generations of slaves, whom he calls Atlantic creoles, recently imported to colonies. Racial boundaries were more fluid, social independence attainable in the form of a burgeoning slave economy, and a degree of interracial mixing occurred that was not seen in later decades. This period in the Chesapeake, however, was fleeting and by the 1680s the charter generation had given way to the plantation generation and a slave-based economic and social structure. Labor regimes associated with tobacco cultivation intensified, the slave economy was curtailed, and generally life was harsher as evidenced by higher slave mortality rates and uneven sex ratios. These factors precluded family formation as imports dominated by men increased dramatically in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.

The characteristics of the early plantation generation, however, transformed by the 1740s in the Chesapeake and Berlin's (1998:126-141) explanation again hinges on the development of a native-born, African American generation. The divisions between slaves living on plantations from different African nations diminished as the commonalities of self-made culture began to overshadow distinctions. Berlin cites family formation, domestic stability and a measure of privacy, embracing Christianity, and a more stabilized workday as part of the recovery of slave culture in the second half of the plantation generation. In addition to the growth of an indigenous slave population, the shift from a universal staple crop to mixed grain cultivation ushered in some of these changes. Specifically, the growth of a class of slave artisans and skilled slaves

which once again rejuvenated the slave economy, and an enhanced social fluidity not seen since before the 1680s, were outgrowths of agricultural transformations.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the young Fairfax County could be characterized as a colonial region in transition. The county was on the cusp of major agricultural and economic change, with towns beginning to make their marks on an increasingly networked, growing population. The enslaved community experienced shifts towards a more cohesive black culture, underpinned by a predominantly Virginia-born demographic component. With this backdrop, we turn to one of the region's founding families, the Washingtons.

Washington Families

The First Washingtons in Virginia. Before George Washington took over the operation of Mount Vernon plantation at age 22, the land had already passed through four generations of Washingtons, beginning with John (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:19). Table 4-3 presents genealogical details and chain of ownership title for Mount Vernon plantation. The early history of ownership on the Mount Vernon neck of land is one of tenants, absentee landlords, and occasional landlords-in-residence. "To the first [three] generations it was a wilderness tract of limited importance, a place that could be willed to younger children, but in time, as its value increased with the development of the area, the family's focus shifted there, at first tentatively, then decisively" (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:19). Col. John Washington (b. ca. 1632) and Col. Nicholas Spencer applied for a patent for the Mount Vernon neck land in 1669, but the title was not secured until 1677 (Freeman 1948:15; Moxham 1976:14-15).

Table 4-3. Washington family genealogy and ownership history on Mount Vernon Neck.

Owner	Status	Initial Date of Ownership/Lease	Relationship to GW
John Washington	Absentee	1677	GW's great-grandfather
Lawrence Washington, II	Absentee	1677	GW's grandfather; JW's son
Mildred Washington	Absentee	1698	GW's aunt; AW's sister
Augustine Washington	Absentee	1726	GW and LW's father
	Resident	1735	
	Absentee	1738	
Lawrence Washington	Resident	1743-1753	GW's elder half brother; AW's first born son
George Washington	Lessee	1754-1761	
George and Martha Washington	Resident	1761-1802	

Whether either John Washington or Nicholas Spencer resided on the property, which was officially partitioned between the two parties in 1690 (Figure 4-3), was not recorded (Moxham 1976:16). Following John's immigration to Virginia in 1659, his prestige within colonial society grew through the accumulation lands, partially through marriage to two widows, and service to the colony as a coroner, tax collector, member of the parish vestry and House of Burgesses, justice of the county court, and a colonel of the militia (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:20). Following John Washington's death in 1677, Lawrence Washington II (b.1659) inherited the recently patented lands on Mount Vernon Neck, but never resided there, instead leasing the property to two tenants mentioned in his 1698 will (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:22-23). Lawrence was schooled in England and brought that education to the Virginia colony where he served as justice of the county court and a member of the House of Burgesses (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:22). Mildred (b. 1698), Lawrence Washington II's infant daughter, inherited the lands of Hunting Creek, or 2,500 acres of the Mount Vernon tract (Toner 1891:17; Freeman 1948:31).

Figure 4-3. Mount Vernon Neck with the approximate location of Spencer/Washington dividing line, ca. 1690. (Map by Luke Pecoraro, 2012).

Augustine Washington's Household. Augustine Washington (b. 1694) purchased the lands of Little Hunting Creek from his sister Mildred in 1726, most likely as an investment in tobacco production (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:25). This was not the first of Augustine's land acquisitions; by 1722 he had purchased a plantation on Pope's Creek (George Washington's birthplace) and built a house for his family, including first wife Jane Butler. Additionally, Augustine acquired lands as part of speculations associated with iron production from ore deposits. During this time, the Mount Vernon property was also referred to as Epsewasson, named after a small creek (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:25). Lawrence Washington (b. 1718), next in line to inherit this tract, was the first born son of Augustine and Jane. A second son, Augustine, was born in 1720. Following Jane's death, her husband Augustine married again, this time to a woman named Mary Ball; George Washington (b. 1732) was the first born son of this union. In 1735, Augustine moved his family from Pope's Creek to Epsewasson in order to profit by way of tobacco production from his initial investment (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:25). The evidence for this relocation appears in the form of documentation of Augustine's election to the Truro Parish vestry in November of 1735 (Freeman 1948:53; Moxham 1976:33). As quickly as the family arrived, they moved again in 1738, this time to Ferry Farm plantation, near Fredericksburg, Virginia and closer to Augustine's iron prospects (Freeman 1948:58; Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:25).

In addition to the seven nuclear family members who lived on the Mount Vernon tract by the end 1738 (parents Augustine and Mary and children George, Betty, Samuel, John, and Charles), doubtlessly some slaves belonged to this extended household, but their total number is not known. Lawrence and Augustine, the two oldest sons, were away at school in England (Freeman 1948:53). Slave presence can be inferred from Augustine's motivations for settling –

tobacco cultivation – and the presence of outbuildings tentatively attributed to his occupation, particularly a dairy, suggesting the labor of household slaves. In ca. 1736 or 1737, Augustine left Virginia on a brief trip to England to meet with his partners in the ironworks, keeping his family at Little Hunting Creek, and returned the following year, 1737 (Freeman 1948:56).

Secondary evidence suggests that the house was not empty from late 1738 to 1743 during which time Augustine Washington and his family lived in Fredericksburg. Historians presume that Lawrence probably spent some time at the Little Hunting Creek home while he purchased land in the area on behalf of his father. For instance, in March of 1738, Lawrence Washington bought a 56-acre tract from William Spencer (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:227). In 1739, he bought another 200 acres from Spencer, this time at the mouth of a nearby creek, and a tract from George Harrison (Moxham 1976:34). Prince William County records indicate that Augustine and possibly the family re-entered the county and perhaps again took up residence at the Little Hunting Creek dwelling when he voted in the county's poll for the election of the burgesses (Moxham 1976:34; Warren 1999:5791).

Figure 4-4 presents a conjectural graph of the extended Washington households in terms of number of people by year beginning in 1735 with the Augustine Washington household. The household, as defined here, included all individuals (free and enslaved) who incurred tithes at Mount Vernon, as well as Washington family women and children, and any enslaved children recorded in other documents. It does not include temporary hired white laborers or slaves who were rented for short periods. The demographic evidence was drawn from multiple sources that contain evidence of Washington family life events, including births, deaths, and relocations (Freeman 1948; Moxham 1976; Dalzell and Dalzell 1998), and the growing slave population (Washington 1753; Washington 1754-1775; Steadman 1964:537; Abbot 1983[1]:229, 231,

1988[6]:428; Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:45, 139, 227-228, 313, 376-377, 442-443, 515-516, 1993[8]:104, 220-221, 356-357, 479-480, 1994[9]:54-55, 238-239, 1995[10]:137-138).

Lawrence Washington's Household. Lawrence, George Washington's elder half brother, was a planter with a distinguished military career who served as the justice of the peace, adjutant general, and a local elected politician.[1] Part of his success in colonial Virginia society might be attributed to the fact that Lawrence received an excellent education at the Appleby School near Whitehaven in northern England from 1729 to ca. 1738 (Henriques 1992:241). After returning from England and purchasing lands on Mount Vernon neck on behalf of his father, Lawrence began his military career as one of four captains chosen by Governor Gooch to lead the Virginia companies assigned to fight in the War of Jenkins' Ear, Britain's retaliation against Spain's trade violations (Abbot 1983[1]:7; Henriques 1992:242-243). The Virginia troops fought alongside the British navy under the leadership of Admiral Vernon to capture Cartagena, Columbia. Lawrence fought overseas from 1741 until late 1742 or early 1743 (Henriques 1992:242-243).[2] Though the American-backed British navy lost this battle, Lawrence received praise from Admiral Vernon and returned to Virginia a military hero (Henriques 1992:242-243). Lawrence drew on this experience when he renamed Little Hunting Creek plantation Mount Vernon.

[1] For additional information on Lawrence Washington's military career and his work activities after the war, see Henriques (1992:243-44). For his part in the establishment of the town of Alexandria, see Cooper (1978:519).For his participation in the Ohio Company, see Callahan (1913:24). See also Abbot (1983[1]).

[2] This is the location where it is hypothesized that Lawrence Washington contracted tuberculosis (Gaines 1955:7) that would eventually lead to his death in 1752 (Henriques 1992:263).

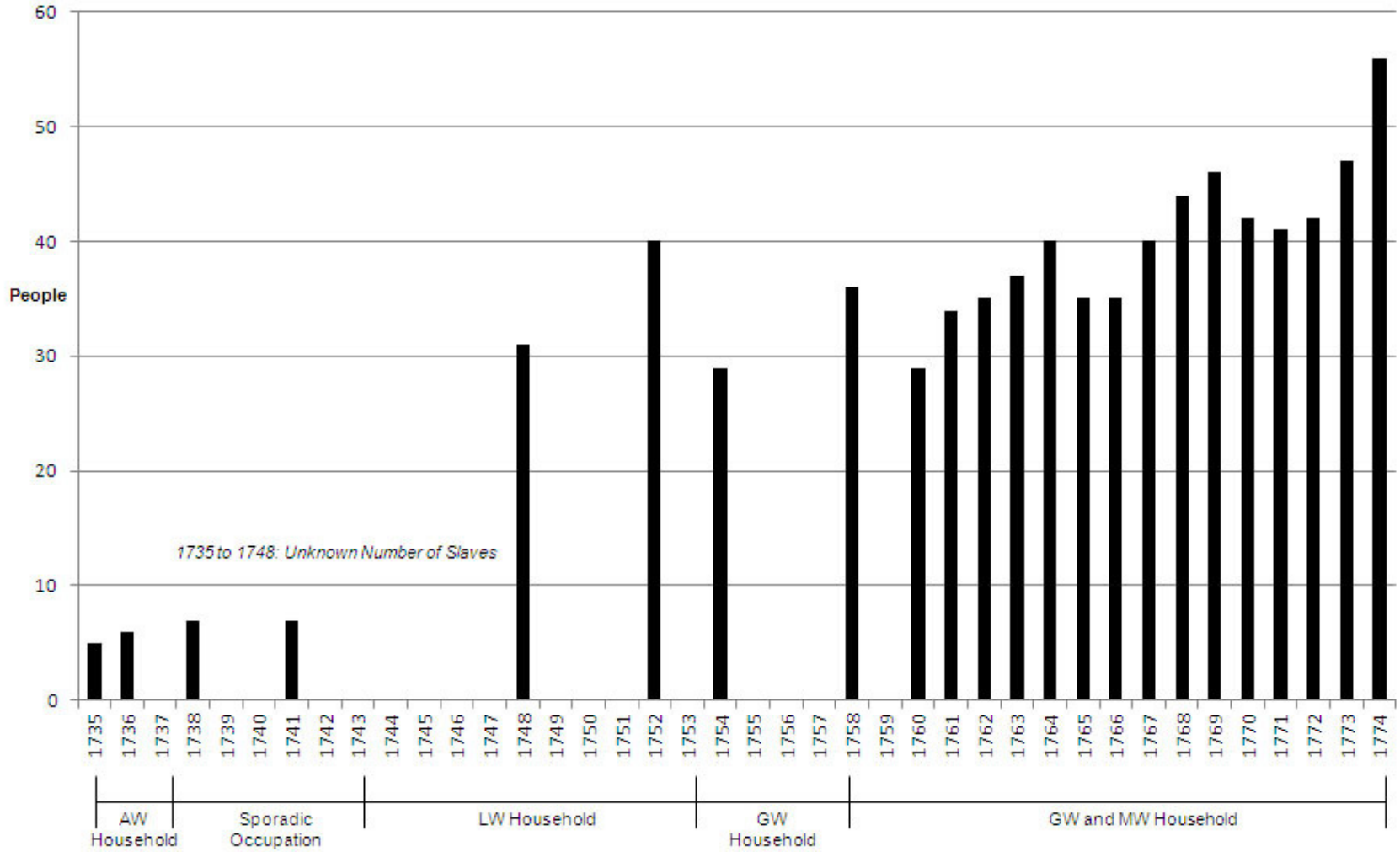


Figure 4-4. Household change by year, 1735-1775.

Upon his departure from military service and his arrival back in Virginia, Lawrence Washington turned his attentions away from one career towards another, that of a plantation owner. He married Ann Fairfax (ca. 1728 to 1761), daughter of William Fairfax of Belvoir, in July of 1743, just a short time after his father's death (Henriques 1992:243). This match would have no doubt pleased Augustine Washington because of Ann's prestigious lineage and place in Virginia society. She was "perhaps the most eligible young woman in northern Virginia, already possessing an estate of 4,000 acres" (Henriques 1992:243). In the same year, Lawrence was appointed to the position of adjutant general for Virginia, an office which carried a large annual income (second only to the governor in salary) and the rank of major (Henriques 1992:243). "His alliance to the Fairfax family by marriage, his own inheritance, his appointment as adjutant general, and his election to the House of Burgesses all testified to his success and prominence by 1744, when he took his seat in the General Assembly" (Henriques 1992:244). By this time, Lawrence seems to have already surpassed his father's status as mid-level gentry and become "a person of consequence" (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:30).

The current hypothesis on the date of the construction of the first Mount Vernon home is that Augustine Washington built a small house, either for his family or with the intention of establishing his first-born son, which he later willed to Lawrence at the time of his death. In addition to himself, Lawrence's household in 1743 consisted of his wife, the slaves whom he inherited from Augustine, any people whom he subsequently purchased, and any personal slaves Ann brought with her upon marriage. According to an enumerated tithables list taken by Reverend Charles Green in 1748/9 (transcribed and published in Steadman 1964:526-537), Lawrence Washington paid taxes on two white individuals (presumably himself and an overseer)

and on 27 enslaved individuals over the age of 16. Therefore, by 1749, the total number of individuals living on Washington's Fairfax County lands was no fewer than 31 (Figure 4-4).

Few of Lawrence Washington's documents exist, but his will and estate inventory offer historians a view of the man in his final years and of his household in the years after his death, in 1752 (Table A-1). Lawrence was survived by his wife and their only child, Sarah (d. 1750-d. 1754). Ann and Sarah Washington resided at Mount Vernon for five months until Ann remarried Colonel George Lee (Abbot 1983[1]:227) and moved to Lee's home in Mount Pleasant at the end of 1752 (Henriques 1995:263). Lawrence's inventory lists 37 slaves; therefore at the time of his death, approximately 40 people lived at the plantation (Washington 1753). The 1754 "Division of the Negros" indicates that he owned a total of 62 slaves (Abbot 1983[1]:231). With details like the ages and heights of the children, the document makes clear that this was a growing enslaved community soon to be divided among the surviving Washington brothers. Additionally, "it is interesting to note that several of the people had African names, such as Sando, Sambo, Acco, Cunta, and Dula. There are also names of Biblical or classical origin, such as Pharrow, Caesar, Judah and Abram, as well as a Glasgow and Dublin" (Clark 1988:4). The additional 25 slaves not listed in Lawrence's probate inventory of Mount Vernon (Washington 1753) but present on the "Division" document must have resided on his other properties including his estate in Frederick County (Hardin and Keyes 1752). The increase of the slave population from 31 in 1748/9 to 37 in 1752 reflects the fact that the inventory includes slaves of all ages, not just those over 16 (Figure 4-2).

George Washington's Household. George Washington's tenancy of Mount Vernon officially began in 1754 when he signed a lease with Ann Washington Lee and her new husband, George Lee (Abbot 1983[1]:232-235). Ann Washington and her daughter Sarah remained at

Mount Vernon only until the end of 1752; it is unclear who lived on the property in the following year. Dalzell and Dalzell (1998:33) note: "[Ann's] daughter Sarah died two years later, in 1754, and before the year was out, George had arranged to lease Mount Vernon for the full term of his sister-in-law's life interest." Washington served as Adjutant General of the Southern District of Virginia, which held the rank of major, in December 1752 and the duties associated with this appointment kept him busy through 1753 (Knollenberg1964:12-13, 233). When faced with a possible demotion in his military career, Washington decided to resign his position, sometime before November 1754 (Knollenberg 1964:25). The timing of Washington's departure from the military coincided with Sarah's death and his lease of Mount Vernon.

When George Washington again joined the military in 1755, this time to serve under General Braddock, he left the management of Mount Vernon plantation and his two others, Ferry Farm and Bullskin, to his brother John Augustine Washington (Abbot 1983[2]:352). Jack, as he was known, not only had the duty to manage the farms, but also the slaves who worked upon them. From the lease agreement between George Washington and Ann and George Lee, it is known that he rented 18 slaves: 10 adults; 7 children; and an individual of unknown age (Abbot 1983[1]:232-235; Abbot 1983[1]:229). The ten slaves that Washington inherited from his father most likely lived on Bullskin plantation in Frederick County (Abbot 1983[1]:174). In 1754, Washington inherited eight slaves from his deceased brother's estate (Abbot 1983[1]:231) and purchased at least one that year (Washington 1750-1774). Therefore, in 1754, the first year of Washington's lease of Mount Vernon, 31 people lived and worked on the Mount Vernon plantation (Figure 4-2). By 1758, with the additional purchase of at least 7 slaves, the population rose to approximately 36 individuals (Washington 1750-1774).

George and Martha Washington's Household. At the end of 1758, George Washington resigned from the Virginia Regiment and shortly thereafter was married, in January 1759, at White House Plantation in New Kent County, Virginia (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:52). Pogue (1994:103) writes: "After his return from the French and Indian War in 1758, George Washington sought to earn a place among Virginia's planter elite via the time-honored method of expanding his inherited holdings in slaves and in land and by devoting those resources to the cultivation of tobacco as a cash crop." His ability to do so was afforded by his opportune marriage.

In the ensuing years before the Revolution, "Washington established the foundation of the fortune that supported him through the long years when he was unable to supervise the operation of his estates" by marrying well, entering into the upper echelons of the consignment trade, and expanding his land and slave holdings (Ragsdale 1989:145). George Washington's marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis was socially and financially beneficial because her first husband died intestate, allowing her ownership of one third of his personal property, land, and slaves (Abbot 1988[6]:202). Both Martha's maiden family and her husband were wealthy, making this one-third extremely substantial (Abbot 1988[6]:201-311). In 1759, with his marriage to Martha Custis, a world of goods opened for Washington with the newly-gained access to "several of the leading merchant houses of London" (Ragsdale 1989:138). Previously, Washington's purchasing power suffered from location; unless Richard Washington (George Washington's British factor, no relation) sent a ship up the Potomac, his tobacco was difficult to transport out of Virginia to England. After his marriage, Washington's principal agent became the one used by Daniel Parke Custis and the one Martha Washington promised to continue to do business with – the prestigious Robert Cary & Company. This newly forged alliance raised

Washington's expectations for better prices on his tobacco, which would meet his growing demands for imported goods (Ragsdale 1989:139).

George Washington's rise in the ranks of colonial society during the decade and a half before the American Revolution, bolstered by his opportune marriage, is reflected in a seating chart (Figure 4-5). It maps the pew locations in the newly constructed Pohick Church (1767), situated close to Mount Vernon, Gunston Hall, and Colchester. Pohick Church was "by far the most important church in the parish and was attended by the most affluent, influential citizens" (Sweig 1978:69). The chart depicts the social hierarchy of the Fairfax County gentry with George Washington and George Fairfax at center stage, behind whom sat Lund Washington, George Washington's distant cousin and plantation manager, and Alexander Henderson (who owned two pews), "the prominent and wealthy Colchester merchant" (Sweig 1978:74-76). These seats are flanked on either side with other large planters in the area including George Mason of Gunston Hall, Martin Cockburn, and Daniel McCarty. This hierarchical seating chart was in place as soon as the church opened (Kulikoff 1986:239).

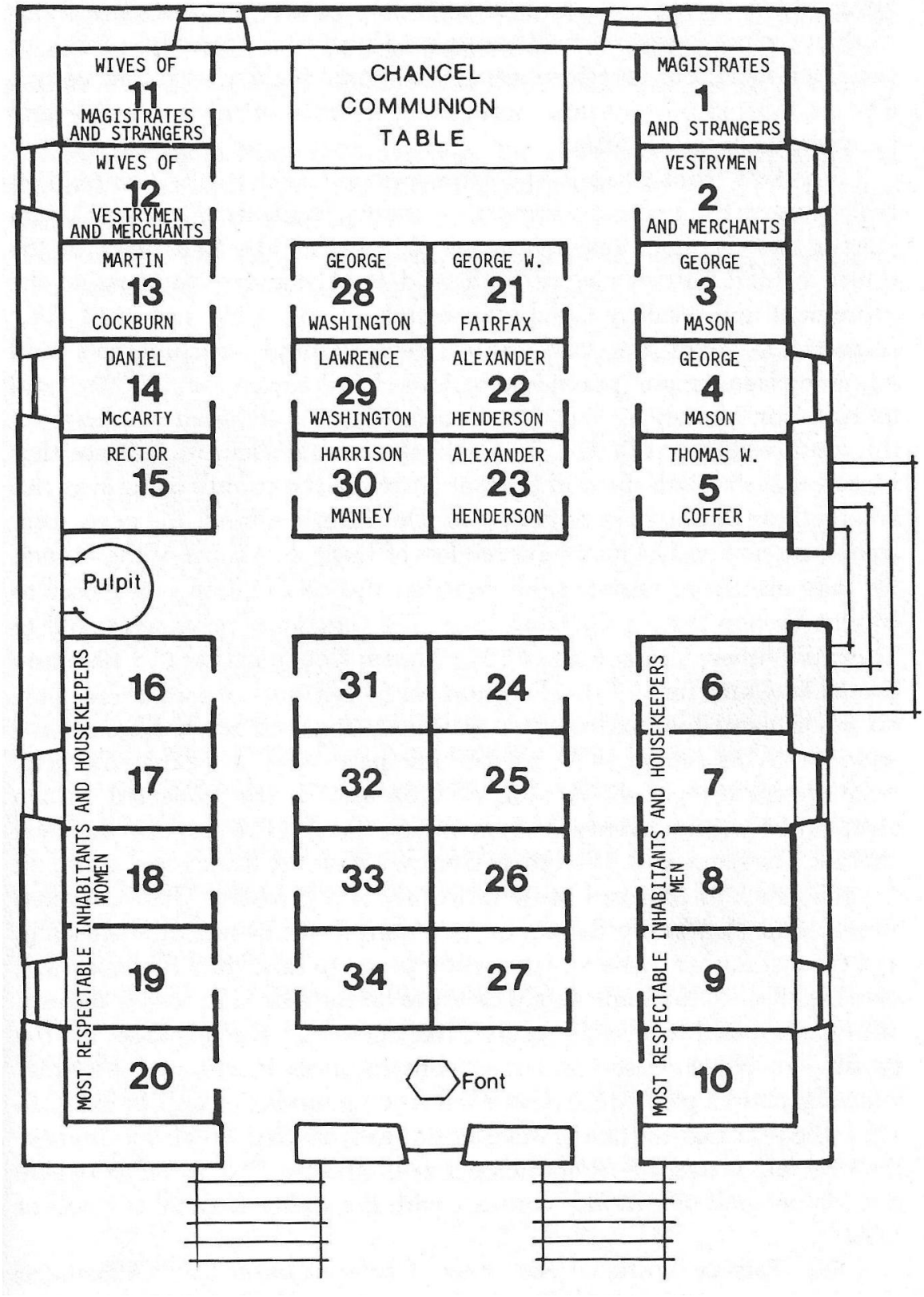


Figure 4-5. Seating chart, Pohick Church, ca. 1770 (Sweig 1978:75).

In addition to Martha Washington, her two children moved into the mansion, as did 22 of her dower slaves (Knollenberg 1964:82; Thompson 2011). Over time, additional dower slaves were transferred to Fairfax County from Custis properties in Virginia's tidewater (Clark 1988:5). A suggestive document compiled by George Washington relating to the slaves in the Custis estate, dated ca. 1759, lists the "tradesmen belonging to the Estate" and "Servants in and abt the House" (Abbot 1988[6]:282). This document represents the first glimpse we have of the specific tasks to which household slaves were assigned. A woman named Doll, age 38, was noted as the cook, assisted by a scullion named Beck, age 23. Doll served Washington and his wife for the early years of their marriage, as she appeared under the house servants' section of the tithable lists through 1774 (Abbot 1988[6]:282; Thompson 2002:19). The fate of Beck, on the other hand, is unknown – there is no mention of her in the tithables. Drawing from this document and the tithable lists, Shammas (1985:18, table 4) presents a breakdown of the slave labor force engaged in field and non-field occupations. Of the approximately 90 individuals, 55 (61 percent) were assigned to domestic (men: 12.1 percent; women: 18.2 percent), housewifery (men: none; women 9.1 percent), and craft-related (men: 27.2 percent; women: none) tasks.

Additional documents relate to George Washington's slave purchases and the growing community of enslaved and free labor at Mount Vernon. Ledger A and one associated deed book entry (Posey 1765) document at least 71 purchases of slaves between 1759 and 1774 (Table 4-4). (The first in a series of three, Washington's Plantation Ledger A encompasses his personal accounts with individuals and companies and cash transactions.) However, this is an underestimate for the number of enslaved individuals purchased during this period for the following reasons. The exact number of individuals purchased in any given transaction was not always recorded (Table 4-4). Due to the vagaries of bookkeeping, some individuals purchased

before 1775 appear in the subsequent Ledger B (Washington 1770-1794; Thompson 2011). We have a much clearer picture of the enslaved community and their assignments to various parts of the plantation beginning in 1760 with the first tithable list through 1774. Despite some initial disruption, it appears that Virginia intended to continue counting and levying taxes on tithables during the Revolutionary War (Thompson 2012). However, no tithable lists post-dating 1774 have been found for Washington. In 1760, Washington paid taxes on 49 white overseers, white servants, and black slaves (Abbot 1988[6]:428), and by 1770 he paid taxes on 89 (1993[8]:356-357). See Figure 4-4 for details. These household cycles and their increased numbers of members are reflected in the architecture of the homelot and the evolution of the plantation landscape.

Table 4-4. Slave purchases recorded in George Washington's Ledger A.

Ledger Pg	Year	Month	Day	Entry	Pounds	s	p
8R	1752	Augt	7	By Colo Champe for Negro's	75		
10R	1754	Octr	31	By a Negro Fellow bought at Publick Sale of John Wake as pr Rect	40	5	
18R	1755	Jany	9	By a Negro fellow named Jack bot at Buckners Sale	52	5	
18R	1755	Jany	9	By a Negro woman calld Clio - bot at Ditto	50		
19R	1755	Feby	14	By a Carpenter named Kitt bot at Buckner's Sale	39	5	
21R	1755	May	25	By Mr Bowee for a Negro boy named Harry	45		
11R	1756	May	15	By your Bond to Mary Brookes for £86.0.0 Sterg	86		
31R	1756	Novr	27	By Ditto paid Colo Carlyle for a Negro Woman and Child bought of the Governor*	60		
37R	1757	Jany	6	By Colo Catesby Cocke for a Negro fellow namd Gregory	60	9	
33R	1757	Feby	13	By Cash lodgd with Colo Carlyle to pay for Negros	150		
34R	1757	Apl	30	By Cash lodgd with Colo Carlyle in gold to pay for some Negros which he bot for me in Maryld	79	10	
35R	1757	May	25	By Cash lodgd with Mr Lewis to purchase a Carpenter for neglected to be chargd before	107	10	
56R	1759	June	16	By Do pd Wm Cloptan for Negro Hannah & Child	80		
55R	1760	April	24	By Jas Oglesby for a Negro Will	50		
55R	1760	May	4	By my Wife 3£. A Negro of Docr Symmes £60	63		
55R	1760	May	4	By 9 Negro's bot of Colo. Churchill	406		

Table 4-4 (continued).

Ledger Pg	Year	Month	Day	Entry	Pounds	s	p
67R	1761	July		By my Draft in favr of Chs Graham Wm Fitzhugh & Benja. Fendall Gentn for £2	259		
143R	1761	Decr	23	Negroes of Mr Thompson Mason**	120	19	
146R	1762	Feby	22	Negroes. of Mr Lee Massey … 7	300		
7R	1762	Mar.		By a Negroe fellow - in one hand named Chs	30		
146R	1762	July	20	Collo. Fieldg Lewis 2 [Negroes]***	115		
173R	1763			By my Bond payable last of June 1764, which was given for the followg Negroes ... to wit Harry £45 Topsom 43 Nan 25.5 Toney 17.15	131		
173R	1764	Jany	23	By the following Negroes bought at Publick Sale, & for wch my Bond was taken payable 12th June next to Jno. & Charles Mynn Thruston Exrs viz Robin £65 Charles 74 Jerry 65	204		
173R	1764	Jany	23	By the following Negroes bought at Publick Sale, and my Bond made payable 12th of June next to Thos Whiting & Chs Mynn Thruston Assignees - for Ben £72 Lewis 36.10 Sarah 20	128	10	
173R	1764	Jany	24	To my Bond given to you, & made payable 12th June next for a Negroe Lewis	76		
188R	1764	Novr	1	By Colo. Richd Henry Lee my Bond for Negroe Judy & Child bot of Gawin Corbin Esqr. Estat.	63		
168R	1765	Octr	24	By a Bill of Sale for Sundry, for Sundry Lands & Slaves****	[750]		
255R	1767	Octr	16	By Henry Self - for Negro Woman Sarah	40		
269R	1768			By Sundry Slaves bot at yr Sale & for wch I passd my Bond payable ye 15th of April 1769 - viz. Mulatto Will £61.15.0 Mulatto Frank £50 Negro boy Adam £19 Jack £19	149	15	0
310R	1770	May	12	By a Negro Fellow Bath	66	10	
204R	1770	June	11	By Sundries bot at [Colo. Thos Moore] Sale viz. Negro Frank £31 [Negro] boy James £55	86		
313L	1771	Nov	16	To Cash [to Lund Washington]... for Negro Giles	76	5	

*Two men and a woman purchased by John Carlyle for Washington (Abbot 1983[2]:276).
**Possibly imported on ship Upton (Sweig 1985:521).
**Named Fredrick and Judy (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:302).
***Transaction included the purchase of 25 slaves for £70 (Posey 1765).

Mount Vernon's Changing Landscape and Architecture

The documentary evidence recording early Mount Vernon architecture is so fragmentary that the original construction date of the mansion remains conjectural. The debate surrounding Augustine Washington's role in the construction of the original house is lively and ongoing, primarily because of this lack of solid evidence.[3] The most current argument supported by Dennis Pogue (1994:103) and Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects (1993:77-78) and recently corroborated by dendrochronological research (Miles and Worthington 2006) is that Augustine built the house in ca. 1735 perhaps as many others did during the rising tide of settlement during this and the proceeding decade (Freeman 1948:53).

Figure 4-6 offers the best interpretation to date of the plantation layout as it existed before George Washington's first round of renovations, including the structures on the landscape presumed to have been built by Augustine Washington. These include an early version (c. 1735) of the mansion, the storehouse, and the dairy. Very little is known about the two outbuildings. Clues come from digs done in the 1930s by Morley Williams, who exposed portions of the foundations of the pre-1775 outbuildings that stood on Mount Vernon's west front, and from Lawrence Washington's 1753 probate inventory, which assigns names and therefore functions to the outbuildings. Morley Williams's conjectural map of the early landscape depicts the dairy as a sandstone foundation measuring 16 by 16 feet (Pogue 1988). The building to the north, the store house, was also the same size with stone foundations, whereas the kitchen and wash house uncovered by Williams had larger footprints and brick foundations. Pogue (1988:2-6) hypothesizes that the stone buildings may pre-date the brick ones and, therefore, have been constructed during Augustine Washington's period of occupation. This hypothesis is based on the sandstone foundations in the mansion basement assumed to date to Augustine's

[3] For other arguments on the construction date of the house, see Moxham (1976) and Wall (1945).

ownership. The brick outbuildings may have been added during Lawrence Washington's life time. It does raise the question, however, where was Augustine's kitchen at Mount Vernon, if it was detached from the main house? Only an archaeological excavation of these features will be able to provide sufficient evidence to better understand the early development of the plantation layout. The Mount Vernon Archaeology Department began excavations in May of 2013 to locate and document the foundations of the early kitchen and dairy, the sources of much of the refuse found in the South Grove Midden's deposits.

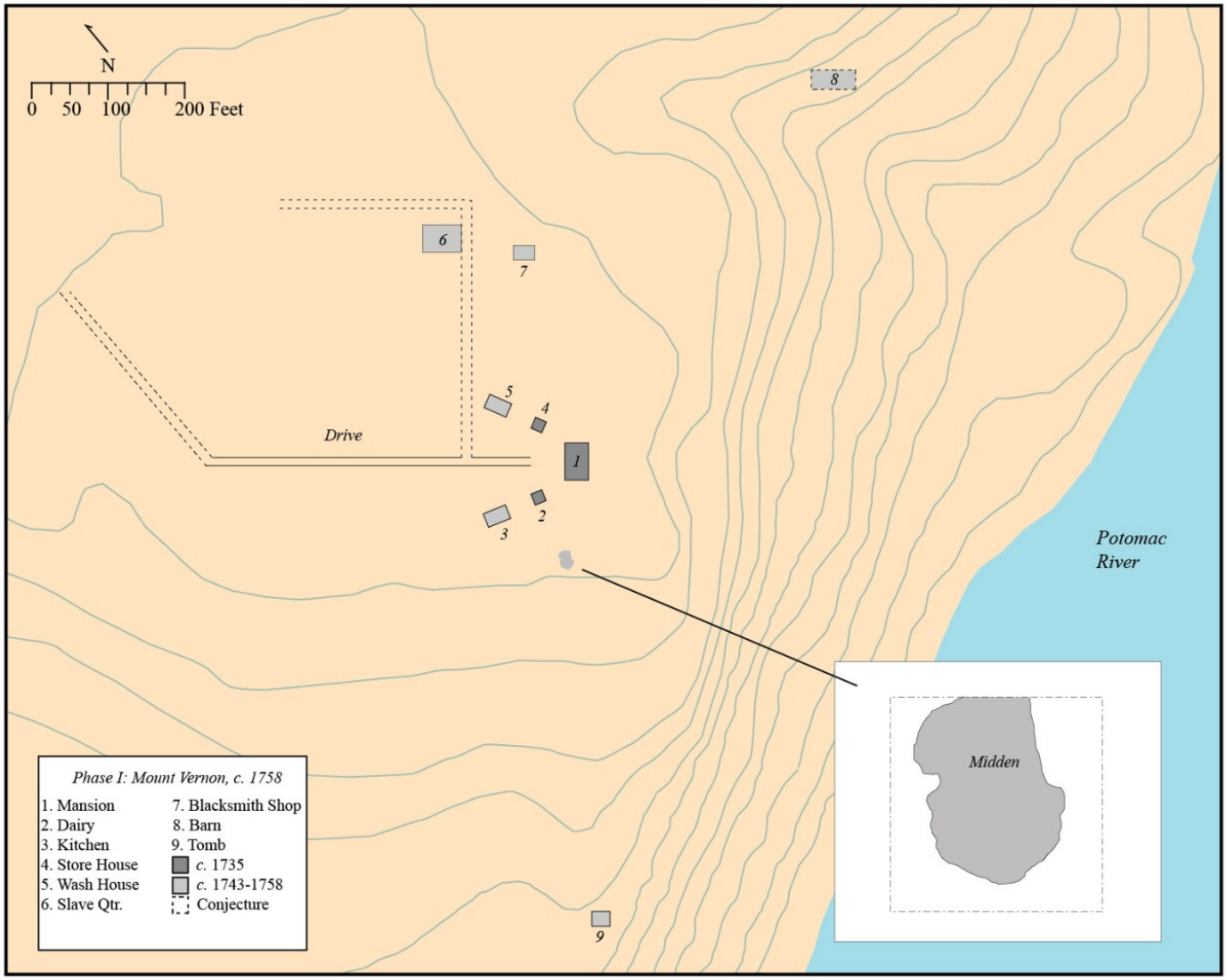


Figure 4-6. Layout of Mount Vernon homelot ca. 1758. (Map by Mount Vernon Preservation, 2012).

Shortly after Lawrence Washington married and moved into Mount Vernon, he expanded and remodeled his father's version of the home, possibly as a reflection of his increasing prominence in colonial society. Historians (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:31-32) speculate that architectural statements like Belvoir and John Carlyle's house of dressed stone in Alexandria, not present in this region during Augustine's occupation, inspired the up-and-coming Lawrence Washington to undertake a major campaign of rebuilding at Mount Vernon shortly after moving in. Lawrence may have temporarily lived at Belvoir, the home of his future wife, while the work was being undertaken (Henriques 1992:243). Not much is known about what exactly he did to remodel the house, but Dalzell and Dalzell (1998:31) hypothesize: "the most he may have accomplished, beyond the initial expansion of the house [a major undertaking in itself], was fitting the ground floor room in the south eastern corner with elaborate wood paneling."[4] A cornerstone laid into the sandstone foundations in the oldest part of the mansion cellar bears the initials "LW" with a heart set between two halberds, a military weapon combining both spear and battle-axe, from which we can infer that Lawrence made his mark on the mansion. The details of Lawrence Washington's architectural changes are not documented; therefore, we can only presume that he expanded his father's version of the home.

Referring again to Figure 4-6, much of what is known about the plantation layout surrounding the mansion derives from Lawrence's inventory (Washington 1753). In this document, the following outbuildings were listed: the storehouse; dairy; kitchen; and wash house. Of particular interest to this study are the dairy and kitchen (on the midden side of the mansion), both of which were razed and only the latter replaced in a major renovation campaign initiated by George Washington in 1775. As previously mentioned, the storehouse and dairy

[4] For additional information on what Lawrence Washington did to remodel his home, see Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects (1993:79-82).

possibly dated to Augustine Washington's period. Pogue (1988) speculates that because they were made of brick and not stone, and measured slightly larger than the dairy and storehouse, the kitchen and wash house could reflect Lawrence Washington's imprint on the landscape.

Figure 4-6 shows a slave quarter, later called the House for Families, situated directly across the north lane from the blacksmith's shop. Pogue (2002:5) writes that although four outbuildings are listed, situated tightly around the house, the inventory gives no indication as to how many slave quarters existed on the 2,000 acres or if the House for Families was built during Lawrence's tenure. However, Pogue (2002:7) speculates that because there exists no record of its construction during George Washington's lifetime, the quarter serving as the primary dwelling for mansion house slaves may have been another of Lawrence's additions to the homelot (as was the blacksmith's shop, a barn, and Lawrence's final resting place). The archaeological record indicates that the House for Families was in use at least by 1759 (Pogue and White 1991). The archaeological site takes its name from the map of the estate drawn by Samuel Vaughan in 1787 where the building is called the "Quarters for Families" (Pogue 2002). The sketch that Vaughan drew in his journal while at Mount Vernon (later formalized into the plan of 1787) identified the building as the "House for Families" (Vaughan 1787). The earliest known reference to the structure dates to January 19, 1760 in an account of work completed by the carpenters stating: "Lofted the Quarters at H[ome] House put a partition and made a Door etc" (Toner [1890]). Only a few months later, another reference to the quarter appears in relation to a weather event with "Lightning wch. had attended a good deal of Rain had struck my Quarter & near 10 Negroes in it some very bad but with letting Blood they recovered" (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:280). The building, estimated at 35 by 55 feet long with two stories and a loft and chimneys at the gable ends (as depicted in a painting by Edward Savage in 1792), had become the "Old Quarter" by the

early 1790s when it was torn down and replaced by the new greenhouse slave quarter complex in 1793 (Pogue 2002).

Fragmentary details in Lawrence Washington's probate inventory speak to the sometimes informal nature of household slave sleeping and living arrangements in the eighteenth century. Not only did the kitchen contain work activities, but also housed slaves, most likely those who served as Mount Vernon's cooks. Among the pots and pans in the kitchen are listed: "1 Rug, 1 [Sea] Bed, one course Quilt" valued at 1 pound, 10 shillings and an iron candlestick valued at 4 shillings (Washington 1753). This practice of living where one worked was not uncommon in the mid-eighteenth century. A survey of Virginia and Maryland probate inventories dating from 1750 to 1759 where kitchens were listed separately (n=25), found that approximately one quarter contained beds and bedding linens (Center for History and New Media 2006). The wash house contained "1 bed, bowlster, sheets red rug bed sted sacking bottom" and another "bedsted, mattress, 1 old bed, 1 pr of sheets, one rug" and "two tables," hinting that this space also housed slaves. No such sleeping-related materials appear in association with the dairy or storehouse, though the dairy did have a loft, as the inventory lists wooden planks stored there (Washington 1753).

George Washington served in the military off and on from 1752 to 1758, requiring his absence from the plantation, and he did not yet officially own Mount Vernon; nevertheless, he was establishing a home there. In fact, one possible reason for the increase in slave labor was Washington's expansion and remodeling of his half-brother's house that took place from 1758 to 1759 (Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects 1993:91). Although he was away on military service during the first years of the renovations, he was able to trust his brother Jack and his wife Hannah (who came to live at Mount Vernon in 1756) to oversee the construction activities. Their

assistance was later replaced by a hired white overseer, Humphery Knight, in 1757 and 1758 (Abbot 1988[5]:218). Correspondence and diary entries provide a glimpse of the remodeling, which was well underway by the summer of 1758. This phase of renovations was major: the building was raised a full two stories; a new roof was built; stairs to the garret were installed; the foundations were reinforced; and plastering took place (Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects 1993:8). In the span of a year, from 1758 to 1759, the Mount Vernon mansion essentially doubled in size (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:49). Figure 4-6 shows the mansion post-renovation.

Of particular relevance to this study was the removal of plaster from the house during this phase of George Washington's remodeling, because it is an architectural remnant that survives archaeologically. The main evidence for removal of plastering comes from a September 1758 letter recording that "the great house has took a vast Deal of Sawing work besides a vast Deal of other work which the Carprs Did, puling Down the old works and Raising the new… as to puling Down the old plastering and leaths [sic.] out of the rooms I made the home house people Do and all other work as they could" (Abbot et al. 1988[5]:447-448; Breen 2003). The plaster removal might have been done as early as 1755 as indicated in a report to George Washington from overseer Humphrey Knight who wrote in September of that year that major demolition and removal of partitions had been accomplished (Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects 1993:9). Most of the major work on the house was carried out in August and September of 1758 (Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects 1993:8-12).[5]

Although the period from 1760 through 1775 represents a lull between major renovation campaigns to the house itself, those projects that did occur changed the homelot considerably (Figure 4-7). During this period, the Upper and Lower Gardens were established and a barn to

[5] For a detailed description of the architectural work that was done to Mount Vernon before 1775 see Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects (1993) and Dalzell and Dalzell (1998:Chapter 3).

the south mirroring the House for Families to the north was built, in addition to other outbuildings including the spinning house, the spring house, and the icehouse. In May of 1762, George Washington hired a slave bricklayer named Guy to begin "the Garden Wall, after having built an Oven in the Kitchen, laid the hearth, & repaird the back" (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:298) suggesting that some maintenance of the outbuildings was necessary.

Changes occurred to the east front of the mansion as well. In March of 1760, George Washington wrote in his diary, "Agreed to give Mr. William Triplet £18 to build the two houses in the Front of my House (plastering them also) and running Walls for Pallisades to them from the Great house & from the Great House to the Wash House and Kitchen also" (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:258). Not even a month had passed before Washington recorded, "By 3 Oclock in the afternoon Mr. Triplet finishd the Wall between the Dairy and Kitchen. The Rain from that time prevented his Working" (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:268). Apparently Washington was in a rush to have this work completed as he had devised the original plan in 1758, but William Triplet was occupied with projects on other plantations (Abbot 1988[5]:390-391). Section of these walls where they abutted the mansion were discovered in four test units during excavations in advance of a new drainage system (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 1996). Excavations in the 1970s at nearby Belvoir plantation uncovered brick screening walls connecting mansion to outbuilding similar to those documented in Washington's diary (Pogue 1988:7). Brick walls of this nature would have provided a barrier between the labor (and its by-products) that occurred outdoors behind the dairy and the kitchen and the formal, landward entrance to the mansion.

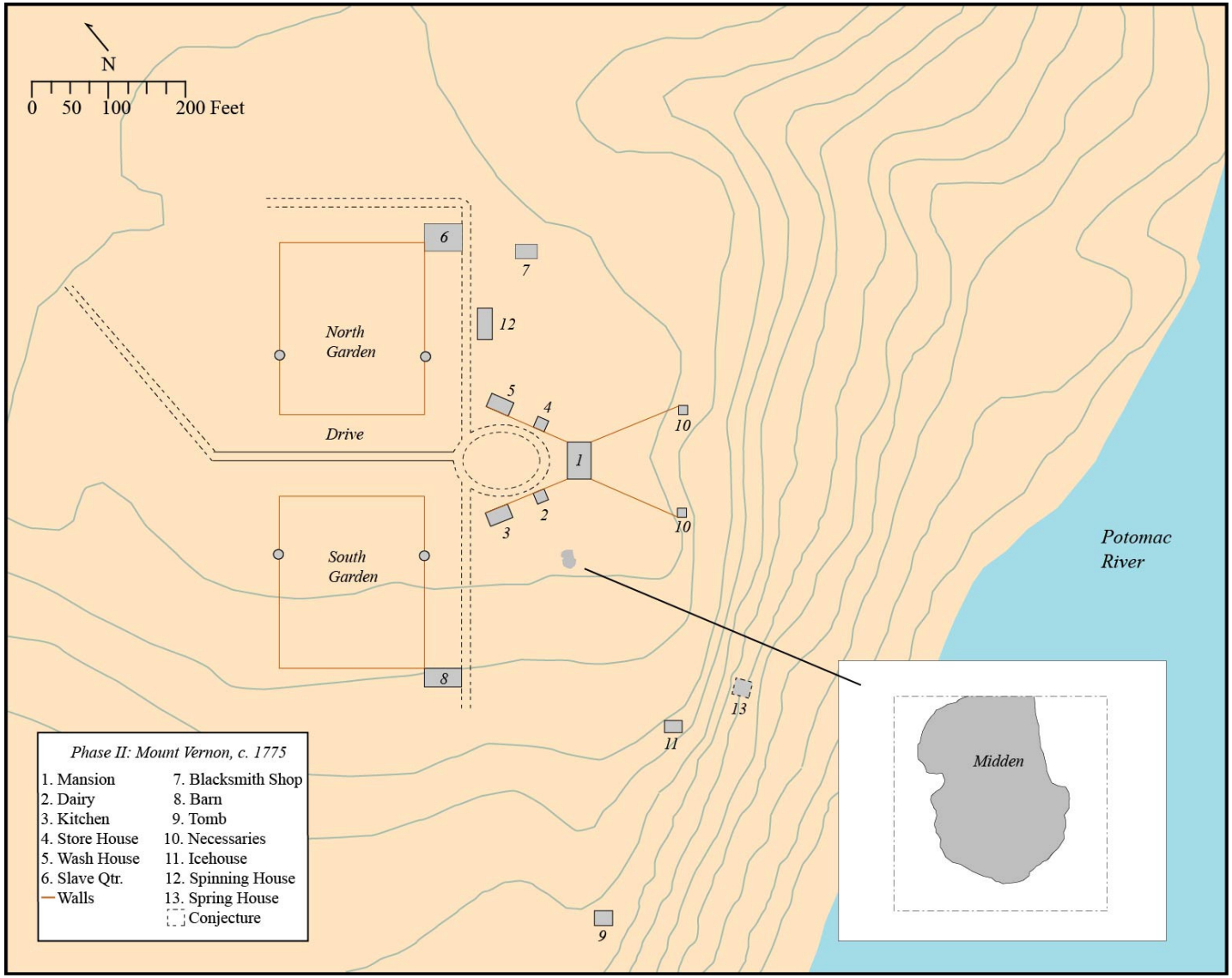


Figure 4-7. Layout of Mount Vernon's homelot, ca. 1775. (Map by Mount Vernon Preservation, 2012).

Documentation exists that the "two houses" were completed sometime before 1763 (Pogue 1988:7). Archaeology corroborated the existence of a 10 by 12 foot structure on the east lawn, depicted on the 1787 Vaughan plan as a privy. It is possible that this foundation and the privy plotted on the Vaughan plan represent evidence for the southern of the "two houses" built in the early 1760s. They too are conjecturally connected to the mansion with brick walls. However, much remains to be discovered and confirmed about the early layout of Mount Vernon through the archaeological record (Pogue 1988).

George Washington had doubled the size of the mansion in 1758 and 1759 and embellished the interior; "by 1773, however, Washington was already planning a second major rebuilding of the house, and in the ensuing fifteen years he would radically alter its setting, tearing up and reshaping much of the landscape that had been so painstakingly created up to then" (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:60). Dalzell and Dalzell (1998:69) argue that this second rebuilding campaign, considered by Washington to be a matter of "necessity," reflected the increasing economic diversity of the plantation, embodied in the construction of new and restructuring of old outbuildings, lanes, and fences. By 1775, a large addition on the south side of the house was completed except for the study's chimney, including the expansion of the basement. Throughout the 1770s and 1780s, George Washington's labor force renovated Mount Vernon (adding the wings and the piazza that survive today), constructed outbuildings, and formalized the surrounding landscape.

Most significant to the South Grove area was the replacement of the old dairy and kitchen with a new kitchen, the installation of a large, vaulted brick drain, and the transformation of the South Grove from workspace to formal landscape. By 1775, Washington's carpenters had torn down Lawrence's flanking outbuildings and built in their place a servant's hall to the north and a

new kitchen to the south (John Milner and Associates 2004:20). The new kitchen was in place by the summer of 1775 (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:107). The south lane was reorganized, new outbuildings populated its western side, and fences on its eastern side were constructed to further demarcate space. Also in 1775, a series of brick-lined drains were installed to channel the rainwater away from the house and into a large, barrel-vaulted brick drain (uncovered in the 1991 field season). This tightly dated feature provides a solid TAQ for the bulk of the midden's deposits intruded by its builder's trench. The following year, Washington communicated his vision for the South Grove to his plantation manager, including plantings of ornamental species (Pogue et al. 2005). Washington described "that at the South" a variety of trees ("especially flowering ones") "such as Crab apple, Poplar, Dogwood, Sasafras, Lawrel, Willow (especially yellow & Weeping Willow, twigs of which may be got from Philadelphia)…" should be planted (Abbot et al. 1988[6]:84). Figure 4-8 shows the culmination of these and other sweeping changes to the homelot that resulted in the version of Mount Vernon presented to visitors today.

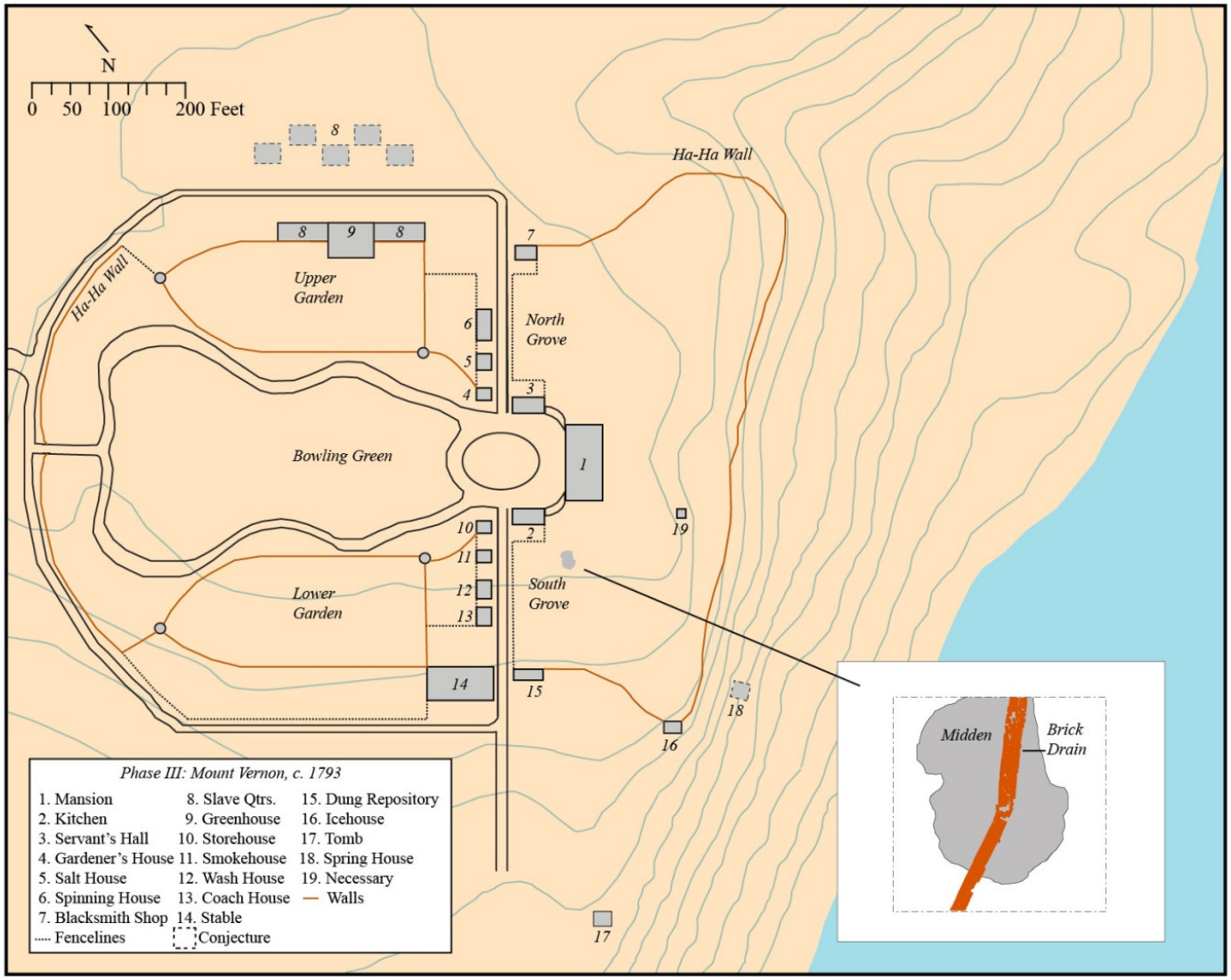


Figure 4-8. Layout of Mount Vernon's homelot, ca. 1793. (Map by Mount Vernon Preservation, 2012).

This extensive work impacted the South Grove Midden, essentially transforming what had been a work space and refuse yard for dairying, cooking, or other domestic tasks into a grove of flowering trees and shrubs and evergreens. George Washington's transition towards a more naturalistic and picturesque homelot was influenced by contemporary trends in English landscape aesthetics. As early as 1776, he expressed his desire to have groves of trees to the north and south of the mansion (Abbot 1988[6]:82-86). Washington's desires do not appear to have been actualized until the early spring of 1785 when his diary documents the planting of no less than 75 trees and bushes in the north and south groves in addition to walkways fit for strolling and admiring the new vision for the environs surrounding Mount Vernon (Jackson and Twohig 1978[4]:98-109). Verification that this idea came to fruition was captured in the Vaughan Plan of 1787, which depicts these areas as heavily wooded (Pogue et al. 2005:90).

The Enslaved Community's Mount Vernon

With the contours of the Washington households outlined and the plantation evolution traced, this section provides a more intensive view of the enslaved community as it developed in the early period at Mount Vernon (pre-1775). Drawing from the latest research on African American cultural and community development, the purpose of this intensive focus on early Mount Vernon slaves is to address the question: is it possible, based on available evidence, to develop a picture of the charter generation of slaves at Mount Vernon utilizing broad data on ethnicity and specific sources on slaves who labored on the plantation? This section presents a first step towards an understanding of Mount Vernon's charter generation of slaves, while acknowledging the potential for more work based on the dataset compiled and presented here.

Why study the charter generation? Historians have begun to conceive of enslaved communities as passing through a series of developmental stages, beginning with the charter

generation, with much of this work driven by modern theories of cultural development, particularly historical creolization (Walsh 1997 and 2001a; Chambers 2005; Ogundiran and Falola 2007). The approach taken by practitioners of historical creolization is multi-scalar, meshing local conditions with broader trends in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. A brief review of these models follows and informs this attempt to better illuminate Mount Vernon's charter generation.

In 2006, Richard Price summarized ongoing historiographic debates over theorizing African culture change in New World settings (Price 2006). He pitted historians such as Ira Berlin (1998) and Philip Morgan (1998), representing the Creole School, against those of the Africanist School, which include Michael Gomez (1998) and John Thornton (1998). The former, while acknowledging that African ethnicity and identity were important at certain times and in certain places, argue "syncretism [or creolization] is the real story of Virginia slave culture" (Morgan 1997:139). Those from the Africanist School, on the other hand, argue that cultural and historical developments occurring in the Americas cannot be disassociated from pre-diasporic contexts. Paul Lovejoy (1997:4) argued that these "Revisionists shift the emphasis from the birth of a new culture and society to the maintenance of ties with the homeland… This emphasis on agency and continuity questions the Eurocentrism and the American-centrism that have dominated much of slave studies." Price concluded the seemingly irreconcilable nature of these perspectives may be more a result of political and ideological sensibilities, careerism, and inflammatory rhetoric than true incompatibility of perspectives.

Therefore, instead of viewing the Africanist and Americanist debate as a dichotomy, Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola (2007:19) argue that a new model, that of historical creolization, may reconcile the two sides by "bring[ing] Africa-centered history and agency into

the conceptualization of creolization or cultural syncretism." Armed with the new, ground-breaking knowledge of patterns of ethnic clustering in Virginia, we can begin to ask, what was the impact of ethnic demographic concentrations on "cultural transfer, transformation, or annihilation" on Virginia plantations (Walsh 2001a:139)? For historians working in New World diasporic settings, the publication in 1999 of *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade* database has allowed for the study of ethnic clustering in plantation contexts previously not thought possible (Morgan 1997). By compiling demographic and geographic information on over 27,000 voyages, or more than half of all slave ships that traversed the Atlantic from the late sixteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, the database (Voyages Database 2009a) possesses the potential to understand the coastal origins of enslaved Africans and their dispersal in the New World. Walsh (2001a:140) writes, "Preliminary findings…, demonstrating strongly patterned distributions of Africans in receiving colonies, also argue for the need to revise 'the picture of a confusing [or 'conflicting'] mix of African cultures with all the attendant barriers to establishing African influence on the New World.'" Walsh and Chambers' work with the database for colonial Virginia suggests that ethnic clustering can be found geographically and temporally. For example, Chambers (1996 and 2005) finds that during the height of the slave trade to Virginia, from 1710 to 1740, nearly 60 percent of enslaved Africans originated from the Calabar Coast on the Bight of Biafra and can, therefore, be characterized as Igbo-speaking peoples. Walsh and Chambers' work represents an attempt to re-characterize what was once thought to be a random composition of heterogeneous African populations brought to Virginia, a prerequisite for the subsequent exploration of culture change.

In *Murder at Montpelier*, Douglas Chambers (2005) applies this historical creolization model to explore and emphasize the specific Igbo contributions within a community of enslaved

Africans living at Mt. Pleasant and Montpelier, plantations owned by President James Madison's family. His model (Table 4-5 from Chambers 2005:98-99) consists of five distinct generations: charter; creolizing; creolized; worriment; and ruination.

Table 4-5. Historical creolization model for the Madison slave community, 1720s-1850s (Chambers 2005:98-99).

Decades	Generation Type	Characteristics of
1720s-1730s	Charter	Seasoning and adapting
1740s-1760s	Creolizing	Birth of a locally born population
1770s-1790s	Creolized	Pinnacle of slave community
1800s-1820s	Worriment	Declension
1830s-1850s	Ruination	Dissolution of slave community

Of the twenty nine enslaved individuals at Montpelier who constituted the charter generation, the majority were most likely Igbo-speaking peoples taken from the Calabar Coast. Subsequent generations, then, creolized from a diasporic Igbo base. Importantly, each generational shift is tied to internal community watershed events that provide the catalyst for change. For example, the onset of the creolizing generation came about as the ratio of colonial-born to African-born individuals increased. The death of President Madison in 1836 ushered in the ruination generation as a quarter of the enslaved community was sold.

Chambers presents an emically-derived and contextually sensitive intergenerational historical creolization model for the enslaved Madison community, the ebbs and flows of which certainly have parallels at Mount Vernon. His emphasis on the changing demographic foundations from which cultural narratives are constructed is significant for constructing a contextually sound creolization model. Chambers shows how the ancestral origins of enslaved persons living on plantations can be explored, just as one would do with the Euro-American

occupants. In the absence of specific records on enslaved individuals, time-sensitive regional data provide a solid estimation for the port of embarkation and ethnic affiliation – hence, the multi-scalar approach. Walsh (1997:137) agrees that "one of the keys of interpreting cultural development and change in particular places… is a clearer understanding of the backgrounds of the people involved." What both Walsh and Chambers show is that slave communities formed and persisted over multiple generations, and along with them came the traditions, memories, familial ties, and group solidarity expected in any type of community.

Inferring African Ethnicity at Mount Vernon. Beginning at the large scale of the multi-scalar approach, two works have considered the specifics of slave ethnicity in the upper Potomac region. Sweig's (1985) article on the importation of slaves to the Potomac River offers two conclusions. First, more direct importations of Africans occurred than previously thought. At the time of his writing, historians assumed that most of the slave population increase in this region could be attributed to out-migration from established Northern Neck plantations. Second, the lack of slave imports to the region between the years 1754 and 1761, the years of greatest population increase on the Virginia side of the Potomac River, can be explained by an intra-colonial slave trade pattern between Maryland and Virginia not captured in shipping records. Sweig bases much of his argument on evidence relating to George Washington's early purchases of enslaved individuals.

Slaves transported to the upper Potomac region disembarked at two ports: the North Potomac or Maryland side and the South Potomac or Virginia side. For the South Potomac after 1741, the port of entry was Belvoir. For the North Potomac, it was St. Mary's (Sweig 1985:511, footnote 12). Sweig tabulates the number of vessels entering the South Potomac River district between 1727 and 1772 by pooling previous research on naval office shipping lists.

Problematically, attempts by historians to explore slave ethnicity in Maryland have been thwarted by the fact that no naval office records survive for Maryland from 1702 to 1741 and after that, only survive in incomplete form (Walsh 2001b). Sweig (1985:511, footnote 12) could find no extant records for the St. Mary's entry port.

Sweig's (1985:512-513, table II) results suggest a decrease in slave imports in the eight-year period between 1754 and 1761, with only three ships known to have arrived in the South Potomac River district, as opposed to ten in the eight years before and six in the eight years after. However, this period was one of high duties charged on slaves purchased in Virginia and the duty fees were passed onto the purchaser. Maryland duties were significantly cheaper; therefore, Sweig (1985) argues that Virginia planters looking to save money bought their slaves across the river in Maryland. Sweig (1985:515) writes, "The disparity between the duties on slaves imported for sale, together with the ease and legality of importing slaves duty free for their own use, provided ample incentive for Virginians to buy in Maryland, and the evidence indicates that Potomac River planters did so in large numbers." George Washington was indeed one of these Potomac River planters. Referring to Table 4-4, a transaction between Washington and Colonel John Carlyle occurred on April 30, 1757 wherein the former paid the latter £79.10.0 in gold for slaves bought in Maryland. Based on this evidence, Sweig (1985:516-517) further argues that the £150 worth of slaves bought from Carlyle earlier in the year may too have been imported from Maryland, though this detail is not recorded. One other purchase during this seven year period documents this intra-colonial trade. In July of 1761, Washington via his factor Robert Cary & Company paid three men £259 for an unknown number of slaves. These men were residents of Calvert and Charles counties in Maryland (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:65, footnote 8; Thompson 2011).

The data Sweig (1985:512-513, table II) presents offer little concrete evidence about specific slave ethnicity. Slaves brought to Virginia's South Potomac docks primarily originated in the West Indies (13 of 29 ships). These slaves may not have been native West Indians, but instead Africans transported to the West Indies and then to the colonies. For example, one of the ships, the *Royal Charlotte* originating from Basseterre, the capital of St. Kitts, transported "Gambia slaves" according to an advertisement in Alexandria (Sweig 1985:522). For the remainder, ten ships began their journeys in Africa and the Coast of Africa; three stopped over in the lower tidewater before continuing northwards; two came from specific areas in Africa (Senegal and The Gambia, neighboring counties often referred to as Senegambia); and one first stopped in Maryland. In other words, of the recorded shipments cited in Sweig (1985), the specific African port of origin is known for 151 enslaved individuals out of 1,517 brought directly from Africa by Sweig's calculations.

Since the article was published in 1985, however, additional primary evidence on the trans-Atlantic slave trade has surfaced and been analyzed by Walsh (2001a). Walsh's (2001a) research focuses more specifically on the question of Chesapeake slave ethnicity by compiling evidence used by Sweig in the form of naval office shipping returns and new data published in the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyages Database 2009b, 2009c, 2009d). There is one significant difference in these two datasets, however (as reflected in Table 4-6). While the former includes shipments between colonies; the latter only includes voyages beginning in Africa and terminating in the Americas. Walsh's main conclusion is that historians know more than previously assumed about the ethnic origins of slaves in Chesapeake sub-regions. Specifically for the upper Chesapeake region (South Potomac and all ports in Maryland), three quarters of slaves embarked on ships from the northern West African coast: "from Senegambia on the north

to a second region extending from the Cassamance River to Cape Mount (present-day Sierra Leone is in the center), and then easterly along the Windward Coast (present-day Ivory Coast and Liberia), and ending on the Gold Coast (present-day Ghana)" (Walsh 2001a:145). Of the 58 percent of slaves whose origins are known, more than three-fourths came from Senegambia to the South Potomac (Walsh 2001a:147). She (Walsh 2001a:147) writes:

> The large planters built up their workforces from varying combinations of laborers imported from the West Indies; Africans purchased in South Potomac, on the Maryland side of the river, or occasionally in the Rappahannock; and a mix of more seasoned Africans and creoles acquired through marriage or inheritance from relatives living in other parts of Virginia and in Maryland.

In the grand scheme of slavery in colonial Virginia, the South Potomac district ranked below all others as a slave destination, partly explained by importations from Maryland (Walsh 2001a:145) and partly because it was settled later than other areas.

Table 4-6 presents a list of slave ships known to have unloaded their cargo either in the North Potomac, South Potomac, or Potomac (north or south unknown) naval districts in the eighteenth century drawn from Sweig's (1985:512-513) table II and searching the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Voyages Database 2009b, 2009c, 2009d). This dataset is slightly different from Walsh's in that it includes only the North Potomac port as opposed to all Maryland ports in an attempt to gain tighter geographic control. Assuming that slaves who came to reside at Mount Vernon could have been purchased from either the North or South Potomac, which slave ethnicities predominated during Augustine, Lawrence, and George Washington's tenures? Walsh (2001a:147) finds, "With the exception of 1734-1741 [the period generally overlapping with Augustine Washington's brief occupation of Mount Vernon], when Liverpool

tobacco merchants made a concerted effort to supply Africans to this district, most of the consignments consisted of refuse slaves transshipped from Barbados." During the 1730s and early 1740s when Augustine and his household intermittently occupied Mount Vernon, most the slaves imported to the region were of unknown origin (n=723 or 48 percent), the rest were from Senegambia (n=339 or 23 percent), West Central Africa (n=220 or 15 percent), and the Bight of Biafra (n=217or 14 percent), each representing distinct cultural groups. Ten ships brought slaves to the region during Lawrence Washington's tenure, 1742 to 1752, at Mount Vernon. By taking this micro-view, a pattern emerges from this meager dataset – only one of the ten ships arriving in the upper Potomac during Lawrence Washington's occupation originated in Africa. Most of the rest, as Walsh (2001a) suggests, began at least part of their voyage in Barbados. Broken down by numbers of slaves, Barbados specifically and the West Indies generally became a secondary source with 197 (57 percent) originating from the Bight of Biafra, 122 (35 percent) from the West Indies, and 29 (8 percent) from unknown ports of departure.

Table 4-6. Importation of slaves to the upper Potomac Region, ca. 1735-1775, broken down by household (Sweig 1985:512-513; Voyages Database 2009b, 2009c, 2009d).

Year of Landing	House-hold	Vessel	Voyage ID Number	Number of Slaves	Port of Disebarkation	Port of Origin	Notes
1715		Cruizer	75038	84	Potomac	unknown	
1717		George	21806	21	South Potomac	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands	First landed in Barbados where 169 slaves disembarked.
1732		William and Betty	25159	89	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	First landed in York River, VA where 51 slaves disembarked.
1732		Liverpool Merchant	92350	65	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	First landed in York River, VA where 95 slaves disembarked.
1734		Thomas	92349	46	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	First landed in York River, VA where 54 slaves disembarked.
1734		Liverpool Merchant	92348	156	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	
1736	AW	George	16823	217	North Potomac	unknown	First landed in St. Kitts where some of the original 271 may have disembarked.
1736	AW	Prince William	92343	52	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	First landed in York River, VA where 114 slaves disembarked.
1736	AW	Liverpool Merchant	92344	193	South Potomac	unknown	
1736	AW	Bridget Gally	16819	150	South Potomac	West Central Africa and St. Helena	
1737	AW	Liverpool Merchant	92337	190	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	
1737	AW	Brig Thomas	92336	97	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	
1738	AW	Liverpool Merchant	92332	70	South Potomac	West Central Africa and St. Helena	
1739	AW	Liverpool Merchant	92329	130	South Potomac	unknown	

Table 4-6 (continued).

Year of Landing	House-hold	Vessel	Voyage ID Number	Number of Slaves	Port of Disebarkation	Port of Origin	Notes
1740	AW	George	16991	217	North Potomac	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands	
1740	AW	Snow Bridgett	92328	53	South Potomac	unknown	
1741	AW	Cape Coast	94744	130	South Potomac	unknown	
1749	LW	Success		2	South Potomac	Hampton	
1749	LW	William & Thomas		10	South Potomac	Antigua	
1750	LW	Olive		50	South Potomac	Barbados	
1750	LW	Success		25	South Potomac	York	
1751	LW	Success		16	South Potomac	Barbados	
1751	LW	Hopewell		36	South Potomac	Barbados	
1752	LW	Potomack Merchant	25212	197	South Potomac	Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands	
1752	LW	Success		2	South Potomac	Hampton	
1752	LW	Molly		10	South Potomac	Barbados	
1752	LW	Snow Africa		16	South Potomac	Barbados	
1754	GW	Brig Two Friends		18	South Potomac	Antigua	
1759	GW	Venus	90710	130	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	Then landed on the Rappahannock, VA where no slaves were recorded disembarking.
1759	GW	True Blue	90763	350	North Potomac	Gold Coast	
1759	GW	Mildred	75878	28	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	First landed in Rappahannock, VA where 22 slaves disembarked.
1760	GW	Woodford	77725	288	Potomac	unknown	

Table 4-6 (continued).

Year of Landing	House-hold	Vessel	Voyage ID Number	Number of Slaves	Port of Disebarkation	Port of Origin	Notes
1760	GW	Ship Sarah	76153	80	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	Then landed in the North Potomac where 7 slaves disembarked.
1761	GW	Upton	90773	107	North Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	Then landed in South Potomac where 30 slaves disembarked.
1762	GW	Sloop Royal Charlotte		42	South Potomac	Basse-Terre	Advertised as "Gambia slaves" offered for sale in Alexandria (Sweig 1985:522).
1763	GW	Schooner Industry		14	South Potomac	St. Christopher	
1764	GW	Betsey		7	South Potomac	St. Christopher	
1765	GW	Sloop Nancy		19	South Potomac	Barbados	
1765	GW	Sloop Priscilla		24	South Potomac	Barbados	
1765	GW	Brigantine Alice	25308	71	South Potomac	Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	
1771	GW	Brig Swift		7	South Potomac	Jamaica	

Focusing on slave shipments between 1754 and 1771, George Washington's pre-Revolutionary War period of occupation, we see an increase in the number of recorded shipments arriving directly from Africa. Of the 15 ships that entered the Potomac ports, 7 originated in Africa, 7 came from the West Indies, and one originated from an unknown port. When we look at individual numbers of slaves of known origin, the proportion made up by those embarking in the West Indies is even less significant for this period. Nearly 50 percent (n=446) embarked in Senegambia and the offshore Atlantic, 38 percent (n=350) in the Gold Coast, and 14 percent (n=131) in the West Indies. These numbers are roughly compatible with Walsh's (2001a:166, table 1) findings for the South Potomac and Maryland for all periods. Therefore,

these data suggest that of the Washingtons' purchases of newly-imported slaves in the upper Potomac region, Senegambians could have been the dominant ethnicity during Augustine and George Washington's tenures and Igbos (from the Bight of Biafra) during Lawrence Washington's tenure. This possibility becomes slightly higher if we rely on Sweig's (1985:521) findings that the *Royal Charlotte* from Basse-Terre contained "Gambia slaves" and that these may have been some of the individuals purchased by Washington at the end of 1761.

If we are to instead view the numbers by collapsing the households into the period, 1735 to 1775, the picture of newly imported slave ethnicity becomes slightly clearer (Table 4-7). However, a large proportion of the slaves (29 percent) is of unknown origin. Of the known slaves, Senegambian ethnic origins dominate, almost double the next highest group, Igbos from the Bight of Biafra. Finally, when a regional view is taken, most slaves imported to the upper Potomac region during this period came directly from Africa. In conclusion, if newly-imported slaves were being purchased by the Washingtons in the years before 1775 from ports closest to Mount Vernon, it is most likely that they would be either of unknown or Senegambian origin.

Table 4-7. Importation of slaves to the upper Potomac region, ca. 1735-1775, aggregated (Sweig 1985:512-513; Voyages Database 2009b, 2009c, 2009d).

Port of Origin	Number of Slaves	Percent	Region Totals	Percent
Jamaica	7	0.2		
Antigua	28	1.0		
St. Christopher/St. Kitts	63	2.2		
Barbados	171	6.0		
Caribbean			269	9.4
West Central Africa and St. Helena	220	7.7		
Gold Coast	350	12.2		
Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands	414	14.5		
Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic	785	27.4		
Africa			1769	61.8
Unknown	823	28.8		
TOTAL	2861			

Mount Vernon's Charter Generation. The question remains, however, if Senegambian slaves were most frequently purchased by the Washingtons, as the large scale approach to slave ethnicity tentatively suggests, would they have formed a culturally-dominant majority when micro-scale household events are taken into consideration? In other words, if we were to consider the documentation pertaining specifically to the slaves at Mount Vernon, does our model for historical creolization begin with a Senegambian base? I conclude that the charter generation of slaves at Mount Vernon coalesced from too many sources with too many unknowns to categorically state that one ethnicity dominated when a micro-scale approach is considered.

Previous work. Historian Mary Thompson (1991, 2001, 2013) has undertaken the most extensive research into George Washington's enslaved community (see also Stevenson 1996:209-212). Her biographical and genealogical efforts draw from the slave census taken in approximately June 1799 (Abbot 1999[4]:527-542), among myriad other sources. The following information was recorded in the 1799 slave census: name; age; farm and work assignment; ownership status (Martha Washington dower versus George Washington, which also implies different ports of disembarkation and therefore different ethnic origins); surnames; remarks and comments; and marriage and children. The only other existing complete census of the Washington's slaves (216 total) was recorded in George Washington's diary in 1786 and included information on farm and work assignments and ownership status (Jackson and Twohig 1978 [4]:227-283).

Additionally, thorough work involving the nineteenth-century slave community can be found in Casper (2008a) and on the associated website (Casper 2008b). In order to tell the story of the transformation of Mount Vernon from plantation to shrine and the role of the enslaved and

free African Americans in creating and communicating that story, Scott Casper delved into estate documents associated with Bushrod Washington (tenure: 1815-1830), John Augustine Washington II (1832-1833), and John Augustine Washington III (1841-1861). This chapter in the enslaved community's development can be characterized as one of dissolution due to financial hardships and ownership instability. Some individuals experienced the seemingly unattainable goal of freedom while others found themselves sold into the harsh conditions of enslavement in the deep south. By the nineteenth century, slaves were increasingly recorded as family units facilitating genealogical research. When possible, Casper (2008b) records familial relationships, number of appearance in the document, date of birth, acquisition history, value, source, subsequent disposition/later history (heir, death, sale), and additional notes.

This section draws from Thompson (2013) and Casper's (2008a, 2008b) research initiatives to bring us to the foremost enslaved individuals tasked with preparing the fields to receive their first tobacco plants or meals in the new kitchen for the young owners, Lawrence and Ann. Less sleuthing has occurred into the cultural backgrounds of these individuals than on the later community, with the exception of the work of Sweig (1985), Walsh (2001c), and Thompson (2006). Less effort has been expended on systematically developing a picture of the first generation of slaves living and working at Mount Vernon – probably for good reason, since the existing data are not neatly contained in a single census. Abbot (1999[4]:527) comments on the complex documentary history of the beginnings of George Washington's enslaved community:

> The slaves Washington owned in his own right came from several sources. He was left eleven slaves by his father's will; a portion of his half-brother Lawrence Washington's slaves, about a dozen in all, were willed to him after the death of Lawrence's infant

daughter and his widow; and Washington purchased from time to time slaves for himself, mostly before the Revolution.

George Washington kept notes on Martha's dower slaves, both those brought to Mount Vernon and those who stayed in the lower tidewater region (Abbot 1988[6]:282). The recordation of the Mount Vernon slaves became more regular in 1760 through the end of the early period (pre-1775) with the lists of tithables for Truro and Fairfax parishes, containing Washington's five farms. These lists do not capture slaves under 16 years of age or some slaves too elderly for work, but they do contain vital evidence of farm and work assignments and changes from year to year. The editorial notes also present research on slave identification and genealogy (Abbot 1999[4]:528). Piecing together these disparate documents affords a view of the beginnings of an enslaved community who became increasingly better documented over time and offers the potential to connect that community across six generations of Washington households.

About the dataset. The intent of this section is to piece together the broadest universe of individuals from which the first generation of Mount Vernon's slaves could have formed. (This dataset does not include Martha Washington's dower slaves working her non-Mount Vernon farms (Abbot 1988[6]:217-220) nor does it include slaves inventoried as part of Lawrence Washington's Frederick County estate (Hardin and Keyes 1752)). Never before have all sources pertaining to slaves at Mount Vernon in the pre-1775 period been brought together in such a systematic fashion. I believe that once complete, this effort will yield much more satisfying interpretations and understandings of the identities of the individuals that served the Washingtons. However, this effort is preliminary. After the dataset and its structure are summarized, the next stages of analysis are presented for future work. The list is comprised of 26 unique sources including: 15 tithable lists; the list of slaves that George Washington inherited

from his father, Augustine; documents pertaining to the execution of Lawrence Washington's will (including his Mount Vernon probate inventory, the division of the slaves between the Washington brothers and George Lee, Lawrence's widow's second husband, the further division of the Washington brothers' slaves among each other, another division of slaves occurring after Lawrence's widow's death); purchases of slaves by George Washington (from John Posey to settle a debt and from other individuals as outright transactions); a list of household slaves written by George Washington after his marriage, including Martha's dower slaves; the inventory of Daniel Parke Custis; a list of slaves sent to the Dismal Swamp; and a runaway slave advertisement. (See Table 4-8 for documents and citations.)

Individual names appearing in each of these 26 documents were entered into an Excel spreadsheet. This initial list will eventually facilitate the matching of slaves between sources and ultimately the reconstruction of family units across space and time. In addition to the slave's name, I captured 15 fields in the creation of the dataset, in part drawing from the structure of the Monticello Plantation Database (Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2008) and the work of Thompson (1991) and Casper (2008b) as a model. These fields and a description are listed in Table 4-9. In structuring the dataset in this way, by listing each slave reference as a separate entry, the goal was to avoid interpretation at this stage. In other words, instead of attempting to make leaps between documents, all data were entered identically so that the most informed decisions can later be made about, for example, how many Jacks actually lived at Mount Vernon and what relationship these Jacks may have had to other slaves in the community. Some of these fields are fully populated while others are anticipatory for future research. The final dataset includes 1,435 entries and a total of 164 unique slave names.

Table 4-8. Documents pertaining to Mount Vernon's early enslaved community.

Source	Year	Interpretation
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:173	[1750]	Slaves Inherited by George Washington from Augustine
Washington 1753	1753	Lawrence Washington's Inventory
Abbot 1983[1]:229	1754	Division of slaves after Lawrence Washington's death between the Washington brothers and George Lee
Abbot 1983[1]:231	[1754]	Division of slaves after Lawrence Washington's death between the Washington brothers
Washington 1750-1774	1752-1771	Ledger A
Abbot 1988[6]:217-220	1759	Daniel Parke Custis' Inventory
Abbot 1988[6]:282	[1759]	List of Household Slaves made after George and Martha Washington's Marriage
Abbot 1988[6]:428	1760	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:45	1761	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:65-68	1761	Runaway Slave Advertisement
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:172-174	[1762]	Division of slaves after Ann (Washington) Lee's death
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:139	1762	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:227-228	1763	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:313	1764	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:314-316	1764	List of Slaves Sent to the Dismal Swamp
Posey 1765	1765	Slaves Purchased by George Washington
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:376-377	1765	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:442-443	1766	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:515-516	1767	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:104	1768	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:220-221	1769	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:356-357	1770	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:479-480	1771	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1994[9]:54-55	1772	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1994[9]:238-239	1773	Tithable list
Abbot and Twohig 1995[10]:137-138	1774	Tithable list

Table 4-9. Fields and descriptions recorded in the Mount Vernon slave dataset.

Field Name	Description
Slave Name	Record the slave name or best interpretation followed by the name as it actually appears.
Aka	Mainly reserved for future use to record various spellings or other names by which the slave was called.
Date of record	Date of the source where the name appears.
Value	Value of the slave in pounds.shillings.pence.
Age	Age of the slave.
Source	Citation of the document in which the name appears.
Number of appearance in document	For lists, this is a sequential numbering of the individuals in the order they appear to retain context that will be otherwise lost in databasing or sorting. When mother and child are listed together, they both receive the same number.
Relationships	List any known relationships. Eventually the hope is to break up this column by mother, father, child, etc.
From	Previous owner or owners in chronological order from earliest to latest if multiple are known.
To	Final owner.
Work Assignment	Task to which the slave was assigned.
Location	Farm to which the slave was assigned.
Dower?	Enter "Y" if the slave is one of Martha Washington's dower slaves.
Original Notes in document	Enter any original notes found in the document in quotes.
Papers Notes	Enter any editorial notes from the *Papers* in quotes.
Notes, other	Enter any additional notes.

Internal watersheds. Though still in need of a full scale analysis, cobbling together these disparate sources on the enslaved community in conjunction with what is known about broader trends in slave imports and ethnicity during this period allow for some tentative conclusions. What becomes immediately apparent from this list of documents is that we know very little about slaves who were purchased and more about those who came to Mount Vernon through life events such as marriage and inheritance. Specially, we do not know how the slaves that Lawrence Washington owned came to him except that he inherited some from his father (Toner 1891:13), though presumably he purchased some. Additionally, the count and composition of the slave population first owned by Augustine and inherited by Lawrence is undocumented and therefore cannot be captured in this analysis. With these caveats, the application of the historical

creolization model does allow for some insights into the early generations of Mount Vernon's slaves.

Borrowing from Chamber's (2005) historical creolization model, the development of Mount Vernon's enslaved community is marked with similar generation types and characteristics (see Table 4-5). The slaves that Augustine Washington brought with him to Mount Vernon, probably a small group, faced a period of adaptation to a new and undeveloped plantation and represent the **charter generation**. Some of these individuals may have stayed on as part of Lawrence's inheritance to continue to carve tobacco fields from the woods. Augustine's slaves, purchased either from the Potomac or Rappahannock naval districts (in other words, either near Mount Vernon or closer to his properties on the Northern Neck) were probably a mix of Senegambia and Igbo slaves. As previously discussed, Senegambian ethnicity dominated imports to the upper Potomac region during Augustine's tenure at Mount Vernon. Augustine probably also bought slaves imported into the Rappahannock Naval District in the periods calculated by Walsh (2001a:166-169, table 1): 1719-1730 and 1731-1745. The first period saw more slaves from the Bight of Biafra, the latter from Senegambia. Lawrence Washington inherited the slaves assigned to Little Hunting Creek from Augustine in 1743 (Toner 1891:13). From the list of tithables taken just five years later, we know that Lawrence already owned 27 individuals, a larger number in the parish at the time. Speculatively, some were inherited from Augustine, some owned by his new wife, Ann, and some purchased outright. This was a period when imports to the upper Potomac region were dominated by the Bight of Biafra as the region of origin. The document dividing Lawrence's slaves between Colonel Lee and the Washington brothers (Abbot 1983[1]:229) records the **creolizing generation**, with the beginnings of family formations and the birth of a locally born population. The list includes slaves with African-

derived names, but also young children, at least 7 out of 62. This emerging community was disrupted with the death of Lawrence and the dispersal of slaves to Colonel Lee's and to the Washington brothers' plantations, but 26 of these individuals continued on at Mount Vernon, either inherited or leased by George Washington. Nine or ten of these individuals were children. Of the 18 leased from Ann, Washington ultimately inherited 5 upon her death in 1762 (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:172-174).

The major internal watershed in the development of Mount Vernon's enslaved community that occurred around the time of Ann's death was George Washington's marriage to Martha and the combining of two communities in 1759. From the slave census taken in 1786 (Abbot 1999[4]:528-540), we know that many of these adults intermarried as the **creolizing generation** continued. With Martha's move from the lower tidewater region to the upper Potomac, she brought with her part of a community:

> …from Parke and Custis family quarters along the York River and on the Eastern Shore, and these workers came from different backgrounds than most Africans brought to the Potomac. Three quarters of Africans transported into the York River in the 18th century came from more southerly and easterly parts of Africa, the Bight of Biafra and West Central Africa. In the 1690s, Daniel Parke II bought slaves carried from the Bight of Biafra; and some of the new Africans John Custis purchased in the 1720s and 1730s probably came from the same region. Laborers whom Custis inherited from his father's Eastern Shore plantations almost certainly included captives from Angola (or their descendants), and Custis probably purchased additional Angolans in the late 1730s. A few others came from the Gold Coast (Walsh 2001c:53).

Who from this diverse lot came to Mount Vernon is the question, but we can infer that most of these individuals were native born (Walsh 2001c:53). By ca. 1760, the slaves living on Mansion House Farm, the name of Washington's homelot and adjacent fields, included a mix of dower and Washington-owned slaves assigned to skilled tasks including carpentry (9), shirtmaking (2), tanning (1), waiting (3), jobbing (1), cooking (2), ironing (1), laundering (1), cleaning (2), spinning (1), and sewing (1) (Abbot 1988[6]:282).

George Washington continued to purchase slaves between 1759 and 1775, many unnamed and unnumbered (Washington 1750-1774), but some likely of Senegambian origin. Some of those slaves purchased during this period do not appear on the tithable lists suggesting that they were possibly assigned to other lands, such as the Dismal Swamp (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:314-316). Of the slaves listed in the purchase by Washington from John Posey in 1765, only one name appears for the first time in the tithable list of 1766 – Winney (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:442-443 and Posey 1765).

The runaway slave advertisement placed in the summer of 1761 speaks to the creolizing nature of this generation and deserves some attention in light of this new analysis (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:65-68). In August of 1761, four men ran away from Mount Vernon plantation: Peros, Jack, Neptune, and Cupid. Washington wrote that two of the men (Neptune and Cupid) were recent arrivals to colonial Virginia, being transported on "an *African* ship in *August* 1759." Jack was not on this ship, but was noted as a "Countryman" to Neptune and Cupid and had "Cuts down each Cheek, being his Country Marks." Neptune was noted for his filed teeth and "small Marks or Dots running from both Shoulders down to his Waistband." According to Washington, both Jack and Peros spoke fairly good English, Jack having been in the country for "several Years," specifically in the lower tidewater county of Middlesex. Peros' place of birth is not

mentioned, but as "little of his Country Dialect" remained, he might be assumed to be native born or imported as a child. He was also a former resident of Williamsburg in the lower tidewater.

Where did Jack, Neptune, and Cupid come from and how did they get to Mount Vernon? Documents pertaining to the purchase of Neptune and Cupid would have to fall between August of 1759 when their ship landed and August of 1761 when they were reported missing. Abbot and Twohig (1990[7]:65-68, footnote 6) believe that no evidence of the purchase of these slaves exists. In fact, the editors suggest that this transaction and others regarding slave purchases and sales must have been kept in an account book that does not survive, though this appears not to be the case (see Table 4-4). Sweig (1985:519) speculates that Neptune and Cupid could have been among the nine unnamed individuals purchased from Colonel Churchill in May of 1760; the two runaways could have been among the nine (see Table 4-4). Neptune and/or Cupid could also have been purchased from Doctor Symmes for £60, also in May of 1760 (Table 4-4). Additionally, there is a letter dated to August 6, 1761, two days before the four men sought their freedom, in which Washington informed his factor Robert Cary that he has drawn a bill in the amount of £259 to be paid to Charles Graham, William Fitzhugh, and Benjamin Fendall of Calvert and Charles County, Maryland, for "Sundry Slaves wch I bought of those Gentn Yesterday" (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:62). Ledger A recorded this transaction in July of 1761 (Washington 1750-1774). Perhaps Neptune or Cupid were recent arrivals from Africa, arriving at Mount Vernon via Maryland, who, with nothing to lose and no ties to the community there, decided to take their chances and escape as a group.

Many questions remain about the purchase of these slaves. Sweig (1985:519) attempted to discover their port of origin; however with the documentation available to him at the time, he

concluded that "no ship carrying slaves entered at South Potomac between 1754 and 1760." In light of new evidence offered by the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Database* (Voyages Database 2009b, 2009c, 2009d), we now know that one ship did enter this port during this period: the *Mildred* (see Table 4-6). However, she did not arrive until the end of September 1759 and according to George Washington, Neptune and Cupid arrived a month earlier. Again, data contained in the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Database* not available to Sweig document two ships entering the North Potomac district in 1759: *Venus* and *True Blue*. Both arrived on August 16 and could, therefore, represent Washington's purchase of slaves brought to Maryland to avoid duties and one of the ships carrying Neptune and Cupid. The *Venus* left an African port in Senegambia, while the *True Blue* came from the Gold Coast. Clues contained in the runaway advertisement tentatively suggest that the countrymen were from Senegambia and, therefore, that Neptune and Cupid arrived on the *Venus*. While the tooth mutilation observed on Neptune was a common practice throughout West and West Central Africa (Handler 1994), "country marks" or facial scarification was repeatedly observed by plantation owners in runaway advertisements for Gambian slaves (Gomez 1998:39).

Jack and Neptune were not the only individuals noted for body modifications. Sambo Anderson, a slave of unknown arrival date to Mount Vernon, exhibited facial tattoos and scarification as well. Sambo first appears in the documentary records in 1781, when he is assumed to be about 20 years of age. Sambo often claimed he was the son of a king, harkening back to his African heritage. The name Sambo, an iteration of the name Samba, was common to the Hausa people of current northwestern Nigeria and southern Niger, used to denote a second-born son (Gomez 1998:69). The Hausa were heavily influenced by the Arabic language and Islamic religion – perhaps Sambo was a practicing Muslim. The name was also given to children

of other ethnic groups in this area. Lawrence Washington's 1754 division of slaves document lists a Sambo who was subsequently inherited by George Washington's brother Augustine. Perhaps this Sambo too originated in the hinterlands of the Gulf of Guinea. Sambo Anderson was known to have arrived in the colonies on the same ship as another individual with a distinctive name. Simon Washington was originally variously called Huntemah or Funty Munty. No evidence has yet come to light in regards to Simon's original name, but given his connection to Sambo, it is possible that they shared the same ethnic origins (Thompson 2006).

We are afforded the slightest glimpse of additional potential Islamic cultural influences within the enslaved community. Generally, parts of Senegambia to which many slaves brought to the upper Potomac region could trace their ethnic origins practiced the Islamic faith (Gomez 1998). Specifically, George Washington's tithables list of 1774 records two female slaves assigned to Mill farm: Fatimer and little Fatimer. The name probably derives from the popular Muslim woman's name, Fatima, meaning "Shining One" in Arabic. The Prophet Mohammed's daughter was named Fatima (Thompson 2006). The tithable list is the only surviving reference to either of these individuals. Though past our period of interest, it appears that Fatimer and little Fatimer may not have been the only slaves whose names denote Islamic traditions. In 1800, a slave named Letty assigned to Muddy Hole Farm had a daughter named Nila. This name is a known version of an Islamic woman's name, Naailah, meaning "someone who acquires something" or "someone who gets what they want" (Thompson 2006).

What became of Peros, Jack, Neptune, and Cupid? Recorded in the tithable list of June 1762, submitted 10 months after the runaway advertisement was placed, were the names Cupid, Jack, and Peros – suggesting that their attempts to seek freedom were quickly thwarted (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:67, footnote 1). Neptune's temporary disappearance from the tithables list

portrays a different fate. However, he too was recaptured sometime before the summer of 1766, as his name reappears in the tithable list for that year. We know that Neptune made it at least as far as Maryland before he was caught and imprisoned. George Washington paid Joseph Davenport £3.7.3 in cash for "Prison Fees in Maryld Neptune" (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:67, footnote 4).

Based on this work with disparate documents relating to Mount Vernon's first slaves, we can characterize the pre-1775 enslaved community as two generations – the charter and the creolizing. Our ability to conjecture that the creolizing generation transformed from just one ethnicity is too simplistic in light of internal watersheds. Unlike the plantations studied by Chambers (2005) and Walsh (1997), Mount Vernon's enslaved community most likely evolved from multi-ethnic influences.

Future research. There is much more work that needs to be done in parsing out the early Mount Vernon slave community both in the realms of data entry and analysis. The next steps in this research vein could include the following:

1) Inputting Thompson's (2013) extensive research.

2) Inputting any additional documentary data as necessary (for example, information contained in footnotes to the *Papers of George Washington* or data from Washington's financial records and other papers that record the micro-events of slaves' lives including doctors visits and economic transactions between master and slave).

3) Meshing all the interpreted data into an online, searchable database that presents a true prosopography of this richly documented and deeply contextualized community.

Conclusion

Over the course of the eighteenth century, the upper Potomac Region saw vast transformations in the economy, agriculture, demography, and culture. Towns and the networks that connected plantations to these social and economic centers grew rapidly after mid-century. Both white and black populations steadily increased as the promise of a new, more profitable agricultural enterprise in the form of mixed grain cultivation drew settlers and their enslaved laborers to northern Virginia. These increasingly mobile, interconnected, and native-born enslaved communities tended to live on large plantations along the Potomac River with absentee owners whose primary residence was typically farther south, although not in the case of Lawrence or George Washington. The Washingtons first settled in what would become Fairfax County in the late seventeenth century and the family began to grow and prosper, with each generation more successful than the last. They did so through investments in land and labor, the maintenance of connections back to England, military successes, political prominence, and fortuitous marriage alliances. Their prosperity was reflected in the development of Mount Vernon plantation – in acreage and architecture. Though there is much more work in terms of documentary and archaeological research to be conducted, the conjectural evolution of the Mount Vernon homelot shows a trend towards specialization and self-sufficiency of labor that occurred around the mansion and formalization and elaboration of landscape elements.

The earliest generations of enslaved individuals residing at Mount Vernon, in the House for Families slave quarter, surrounding outbuildings, and outlying quarters, coalesced through a complex combination of micro-events – purchase, marriage, and bequest – and macro, transatlantic processes. Before coming to Mount Vernon, some of these individuals had resided nearby in the lower Chesapeake and Maryland, some had journeyed from as far away as

Senegambia, and many more from places unknown. A more detailed look at the formation processes of this one community in light of broader patterns of African ethnicities present in this region suggest that these first generations of individuals creolized from not a single African ethnicity, but from a multi-ethnic base.

Chapter 5: George Washington's Invoices and Orders

The majority of ceramics that graced Lawrence and George Washington's tables, books that lined their shelves, and even lead shot that filled their rifles made the trans-Atlantic voyage directly and were not purchased from local stores before c. 1775. The consignment system operated such that large-scale planters like the Washington brothers had direct access to goods from London, Bristol, and Liverpool through their business relationships with agents like Robert Cary & Company, Thomas Knox, and Richard Washington (Ragsdale 1989). Because of who George Washington was, we have an extensive documentary record of his orders and invoices for goods, perhaps the largest known complete set of its kind. An order is defined as a document written by George Washington and sent to his British agent containing long lists of items he wished to be sent to Mount Vernon, paid for by the credit garnered through tobacco sales. An invoice is defined as the return bill of goods, written by the British agent to George Washington, listing each item and the associated charges. These documents do not exist for Lawrence Washington, though presumably his tobacco crops were similarly consigned.

While excerpts from the invoices and orders appear in myriad studies (Carson 1994; Sweeney 1994; Rozbicki 1998; Breen 2004), none have yet treated this source like a dataset for analysis until the Archaeology Department at Mount Vernon began the George Washington Inventory Database Project (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 1997a, 1997b). In the late 1990s, following the completion of the excavation of the South Grove Midden site, Mount Vernon archaeologists Dennis Pogue and Esther White conceived of a project that would "facilitate the study of material culture of eighteenth-century plantation life in the Chesapeake area" through the careful cataloguing and databasing of George Washington's orders to his factors in England and the invoices that accompanied those goods back to the plantation (Mount

Vernon Archaeology Department 1997b). A study of this kind allows for an unprecedented opportunity to systematically examine and analyze a gentry planter's orders and invoices for goods from England that allows for a more thorough understanding of the actual material differences in the lives of individuals of varying classes and races, explored in Chapter 7. By picking up where these researchers left off, this dissertation will compile and analyze individual orders for goods and matching invoices to allow for a comprehensive study of gentry consumption from the documentary record.

This chapter begins with an introduction to and summary of the dataset and outlines trends in the consumer behavior of George Washington through the consignment system in the decades before the Revolutionary War. I follow with an analysis of the categories and subcategories of goods. What types of things did he purchase most often? What groups of goods did he invest in most heavily? I then explore the relationships between George Washington and the factors and vendors that served as middlemen in this system, addressing issues of consistency, reliability, and accuracy. Finally, I analyze and discuss the fee structure inherent in this system, providing the evidence to support the fact that planters clung to an outdated and costly mode of economic exchange. Chapter 6 offers tantalizing clues as to why planters continued with the consignment system, more fully fleshed out in Chapter 7.

Compiling the Dataset

Background. The consignment system worked such that Washington would compile an order, basically an eighteenth-century shopping list, and mail that document to his English factor. These shopping lists sometimes included hundreds of items that might include specific details as to unit price, color, size, quantity, quality, style, and origin of manufacture. Washington usually attached an order for goods as an enclosure to a letter he sent to his agent. The structure of the

orders themselves did not change much over time, with long lists loosely grouped by item type. Invoices, or lists of goods and their prices collected by the agent and shipped to Washington, usually contained slightly more structure and detail than the orders. These itemized bills typically began by recording the agent who acquired them and the ship and the captain who delivered them. Within the invoice, the agent typically grouped goods by vendor, placing the item on the left of the page and the price of the good on the right. Sub-tallies and tallies were often given – though they are not included in the dataset. Just as Washington sometimes provided additional commentary on certain items, the agents too might reply that an item could not be found or that insufficient information in the order prevented it from being filled. Most invoices concluded with a list of additional shipping charges, insurance, and commission before the final total was given (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012a).

This dataset was first partially compiled by Betsy Alexander and Amy Dennis. They assisted in the creation of a Paradox for Windows 5.0 database and the initial data entry and cataloguing of the orders and invoices to and from George Washington's factor, Robert Cary & Company, the agent to whom Washington directed most of his business between the years of 1759 and 1772. Their goal was to enter all information related to these consignment transactions. Cataloguing protocols facilitated and standardized data entry in the George Washington Inventory Project Cataloguer's Manual (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 1997a). Although this effort led to some initial analysis, the database was never completed nor was the information widely distributed.

In order to systematically examine the material culture of Mount Vernon from an interdisciplinary perspective, I revisited the preliminary work with the goal of producing a comprehensive dataset, not limited to transactions with Robert Cary & Company, in the form of

an Excel spreadsheet of all consignment transactions from the earliest recorded in 1754 through the latest recorded in 1773 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). The spreadsheet includes a total of 32 groupings of orders and invoices inclusive of 72 unique documents (Table 5-1). The number of unique documents is more than double the groupings because in some instances, George Washington wrote to his factors requesting goods on several different dates, but received the goods all in the same shipment, recorded in the same invoice. The same process occasionally occurred for orders that were divided into multiple shipments and therefore multiple invoices. Most of the documents have been transcribed and are published in the *Papers of George Washington*. Three are in their original format but available online through the Library of Congress (Library of Congress 1999). In some instances, no order survives for the corresponding invoice (and vice versa); however the decision was made to include these invoices as well. This dataset does not include orders for goods placed solely on behalf of John (Jacky) Parke Custis or Martha (Patsy) Parke Custis. These items were paid for out of the Custis estate and therefore were ordered separately.

Table 5-1. List of George Washington's orders for goods and corresponding invoices.

Order Date	Invoice Date
None	1754, Oct 23
1755, Dec 6	1756, April 6
1757, April 15	1757, Nov 10
None	1757, Aug 20
None	1757, Sept 28
1757, Dec 26	1758, Aug 18 (1)
1757, Dec 30	1758, Aug 18 (2)
1758, Jan	1758, Aug 18 (3)
1758, March 18	1758, Aug 18 (4)
1758, April 5	1759, March 20
1759, May 1	1759, Aug 6 (1)
1759, June 12	1759, Aug 6 (2)
1759, Sept 20	1760, March 15
1760, Sept 28	1761, March 31
1761, Oct 12	1762, April 10 (1)
1762, Jan 25	1762, April 10 (2)
1762, Nov 15	1763, April 13
1762, Nov 15	1763, April 23
1763, April 26	1764, Feb 13 (1)
1763, Sept 27 (1)	1764, Feb 13 (2)
1763, Sept 27 (2)	1764, Feb 13 (3)
1763, Oct 24	1764, Feb 13 (4)
1764, Jan 22	1764, April 2
None	1764, June 6
1764, June 5	1765, May 15
1764, Aug 10	1765, Feb 13
1765, March 6	1765, July
1765, Sept 20	1765, Dec 20
1765, Oct 25	1766, March 27
1765, Nov 6	1766, Feb 28
1766, June 23	1766, Nov 17 (1)
1766, June 28	1766, Nov 17 (2)
1766, July 21	1766, Nov 17 (3)
1767, July 20	1767, Oct 29
1768, June 20	1768, Sept 28 (1)
1768, July 7	1768, Sept 28 (2)
1769, Jan 12	1769, Jan 12
1769, July 25	1770, Jan 23

Table 5-1 (continued).

Order Date	Invoice Date
1770, Aug 20	1770, Nov 13
1771, July 18 (1)	1771, Dec 3 (1)
1771, July 18 (2)	1771, Dec 3 (2)
1771, Aug 12	1771, Dec 3 (3)
1772, July 15	1772, Sept 29
1772, Oct 15	None
1773, July 10	None
1773, July 12	None
1773, July 26	None
1773, Oct 6	None

Why match invoices and orders? Much of the effort expended to compile this dataset focused on first, matching the specific order with its specific invoice and second, matching individual requests for goods within the larger order to line items in the invoice. In the digital edition of the *Papers of George Washington* (Crackel 2008), researchers can currently search for specific items, for example, thimbles. However, the search results display at least twice the number of thimbles than were ordered, pulling from both the order and the invoice documents. Additionally, the search pulls from any other document in Washington's writings that happens to mention thimbles. In order to know how many thimbles were actually ordered, the researcher has to weed through these results and go through the arduous process of matching the orders with the invoices for every result and repeat the process for every unique search. By matching one year's request for thimbles with the subsequent bill for those thimbles and cataloguing this entry using defined fields of data, Washington's participation in the consignment system can be quantified and analyzed in ways previously not possible.

Treating the ordered and invoiced item as data allows not only for quantitative studies, but also lends insights into avenues for material culture research, which will be discussed further

in Chapter 7. In her use of orders and invoices for ceramics in a study of George Washington's Chinese export porcelains, Susan Detweiler (1982:44) writes, "Comparison of the reciprocal documents often produces information about contemporary terminology and taste as well as providing clues to the identification of form, decoration, and manufacture of ceramics offered by an eighteenth-century London retailer." For example, in May of 1759, George Washington requested a list of books including, "The newest and most approvd Treatise of Agriculture," leaving the specific title up to the discretion of his factor Robert Cary & Company. To procure the books that Washington requested, Robert Cary employed John Clarke, a bookseller in London. Clarke knew exactly the type of book that Washington was seeking and sent him Dr. Francis Home's *The Principles of Agriculture and Vegetation*, first published in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1756, certainly fulfilling the stipulation that the work be current (Abbot 1988[6]:317-318, 332-337).

Another example falls into the realm of contemporary terminology. In order to tease out acts of consumption in the archaeological record, it is important to decipher how many types of a certain good might have been available to those participating in the consignment or direct trade systems. In 1760 and again in 1772, George Washington requested large pins or large whites (whites being a common nickname for straight pins) in the thousands. Robert Cary first employed Lardner & Baratty, haberdashers and tobacconists, to fulfill the order (Abbot 1988[6]:403) and later Stephen Heath, also a haberdasher (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:130). In both instances, Robert Cary met the order for large whites with corking or caulking (also cauking, calkin, cawking, corkin (OED 2013)) pins, suggesting that these terms were interchangeable. It appears that Washington also used the terms interchangeably, ordering corking pins in 1759, 1761, 1768, and 1769 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

Ferreting out the intricacies of eighteenth-century terminology and understanding that corking and large pins were one and the same better allows archaeologists to understand the variety available or chosen by colonial consumers.

There are entries that remain unmatched, both invoice items and ordered items. Many of the unmatched entries are invoice items that fall into the category of shipping-related expenses, which of course George Washington did not order but came standard with every shipment of consumer goods. Another benefit of putting these documents in a spreadsheet is that the digital format facilitates quantification of this large category of information.

Data Entry. After the documents were matched, the invoice entries were numbered in the order that they appeared in the document to ensure that any invoice could be sorted into its original sequence and, therefore, retain contextual information (which items came before and after) that would otherwise be lost when items were catalogued separately. Once the invoice was numbered, individual items were matched with their corresponding order and entered into excel. An updated manual was created to reflect the type of information captured in the more recent re-examination of these documents. The manual, search tips, frequently asked questions, and an online searchable database and the downloadable dataset are available to researchers through the Mount Vernon Midden website (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

Twenty-four fields of data were collected for each invoice and accompanying order entry (Table 5-2). Of these, seven fields have associated authority tables to constrain the universe of possible entries: item; vendor; category; subcategory; qualifier; ship; and agent. The authority tables also allow for quick sorting by multiple levels in excel to aid analysis.

Table 5-2. Data entry fields for the Invoices and Orders Project.

Field	Description
Item	A one or two word name for the good received.
Item Number	Sequential number in the order the item appears in the invoice or "no invoice" if there is no match for the item.
Ship Date: Month	The month that the item was shipped.
Ship Date: Day	The day that the item was shipped.
Ship Date: Year	The year that the item was shipped.
Invoice Reference	The relevant reference to the volume and page of the *Papers of George Washington* or the html link to the Library of Congress document.
Vendor	The name of the shop or individual from whom the item(s) was procured.
Invoice Description	A record of the description of the item exactly as it appears in the invoice.
Unit Price	Not always originally recorded, but the cost of a unit of the item, as opposed to the total cost.
Category	The broad grouping into which the item falls (i.e., art, furniture, textiles) to facilitate macro-analyses.
Subcategory	The sub-grouping into which the item falls (for textiles, i.e., bedding, fabric, notions, or windows).
Qualifier	Used if the quantity recorded is not per piece (i.e., pair, yard, pound, bushel).
Quantity	The count of the item ordered.
Cost	The total cost of the item.
List	An * is used to denote if multiple items are recorded as a list with only one total cost.
Ship via	The name of the ship that transported the goods.
Agent	The person or company Washington ordered from; the agent that did the buying from individual shops or vendors.
Order Date: Month	The month the order was placed.
Order Date: Day	The day the order was placed.
Order Date: Year	The year the order was placed.
Order Description	The matching order to the item description that appears in the invoice.
Order Reference	The relevant reference to the volume and page of the *Papers of George Washington* or the html link to the Library of Congress document.
Other Reference	Used for citation to works other than the *Papers* in which the item may be mentioned.
Note	Records individual items that were part of a list of items with one cost or for any other comments.

Strengths and Weaknesses. Before engaging with the data contained in the invoices and orders dataset, we need to consider the potential contributions and biases of the dataset. The information contained in it presents a dynamic, robust, and uniquely rich picture of gentry consumer practices, or more accurately the consumer practice of one large-scale plantation owner. Caution should be used when investigating the data and care taken to remember that they pertain to only one individual and are specific to Washington's economic circumstances at that point in his life. I hope that the triangulation between these data and the two other sources (store inventories and the archaeological record) will balance out the particularism of this documentary angle. Since no comparative data exist, we do not know how similar George Washington's purchasing habits relative to those of his peers. Secondly, the dataset affords only one picture of eighteenth century consumerism – local purchases made with cash, barter, and credit are contained in the plantation ledger A for the similar time period and not incorporated here. The first in a series of three, Washington's Ledger A encompasses his personal accounts with individuals and companies and cash transactions (Washington 1750-1774). Impressionistically, however, Washington made few local purchases and the products of his plantation never replaced the need for imports. The invoices and orders fall somewhere between a snapshot of consumer practices and a synthesis of change over time. Finally, as previously mentioned, these types of documents do not survive for Lawrence Washington; therefore, one-to-one comparisons with the archaeological data are often invalid. This documentary dataset should be seen as informing the archaeological record (and vice versa), and not as a proxy for it.

Summary of the Dataset

Chronology. The earliest document included in the dataset was an invoice recorded on October 23, 1754, when George Washington was 22 years old and signed an agreement with

Lawrence's widow to lease Mount Vernon (Abbot 1983[1]:232-235). With the lease of the plantation, Washington entered into the tobacco economy. No matching order for this bill of goods has been found. The latest document recorded in the dataset was an order dated October 6, 1773. No matching invoice has been found. In fact, the last five known orders placed by Washington with his factor in England, in 1772 and 1773, have no matching invoices. We assume that these orders were filled, but that the paperwork did not survive. Washington shipped his last cargo of tobacco to England in 1773, effectively ending his participation in the consignment system and, thereby, his financial and commercial dependence on England. By the end of 1774, Washington's thriving grain and fish trades allowed him to direct his consumer business to the new nexus of fashion and taste, Philadelphia (Ragsdale 1989:161).

Sum Totals. The dataset contains 3,839 total entries. These entries include items for which both an invoice and matching order exist and items for which only an invoice or order exist. These entries breakdown into 3,204 invoiced and/or ordered items and 635 line items for shipping-related expenses (including fees and packing materials).We have evidence that 3525 items (n=2,890) or fees (n=635) were charged to George Washington during this nearly 20-year time period. The remaining 314 items appear only in order documents. We have no documentary evidence in the form of an invoice that these items actually arrived at Mount Vernon. Over the span of nearly 20 years, Washington paid his factors a total of £4,694 for those 3,525 goods and services. Of this sum, £593 (13 percent) was spent on shipping-related charges and £4101 (87 percent) was spent on goods.

Chronology of Consumerism by Count. The height of George Washington's participation in the consignment system, when viewed by total items invoiced by year, occurred from 1760 to 1765 (Figure 5-1). No items were invoiced in 1755 and only one in 1769. It should be said that

calculating total items is not a calculation of the total quantity of individual purchases shipped to Mount Vernon, for this metric is impossible to assess. For example, nails were invoiced by count, textiles were recorded by length, and seeds were invoiced by weight. The metric being recorded in Figure 5-1 is the counts of items that incurred charges as captured in the corresponding invoice.

If we pull in those additional 314 entries that only appear in the order documentation, for a total of 3,204, the picture changes little except to extend the graph into 1773 (Figure 5-2). The years 1760 and 1765 remain the peak years in terms of items ordered and invoiced; 1755 and 1769 remain the lowest.

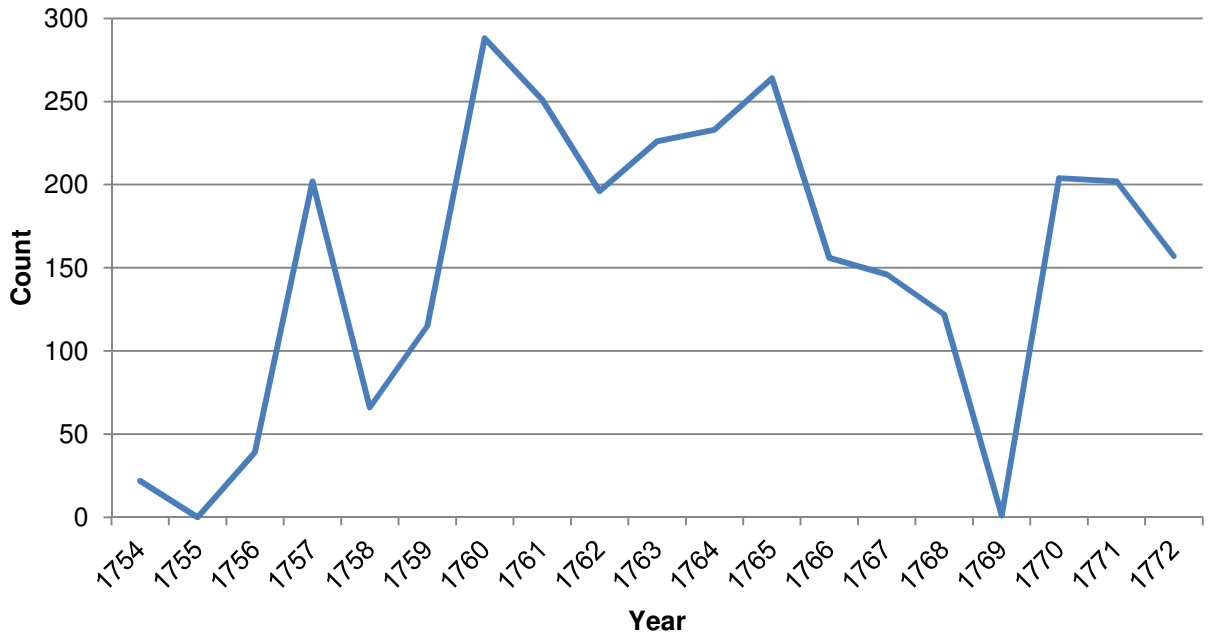


Figure 5-1. Number of items invoiced per year.

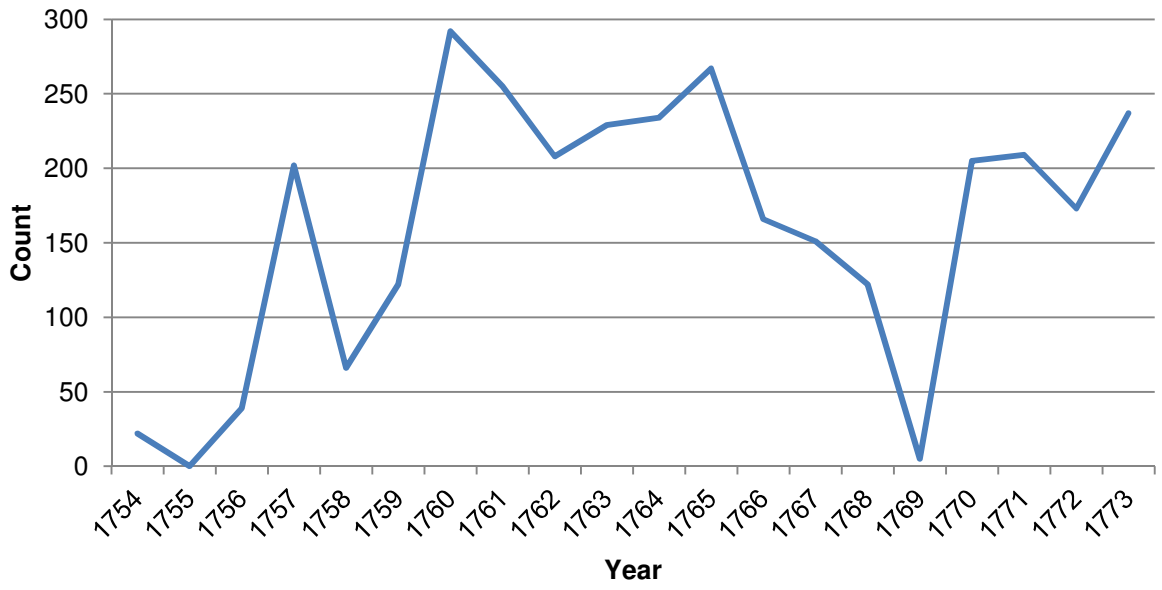


Figure 5-2. Number of items ordered and invoiced per year.

The peak in consumer activity in the early 1760s represents the half decade following Washington's return from the French and Indian War, the new-found resources at his disposal as a result of his union with Martha in 1759, and his increased investment in the tobacco consignment system (Pogue 1994:103). External forces, such as the disruption of trans-Atlantic trade during the French and Indian War, and Washington's newness to the role of planter account for the pre-1759 lull (Ragsdale 1989:137). Almost as soon as Washington embarked on colonial Virginia's "time-honored method" of getting rich quick, he started to complain about that method, particularly in regards to the prices his tobacco obtained. In fact, "at no time did Washington acknowledge that tobacco sales met his expectations" (Pogue 1994:104). The prices on Washington's tobacco declined from 1760 to 1764, only to slightly rebound in 1765. Yet he continued to order goods, a practice that resulted in a debt of £1,800 owed to Robert Cary (Ragsdale 1989:146-148). This debt was considerable and amounted to nearly half of the total £4,101 spent on goods during the entire consignment period. It is easy to understand how this

debt accrued. In 1762, for example, Washington's tobacco earned £463 and yet his invoice for goods in that year alone totaled £377.7.0 (Pogue 1994:106). Poor crops, poor prices, and rich desires for goods created the incentive Washington needed to disengage from the tobacco consignment system and set his sights on a new grain-based plantation model (Pogue 1994:106). This new plantation model, requiring a withdrawal from the tobacco market and the credit extended to planters by the consignment houses in England, created a conundrum – how would Washington fulfill his need for goods cultivated in those peak years?

The sharp decline in 1769 was a direct result of George Washington's response to the Stamp Act of 1765, an attempt on the part of the British government to extract additional revenue from its colonies. Colonists resisted the Stamp Act through economic pressure applied through organized boycotts of certain imported English goods, called non-importation agreements. Washington and other proponents of the non-importation agreement, like George Mason, saw this protest as a way to decrease dependence on imported goods from the mother country and stimulate local manufacture. In 1769, "Washington's close adherence to the agreement enabled him to reduce his annual order from Robert Cary & Co. to the lowest level ever" (Ragsdale 1989:159). The number of items invoiced, however, quickly rebounded in 1770 despite the fact that the non-importation agreement continued for a second year. This change was partly due to the fact that although Washington had completely switched away from tobacco cultivation at his Mount Vernon plantation, he continued to grow the crop on his York River lands. By continuing his engagement with the consignment system, Washington obtained "the necessaries wanted for my Family's use" in addition to a devising way to slowly battle the debt owed to Robert Cary (Ragsdale 1989:159-160). The other factor in the 1770 increase in purchases can be found in the invoices for goods themselves, which evidence a need for items

that local manufacture could not yet meet – including inexpensive cloth and plantation tools (Ragsdale 1989:159).

Isolating items ordered by year (Figure 5-3) affords a better glimpse of George Washington's outlook on the system. First, we find evidence for the largest invoice for goods in 1760, correlating to the largest order the preceding year. In 1759, Washington ordered at least 100 more items than in any other year. Certainly, he needed a vast array of goods for household and plantation as his ambitions shifted from military service to planter. Additionally, his eagerness to succeed had yet to be quelled by the vagaries of the tobacco market and subsequent indebtedness that characterized the 1760s. Also, it appears that the low invoice count for 1770 is probably an anomaly, as he ordered goods in both 1768 and 1769.

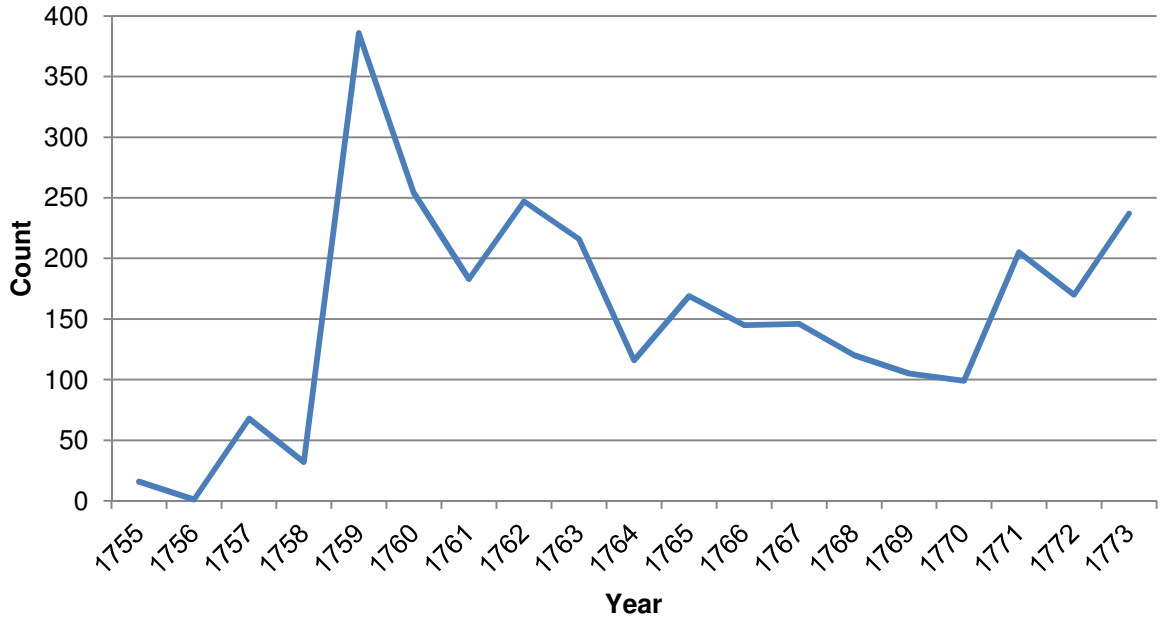


Figure 5-3. Number of items ordered per year.

Chronology of Consumerism by Cost. A slightly different picture emerges if we look at the relative invoice total by year. In general, the number of items for which George Washington was charged correlates to the total invoice cost (Figure 5-4). There are deviations, discussed subsequently, particularly in 1757 when fewer goods were invoiced than other years, and yet Washington paid the highest invoice total of any year. Table 5-3 presents a breakdown of individual invoice totals and invoice totals per year. Washington paid the most for his goods in the years 1757, 1764, and 1771, respectively. In these three years alone, Washington spent one quarter of the total £4,694. In general, invoice charges exceeded £300 in 7 of 18 years. As Ragsdale notes, "The costs in part reflect the couple's pursuit of a standard of living that had come to characterize Virginia's most prominent planters" (Ragsdale 1989:143). Individual invoices averaged over £160, with the largest single invoices occurring in 1764, 1762, and 1771, respectively.

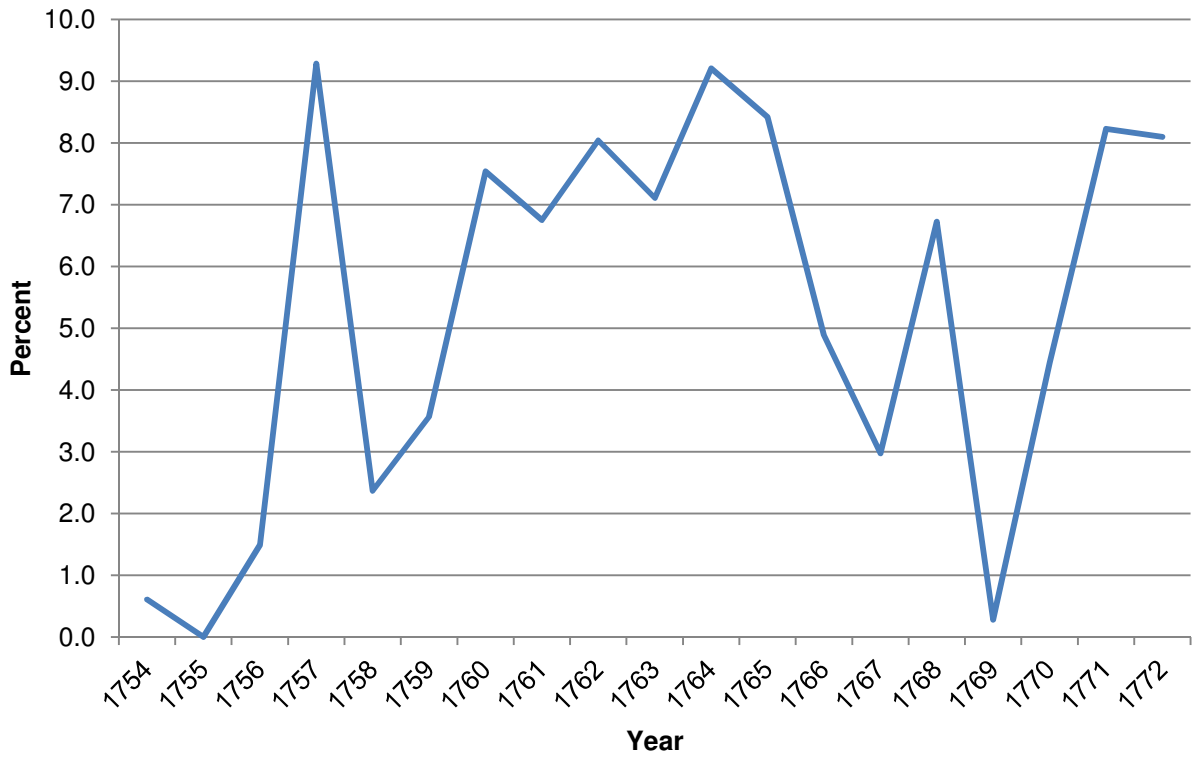


Figure 5-4. Relative invoice totals per year.

Table 5-3. Breakdown of individual invoices totals and invoices totals per year.

Invoice Date	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
1754, Oct 23	28	10	3
1754 TOTAL	**28**	**10**	**3**
1755 TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**0**
1756, April 6	69	19	3
1756 TOTAL	**69**	**19**	**3**
1757, Nov 10	105	4	1
1757, Aug 20	274	2	0
1757, Sept 28	56	7	3
1757 TOTAL	**435**	**13**	**4**
1758, Aug 18	111	0	9
1758 TOTAL	**111**	**0**	**9**
1759, March 20	16	1	7
1759, Aug 6	151	5	10
1759 TOTAL	**167**	**6**	**17**
1760, March 15	353	15	9
1760 TOTAL	**353**	**15**	**9**
1761, March 31	316	16	0
1761 TOTAL	**316**	**16**	**0**

Table 5-3 (continued).

Invoice Date	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
1762, April 10	377	7	0
1762 TOTAL	**377**	**7**	**0**
1763, April 13	298	0	3
1763, April 23	35	13	6
1763 TOTAL	**333**	**13**	**9**
1764, Feb 13	404	19	3
1764, April 2	22	18	4
1764, June 6	4	3	6
1764 TOTAL	**430**	**40**	**13**
1765, May 15	32	17	8
1765, Feb 13	168	14	0
1765, July	22	4	5
1765, Dec 20	171	4	9
1765 TOTAL	**393**	**39**	**22**
1766, March 27	14	10	0
1766, Feb 28	53	18	9
1766, Nov 17	161	1	0
1766 TOTAL	**228**	**29**	**9**
1767, Oct 29	139	10	0
1767 TOTAL	**139**	**10**	**0**
1768, Sept 28	315	13	6
1768 TOTAL	**315**	**13**	**6**
1769, Jan 12	13	2	6
1769 TOTAL	**13**	**2**	**6**
1770, Jan 23	85	11	1
1770, Nov 13	123	1	3
1770 TOTAL	**208**	**12**	**4**
1771, Dec 3	386	2	4
1771 TOTAL	**386**	**2**	**4**
1772, Sept 29	380	2	6
1772 TOTAL	**380**	**2**	**6**

George Washington's hopes for the lifestyle of a genteel planter are expressed in the massive order for goods placed in 1759 and the peak in invoiced items from 1760 to 1765. These early ambitions were challenged by a simultaneous decline in tobacco prices – the result being an accrual of debt that prompted Washington to begin to seek alternative revenue strategies. External forces, such as wartime disruptions and political crises, provided compounding evidence of a flawed economic model. Despite Washington's growing realization of these

problems, and his attempts to extricate himself from the web of consignment, his orders and payments for goods continued strong into the early 1770s. Without the eventual disorder caused by the Revolutionary War, we might wonder how long Washington would have remained entangled in this ailing system.

Category and Subcategory Analysis

Admittedly, some of the items that Washington ordered had multiple functions and, therefore, the potential to relate to multiple categories or sub-categories. In order to offer some synthesis of his consumer habits in the height of this phase of the consumer revolution, however, a typology that places goods into single functional categories and subcategories is necessary. Of the 3,839 total entries in the invoices and orders dataset, there are 741 unique items. These items fall into 22 categories or types, including groups like hardware, textiles, and weapons, and 83 subcategories, including accessories, alcohol, footwear, and wall coverings (Table A-2). Table A-2 in the Appendix shows which items fall into which categories and subcategories. The category of shipping and related subcategories will be discussed separately in a following section. Therefore, this analysis considers 21 object categories and 78 subcategories encompassing 3,204 dataset entries. Nearly three quarters of the 3,204 items fell into four categories: textiles (the components necessary to produce finished garments, upholstered furniture, window treatments, and bed linens); hardware (tools and other items necessary for construction, agriculture, milling, and other plantation labors); household stores (foodstuffs, medicine, and miscellaneous items); and clothing (finished garments, shoes, and other items of apparel and accessories). Each of the individual remaining categories never comprised higher than four percent of the total (Table 5-4).

Table 5-4. Frequency of categories of goods.

Category	Count	Percent
Unidentified	2	0.1
Heating	5	0.2
Tobacco	11	0.3
Lighting	15	0.5
Instrument	16	0.5
Travel	18	0.6
Furniture	22	0.7
Household Décor	30	0.9
Weapons	35	1.1
Recreation	37	1.2
Agriculture	52	1.6
Food Preparation	54	1.7
Writing	85	2.7
Food Service	97	3.0
Household Utensil	107	3.3
Beverage	117	3.7
Stable	120	3.7
Clothing	480	15.0
Household Stores	575	17.9
Hardware	587	18.3
Textiles	739	23.1
TOTAL	3204	100.0

When calculated as a percent of the total items invoiced and/or ordered in any given year, interestingly, these four categories peak in the years before 1759, showing that Washington needed these types of goods most desperately to establish a functioning plantation before his marriage (Figure 5-5). The data are somewhat skewed by documentation dating to 1754 when over 70 percent of the items invoiced fell into the category of textiles. This order was placed before George Washington leased Mount Vernon and in preparation for his military service.

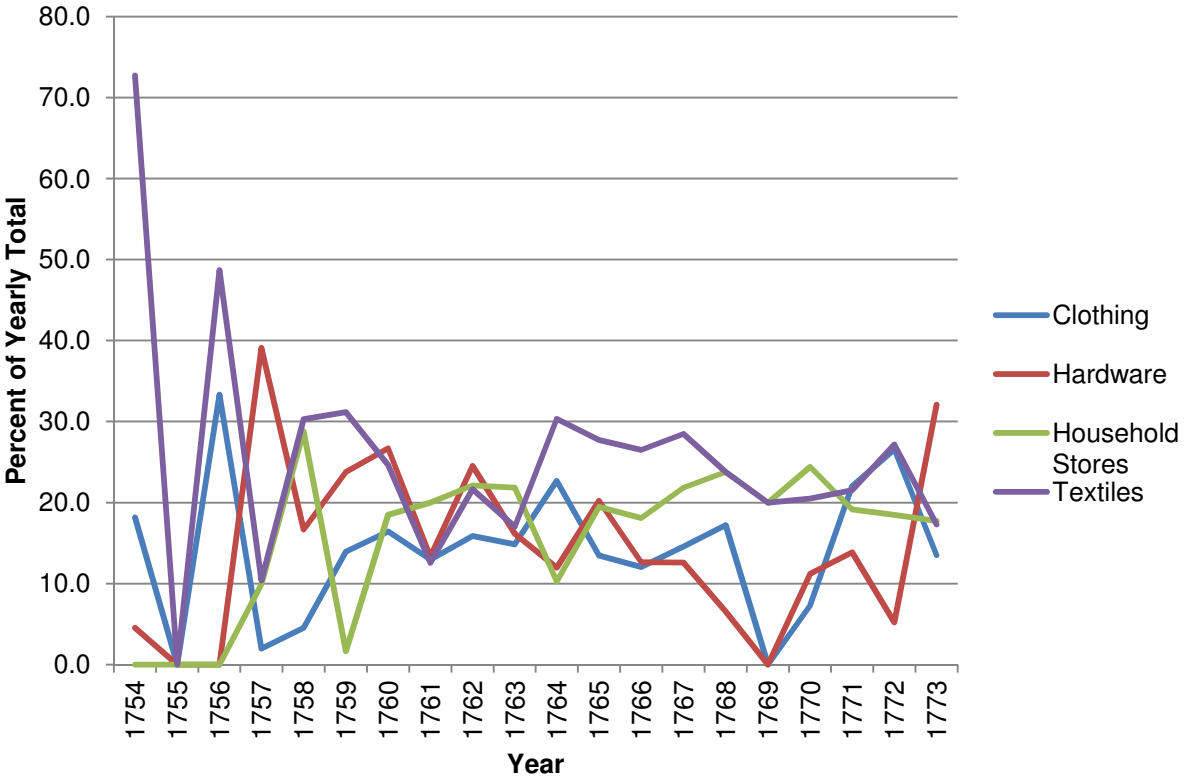


Figure 5-5. Top most frequently ordered categories by year.

The subcategory breakdown allows a more specific view of the popular categories of hardware, textiles, household stores, and clothing (Table 5-5). The most frequently ordered and/or received include: hardware, tools (n=353); textiles, fabric (n=336); textiles, notions (n=324); household stores, food (n=269); and clothing, footwear (n=207). Together, these five categories make up nearly half of all items ordered.

Table 5-5. Frequency of subcategories of goods.

Category	Subcategory	Count	Percent
Weapons	Edge	1	0.0
Hardware	Furniture	1	0.0
Writing	Magazine	1	0.0
Instrument	Miscellaneous	1	0.0
Recreation	Miscellaneous	1	0.0
Household Décor	Painting	1	0.0
Lighting	Snuffer	1	0.0
Furniture	Unidentified	1	0.0
Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0.0
Textiles	Upholstery	1	0.0
Beverage	Chocolate	2	0.1
Furniture	Fireplace	2	0.1
Recreation	Hunting	2	0.1
Furniture	Hygiene	2	0.1
Lighting	Lamp	2	0.1
Household Stores	Laundry	2	0.1
Travel	Miscellaneous	2	0.1
Furniture	Recreation	2	0.1
Furniture	Table	2	0.1
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	3	0.1
Instrument	Survey	3	0.1
Textiles	Bed Upholstery	5	0.2
Textiles	Bedding	5	0.2
Heating	Tools	5	0.2
Textiles	Bedding Over	6	0.2
Lighting	Candle	6	0.2
Lighting	Lantern	6	0.2
Recreation	Games	7	0.2
Household Stores	Lighting	7	0.2
Travel	Storage	7	0.2
Textiles	Floor	8	0.3
Beverage	Miscellaneous	8	0.3
Tobacco	Tobacco	8	0.3

Table 5-5 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Count	Percent
Food Service	Dessert	9	0.3
Stable	Medicine	9	0.3
Furniture	Sleeping	9	0.3
Travel	Vehicle	9	0.3
Beverage	Coffee	10	0.3
Instrument	Measure	10	0.3
Household Décor	Ornament	10	0.3
Food Preparation	Processing	13	0.4
Furniture	Seating	13	0.4
Food Service	Miscellaneous	14	0.5
Food Service	Serving	14	0.5
Household Stores	Tea	15	0.5
Household Décor	Wall Cover	16	0.6
Stable	Miscellaneous	18	0.6
Writing	Book	19	0.7
Recreation	Fishing	19	0.7
Textiles	Window	19	0.7
Food Service	Cutlery	23	0.8
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	23	0.8
Hardware	Paint	23	0.8
Beverage	Tea	24	0.8
Household Stores	Beverage	25	0.9
Beverage	General	28	1.0
Weapons	Fire	29	1.0
Textiles	Production	31	1.1
Household Utensil	Cleaning	35	1.2
Food Service	Dishes	35	1.2
Food Preparation	Cooking	40	1.4
Clothing	Headgear	41	1.4
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	42	1.5
Agriculture	Seed	43	1.5
Beverage	Alcohol	44	1.5
Household Utensil	Hygiene	44	1.5
Clothing	Gloves	45	1.6
Writing	Material	53	1.8
Clothing	Apparel	83	2.9
Stable	Tack	83	2.9
Clothing	Accessories	84	2.9
Hardware	Miscellaneous	167	5.8
Clothing	Footwear	179	6.2
Household Stores	Medicine	191	6.6
Household Stores	Food	241	8.3

Table 5-5 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Count	Percent
Textiles	Notions	295	10.2
Hardware	Tools	295	10.2
Textiles	Fabric	306	10.6
TOTAL		2890	100.0

Another way to view these data is by cost. Isolating individual items invoiced or charged by year (n=2,890) into categories shows that those items most frequently ordered correspondingly cost the most. Washington invested the most on textiles (£1,507), hardware (£565), household stores (£498), and clothing (£492), with the first two categories comprising half of all the money spent on goods. Within these categories, Washington spent over half the total on fabrics, miscellaneous hardware items, foodstuffs, footwear, and tools.

Nearly all of these categories and subcategories encompass items that represent plantation consumption and production (Smith 1998; Nash 2009) or what Bell (2000) describes as items for conspicuous consumption and conspicuous production. Textiles are a good example. Washington's expenditures on the subcategory of fabric outpaced all other subcategories. This finding is unsurprising as textiles were the single most frequently imported good to the colonies – through the consignment and the direct trade systems (Smith 1998; Baumgarten 2002; Breen 2004; Reber 2005; Martin 2008; Nash 2009). Recurring orders of hundreds of ells (measuring just over a yard) of oznabrig (a coarse linen fabric) costing dozens of pounds served as a staple textile for slave clothing. A single order for 21 ½ yards of salmon colored and flowered tabby (silk taffeta) to be made into a coat and gown for Martha Washington cost over £12.

The only item for which Washington was charged over £30 was a pair of French burr millstones, for which he paid £38 in 1771. Therefore, his single most expensive imported good was intended for plantation production purposes. Of the dozen items invoiced in the £20-£30

range, all except one were textiles primarily intended for slave clothing. Only one item invoiced for over £20 could be considered a luxury – a £25.10.0 carved and upholstered mahogany bedstead bought at an auction by Richard Washington in 1757. The nature of the types of goods that Washington purchased detail an ambitious planter seeking to outfit a family and a plantation for a genteel lifestyle afforded by an industrious labor force.

George Washington's Factors and Vendors

The relationship between planters and their factors can best be described as tumultuous, as discussed in chapter 3. Planters and factors quarreled over quality and debated over debt, and yet these relationships often lasted for decades. The invoices and orders dataset allows a systematic look into these business partnerships. Less can be said about the vendors who manufactured or procured the items requested by George Washington for the various factors. Their role in the consignment system was viewed with suspicion by Washington and his peers because they were alleged to provide inferior goods with as much as a 20 percent markup specifically for colonial markets (Ragsdale 1989:148). Washington on at least one occasion resorted to subterfuge when ordering a carriage for a friend. He directed the merchant not to inform the carriage maker that the customer was a colonist in order to avoid overcharges (Ragsdale 1996:35).

Seven factors procured goods for George Washington: Anthony Bacon; Crosbies & Trafford; James Gildart; Richard Washington; Robert Cary & Company; Thomas Knox; and William McGachen (Table 5-6). These companies transported goods on 25 ships with names like *Nelly John*, *Ruby*, and *William & Mary*. These 7 factors worked closely with a total of 157 individual English vendors (tradesmen, artisans, and warehousemen). The largest and most diverse of the orders required the work of 45 vendors (Ragsdale 1989:142).

Table 5-6. List of George Washington's agents by year.

Order or Invoice Date	Agent	Location
1754	Anthony Bacon	London
1756	Richard Washington	London
1757	Richard Washington	London
1757	Thomas Knox	Bristol
1758	Thomas Knox	Bristol
1759	Richard Washington	London
1759	Robert Cary & Company	London
1760	Robert Cary & Company	London
1761	Robert Cary & Company	London
1762	Robert Cary & Company	London
1763	Robert Cary & Company	London
1764	Robert Cary & Company	London
1764	William McGachen	London
1765	Crosbies & Trafford	Liverpool
1765	James Gildart	Liverpool
1765	Robert Cary & Company	London
1766	Robert Cary & Company	London
1767	Robert Cary & Company	London
1768	Robert Cary & Company	London
1769	Robert Cary & Company	London
1770	Robert Cary & Company	London
1771	Robert Cary & Company	London
1772	Robert Cary & Company	London
1773	Robert Cary & Company	London

Before Washington's relationship with Robert Cary & Company was solidified in 1759, he experimented with three different individuals to ascertain who could get him the best prices for tobacco and the most efficient service. Washington began a brief business relationship with Anthony Bacon, a merchant in London who began his career as a storekeeper in Maryland (Abbot 1983[1]:218). Documents provide evidence that Washington shipped Bacon tobacco on at least two occasions before their relationship soured because of the "exceedingly low price" Bacon was able to obtain for the tobacco (Abbot 1984[4]:400-401).

Around the same time that Washington was exploring a partnership with Bacon, he initiated correspondence with Londoner Richard Washington (no relation) whom he hoped

would be his primary factor. George Washington offered him three hogsheads, anticipating more in the future. Washington probably knew Richard Washington because he served as an agent for his neighbor George Fairfax of Belvoir (Ragsdale 1989:136). Unfortunately for Washington, Richard Washington concentrated his business along the York and James Rivers and rarely made trips up the Potomac, making this relationship difficult to maintain. Washington eventually terminated his relationship with Richard Washington in 1765, after decreasing shipments of tobacco to him after 1759 (Ragsdale 1989:138).

Finally, the prominent local merchant and friend of Washington's, John Carlyle, introduced him to a third factor, Thomas Knox of Bristol, and Washington placed an order for goods with him at least as early as 1755, though the order does not survive (Abbot 1988[5]:402). By establishing this (short-lived) partnership, Washington expected to compare sales between Bristol and London houses, but he was soon sorely disappointed by both the service and the sales (Abbot 1988[5]:87). In January of 1758, Washington remonstrated with Knox over the goods sent, presenting evidence on three counts: half of the order was left unfulfilled (the most important half, according to Washington); pieces contained in the crate of white salt-glazed stoneware arrived broken; and the prices charged for all the items was "very high" (Abbot 1988[5]:87). In May of 1759, Washington complained to Richard Washington that Knox sold his tobacco on the Bristol market for a third of its value (Abbot 1988[6]:319).

After his marriage, George Washington's principal agent became the one used by Daniel Parke Custis and the one Martha Washington promised to continue to do business with – the prestigious Robert Cary & Company. This newly forged alliance raised Washington's expectations for better prices on his tobacco, which would meet his growing demands for imported goods (Ragsdale 1989:139). Washington occasionally used other factors in Bristol and

Liverpool including James Gildart, William McGachen, and Crosbies & Trafford. Business with these agents "offered Washington a means of paying off debts or purchasing special goods in the outports" (Ragsdale 1989:141). William McGachen was not a factor in the traditional sense, but instead was a ship captain based in London who appears to have served once as the middle man between Washington and Robert Cary. His ship, the *Tryal*, carried jewelry, pistols, cruets, and seeds bound for Mount Vernon (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:312). James Gildart, like Robert Cary & Company, was a tobacco merchant with whom the Custises and then Washington did business (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:32). Gildart procured ale and porter, broad hoes, and ten mahogany chairs for Washington (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:372). Another Liverpool firm, Crosbies & Trafford, sent Washington fabric, a plow, and 100 bushels of salt (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:387-388).

As discussed in chapter 3, the relationship between a planter and his factor was a complicated and unbalanced one. Planters depended on and were indebted to their factors. Part of this imbalance was due to the fact that planters were at the mercy of their factors for the goods necessary to operate a productive plantation and to maintain a level of taste and adherence to fashion that underpinned their claims of gentility. Excessive wait times for these important tools of economic and social advancement are often cited as an example of this dependence. When the goods eventually arrived on the shores of the Potomac, planters like George Washington were also dependent upon their factors to accurately fulfill the quantities and qualities of the orders (Ragsdale 1996:35). The invoices and orders dataset allows us to systematically explore just how reliable these factors were from the standpoints of wait times and accuracy.

Wait times do appear to have been an issue, primarily because of their inconsistency (Table 5-7). Durations between the time the order was sent and the time the goods were shipped

could be calculated for 25 instances. Washington was forced to wait anywhere from 2 to 12 months for a shipment of goods, with the average wait time of just over 5 months (163 days) between date of order and date of invoice, the median 5 months (149 days), and the mode 3 months (none for days). These data do not include the 2 to 3 months that it took to sail from London to Virginia (Ragsdale 1989:143). When we overlay the agents responsible for the excessive wait times, we see why Washington remained a loyal customer of Robert Cary & Company for so long. Richard Washington shipped goods in excess of the average five months on two of three occasions. Thomas Knox's shipment was sent after eight months.

Table 5-7. Documented wait times experienced by George Washington.

Order Date	Invoice Date	Wait Time (months)	Wait Time (days)	Agent
1764, Jan 22	1764, April 2	2	70	Robert Cary & Company
1772, July 15	1772, Sept 29	3	76	Robert Cary & Company
1770, Aug 20	1770, Nov 13	3	85	Robert Cary & Company
1765, Sept 20	1765, Dec 20	3	91	Robert Cary & Company
1759, May 1	1759, Aug 6	3	98	Robert Cary & Company
1768, June 20	1768, Sept 28	3	100	Robert Cary & Company
1767, July 20	1767, Oct 29	3	101	Robert Cary & Company
1765, Nov 6	1766, Feb 28	4	114	Robert Cary & Company
1755, Dec 6	1756, April 6	4	121	Richard Washington
1765, March 6	1765, July	4	131	Crosbies & Trafford
1771, July 18	1771, Dec 3	5	138	Robert Cary & Company
1766, June 23	1766, Nov 17	5	147	Robert Cary & Company
1762, Nov 15	1763, April 13	5	149	Robert Cary & Company
1765, Oct 25	1766, March 27	5	153	Robert Cary & Company
1762, Nov 15	1763, April 23	5	159	Robert Cary & Company
1759, Sept 20	1760, March 15	6	167	Robert Cary & Company
1761, Oct 12	1762, April 10	6	180	Robert Cary & Company
1769, July 25	1770, Jan 23	6	182	Robert Cary & Company
1760, Sept 28	1761, March 31	6	184	Robert Cary & Company
1764, Aug 10	1765, Feb 13	6	187	Robert Cary & Company
1757, April 15	1757, Nov 10	7	209	Richard Washington
1757, Dec 26	1758, Aug 18	8	235	Thomas Knox
1763, April 26	1764, Feb 13	10	293	Robert Cary & Company
1764, June 5	1765, May 15	11	344	James Gildart
1758, April 5	1759, March 20	12	349	Richard Washington

Although the sample is smaller than ideal and therefore may contain some level of bias, a brief discussion on the standard deviation or measure of variance around the mean puts the issue of inconsistency and unpredictability in context. Based on this small sample, the standard deviation is +/- 2.5 months, meaning that 84 percent of the time, the shipment left within a span from 2.5 to 7.5 months. These data are more tightly clustered than, but not too dissimilar to, the results produced by a normal distribution (where +/- one standard deviation contains 68 percent of the observations). However, the issue of variation around the mean of 5 months becomes particularly problematic when we hone in on one example of the types of goods ordered. One of the largest categories of goods shipped to Mount Vernon consisted of hardware: miscellaneous items, paint, and tools. It is the latter subcategory that was particularly times sensitive. When we look at the individual items, we see that Washington was invoiced for all sorts of hoes, scythes, plows, sickles, hay knives, reap hooks, wheat sieves, and spades necessary for cultivating crops. Receiving a shipment of tools necessary to grow, harvest, and process staple crops 2.5 months later than anticipated might have ramifications for a successful agricultural season. The wait times were compounded by an additional factor not calculated here. On occasion, the goods arrived at entry ports in the lower tidewater without Washington's knowledge, where they would sit for months before he was informed of their arrival (Ragsdale 1989:154).

Accuracy, however, does not appear to have been a complaint-worthy factor. Out of 2,668 items ordered by George Washington for which the return invoice is documented, his factors were able to procure the goods he requested 97 percent of the time. Requests for goods went unanswered only 74 out of 2,668 times. For any given year, the orders that went unfulfilled never rose higher than half a percent. This rate of accuracy is particularly astounding considering the fact that the factors had to communicate with myriad vendors and ship the goods across the

ocean without modern inventory and tracking tools. These data support Ragsdale's (1989:148) conclusion that "Robert Cary & Co. displayed remarkable efficiency and accuracy in filling Washington's order despite complicated instructions and the necessity of dealing with a variety of tradesmen." However, the calculations here do not take into account the less quantifiable issue of the quality or fashionableness of the goods send to Mount Vernon, about which Washington repeatedly protested. Neither do these calculations assess the accuracy of factors like quantity of goods requested versus quantity of goods sent. While the former may always reside in the realm of impression or anecdote, the latter remains an area for future research.

Fee Analysis

Up to this point, we seem to have developed a fairly rosy picture of the consignment system, with the exceptions of Richard Washington and Thomas Knox. However, the burden of a steadfast commitment to selling tobacco to and obtaining goods from middlemen in the motherland becomes painfully clear when we undertake an analysis of the fees associated with this method of transaction. The invoices and orders dataset breaks shipping-related expenses down into the cost of containers and packing materials for certain items and the fees associated with shipping the order. For example, when vendor Francis Nalder procured fine Cheshire cheese on behalf of Robert Cary & Company in 1760 for £2.16.10, he added a £0.2.6 fee for the cask that it was shipped in. When Jason Shipley provided groceries including sugar, almonds, and ginger in 1763, he charged an additional £0.8.2 for a barrel, a box, a jar, a bag, and a carting fee to transport the items to the ship. Certainly, some of these packaging materials could have been used for storage or recycled for other uses on the plantation. However, these materials were not ordered and the prices unknown until the invoice arrived. On an invoice by invoice basis, shipping containers and packing materials ranged from as low as a shilling to over £12. The

invoices and orders dataset represents the first attempt to capture the previously hidden charges associated with containing and protecting consumer goods on their trans-Atlantic trip.

Shipping fees, on the other hand, have been a topic of discussion during the period and study in secondary sources. These charges are found at the end of the invoice, just before the total, and were far from hidden. This study only considers fees and expenses on the return end of the consignment trade, and not the duties and insurance that Washington paid for the shipping and marketing of his tobacco (Ragsdale 1989:140). Ragsdale (1989:143) summarizes the fee structure documented in the invoices: "Washington's costs for the goods also included fees for primage (loading the cargo), clearing the ship out of London [entry out, searchers, and customs fees], freight to Virginia, insurance, and Robert Cary & Co.'s commission of 2 ½ percent on the total charges." There is one final category of fees not calculated through the dataset, but that deserves mention. Because of Washington's inconvenient location away from the main ports of the York, James, or even Rappahannock Rivers, he often had to pay an additional fee to have the goods shipped from these ports to Mount Vernon. Ragsdale (1989:154) writes, "the cost of recovering [the shipments] was almost as great as the freight charges from England."

As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, of the total £4,694 paid out by George Washington, £593 (13 percent) was spent on shipping related charges (fees and materials) and £4,101 (87 percent) was spent on goods. To put this ratio in perspective, these fees are more than twice Virginia's current state sales tax of 5 percent and very close to the current average annual percentage rate for fixed-rate credit cards (Bell 2013). This calculation alone supports the hypothesis that the consignment system was excessively costly to its participants.

In order to determine if George Washington was holding onto not only an archaic method of procuring goods, but also an economically disadvantageous one, I began by calculating the

percent of the total invoice charged to Washington comprised of shipping-related expenses. These expenses break down into three subcategories in the invoices and orders dataset: containers; materials; and fees. The former two were grouped for ease of analysis and because they represent a similar charge – those items listed on the invoice not found in the order because they were meant to secure the items during transport. These items include things like bags for seeds and shot, bottles for medicine and spices, casks for nails, hogsheads for dishes and table glass, and canvas and cord or trunks for textiles.

In order to make the shipping charges comparable from invoice to invoice, the percent of shipping-related costs of the total invoice by year was calculated. For the 29 invoices with recorded charges for shipping containers and materials, the percent of the total cost paid by George Washington for shipping containers and materials was fairly steady over time, with a tight range between 0.5 to 3.9 percent (Figure 5-6). The mean is 2.1. The median is 2.2. The mode is 2.2. The 3.9 percent outlier from the 1765 invoice is explained by the types of items shipped. James Gildart sent a dozen fine mahogany chairs secured in mats, 60 hoes in a cask, and almost 300 bottles of porter that had to be packaged carefully in casks.

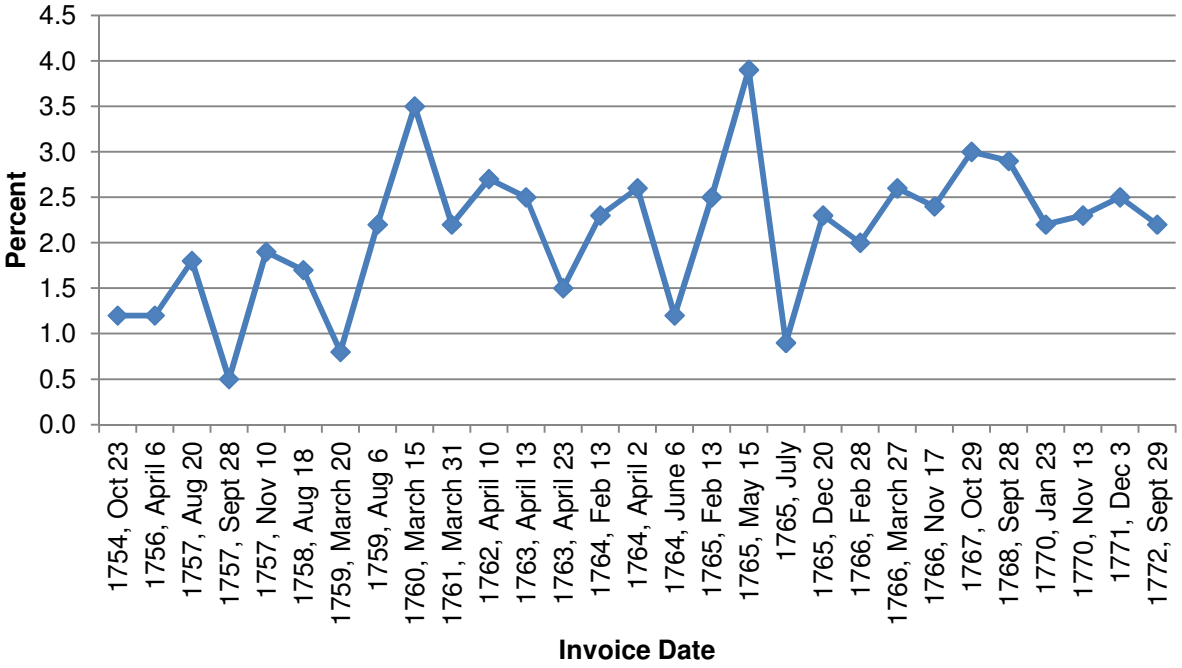


Figure 5-6. Portion of the total invoice made up of packaging fees.

Fees, on the other hand, comprised more of the total invoice and had a higher range (Figure 5-7). There were 28 invoices with accompanying fees. The June 6, 1764 invoice for watch parts, pistols, cruets, and seeds was obtained by Captain William McGachin for George Washington and shipped by him; therefore there were no associated commission charges or other fees. Fees ranged between 5.5 and 21.7 percent of the total invoice, with 10 percent as the mean. The median is 9.2 and the mode is 8.1. The highest shipping fees, found in the August 20, 1757 invoice, were charged by Richard Washington. Of the itemized charges that made up the 22 percent of the total £270 invoice, Richard Washington's 15 percent insurance fee dominated. He was not the only factor to demand such a high insurance rate. Thomas Knox charged 15 percent on £50, resulting in the second highest fee (19 percent) as a portion of the total bill. Insurance, when charged, ranged from 2 to 15 percent of the invoice, with the average of 5 percent skewed by the Richard Washington and Thomas Knox invoices (the median and modes are 2.5 percent).

Insurance rates usually correlated to shipping conditions and were particularly sensitive to wartimes (Ragsdale 1989:143). After 1762, insurance never rose higher than 4 percent, coinciding with the end of the French and Indian War.

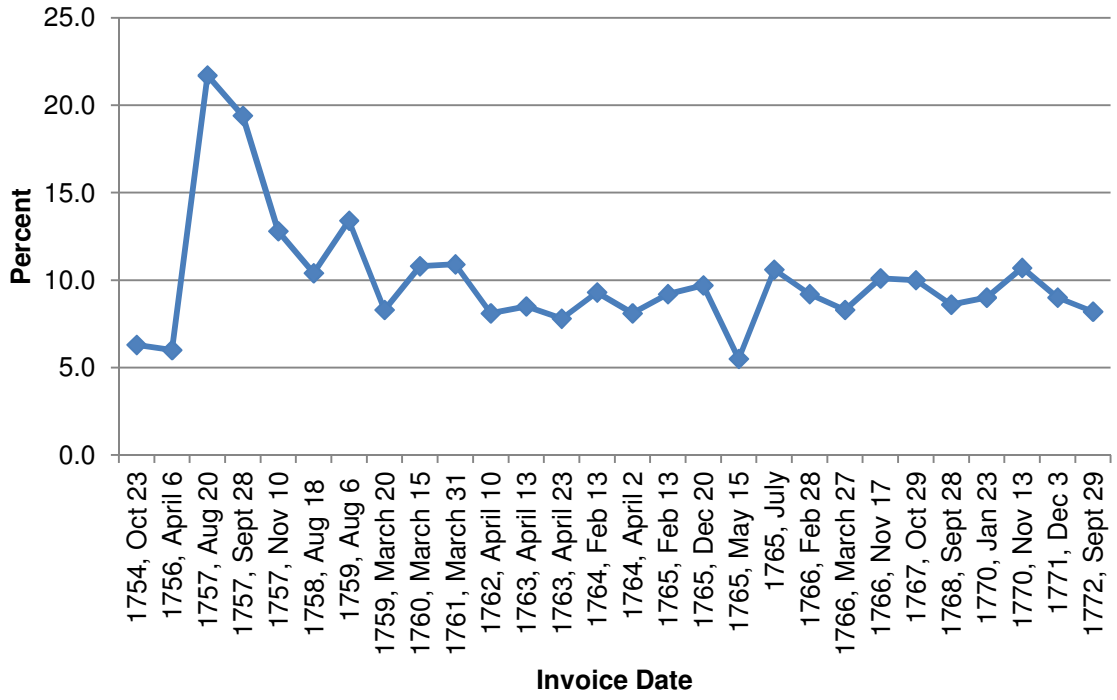


Figure 5-7. Portion of the total invoice made up of shipping charges.

Conclusion

If we draw up a list of the pros and cons of participating in the consignment system based on this study, the model makes little business sense.

Pros:

- Accuracy in fulfilling orders

Cons:

- 13 percent spent in additional fees for shipping-related expenses
- Perceived unfair pricing on tobacco

- Debt as high as £1800
- Disruptions caused by external forces
- Inconsistent wait times for time-sensitive goods
- Vendor markup and associated packaging expenses
- Inconvenience of upper Potomac location
- Delivery of broken, old-fashioned, or over-priced items

Some perceived benefit, some priceless advantage, some deciding factor, then, must have existed to compel George Washington to continue his relationship with Robert Cary & Company, his commitment to tobacco production on his tidewater lands, and his pursuit of imported goods. This strategy can partly be attributed, as discussed in Chapter 3, to the belief that despite the perceived low prices Washington's tobacco garnered, it was still higher than what he could get at the local store. The significance of this difference is incalculable. In the subsequent chapters, we explore more deeply the items available locally versus those ordered through consignment to raise the contention that Washington and his peers maintained this direct line to England because it gave them access to a world of goods not sold in local stores, which bolstered their claims to gentility, and that this discrepancy is tangible in the archaeological record.

Chapter 6: Alexander Henderson's Colchester Schemes of Goods

The eighteenth century was a period of marked increase in the consumption of an increasingly wider array of goods from which to choose, made revolutionary by the fact that the consumer base was becoming larger and more diverse. What made the 40-year period before the American Revolution unique was that access to consumer goods appears to have opened up for larger segments of the colonial population through a more sophisticated and far-reaching system of distribution for imported items. In Northern Virginia, diverse classes and races entered the consumer arena. Wealthy, large-scale planters continued to engage the older method of participation in the consignment system. Laborers, both free and enslaved and yeoman planters began to patronize the newly established stores that sprang up on the shores of the Potomac River. Small scale planters grew tobacco, which they sold to local merchants like Alexander Henderson who operated a chain of stores in the upper Potomac region for John Glassford and Company. In return, they received credit to purchase goods. Store merchants also accepted cash and barter, facilitating the entry of enslaved individuals and others to this revolution in the world of goods.

This chapter explores surviving documentation on the retail side of this bifurcated system of trade. By cataloguing each item requested by the merchant Alexander Henderson as inventory for the shelves of his store in Colchester (a few miles south of Mount Vernon), the goal is to illuminate the similarities and differences in the material world afforded through the consignment system (accessed via the Invoices and Orders Project) and that available through the direct trade system (evidenced in the Scheme of Goods Project) in this upper Potomac region. This chapter begins by situating the scheme of goods analysis within the body of previous work on Glassford and Company store documents. Following a discussion of data collection, entry,

and cataloguing protocols, I perform a macro-analysis of the dataset following the structure used for the invoices and orders to facilitate comparison when possible. Despite the fact that the consignment system and retail trades catered to a different customer base, this macro-analysis reveals striking similarities between categories of merchandise available and a shared sentiment of dissatisfaction with the conditions inherent in a trans-Atlantic, colonial economic system.

Compiling the Dataset

Background. The complete dataset encompasses 15 schemes of goods, including supplements and additions (Table 6-1), recorded in the years 1758 through 1764 and meant to be stocked in the store for the years 1759 through 1765. These data were taken from the published transcription of Alexander Henderson's letterbook dating from 1758 to 1765 (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999). The authors and editors of this transcription are amateur historians who have produced an entire *Virginia Merchants* series – faithfully decoding and presenting the letterbooks, daybooks, and ledgers of merchants like Daniel Payne of Dumfries (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007) and William Hodgson (Hamrick 2011) and Alexander Smith & Son of Alexandria (Hamrick and Hamrick 2004).

Table 6-1. List of the schemes of goods entered into the catalogue, the date they were recorded in the letterbook, and the year Henderson intended to have the inventory stocked in his Colchester store (also the designation in the dataset).

Scheme (Title from Hamrick and Hamrick (1999) when given)	Date Recorded	Year
Scheme of Goods for Occoquan Store [for] 1759	August 7, 1758	1759
Scheme of Goods for Occoquan Store 1760	July 27, 1759	1760
Scheme of goods for Occoquan Store for Fall 1760	December 17, 1759	1760, fall
A Scheme of Goods for Mr. JOHN GLASSFORD's Store at Colchester Virginia for 1761	July 12, 1760	1761
Articles to be added to the Scheme "Diamond G" for Occoquan Store in 1761	August 21, 1760	1761, addition
Scheme of Goods [mark] "G" for Colchester Store 1762	July 17, 1761	1762
List of Fall Articles [mark] "G" wanted for Colch'r Store in Fall 1762	December 2, 1761	1762, addition
List of Goods to be shipped from Bristol in the Snow Jeanie for Colchester Store for 1763	January 18, 1762	1763, a
[contained within a letter]	February 8, 1762	1763, addition 1
A Scheme of Goods for Colchester Store [for] 1763 [Mark] "G"	July 6, 1762	1763, b
[addition to Scheme for 1763]	October 12, 1762	1763, addition 2
A Scheme of Goods for Colchester Store 1764 [mark] "G"	September 2, 1763	1764
Scheme "G" for Goods for 1765	September 17, 1764	1765
Supplement to Scheme "G" for Goods for 1765	[September 17, 1764]	1765, supplement
[addition to Scheme for 1765]	December 17, 1764	1765, addition

In order to fill the shelves of his store every year with consumer goods, Alexander Henderson had to request them though an itemized list called a scheme of goods. In essence, Henderson's projected store inventories were not very different than George Washington's orders to his factors in England in terms of the nature and structure of the documents. Like the orders, the schemes were long lists of merchandise loosely grouped by type. However, while we have the itemized bills for the goods that Washington received, these documents do not survive for the Colchester store. This means that we know what Henderson desired to sell, the quantities ordered, and the anticipated value of the goods, but there is no documentation reporting the fulfillment of these orders. A more complete picture of daily store activities, customer demographics, prices for goods, cash and barter transactions, the subsidiary function of local stores as banks, among other information, is contained in the store ledgers housed at the Library

of Congress (John Glassford and Company Records 1758-1769). Mount Vernon's Archaeology Department is currently undertaking a crowd-sourced, citizen-historian project to transcribe Henderson's ledgers from his Colchester and Alexandria stores. At the time of this writing, the Alexandria documents are almost completely transcribed, while the voluminous Colchester ledgers may take years to fully transcribe and edit. The transcription to date has been accomplished almost completely virtually. Staff, interns, and volunteers have been digitizing the microfilm by creating high quality jpeg files than can then be emailed out to individuals interested in participating in the transcription process. Those participants, using a manual (Mount Vernon Glassford and Henderson Transcription Project 2012), transcribe the information into an excel template. This template then goes through multiple stages of editing. The schemes of goods fall somewhere between the dynamic portrayals of consumerism captured in store ledgers and the static snapshot of store merchandise recorded in merchants' probate inventories.

Previous Research. In addition to the transcription work accomplished by Hamrick and Hamrick (1999), documentation relating to Henderson specifically and Glassford's upper Potomac retail outlets more broadly has been utilized in a growing body of work on eighteenth-century consumerism (Walsh et al. 1997; Veech 1998; Reber 2003; Furgerson et al. 2005; Cuddy 2008). This dissertation is the first effort to systematically catalogue and analyze the annual inventory data to enable comparisons with findings on Washington's consignment purchases and integrate the archaeological record. The first study to pursue research on the Colchester ledger was the National Endowment for the Humanities-funded project entitled, "Provisioning Early America Towns" (Walsh et al. 1997), undertaken by historians and archaeologists from the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The project offers a comprehensive examination of probate inventories, store, household, and plantation accounts, and zooarchaeological remains (from 53

assemblages) to explore the urban provisioning systems in operation in the Chesapeake region from the seventeenth through the early nineteenth century. The prominent cities of Williamsburg and Annapolis form the basis for this study, which also draws on data from outlying rural sites to complete their understanding of foodways and household provisioning from farmer's field to urban dweller's table. Walsh et al. (1997:106) analyzed account books from seven merchants "to uncover how their businesses supplied foods to their towns" by recording in a database foodstuffs, beverages, fuel, fodder, and related food services.

Glassford's Colchester town store, analyzed from 1766 through 1768, was among these seven. The other six stores were located in Yorktown, Williamsburg, and Annapolis and spanned the period 1747 through 1799. Walsh et al. (1997:109) note the repeated barter-type transactions (i.e., poultry for textiles) recorded in the ledger, some of the proceeds of which, they suggest, might have ended up on Henderson's own dinner table and were the result of slave participation in the local economy, as many of these individuals went unnamed. The data derived from the ledger amounted to 428 records associated with foodways – both commodities being sold and goods accepted as payment, but amassed into a single dataset. Poultry, sweeteners, and meat were the foodstuffs most often transacted at the Colchester store in the late 1760s, with meat (beef, pork, and mutton), general foods, and grains garnering the highest values (Table 6-2). Those foodways-related items that do not appear in the schemes of goods were either received as payment or commodities for sale that may have been procured locally.

Table 6-2. Foodways-related items transacted at Henderson's Colchester store from 1766 to 1768 (from Walsh et al. 1997:291) and their presence in the schemes of goods.

Category	Count	Percent	Total Value (£)	Percent	Scheme of Goods?
Meat	64	14.95	63.62	35.29	No
Foodstuffs	3	0.7	27.5	15.25	No
Food, grains	52	12.15	19.83	11	Yes
Livestock	11	2.57	17.65	9.79	No
Alcohol	15	3.5	15.19	8.43	Yes
Fuel	5	1.17	14.13	7.83	No
Dairy	7	1.64	5.63	3.12	Yes
Fish	25	5.84	3.78	2.1	No
Poultry	79	18.46	2.47	1.37	No
Bakery/Bread	3	0.7	2.34	1.3	No
Sweeteners	68	15.89	2.14	1.19	Yes
Tea/Coffee	17	3.97	1.39	0.77	Yes
Spices/Condiments	23	5.37	1.26	0.7	Yes
Fruits/Nuts	13	3.04	1.14	0.63	No
Seafood	10	2.34	0.79	0.44	No
Wild meat	4	0.93	0.59	0.33	No
Storage	3	0.7	0.34	0.19	Yes
Legumes	5	1.17	0.19	0.1	No
Vegetables	9	2.1	0.18	0.1	No
Wild bird	5	1.17	0.12	0.07	No
Unknown	4	0.93	0.03	0.02	n/a
Drinking	2	0.47	0	0	Yes
Food serving	1	0.23	0	0	Yes

Veech's (1998) dissertation, exploring gentility and status in the mid-eighteenth century upper Potomac region, specifically traces the consumer habits of Abraham Barnes, a Fairfax County resident, recorded in Colchester and Alexandria accounts with Glassford & Company, Ramsay & Dixon, and William Carlin, in conjunction with findings from the archaeological record (44FX1326) to develop a material picture of this social aspirant. Veech borrows Carr and Walsh's (1994) amenities index to categorize Barnes' purchased by time and type from Henderson's Colchester and Alexandria stores during the approximately 20-year period from 1753 through 1772. His (Veech 1998:145, 167) conclusion from this method of analysis is that despite Barnes' growing indebtedness (which accumulated to £1285.4.2) and subsequent

decrease in perceived social status over time, he was "buying *like a gentleman* [in the form of amenities] long after his community ceased regarding him as one."

Reber's (2003) dissertation represents the most extensive and systematic use of Alexander Henderson's store ledger in his study of Virginia's retail trade. Insights discovered in his research are particularly relevant for an understanding of Henderson's clientele and their purchasing habits. Reber (2003:23-24) finds, "it is the tenant farmers and smaller planters who were the store's principle customers" (Table 6-3). Lawrence and George Washington fell into the category of landowners possessing more than 1000 acres, a group who rarely frequented this store. This breakdown is based on Reber's research into Fairfax County documents including the 1760 tithables list to identify the customer's place of residence and land ownership. Because Reber focuses on only named account holders, we do not know what portion of the business was represented by this group. Additionally, Reber chose to exclude those customers who resided outside of Fairfax County, though a significant number did live in Loudon County and places further west.

Table 6-3. Land ownership distribution for Henderson's Fairfax County clients from 1760 to 1761 (from Reber 2003:23, table 1).

Acres	Count of Henderson Customers	Percent
0	98	46
1-99	5	2
100-199	31	14
200-499	40	18
500-999	24	12
1000+	15	7
Totals	213	100

While much of Reber's study is focused on the tobacco side of the retail trade – documenting pricing strategies to entice consumers in Henderson's first year of business, average quarterly tobacco quantities and prices, average consumer debt levels – he does delve into the types of goods purchased and recorded in the store ledgers. He selects six types of consumer goods (teaware, utensils, ceramics, wine glasses, pewter, and books) to determine the level of elite emulation represented by the purchases of these goods. Reber (2003:86-88) suggests that teaware has a strong correlation to gentility and elite consumption, but finds that only 123 teaware vessels for the small sum of £6.9 were purchased from 1759 through 1765 amounting to less than one percent of total consumer purchases. This provides evidence, Reber contends, that middling and small planters did not model their consumer behaviors on their elite neighbors. However, his approach may not be the most effective method for analyzing elite versus non-elite consumer strategies. Over the nearly 20-year period that Washington participated in the consignment system, his purchases in the beverage, tea subcategory were similarly small (less than one percent by count and expenditures). Reber's more extensive treatment of textiles finds that consumer decisions were influenced by a range of factors – price, practicality, availability, gender, fashion – and not simply attempts at emulating elite consumption (Reber 2003:144-145).

The Glassford store accounts were also utilized by Furgerson et al. (2005) and expanded upon by Cuddy (2008) in his exploration of the development of capitalism in America. Cuddy (2008) traces the purchases of the members of one family, the Edelens, recorded in the ledgers of Glassford's Piscataway store whose plantation called Edelen's Mount (18PR478) was excavated in 2003 and 2004 (Furgerson et al. 2005). The store ledgers document the purchases of James Edelen (d. 1768) in the 1760s. James Edelen was an aspiring elite plantation owner in Maryland

in the mid-eighteenth century (Farner and Farner 2000; Center for History and New Media 2006). He purchased consumables "like cloth, but also boy's fine shoes, jacket buttons, a necklace, blankets, gun screw, cinnamon, nutmeg, 1 box Anderson's Pills (patent medicine), and bottled drinks including wine, Madeira, claret, rum, and India Passion" using tobacco notes (Cuddy 2008:66). Located just across the river, George Mason was also a regular customer at the Piscataway store during this period (Cuddy 2008:65). The family continued to reside on the plantation through the 1790s when James' son Edward began to upgrade the old dwelling and build a new one with better access to the main road. These construction efforts are seen archaeologically and also through the hardware-related purchases recorded at the Piscataway store. Cuddy (2008:13, 69), then, uses the Edelen example to embody the "typical interaction[s] of Chesapeake planters and Scottish merchants in the Market economy" and the transition to what he calls proto-capitalism at the turn of the nineteenth century. In summary, Veech's (1998) and Cuddy's (2008) studies focus on the purchasing habits of a single individual or family as microcosms embodying larger cultural and economic changes. Walsh et al. (1997) and Reber (2003) utilize the ledgers more broadly and in doing so reveal important details about the store's clientele. Their focus on broad groupings of material culture, foodways, and textiles leaves room for a comparative, systematic study of the Colchester store documents.

Clientele. While the full-scale transcription of the Colchester store ledgers is currently in progress, we can at least tentatively estimate the population served by Henderson. After each ledger, the merchant compiled an index that lists account holders (individual customers and entities such as Colchester Tavern) and relevant pages. From the 1760 ledger, spanning 15 months from October of 1760 through December of 1761, 401 individuals or entities held an account with Henderson's Colchester store. Some of these individuals frequently purchased

items; others appear in the ledger because they are indebted to Henderson for transactions made in previous years. A complete transcription and additional analysis will be required to determine how many of the 401 individuals were actively buying consumer goods during this period. The resulting estimate would still most likely under represent the number of customers whom Henderson served. Extensive lists of goods sold for ready money and exchanged in barter are contained in the 1760 ledger, representing individuals who did not hold accounts with the store and whose numbers are difficult to estimate (John Glassford and Company Records 1760).

Data Entry. The first stage of the Scheme of Goods Project began by entering each individual item ordered in an Excel spreadsheet to create a digital transcription of the published version (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999). I began the second phase, cataloguing these entries, following the completion of the Invoices and Orders Project (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). The data entry fields are described in Table 6-4. Every effort was made to standardize the format of the scheme of goods spreadsheet with the Invoices and Orders Project, including fields like qualifiers, items, categories, and subcategories, to facilitate comparison where possible. There are some exceptions, based on the nature of the documentation. Referring back to Table 5-2, shipping, vendor, and invoice details are not captured in the Colchester store dataset because these details were not recorded historically. The unit price and cost fields record what Henderson believed those items were worth, not what he paid Glassford for them or what he charged his customers, whereas these fields in the invoices and orders dataset record the prices that George Washington was charged. There is also a category of data captured in the scheme of goods catalogue that is unique to this dataset – these are the comments interspersed into the inventories that sometimes pertain to specific items and other times were general comments. For example, in the 1759 scheme, Henderson writes, “The Earthen Ware from

Glasgow is intolerably bad and 50% dearer than from Liverpool," hinting to Glassford that he should provide the store with ceramics from Liverpool and not Glasgow in the future (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:4). This comment, and others pertaining to specific items, was recorded in the description field for the relevant earthenwares. Additionally, it was separated out and recorded as "comment" in the item field with the thought that it provides important information on material culture and the direct trade system that might warrant study in its own right. The manual, search tips, frequently asked questions, an online searchable database, and the downloadable dataset are available to researchers through the Mount Vernon Midden website (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c).

Table 6-4. Data entry fields for the Scheme of Goods Project.

Field	Description
Year	Year item would have appeared in the store.
Folio Page	The folio page is the reference to where the item can be found in the original document.
Reference	The reference is to the corresponding page in Hamrick and Hamrick (1999).
Item number	Sequential number in the order the item appears in the inventory.
Quantity	The count of the item ordered.
Qualifier	Used if the quantity recorded is not per piece (i.e., pair, yard, pound).
Item	A one or two word name for the good received.
Category	The broad grouping into which the item falls (i.e., weapons, furniture, textiles) to facilitate macro-analyses.
Subcategory	The sub-grouping into which the item falls (for textiles, i.e., bedding, fabric, alcohol).
Inventory Description	A record of the description of the item exactly as it appears in the Scheme of Goods.
Unit Price	Not always recorded, but the cost of a unit of the item, as opposed to the total cost.
Pound	The total cost of the item.
Shilling	The total cost of the item.
Pence	The total cost of the item.
List	Used to denote if multiple items are recorded as a list with only one total cost.
Note	Records individual items that were part of a list of items with one cost or for any other comments.

Strengths and Weaknesses. The schemes of goods fall short on two accounts – they are not an exact representation of everything that was stocked and sold, and their ability to contribute towards an understanding of pricing structures is limited. The schemes are contained in a larger book of one-way correspondences from Alexander Henderson primarily to his boss in Scotland, John Glassford. Keeping copies of letters and schemes of goods was essential to a well-managed store. Much of the correspondence was dominated by discussions of the tobacco trade, quantities and prices received. Some of the discussions pertain to store merchandise and procurement, and suggest that Henderson received his rum and sugar from other merchants and occasionally from other Glassford-owned stores. The latter occasionally applies to other types of goods in small quantities as well. For example, in 1761, Henderson wrote, "Inclos'd is a Scheme of Goods for this Store next year which amounts to about £750 exclusive of my West India articles…" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:130). Previous research on store ledgers provides evidence time and time again that the staples of the retail trade were products of the West Indies – rum and loaf sugar (Walsh et al. 1997; Heath 2004; Martin 2008). Henderson did order 10 hogsheads of rum in 1762, but presumably sold the liquor before and after the 1762 supply ran out. The supply of sugar was more frequently replenished every year, except 1761, but in 1764 Henderson noted that he did not want the order for 620 pounds of sugar filled unless the price Glassford could get was significantly less than purchasing it from the town of Norfolk, Virginia (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:220). The foodways study also sheds light on the fact that some foodstuffs (meat and poultry, for example) may have been procured locally for sale or resale (Walsh et al. 1997). Therefore the schemes of goods may not offer an accurate reflection of the stock or sale of certain food-related staples.

Additionally, the value for the goods recorded in the orders is inconsistent. For example, nearly every item was individually assigned a value in the 1759 scheme, while one of the schemes for 1763 (1763, a) has no cost information whatsoever. Without the matching invoice of items shipped by Glassford and until the completion of the transcription of the ledgers, we do not know the prices that Alexander Henderson set for his merchandise. When he recorded 4 double dozen pins at £1.0.0, 1 dozen fashionable fans at £0.12.0, 1 gross black mourning sleeve buttons for £0.4.6, we do not know if he sold the items for the prices listed or marked them up. Four factors dictated the "advance," the term used to represent the difference between the purchase cost and the sale price: the purchase cost; the exchange rate; the profit margin; and other less quantifiable factors. To the latter, the price of the same fashionable fan could vary depending upon the customer's status and reputation, on their method of payment (cash or credit, sterling or currency, tobacco or barter), on the type of good being sold, on the prices offered by competitors, on the month or year, and/or on the demand for the item (Reber 2003:37, 80). In fact, it appears that individuals who purchased goods with cash got a better deal than those using credit (Reber 2003:81). George Washington and his peers believed strongly that they were paying more for goods through consignment than their counterparts shopping at local stores. Certainly the cost of associated consignment fees (packaging and commission, for example) supports their concerns. However, without a large-scale study of the store ledger that tracks prices for goods over time sold to different types of customers paying by different methods, this question remains intriguing yet unanswered.

Despite these issues, this robust dataset offers important evidence about local consumer practices, richer in material culture detail than what is contained in the ledgers. For example, Reber (2003:122, table 7) calculated that customers purchased 5,546 buttons of an unspecified

variety, or half of all buttons sold over a period of 7 years. He contends that they were plain pewter buttons and therefore did not warrant qualifying information. More likely, however, Henderson or his employees simply did not have the time or need to record exactly what type of buttons these were beyond their price. Yet from the schemes, we know that Henderson intended 19 specific varieties be sent for the store in 1759 and 29 in 1760. This pattern extends beyond buttons to other types of merchandise. For example, although Henderson offered certain types of ceramic vessels in different sizes, he usually recorded only the sale of a punch bowl or a mug, followed by the price, omitting the specific capacity and other details such as ware type and decoration. Finally, the schemes afford a picture not just of what was purchased, but most of what was for sale (with exceptions previously mentioned). Reber (2003:33) writes, "These schemes, and the correspondence that accompanies them, are revealing since they help us understand what the factor determined were the most important goods needed to attract customers to his store." Studies utilizing annual inventories are sparse, but their contributions when undertaken have proven significant (Patrick 1990, for example) and deserve future comparative study.

Summary of the Dataset

Chronology. Alexander Henderson came into the retail trade as a young Scottish immigrant via his older brother, Archibald, who managed a store on Quantico Creek. When Archibald established a store in Colchester in 1758, he hired Henderson to oversee the startup and operation. Initially, Henderson rented a storehouse, which sold goods every month for £20 to £50 (Spouse 1975). He recorded his first scheme of goods in the summer of 1758 for a total of £1239.9.0 worth of merchandise. Except for the schemes of goods recorded in 1758 and 1763, Henderson often had to follow up large orders for goods with supplements representing goods

that he had forgotten, not anticipated, or not ordered enough of initially, or occasionally goods that never arrived. The last scheme entry was recorded in 1764 for the subsequent year. Though Henderson's store continued to operate at least through 1770, when documentation ends, there exist no schemes of goods for the late 1760s on. The end of the scheme of goods documentation coincided with Henderson's purchase of a lot for a store in Alexandria in 1767, perhaps relinquishing some managerial control of the Colchester store at this time (Cuddy 2008:62). This dataset, unlike George Washington's invoices and orders, was probably not affected by the political events of the Stamp Act and reactionary non-importation agreements, none of which began until 1765. Henderson was mostly likely concerned by these larger issues, as reflected in his purchase of a copy of the Stamp Act in the summer of 1765, but not until at least a year after the last documented scheme of goods was recorded (Sprouse 1975:48).

Sum Totals. The dataset contains 2,329 total entries. These entries break down into 52 comments and 2277 items. Over the span of 6 years, Henderson ordered merchandise totaling at least £7000.

Chronology of Consumerism by Count. The years in which Henderson ordered the most goods were 1759 and 1760, attributable to the fact that he was just starting the Colchester store at this time (Figure 6-1). This is not a calculation of the total quantity of individual items stocked in the Colchester store on a yearly basis, for this metric is impossible to assess. Instead, it is the total number of different items and different types of the same item, ordered by Henderson. In addition, these are goods that Henderson hoped to offer for sale, but as seen in the comments and elsewhere in his correspondence with John Glassford, these orders were not always met (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999; Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). The metric being

recorded in this graph are the counts of individual orders listed in the schemes of goods on a yearly basis.

Chronology of Consumerism by Cost. Cost calculations cannot be estimated for some of the 1763 (1763, a; 1763, addition 1; 1763, addition 2) and 1765 (1765, addition) orders (Table 6-5). Despite the fact that this documentation is missing, we can estimate the total value of the goods listed in the yearly schemes (Figure 6-2). These values most likely underestimate what was on hand in the store at any given point, since unsold merchandise from previous years undoubtedly still lined the shelves. Henderson reported that on December 31st, 1761, the inventory of the merchandise on hand amounted to £1476.14.4 ¼, about £1000 more than the value of goods ordered for that year (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:146). Just as the number of items ordered for the store dipped in 1761, so too did anticipated expenditures – to less than £500. As expected, store inventory valuations mirror the counts of items ordered for each year, especially when we consider that 1763 and 1765 are underestimates. Over the course of the 6 years, Henderson's minimum anticipated inventory value was £6941.9.5. The value of the merchandise stocked in the Colchester store over 6 years far exceeded what Washington spent on imported consumer goods (£4694) over nearly two decades.

Figure 6-1. Number of items ordered per year.

Table 6-5. Value of merchandise ordered by Henderson.

Date Recorded	Year	Order Value
August 7, 1758	1759	1240
July 27, 1759	1760	1079
December 17, 1759	1760, fall	150
July 12, 1760	1761	420
August 21, 1760	1761, addition	77
July 17, 1761	1762	750
December 2, 1761	1762, addition	41
January 18, 1762	1763, a	unknown
February 8, 1762	1763, addition 1	unknown
July 6, 1762	1763, b	1097
October 12, 1762	1763, addition 2	unknown
September 2, 1763	1764	1090
September 17, 1764	1765	900
[September 17, 1764]	1765, supplement	100
December 17, 1764	1765, addition	unknown

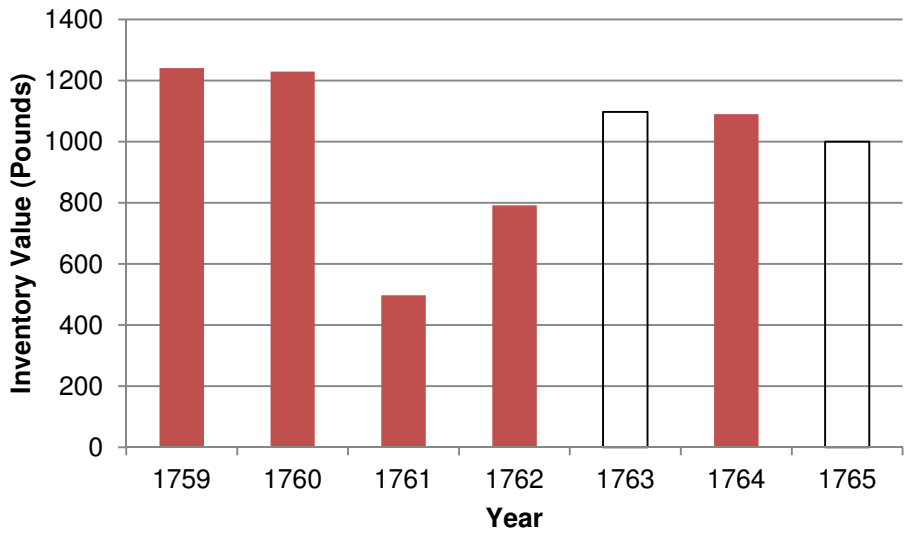


Figure 6-2. Minimum value of merchandise ordered by the year Henderson intended to have the inventory stocked with estimates for 1763 and 1765.

Category and Subcategory Analysis

As with the invoices and orders dataset, we can delve into the broad groupings of merchandise stocked in Henderson's store. Of the 2,277 total entries in the scheme of goods dataset, there are 349 unique items. These items fall into 20 categories or types, including groups like hardware, textiles, and weapons, and 53 subcategories, including accessories, alcohol, footwear, and wall coverings (Table A-3). Table A-3 in the Appendix shows which items fall into which categories and subcategories. Nearly three quarters of the 2,277 items fell into one of three categories: textiles; clothing; and hardware. Each of the individual remaining categories never comprised higher than six percent of the total (Table 6-6). Reber's (2003) study similarly found that textiles, by quantity and value, were the most significant category of merchandise recorded in the day-to-day ledger transactions (see also Breen 2004).

When calculated as a percent of the total items ordered in any given year, textiles afford us an even clearer image of their dominance as compared to other items imported from England

or Scotland, as opposed to the West Indian staples (Figure 6-3). Additionally, fluctuations within categories of merchandise ordered portray a picture of a store owner attempting to respond to the needs of his clientele. From year to year, sometimes Henderson only had to make slight adjustments (reflected by an increase or decrease only one or two percent from the previous year) in the amounts of textiles, clothing, and hardware ordered as a percentage of the whole. In other years, Henderson either was running drastically low on supplies of these three major categories or had on hand an oversupply. Here, adjustments from the previous year were more extreme, reflected in increases or decreases in orders for these categories of up to 13 to 14 percent.

Table 6-6. Frequency of categories of goods.

Category	Count	Percent
Heating	1	0.0
Unidentified	1	0.0
Recreation	5	0.2
Travel	5	0.2
Lighting	8	0.4
Furniture	9	0.4
Household Décor	11	0.5
Tobacco	13	0.6
Instrument	21	0.9
Weapons	34	1.5
Food Preparation	51	2.2
Food Service	60	2.6
Stable	65	2.9
Writing	81	3.6
Beverage	88	3.9
Household Stores	105	4.6
Household Utensil	135	5.9
Hardware	298	13.1
Clothing	399	17.5
Textiles	887	39.0
TOTAL	2277	100.0

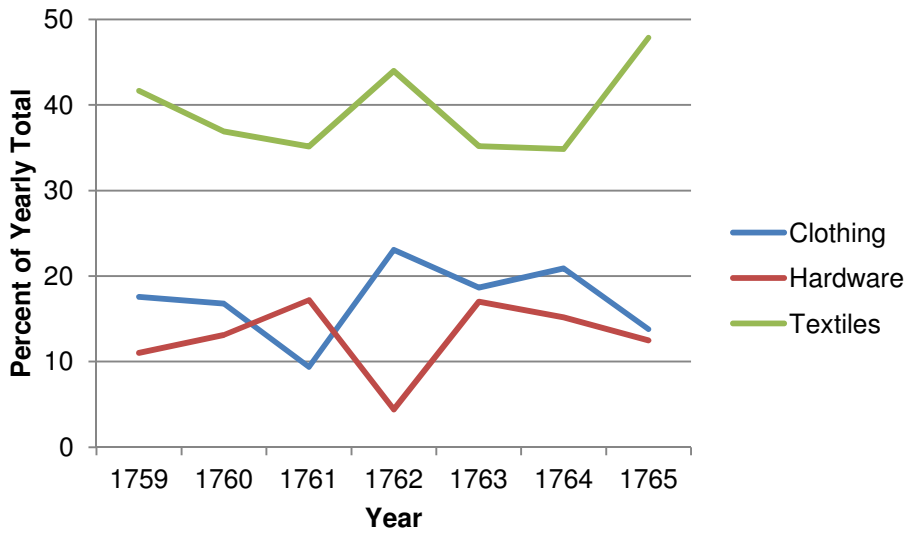


Figure 6-3. Top most frequently ordered categories by year.

The subcategory breakdown allows a more specific view of the popular categories within textiles, clothing, and hardware (Table 6-7). The most frequently ordered include: textiles, fabric (n=577); textiles, notions (n=239); hardware, tools (n=181); hardware, miscellaneous (n=116); clothing, apparel (n=106); and clothing, accessories (n=102). Together, these 6 subcategories make up nearly 60 percent of all items ordered. Another way to view these data is by cost. Unfortunately, price data are missing for 14 percent of the items envisioned for Henderson's store making it impossible analyze the values of categories and subcategories of data.

Because the two documentary datasets, George Washington's invoices and orders and Alexander Henderson's schemes of goods, were catalogued in a standardized manner, we can begin a direct comparison of the broad categories and subcategories of consumer goods available through consignment and through the retail trade (Figure 6-4). Washington most frequently consumed textiles, hardware, and household stores for a total of 59 percent of all items purchased when broken down by count. Henderson stocked his store similarly with textiles and hardware, but more often offered clothing items as opposed to household stores, for a total of 61

percent of all items ordered. Both datasets show a heavy reliance on imported textiles and textile-related items. Hardware ranks high for both, at 18 percent for Washington and 13 percent for Henderson. Clothing constituted a significant proportion of all goods ordered, at 15 and 18 percent respectively. Household stores ranked in the top three amongst Washington's consumer choices (at 18 percent), but only made up 5 percent of all goods ordered for Henderson's store.

When we look more closely at subcategories of items, fabric and notions in the textile category and tools in the hardware category were among the most commonly ordered by George Washington and stocked by Alexander Henderson (Figure 6-5). Taken with the category analysis, the overall similarities in the broad patterns of consumer goods outweigh the slight differences and suggest that at the macro-level, consumer behaviors were comparable for consignment and store shoppers. These data do not support the contention that George Washington made up for losses in economic capital incurred through an outdated and economically irrational system with gains in the symbolic capital offered by goods available only through the consignment system.

Table 6-7. Frequency of subcategories of goods.

Category	Subcategory	Count	Percent
Textiles	Bedding Over	1	0.0
Weapons	Edge	1	0.0
Hardware	Furniture	1	0.0
Recreation	Games	1	0.0
Recreation	Miscellaneous	1	0.0
Household Décor	Painting	1	0.0
Lighting	Snuffer	1	0.0
Heating	Tools	1	0.0
Unidentified	Unidentified	1	0.0
Household Stores	Lighting	2	0.1
Recreation	Fishing	3	0.1
Beverage	Miscellaneous	3	0.1
Furniture	Sleeping	3	0.1
Household Stores	Beverage	4	0.2

Table 6-7 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Count	Percent
Travel	Storage	5	0.2
Furniture	Desk	6	0.3
Lighting	Candle	7	0.3
Household Utensil	Cleaning	7	0.3
Beverage	Coffee	8	0.4
Stable	Miscellaneous	8	0.4
Household Stores	Tea	8	0.4
Food Service	Miscellaneous	10	0.4
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	10	0.4
Food Preparation	Processing	12	0.5
Textiles	Production	13	0.6
Tobacco	Tobacco	13	0.6
Beverage	Tea	16	0.7
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	17	0.7
Food Service	Dishes	21	0.9
Instrument	Measure	21	0.9
Textiles	Bedding	24	1.1
Beverage	General	25	1.1
Household Stores	Medicine	25	1.1
Food Service	Cutlery	29	1.3
Clothing	Gloves	29	1.3
Weapons	Fire	33	1.4
Textiles	Floor	33	1.4
Beverage	Alcohol	36	1.6
Writing	Book	37	1.6
Food Preparation	Cooking	39	1.7
Writing	Material	44	1.9
Household Stores	Food	49	2.2
Stable	Tack	57	2.5
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	61	2.7
Household Utensil	Hygiene	67	2.9
Clothing	Footwear	70	3.1
Clothing	Headgear	92	4.0
Clothing	Accessories	102	4.5
Clothing	Apparel	106	4.7
Hardware	Miscellaneous	116	5.1
Hardware	Tools	181	7.9
Textiles	Notions	239	10.5
Textiles	Fabric	577	25.3
TOTAL		2277	100.0

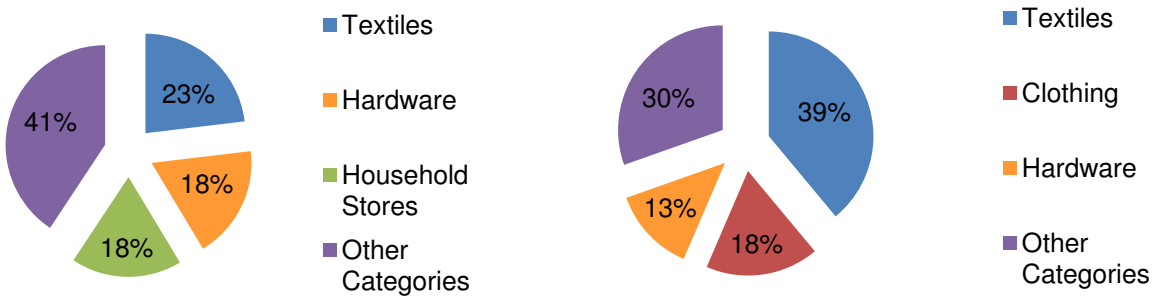


Figure 6-4. Side by side top category comparison of George Washington's invoices and orders (left) and Henderson's schemes of goods (right).

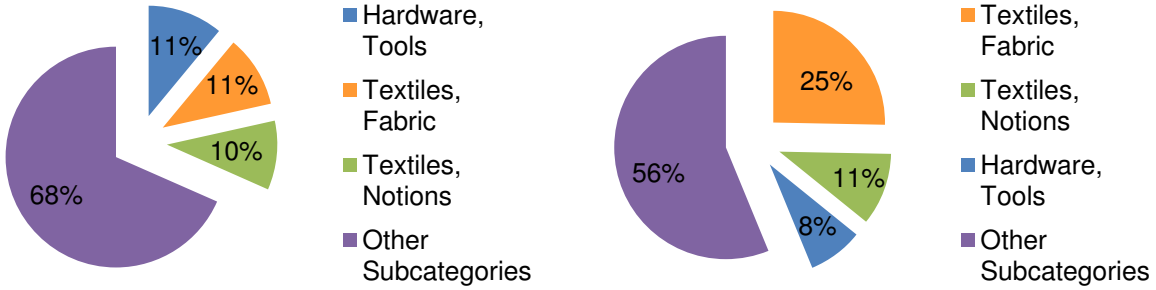


Figure 6-5. Side by side top subcategory comparison of George Washington's invoices and orders (left) and Henderson's schemes of goods (right).

Our inkling that something might be amiss or that some discrepancy exists between the two data sets arises when we look at the richness of unique items, categories, and subcategories available in this bifurcated system of trade. Out of the 2,890 items for which Washington was charged, there were 683 unique items – a richer array of choices than that available at a local store. Out of 2,277 items ordered by Henderson, 349 were unique. That is a richness index of 24 versus 15, respectively. Fewer categories and subcategories of items were offered locally as well. Only one fewer category was available locally, for a total of 20 versus 21 through Washington's invoices and orders. However, when we break these broad groupings of goods down into

subcategories and assess richness, Washington's orders again rank higher at 94 (or 78 out of a total of 83 subcategories) versus 64 (or 53 out of 83) for Henderson.

Comments

Many of George Washington's comments to his factors back in England relate to inferior, broken, or old-fashioned goods, high prices for goods and low prices for tobacco, and slow, unreliable service. Alexander Henderson's running commentary to John Glassford was embedded in the inventories themselves, and is therefore quantifiable. Of the 52 comments, they break down into seven types. Comments pertain to fashion, inaccuracy in filling the order, price, quality, ship time, shipping issues, and a general category of specifying or clarifying the order. As an example of the latter, Henderson noted that the goods previously listed in one scheme entry for blank books, sealing wax, a letter folder, and best wafers were for the store's use and not for sale (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:218). In another instance, Henderson reminded Glassford of the sun capes from three years prior and hoped Glassford would find and send the same ones again (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:218). These comments cannot be characterized as complaints or issues that Henderson brought to Glassford's attention, but instead general correspondence.

Two of the general comments that Henderson made to Glassford remind us of the fluidity of the eighteenth-century consumer economy. In this dissertation, I have discussed the bifurcated system of trade wherein elite consumers tended to purchase most of their goods through the consignment system whereas non-elites frequented local retail outlets. While this describes the consumer experience of the majority of the consumer population, elites sometimes bought locally. In 1760, Henderson placed an order for a "Folio Bible with Apachrypha good large print & good Paper" and "Josephees's History in Folio good print" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:48).

The comment next to these two books reads, “I am desired to order these for a customer.” While we do not know the identity of the consumer, presumably they were wealthy enough to afford the most costly books (at nearly £2.0.0 each) that Henderson ever ordered. The other specific customer order captured in the comments category pertains to guns. He ordered three guns with specifications as to size, type and quality “at the Request of two of my very good Customers” (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:166). These two comments suggest that while Henderson generally catered to small and middling planters, tradesmen, and enslaved individuals, customers of means could use their local merchant as a personal factor on occasion.

The rest of the comments fall into the category of complaints or problems with the merchandise. Most often, Henderson commented on issues of fashionability, accuracy, and shipping time – themes all too familiar with Washington. In terms of fashion, Henderson noted that the ribbons were ill-chosen, too wide, and decorated with “despicable patterns.” He repeatedly wrote about the patterns on the printed cottons, praying that Glassford “be carefull to have the Printed Cottons of good lively colours & good Patterns” (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:218). The success or failure of a store was based in part on the ability of a merchant to stock enough variety and range of choices to suit the tastes of a diverse clientele (Reber 2003:33). At one point, Henderson appealed to Glassford’s softer side when he wrote about disappointing his customers’ desire for certain merchandise, rendering him “little in the Eyes of his Customers” (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:94).

As to accuracy, it appears that the system of stocking a store operated similarly to that of the consignment system. For example, on at least four occasions Henderson blamed the inaccurate fulfillment of orders on middle men who sent silk instead of worsted rugs, who took the liberty of choosing the colors of thread instead of following the list, who sent too many large

saddles and not enough small ones, and who filled empty space in boxes with extra merchandise (and charged for it) instead of straw. Many of the problems associated with shipping time fell into the same pattern – Henderson ordering certain goods while not knowing if Glassford had already shipped the cargo. Additionally, some things he needed as soon as possible, probably because stock was running low. In one comment, Henderson pleaded, "Let the Ozenb'gs, Nails, felt Hats, shoes, & Hardware be Ship'd in such time as to be here in March or the very first of April, if this is to be done" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:222). Defective merchandise was also a problem, including the arrival of a shipment of moldy felt hats. Environmental factors may not have been the only causes for damaged goods. Past experience must have prompted this comment from Henderson, "Pray direct your correspondents in London not by any means to Ship the Goods in any Vessel with Convicts on Board" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:262).

The fact that Alexander Henderson was one of a chorus of merchant professionals complaining to their factors about the incoming cargo and about their ability to meet the needs of the local customer, hints at the broader nature of colonization and the demand for a world of goods equal to that available in England (Breen 2004). The striking similarity between the problems experienced by Alexander Henderson in stocking a Virginia store and George Washington in stocking a Virginia plantation speaks to the eighteenth century colonial condition that would ultimately end in revolution. It also speaks to the savvy of the local shopper and their active participation in forming their material worlds.

Conclusion

Alexander Henderson's mid-eighteenth-century Colchester store catered to Fairfax County's tenant farmers and small planters whose tobacco yields were not large or valuable enough to sustain long-term relationships with English factors. Local consumers, then, did not

have a mainline back to a British world of goods, as did George Washington and his peers. The trade at Henderson's store was brisk – the value of the merchandise remained fairly consistent after the first year, with the exception of 1761 – despite the fact that he encountered similar quality and supply issues familiar to many colonial consumers. Based on the findings of Chapter 5, we might expect that the categories and subcategories of goods stocked by Henderson differed significantly from those ordered by Washington, hence explaining his commitment to the problematic consignment system. This macro-view of the data does not support this assumption. The questions remains, could a systematic micro-level object analysis reveal disparities in this bifurcated system of trade not visible at this broad level of analysis and if so, are these differences tangible archaeologically? Chapter 7 explores systematic object analyses that incorporate the materiality of consumer behaviors in the archaeological record that might more thoroughly address our questions about different consumer strategies and equality of access to goods during this so-called revolution.

Chapter 7: The Materiality of Access, The Constraints of Choice

Conclusions from the documentary data presented in Chapters 5 and 6 suggest that the persistence of the consignment system during a period of greater local availability of goods might be best interrogated through systematic object analyses. In other words, when viewed at a macro-level, the availability of goods to a planter through his English factor or to a tradesman through his local merchant does not appear starkly different. Even within the archaeological record, archaeologists have had difficulty distinguishing between the materiality of consumer behaviors left behind by diverse colonial groups. Through the triangulation between visible, measurable differences within the artifact assemblage and the two documentary sources attesting to the availability of certain goods or the variety of choices within a single type of good, a more fully developed picture of the colonial world of goods materializes. As Barbara Heath (2000) observes, "The data are in the details."

This study of data and detail reveals a complex history of consumer behaviors and the flow of goods associated with the pre-Revolutionary period. To delve into these complexities, I embrace a unique material culture approach whose strength lies in weaving together multiple strands of the colonial consumer story to explore differential access to goods, with the burden of evidence continually shifting between archaeology, primary sources, and even museum object data. A systematic, class-by-class, object analysis, as suggested by Mullins (2004), lends fresh insight into the nature of the mid-eighteenth century consumer revolution and addresses questions about elite and non-elite consumer behavior, material inequality, and the implications of access to the colonial social order (Carson 2001; Breen 2004). This approach also lends insights into current methodological challenges in the field of historical archaeology. Beyond addressing questions of material inequality or avenues of access to goods, findings suggest that

archaeologists are at present not fully armed with all the cataloguing protocols and analytical tools necessary to probe or mine assemblage data for evidence of the meaningful, myriad, and nuanced consumer behaviors that fueled life in the eighteenth century. Through the carefully-crafted, artifact-class dependent archaeometric methods developed during the course of this project, I offer archaeologists a tool box full of concrete approaches to assemblages as we work towards an enhanced picture of elite and non-elite consumer behavior grounded in contributions from our robust and significant archaeological datasets. At its core, this study offers innovative perspectives on and approaches to the archaeometric properties of some types of material culture commonly encountered on historic sites, thereby attempting to close the gap between agency-centered and data-driven approaches (Galle 2010).

Archaeology at Mount Vernon

George Washington's Mount Vernon established a professional archaeology program in 1987 to enhance the authenticity of the interpretation and restoration of the historic site and to preserve and manage all of the archaeological resources. Mount Vernon's archaeological holdings are an extremely valuable resource for the study of eighteenth-century plantation life in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States, and as with many of Virginia's prominent plantations, have been the subject of investigation dating back to the early twentieth century (Mount Vernon Archaeology 1991). Major excavations include the House for Families slave quarter, the Distillery, the South Grove Midden, and the Upper Garden as well as an archaeological survey that identified more than 100 archaeological sites documenting almost 4,000 years of habitation on the estate's 425 acres. Archaeological research has made major contributions to understanding the evolution of an English colonial plantation, the lives of the enslaved community, plantation economics, and material culture studies. The two most

significant sites excavated to date pertaining to the lives of the Washington households and the enslaved individuals owned by these relatives are the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17) and the House for Families slave quarter (44FX762/40 and /47) (Figure 7-1).

South Grove Midden. In 1948, members of the Mount Vernon grounds crew excavated a large hole in the area known historically as the South Grove, located 80 feet south of George Washington's house, in order to plant a mature holly tree. Numerous artifacts dating to the eighteenth century were recovered, suggesting that the South Grove area contained midden deposits formed from the disposal of kitchen and mansion refuse during George Washington's lifetime. In the spring of 1990 during construction of an irrigation system in the South Grove, the grounds crew once again encountered eighteenth-century deposits while installing a sprinkler head. Later that summer, a 10x10 foot unit (328) was placed near the hole, beginning systematic study of the feature. During the summers of 1991, 1992, 1993, and 1994, excavations expanded to include an additional 8 units (308, 309, 310, 329, 330, 348, 349, and 350), fully exposing the midden and excavating the feature's strata (Figure 7-2). Documentary, stratigraphic, and artifact evidence date the midden's layers from ca. 1735 through the end of the eighteenth century (Breen 2003, 2004).

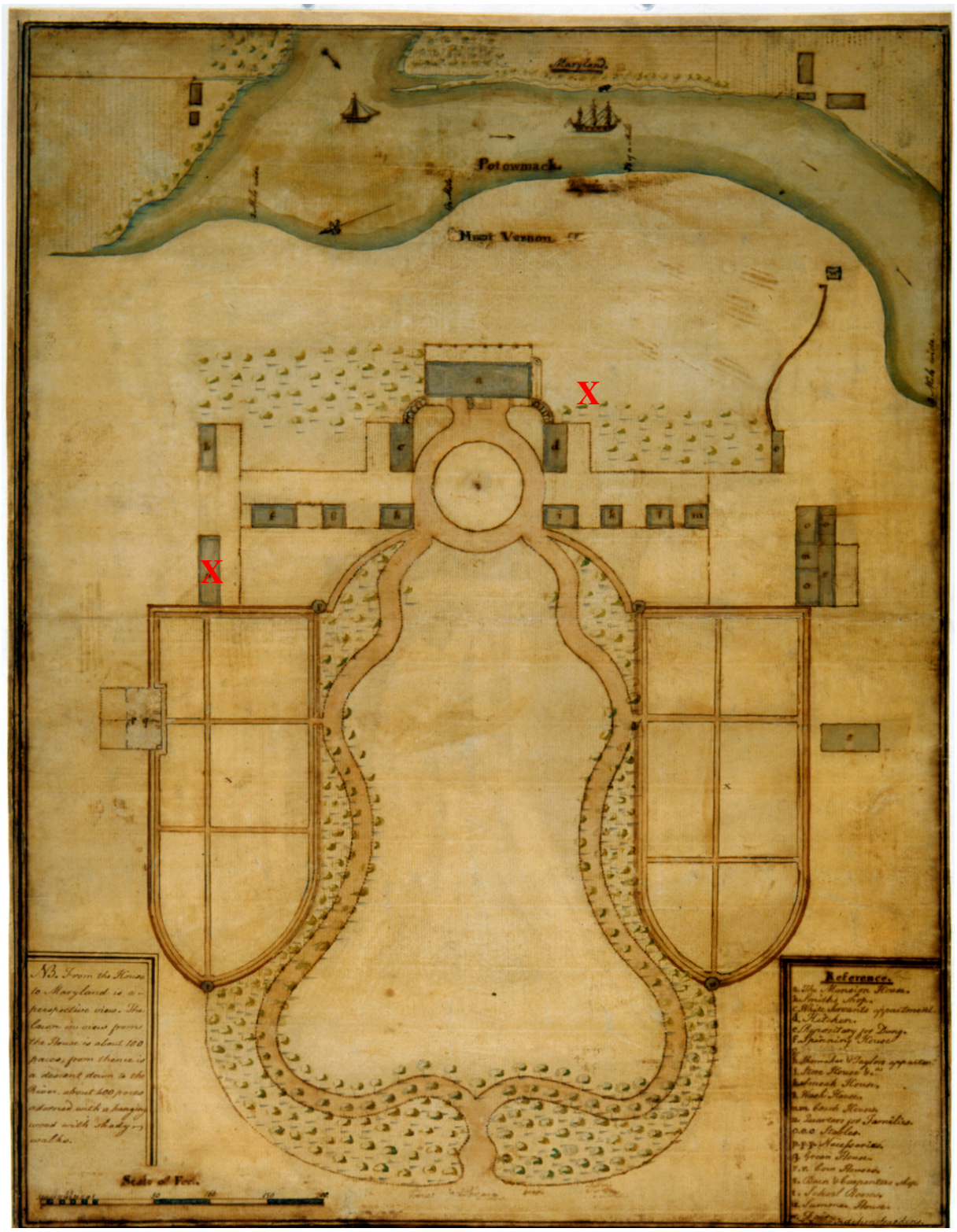


Figure 7-1. Locations of the House for Families slave quarter (left red "x") and the South Grove Midden (right red "x") on the plan of Mount Vernon drawn by Samuel Vaughan, 1787. (Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

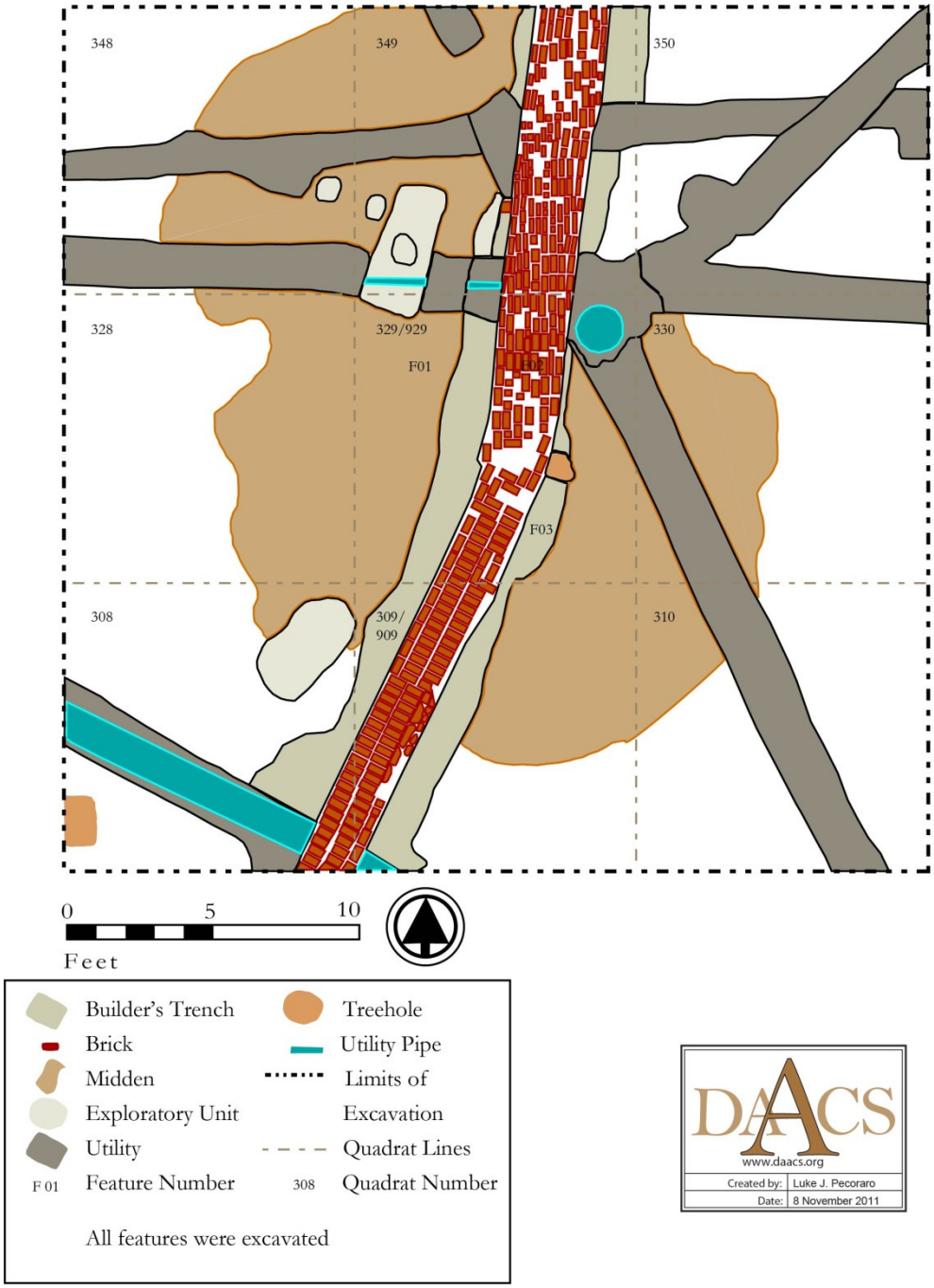


Figure 7-2. Plan view of the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17) post-excavation. (Map by Luke Pecoraro, 2011.)

While the midden is an undocumented feature, supporting historical documents detail architectural and landscape changes that affected the South Grove and vicinity as discussed in Chapter 4 (Breen 2003, 2004). The multi-year study of the South Grove Midden, led by Dennis Pogue and Esther White, resulted in the excavation of 400 contexts including, 226 midden layers (Feature 1), 7 layers associated with the builder's trench for the brick drain (Feature 2), and 1 associated with the brick drain (Feature 3). The excavators water-screened midden layers, taking flotation and soil chemical samples from each. Layers from the builder's trench were dry-screened through ¼ in. mesh, with soil chemical samples collected. Twentieth-century layers and intrusions were dry-screened through 3/8 in. mesh and nineteenth-century layers were primarily dry-screened through ¼ in. mesh, and both sampled for soil chemicals. One hundred percent of the heavy fraction, fine-screened material was processed and is included in the artifact database. Soil samples have been analyzed for the presence of 10 chemicals (Storer 2007-2012).

Extensive work on phasing the complex midden stratigraphy (exacerbated by disturbance from modern and historic intrusions) based on ceramic seriation, dating, and vessel analysis, tobacco pipe dating, and the integration of documentary sources resulted in six phases (Table 7-1).[6] Modern intrusions divided the midden into three sections: north; west; and south. This phasing system vertically groups the contexts across the midden while horizontally dividing them into time periods and related household cycles (Breen 2003, 2004, 2013).

Phases 1 and 2 represent the majority of the midden deposits formed in the decades before the Revolutionary War and prior to George Washington's renovation of the homelot.

[6] The chronology presented here differs from the seriation chronology developed by DAACS based on correspondence analysis and ware-type manufacturing dates that enable intra-site comparisons. I have chosen to use the six-phase chronology presented in Table 7-1 (based on ceramic seriation, dating and vessel analysis, tobacco pipe dating, and the integration of primary sources). It more accurately reflects the Harris matrix developed for the site, and therefore the site's depositional history, grouping layers with direct relationships or those in close proximity.

Phase 1 potentially contains evidence of the Augustine Washington occupation, but because his ownership of the plantation was short-lived, we interpret the bulk of these deposits to Lawrence's period. Ceramic vessels with a high degree of reconstructability in addition to the existence of matched sets suggest that both Phases 1 and 2 represent episodes of household cleaning at the time of Lawrence's death, and again when George Washington established his household with Martha Custis, interspersed with refuse generated from daily activities such as cooking and cleaning (Breen 2003, 2004). Phase 2 represents the early George and Martha Washington household. Large deposits of plaster provide the TPQ for this phase, which correlates to the initial renovations of the house undertaken by Washington at the end of the French and Indian War. The TAQ for Phase 2 is the construction of the brick drain (Features 2 and 3). The builder's trench (Feature 2) intrudes Phases 1 and 2 (Breen 2003, 2004).

Phases 3 through 5 contain material redeposited from Phases 1 and 2 with the addition of post-1775 material. Phase 3 dates to the later George and Martha Washington household. In this phase, there is a significant decrease in artifact and faunal counts, suggesting that not only was Washington planting a formal landscape in the South Grove area, but that refuse disposal moved to a different (and yet undermined) location. Deposition in the midden (Feature 1) ceases at the end of Phase 3. Phases 4 and 5 are groups of contexts that date to the post-George Washington occupations of Mount Vernon and the transition of the estate from a working plantation to a museum. Ceramic TPQ dates support this interpretation. Phase 6 represents evidence of historic topsoil or ground surface pre-dating the midden's layers.

Table 7-1. Phasing the South Grove Midden.

Phase	Interpretation	Feature Assignment	Context
Phase 1: ca. 1735-1758	Augustine Washington Household; Lawrence Washington Household	Feature 1 (Pit, Trash)	308BB, 308CC, 308DD, 308EE, 309AAA, 309BBB, 309CCC, 309DDD, 309EEE, 309GGG, 309HHH, 309JJ, 309JJJ, 309KK, 309KKK, 309LL, 309LLL, 309MM, 309MMM, 309NN, 309NNN, 309PP, 309PPP, 309RR, 309RRR, 309SSS, 309TT, 309TTT, 309WW, 309WWW, 309XXX, 309YYY, 328AAA, 328BBB, 328CCC, 328DDD, 328FFF, 328GG, 328GGG, 328HH, 328HHH, 328JJ, 328JJJ, 328KK, 328KKK, 328LL, 328LLL, 328MM, 328MMM, 328NN, 328NNN, 328PPP, 328RR, 328RRR, 328SS, 328SSS, 328TTT, 328WWW, 328XX, 328YY, 329AAA, 329BBB, 329CCC, 329DDD, 329EEE, 329FFF, 329GGG, 329HHH, 329JJJ, 329KKK, 329LLL, 329MMM, 329NNN, 329PPP, 329RRR, 329SSS, 329TTT, 329WWW, 329XXX, 329YY, 329YYY, 348AAA, 348BBB, 348CCC, 348HH, 348JJ, 348KK, 348LL, 348MM, 348PP, 348SS, 348TT, 348WW, 348XX, 348YY, 349AAA, 349BBB, 349CCC, 349DDD, 349EEE, 349FFF, 349GGG, 349HHH, 349LL, 349MM, 349NN, 349PP, 349SS, 349TT, 349WW, 349XX, 349YY, 909A, 929A, 929AA, 929B, 929BB, 929BBB, 929C, 929CC, 929CCC, 929D, 929DD, 929E, 929EE, 929F, 929FF, 929FFF, 929G, 929GG, 929GGG, 929H, 929HH, 929J, 929JJ, 929K, 929KK, 929L, 929LL, 929M, 929MM, 929N, 929NN, 929P, 929PP, 929R, 929RR, 929S, 929T, 929TT, 929W, 929X, 929Y
Phase 2: ca. 1759-1775	Early George and Martha Washington Household	Feature 1 (Pit, Trash)	308AA, 309CC, 309DD, 309EE, 309FF, 309GG, 309HH, 309XX, 309YY, 328AA, 328BB, 328DD, 328EE, 328FF, 328R, 329BB, 329CC, 329DD, 329EE, 329GG, 329HH, 329JJ, 329KK, 329LL, 329MM, 329NN, 329PP, 329R1, 329RR, 329SS, 329TT, 329WW, 329XX, 330W, 330X, 330Y, 348BB, 348CC, 348DD, 348EE, 348FF, 348GG, 348RR, 349AA, 349BB, 349CC, 349DD, 349EE, 349FF, 349GG, 349HH, 349JJ, 349KK, 349RR, 929AAA, 929SS, 929WW, 929XX, 929YY
Phase 2: ca. 1759-1775	Early George and Martha Washington Household	Feature 2 (Builder's Trench)	309AA, 309BB, 329R, 329S, 329W, 349JJJ, 929HHH
Phase 3: ca. 1776-1800	Late George and Martha Washington Household	Feature 1 (Pit, Trash)	308Y, 310K, 328H, 328K, 328Y, 329AA, 329FF, 329X, 329Y, 330T, 348AA, 349W, 349X, 349Y
Phase 3: ca. 1776-1800	Late George and Martha Washington Household	Feature 3 (Brick Drain)	DELTA

Table 7-1 (continued).

Phase	Interpretation	Feature Assignment	Context
Phase 4: 19th century	Bushrod Washington Household; John Augustine Washington II and III Households	none	308N, 308P, 308R, 308S, 308T, 308W, 308X, 309M, 309N, 309P, 309R, 309S, 309SS, 309T, 309W, 309X, 309Y, 310J, 328G, 328J, 328L, 328M, 328N, 328P, 328T, 328X, 329L, 329M, 329N, 329P, 329T, 330L, 330M, 330N, 330P, 330R, 330S, 348W, 348X, 348Y, 349T, 350P
Phase 5: Modern intrusions and layers	Mount Vernon Ladies' Association period	none	308A, 308B, 308C, 308D, 308E, 308F, 308G, 308H, 308J, 308K, 308L, 308M, 309A, 309B, 309C, 309D, 309E, 309F, 309G, 309H, 309J, 309K, 309L, 310A, 310B, 310C, 310D, 310E, 310F, 310G, 310H, 328A, 328B, 328C, 328D, 328E, 328F, 328S, 328W, 329A, 329B, 329C, 329D, 329E, 329F, 329G, 329H, 329J, 329K, 330A, 330B, 330C, 330D, 330E, 330F, 330G, 330H, 330J, 330K, 348A, 348B, 348C, 348D, 348E, 348F, 348G, 348H, 348J, 348K, 348L, 348M, 348N, 348P, 348R, 348S, 348T, 349A, 349B, 349C, 349D, 349E, 349F, 349G, 349H, 349J, 349K, 349L, 349M, 349N, 349P, 349R, 349S, 350A, 350B, 350C, 350D, 350E, 350F, 350G, 350H, 350J, 350K, 350L, 350M, 350N
Phase 6: Buried Topsoil	none	none	310L, 310M, 310N, 330AA, 330BB, 330CC, 330DD, 330EE,
Unassigned	none	none	1, 23, 125, 328DELTA, 349DELTA, 99/7, UNKNOWN

House for Families. Between 1984 and 1986, the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association contracted with the Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks (VDHL) to conduct an archaeological survey of the estate to assess potential buried resources. The survey was expanded into limited test excavations of two sites, the blacksmith's shop and a cellar believed to be associated with the non-extant House for Families slave quarter. Mount Vernon archaeological staff completed the excavation of the cellar in 1989 and 1990, revealing multiple fill episodes in an estimated six by six foot brick-lined feature (the north wall and feature fill were intruded by modern construction) approximately four feet deep (Figure 7-3). The TPQ of the feature is 1759

and the TAQ is 1793, the date that the quarter was demolished (Pogue and White 1991; Pogue 2003).

Little documentary evidence pertains to the domestic space that housed slaves assigned to Mansion House Farm. The absence of documentation pertaining to the construction of the quarters suggests that George Washington initially leased (and later inherited) the structure from Lawrence and was making improvements to it before assuming outright ownership, as he did with other outbuildings constructed by his brother (Toner [1890]).

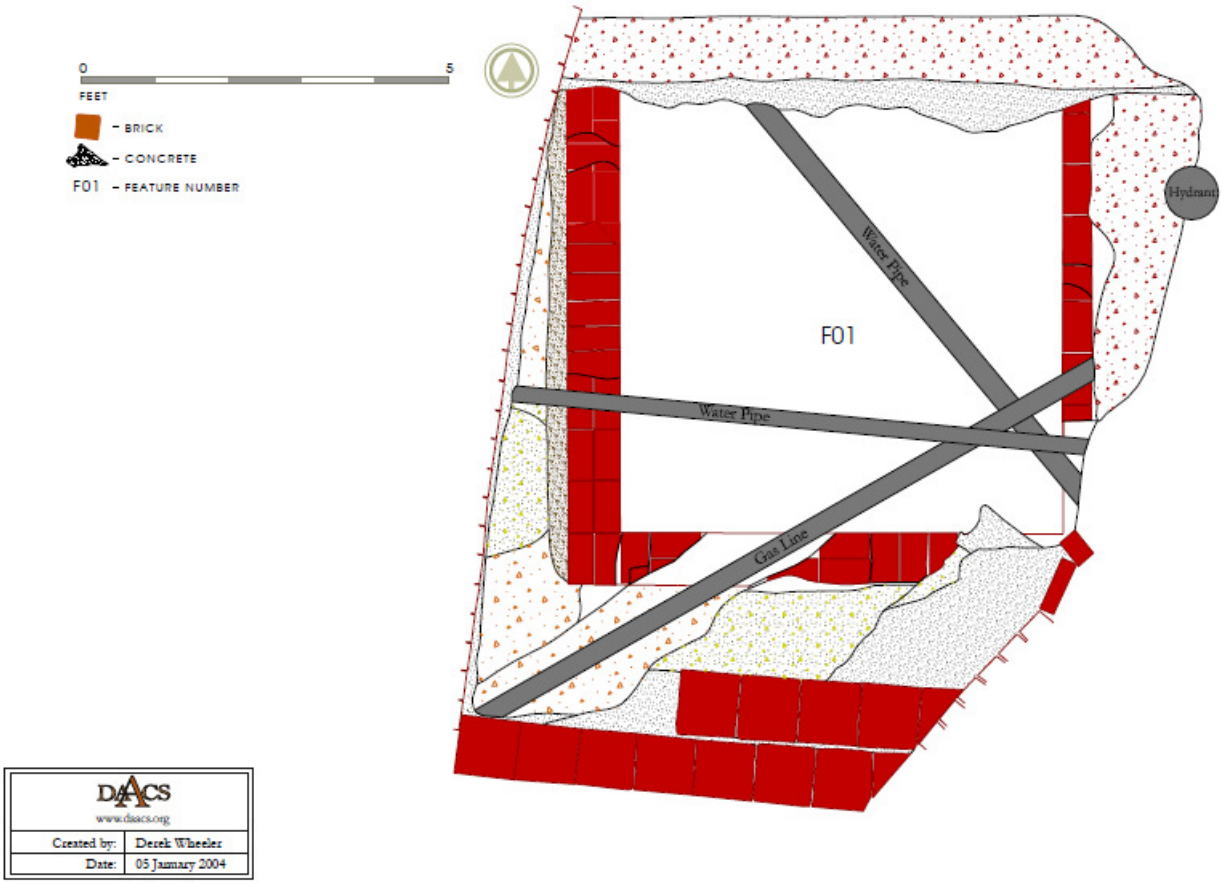


Figure 7-3. Plan view of the House for Families (44FX762/40&47) cellar. (Map by Derek Wheeler, 2004.)

The feature's excavation methodology reflected strategies employed by two different principal investigators. The VDHL excavated the northern section of the cellar (all except about a foot wide by six foot long portion) and waterscreened soils through ¼ inch mesh from the site that they identified as 44FX764/17/40. Archaeologists from Mount Vernon excavated the remainder of the soil south of the bisection line and floated all of the remainder of the feature's strata as 44FX764/17/47 (Pogue 2003). An analysis of the artifacts resulted in a three phase interpretation of the site,[7] with the majority of artifacts falling into the earliest phase of the site (DAACS 2013a) (Table 7-2).

Table 7-2. Phasing the House for Families.

Phase	Feature Assignment	Context
Phase 1, ca. 1760	Feature 1 (Cellar)	40BB, 40CC, 40DD, 40E, 40EE, 40FF, 40GG, 47AA, 47E, 47F, 47G, 47H, 47J, 47K, 47L, 47M, 47N, 47P, 47R, 47S, 47T, 47W, 47X, 47Y
Phase 2, ca. 1779	Feature 1 (Cellar)	40D, 40G, 40H, 40L, 40MM, 40W, 40Y, 47B, 47D
Phase 3, ca. 1782	Feature 1 (Cellar)	40B, 40F, 40U, 40X, 47A
Unassigned	Feature 1 (Cellar)	40A, 40C, 40HH, 40J, 40K, 40KK, 40LL, 40M, 40N, 40NN, 40P, 40PP, 40R, 40RR, 40S, 40Z, 47BB, 47C, 47DELTA

[7] In the case of the House for Families, the DAACS phasing strategy closely aligned with the TPQ and seriation-based technique employed by Mount Vernon archaeologists and therefore the former is presented here.

Compiling the Database

Background. Archaeologists uncover the discarded remains of consumer behaviors. At the outset, the goal of this project was to create a comparable database of archaeologically-derived consumer detritus from within one plantation, complemented by two closely-related documentary datasets (the invoices and orders and the schemes of goods). The House for Families artifact assemblage was one of the pilot sites entered into the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery (DAACS) and went live on that website in 2004. The goal of DAACS is to provide a relational, searchable digital resource to facilitate comparative research on slave-related sites from the Chesapeake and throughout the Atlantic World. The South Grove Midden was also envisioned to be a pilot site; however, due to the vagaries of project development, was never entered into that database. When this phase of research began, the South Grove catalogue existed in Re:discovery, where it had been imported from an earlier database system. While the data were solid for pursuing some levels of research and analysis (Breen 2003, 2004), artifact records did not contain the level of detail to support the study of consumerism proposed here, and they were not in a format that could be directly compared to the House for Families. Additionally, beyond the artifact level, there was no database of the hundreds of objects derived through cross-mending and minimum vessel analysis. The decision was made to re-catalogue the entirety of the South Grove assemblage into DAACS, an endeavor which began in October of 2010 and was completed in April of 2012. The South Grove Midden site was officially launched in DAACS in the fall of 2013.

Data Entry. The South Grove Midden artifacts, objects, faunal remains, context and feature records, images, maps, and the Harris Matrix were catalogued and/or digitized according to DAACS protocols. When cataloguing some artifact classes, I recorded additional information

not required in the protocols but that I anticipated would aid in this study. Many of these protocols (which I will discuss later) will appear in future revisions of the manuals (Jillian Galle 2013, pers. comm.).

In collaboration with DAACS Project Manager Jillian Galle and Monticello Research Archaeologist Derek Wheeler, I developed a new table in the DAACS database to catalogue object-level data. The object table addressed the need to undertake analysis beyond sherds to the complete (or partially complete) objects that they once comprised. This table captures data in approximately 50 fields with 14 related tables and will be launched in a queriable format in 2014, as will object-level data from sites at Monticello (Jillian Galle 2013, pers. comm.).

Summarizing the Data. The South Grove Midden is an amazingly rich assemblage of domestic refuse dating to the mid-eighteenth century. The 400 excavated strata yielded a total of 119,251 artifacts (11,850 of which were ceramic sherds representing a minimum of 399 vessels). Though eighteenth-century artifacts are found throughout the site's stratigraphy (including those redeposited in modern utility trench intrusions), 37 percent of the layers date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A minimum of 238 ceramic vessels had at least one sherd in the pre-1775 midden layers. Though not a focus of this study, a total of 136,395 faunal fragments underwent a variety of zooarchaeological analyses (Bowen et al. 2012a, 2012b) and the botanicals (which proved not to be as well preserved as the faunal remains) were thoroughly investigated (McKnight 2012).

Though significant in many ways, the House for Families excavations yielded a much smaller dataset with 16,465 artifacts (DAACS 2013b) (662 ceramic sherds representing 136 vessels) and 25,502 faunal fragments analyzed (Bowen 1993). The macrobotanical assemblage was also studied (Shick 2004).

In terms of archaeological dating techniques (the results of which are compatible with documentary evidence), the South Grove Midden was filled in slightly earlier than the House for Families. The midden's mean ceramic date (MCD) (for 8,458 ceramic sherds) is 1746.06 and the House for Families is 1762.94 (for 631 ceramic sherds) (DAACS 2013c). This pattern bears out for TPQ and MCD calculations for phases and through pipe stem dating techniques (DAACS 2013b) (Tables 7-3, 7-4, and 7-5). TPQ90 estimates the date after which the phase was formed based on the 90th percentile of the beginning manufacturing dates for all the ceramics found in the layer. The estimate provides a statistical way to cull out anomalous ceramics introduced into layers through excavator error or unrecognized taphonomic processes (DAACS 2011).

Table 7-3. Ceramic dates for the South Grove Midden phases.

Phase	MCD	TPQ	TPQ90	Sherd Count
1	1731	1750	1683	2302
2	1733	1762	1720	2620
3	1735	1775	1720	901
4	1741	1840	1720	2264
5	1750	1840	1762	2748
6	1718	1670	1670	20

Table 7-4. Ceramic dates for the House for Families phases.

Phase	MCD	TPQ	TPQ90	Sherd Count
1	1760	1775	1744	485
2	1779	1805	1795	40
3	1782	1775	1775	23

Table 7-5. Pipe stem dates for the South Grove Midden and the House for Families.

Formula	South Grove	House for Families
Harrington	1710-1750	1750-1780
Binford	1746.67	1766.18
Hanson	1740.71+/-22.5	1770.78 +/-22.5
Heighton and Deagan	1750.48	1766.98

Developing the Dataset

In order to undertake a systematic analysis of consumer behavior grounded in these robust archaeological assemblages, I honed in on those artifact categories from the South Grove Midden that simultaneously met the criteria of a consumer good and that were likely found on domestic sites. Excluded from the resulting dataset are building-related materials, plantation tools and implements, and faunal and botanical remains. Wine bottles were also excluded from this study due to the inaccessibility of the data at the time of this analysis. I plan future research on bottles once the data are live in a concatenated format on the DAACS website. Wigs and their accoutrements were also not studied here. These were important items of gentility; however, there were two prominent exceptions – neither Lawrence nor George Washington wore a wig (Anonymous [1743]; Johnson 2005) – deterring our ability to fully explore this artifact group archaeologically or documentarily. I isolated 17 artifact types found in the South Grove Midden for systematic object analysis: beads; book hinges; buckles; buttons; ceramics (chamber pots, drug jars and ointment pots, milk pans, mugs, punch bowls, and tea and tableware); combs; fans; metallic thread; pins; shot; table glass (decanters and stemware); tacks; thimbles; tobacco pipes; toys; watches and accessories; wine bottle seals (and other personally-marked artifacts). These form 21 artifact groups.

- Matched sets (ceramics and table glass)
- Punch bowls
- Mugs
- Milk pans
- Buttons
- Buckles
- Fans
- Watches
- Metallic thread
- Beads
- Marked objects
- Books

- Medicine
- Chamber pots
- Combs
- Toys
- Tacks
- Tobacco pipes
- Shot
- Thimbles
- Straight pins

Comparing these artifact groups and their dimensions with the archaeological assemblage excavated from the remains of the House for Families slave quarter site offers the beginnings of a large-scale comparative study of consumerism that might eventually include myriad site types and occupant demographics.

To structure the presentation of the findings of this systematic object analysis, I placed the artifact groups into their broadest functional category: foodways; adornment and accessories; and other consumer goods. I have not attempted, as Carr and Walsh (1994:69) did, to categorize goods as evidence of refinement, education, leisure, luxury, or display, as the meaning of objects is highly contextual. A thimble, for example, can dually function as a work implement, a signal of luxury, an embodiment of identity, or a tool of education. This study overlaps with 4 of 12 amenities studied by Carr and Walsh (1994) – coarse and refined ceramics, books, and watches – and includes myriad other products of consumer behavior that may or may not appear in probate inventories, their primary dataset.

After each artifact group was catalogued at the artifact and object levels, the two documentary datasets were searched for evidence of their existence and availability through consignment and in the local store. Three questions guided this phase of the research on the 21 groups: 1) was there an indication that different goods or different types of goods were available through consignment versus at a local store?; 2) how are different avenues of access to goods

evident archaeologically?; and 3) taking issues of access into account, what may have motivated elite and non-elite consumers to invest in these different artifact groups? The materiality of consumer motivation is further explored in Chapter 8. What immediately became apparent was that answering the second question would require the bulk of time and effort. In many cases, our current cataloguing protocols and analytical methods fell short in terms of being able to address levels of and/or differences in consumer behavior archaeologically. For some artifact categories, this was not the case. Ten artifact groups required nothing more sophisticated than a catalogue record describing and identifying the artifact and recording simple presence or absence. If we take thread for example, merely the presence or absence of metallic thread, indicative of high-quality embroidered clothing and apparel not sold in the local store, suggests gentry consumption and an avenue of access restricted primarily to consignment consumers in this upper Potomac region. This does not imply that non-elite consumers desired to emulate this specific fashion choice, but instead that we might explore, through the vast adornment options available at local stores, if and how they customized or enhanced their appearance and how this simple expression of choice may have restructured notions of self.

While these presence/absence-based analyses, these deep readings of small finds, are important, they tend to exclude the bulk of what comprises the average eighteenth-century domestic assemblage – so-called redundant classes of artifacts. What a holistic material culture analysis grounded in archaeology forces researchers to do is wade through the multiple disparate sets of data pertaining to all pieces of the consumer puzzle – from unique to common. The remaining half of the artifact groups, then, required metric tools unique to that specific type and in many cases required capturing data not requisite in current cataloguing protocols. These cases suggest that artifact size and richness within type are the crucial variables. Developing these

archaeometric tools shows the strengths of a material culture approach that draws on the totality of evidence available. In many cases, it was only through the careful integration of these sources that I was able to specifically link period semantics and typologies of classes of consumer goods found in the documentary record with the goods themselves. The results of some of these metrics were definitive while others open new and exciting paths for future research.

The final stage of research was to assess the findings of the archaeological and documentary artifact studies as to their contribution to the question of potential consumer motivation. The data provide a baseline for the differences in the world of goods available to consignment versus retail consumers within the bounds of the colonial market economy, at least in this neighborhood of Virginia's Upper Potomac region. It is from the establishment of this baseline that we can begin to sketch out the consumer choices made by elites and non-elites and link these choices to underlying desires, needs, and motivations to consume. Fundamentally, these findings support the contention that the colonial marketplace was not egalitarian, as some have suggested, and that choice was constrained for non-elite consumers (Wurst and McGuire 1999; Breen 2004; Martin 2008). Despite these constraints, non-elites were motivated by a desire to enter into the marketplace to both signal and shape their definition of self and collectivity (Mullins 2011:3).

Revealing Consumerism through a Material Culture Approach

Foodways. Artifacts related to the culturally defined modes of producing and consuming food offer an entry point into the access to and choices made by colonial shoppers. Here, I have chosen to focus on both refined and coarse earthenwares and glassware. Specifically, I delve into the occurrence of matched sets of ceramics and glassware, drinking vessels including punch bowls and mugs, and a utilitarian form called a milk pan. Foodways and the negotiations

involved in their preparation, display, and consumption are at the core of colonial culture. For elites and non-elites alike the realm of foodways became increasingly elaborated and specialized over the course of the eighteenth century fueled by increased availability of and access to consumer goods (Yentsch 1994).

Sets of ceramic and glass tablewares, meaning large services made from the same material with matching decorative patterns in a diverse array of forms, embody the fullest expression of gentility, specifically in the realm of dining and entertaining; however, few scholars have thought critically about their evolution or distribution within colonial society (see Carson 1990; Shackel 1992, 1993; Veech 1998 for exceptions). The decades before the American Revolution marked a transitional period in the development of table services from earlier mixed or mismatched tablewares with a low diversity of forms and few total vessels, to fully matched large services with an array of consuming and serving forms (Carson 1990). The ability to serve many family members and guests multiple courses during a meal from the same matching table service was facilitated by the ceramic revolution, specifically beginning with white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware (Martin 1994; Barker 1999). By the nineteenth century, sets had reached their fullest development with multiple larger matched table services comprised of myriad forms and used for specific purposes – everyday breakfast or dinner meals or special occasions – much like we see today (Carson 1990).

Within this overall evolution of matched sets, a systematic object analysis explores issues of access to sets and their use within the colonial population as a whole. This type of comparative consumerism model acknowledges the power of the individual agent through the expression of economic independence and consumer choice, while also considering the constraints and limits of those expressions within the strict economically stratified and racialized

world of eighteenth-century colonial Virginia. Hypothetically, George Washington would have actively sought out new matched table services from London, the epicenter of fashion, while store-goers may not have had access to these hallmarks of gentility.

Querying the invoices and orders dataset indicates that George Washington ordered four large, matching table services with occasional supplementary orders for individual forms to replace or enhance the larger service (Table 7-6). Before his massive order for creamware in 1769, Washington was invoiced for two sets of Chinese export porcelain tablewares in 1757 and 1763. The earlier one had 48 vessels valued at £8.17.0, supplemented with an additional 24 vessels in 1762 for a total investment of £9.10.0; the later one had 56 vessels valued at £12, supplemented with an additional 6 vessels in 1765 for a total investment of £12.5.0. These services included different yet diverse vessel forms from tureens to sauce boats and salts. Washington's largest pre-creamware table service arrived in September 1757 and included 156 white salt-glazed stoneware vessels in tableware forms valued at £2.9.4 that could have served 36 individuals at least two courses. This service was supplemented the following year with an additional 42 soup dishes and plates and again in 1760 with sweetmeat plates for a much smaller total investment than the porcelains at just £4. This service was larger and more diverse in terms of form than the Chinese export porcelain sets. Finally, George Washington placed an order for 96 "best hard mettle" plates, each engraved with his family crest, in 1759 for a total cost of £11.2.3. Perhaps the pewter service was supplemented with porcelain or white salt-glazed stoneware serving forms. The 1762 order and 1763 invoice for a set of 56 blue and white Chinese export porcelain vessels, "One very full and complt Sett," was the first recorded instance of the phrase as applied to tablewares at Mount Vernon (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

Table 7-6. George Washington's orders for table services, pre-1775.

	Chinese Porcelain Table Service 1	White Salt-glazed Table Service	Engraved Pewter	Chinese Porcelain Table Service 2
Date Invoiced	1757	1757	1759	1763
Value (£)	9.10.0	3.17.4	11.2.3	12.5.0
Vessel Count	72	210	96	62
Form Count	6	8	2	7

Though there is no mention of decoration applied to the porcelain or the white salt-glazed stoneware orders, the archaeological record suggests that both could have matched (see also Detweiler 1982). In fact, midden excavations revealed three unique matched sets of Chinese porcelain teabowls and saucers, two unique sets of Chinese porcelain plates, and a molded white salt-glazed stoneware table service with plates (minimum n=5) and a fruit dish. Beyond ceramics, an appreciation for sets with matching decorations appears on a copper wheel engraved set of glassware (including a decanter and a wine glass). From the minimum nine wine glasses dating before 1775, all but one share characteristics of straight stems and a lack of decoration. Only one is decorated with an elongated tear. Dating evidence from the midden's stratigraphy shows the porcelain plates were most likely initially owned by the Lawrence Washington household, George Washington's elder half brother (Breen 2004) and therefore do not match the orders that George Washington placed for this ware type. Though the porcelain plate sets could have been used to serve the same meals, seriation and dating of the decorative elements offers evidence that the Grape, Bamboo, and Squirrel pattern (a minimum of seven plates) pre-dates the Flower Basket set (a minimum of five plates) (Figure 7-4). Evidence suggests that both were initially used by the Lawrence Washington household, but that the former were discarded upon his death in 1752 while the latter had a longer use-life, into the 1750s, by the bachelor George Washington's household and were discarded to make room for new sets at the end of the 1750s.

Though these sets do not correspond to those ordered by George Washington in the late 1750s and early 1760s, they do suggest that matched decorative porcelain patterns were available to and sought after by elite consumers in this time period and earlier.

Washington's tableware sets in the 1750s and early 1760s came in blue and white porcelain, molded-edge white salt glazed-stoneware, and engraved pewter. Similarly, Henderson offered all three ware types at his store, though he only re-stocked the porcelain inventory once in 1760, suggesting that his clientele more frequently opted for stonewares and pewter (Figure 7-5). Additionally, Henderson offered general earthenwares, some of which could have been outdated tin-glazed with "blue and white" decoration and early creamware varieties such as Whieldon ware (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c).

Figure 7-4. Two sets of porcelain plates excavated from the midden (left: later Flower Basket pattern; right: earlier Grape, Bamboo, and Squirrel pattern). (Photo by Karen Price, 2012; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

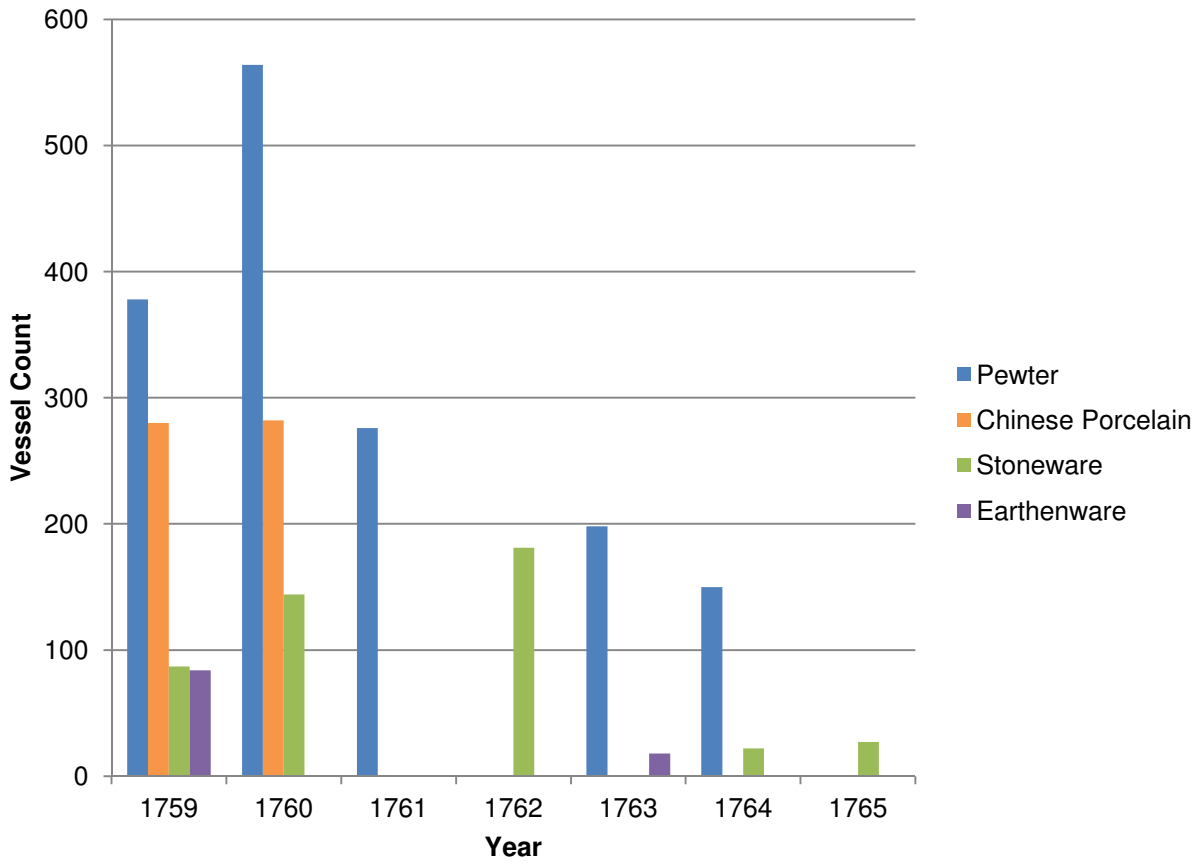


Figure 7-5. Alexander Henderson's orders for tea and tablewares by ware type.

Though Henderson included similar ware types to those desired by George Washington, upon closer inspection it becomes clear, based on an analysis of forms, that none of these types was stocked in ways that enabled consumers to assemble matched tableware sets at the level available to customers through the trans-Atlantic consignment system. Patrons could have purchased sets of teawares in both porcelain and stoneware; however neither was available as a matched, complete tableware set. In fact, the porcelain vessels offered show that Henderson anticipated a market for beverage wares only: tea, coffee, and punch. Stonewares similarly fall primarily into the beverage category, with mustard pots as the exception. Pewters and earthenwares were sold in dining-related forms, plates and dishes, soup and flat, in addition to

porringers, but unlike table sets procured from the consignment system, the specialized and elaborate forms that would have accompanied the individualized vessels were not available in matched ware or decorative types.

Additionally, a table furnished by wares available at a local store in the upper Potomac region would have been decidedly lacking in diversity of forms, as compared to that available through consignment. At the store, three individual consumption forms were offered in earthenware, four in pewter. This, compared to six serving and consumption vessels in Washington's first porcelain set, seven in his second, and eight in the white salt-glazed stoneware, suggests that local shoppers were restricted in their ability to create the fullest expression of a genteel table in this pre-Revolutionary period (Table 7-7). By comparing the two documentary datasets, I believe that matched table sets of ceramics and glassware show that gentry planters had access to a world of goods not available to their neighbors and that this restricted access operated dually as a bridge back to the perceived source of high culture in England and a fence that excluded non-elites from a truly genteel style of life (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; McCracken 1988).

Table 7-7. Comparison of total tableware vessel forms by ware type ordered by George Washington (green) and Alexander Henderson (blue) in descending order.

White Salt-glazed Stoneware Set	Chinese Porcelain Set 2	Chinese Porcelain Set 1	Pewter	Earthenware	Engraved Pewter	Porcelain	Stoneware
Butter Dishes						Butter Plates	
Dishes			Dishes		Dishes		
		Custard Cups					
Mustard Pots							Mustard Pots
Patty Pans		Patty Pans					
	Pickle Shells						
Plates	Plates	Plates	Plates	Plates	Plates		
	Platters	Platters					
			Porringers	Porringers			
	Salts						
	Sauce Boats						
Soup Dishes		Soup Dishes	Soup Dishes				
Soup Plates	Soup Plates		Soup Plates	Soup Plates			
Sweetmeat Plates							
	Tureen	Tureen					
8	7	6	5	3	2	1	1

This pattern bears out in a comparison of unique, identifiable forms between the South Grove (eighteenth-century phases) and the House for Families. Of the 24 forms represented in the former, only 14 are found in the latter. Specialized table and beverage forms such as slop bowls, coffee pots, creamers, patty pans, pitchers or milk pots, and porringers do not appear in the House for Families. A lower diversity of forms is also evident in table glass. From eighteenth-century contexts, decanters, salvers, a tumbler, and a spouted form accompany the South Grove Midden's fairly plain wine glasses. Interestingly, in addition to stemware, fragments of a salver (a glass tray intended to elegantly display and serve sweetmeats) were also identified in the House for Families assemblage. The House for Families stemware assemblage (while small, minimum n=6) is relatively ornately decorated (Pogue and White 1991) and shares

characteristics with what we know George Washington purchased in the early 1760s (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Four stems exhibit internal ornamentation known as enamel twists, strands of colored or opaque glass in spiral patterns. Three exhibit the more common opaque white pattern (with one being twisted and balustered) while the fourth has the less common blue and white combination (Noël Hume 1969:190-193). In response to two orders that Washington placed with his factor for fashionable wine glasses, one in 1760 and the other in 1762, Robert Cary & Company supplied a total of 48 white enameled wine glasses (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

From the House for Families slave quarter, of the 32 plates found in slipware, tin glaze, creamware, pearlware, white salt-glazed stoneware, and porcelain, matched sets of tableware occur in white salt-glazed stoneware (dot, diaper, and basket molded edge) and creamware (feather molded edge). Both of these sets were used on the Washingtons' table and are found in unexpectedly minimal amounts in the South Grove Midden, leading archaeologists to argue that these plates may be a result of handing down from elite house to enslaved after damage or as they fell from fashion (Pogue 2001b). This theory is supported by the lack of availability of matched sets locally, at least in the Henderson's store. Another ware type that the two sites share in common are the Staffordshire slipwares, variously dotted, trailed, and/or combed. Drinking pots were the most common in the South Grove assemblage (minimum n=12). These vessels were used to consume beverages like cider or beer and also doubled as porringers for the consumption of hot meals like soups and stews. The large scale deposition of all 12 in the first phase of the midden suggests that they were deemed outdated by the Lawrence Washington household. The presence of four of these vessels in the House for Families could reflect a handing down of these forms as well. The presence of 13 dishes (distinguished from plates by

their greater than 10 inch diameter) decorated with combed and trailed slip in the slave cellar and only one in the midden may again reflect handing down. These large flatwares may have come in handy in a quarter where communal meals were served in a cooperative household of families.

Does the fact that white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, and Staffordshire slipware arrived at the House for Families through informal plantation trade networks rather than outright purchases make them less meaningful to their owners or less indicative of consumer motivations? Galle (2006:80) argues that "the acquisition of goods through special provisioning does not take away from the signal value of these items." To earn or perhaps trade for goods once used by plantation masters allowed an individual or family to accrue a kind of prestige reserved for those with special skills or close proximity to the white household and, therefore, source of power (Galle 2006). In fact, one overglaze hollowware vessel painted in the *famille-rose* palette is reminiscent of the tea set in the Mount Vernon collection shipped from London in 1757 (Detweiler 1982:24-25, figures 7-9). The presence of this one unmatched yet finely decorated ware suggests a close connection between slave and owner. Any material benefits conferred by the "pervasive material culture of their elite owners" must also be viewed in light of the limited privacy and "on call" nature of the work of many of the household slaves living in the House for Families (Kern 2010:109; Murtha 2011:58). The benefits accrued by these special provisions must be weighed by the costs incurred to earn them.

Despite the fragmentary evidence available, we should note that not all the ceramics used and discarded by the slaves living above the cellar feature were obtained from the Washingtons. The porcelains from the House for Families mend into much more fragmentary vessels than the South Grove Midden assemblage, making a study of stylistic elements and patterns difficult and statistically insignificant. While there are some general similarities in band motifs (generic blue

trellis and herringbone bands) between the two sites, at least one overglaze painted hollowware vessel with a half-circle and dot band stands out as unique and therefore potentially acquired from an outside source. Additionally, the decorated stemware from the House for Families exhibits an independent expression of choice and aesthetic values.

Colonial punch drinking assumed an important role in the category of foodways in the realms of gentility, sociability, and group membership. Punch drinking reinforced feelings of hospitality among the drinkers, which were cemented by rousing toasts to the host and hostess, the king, party guests, prosperity, and health. Recipes for punch, served hot or cold, varied, but often included five ingredients (some exotic and expensive): spirits (rum, brandy, or arrack), citrus (lime, orange, or lemon), spices, sugar, and water which were mixed and strained. The bowl itself has a recognizable form:

> A hemispherical vessel with a plain rim. Punch bowls occur in refined earthenwares, stonewares, and porcelain. They range in capacity from ½ pt to several gallons. The smallest sizes were used by individuals for drinking punch and perhaps eating semi-solid foods. The larger sizes were used for making and serving punch (Beaudry et al. 1988:63).

Punch could be ladled into cups or glasses or, perhaps more crudely, drunk straight from the bowl and passed around the table (Lange 2001). Though usually associated with men, punch was also consumed by women both domestically and in public places such as taverns and punch houses (Harvey 2008). The practice of punch drinking in the home increasingly bordered on the ceremonial, not to the extent of tea, but in similar ways. Punch drinking could be a social event requiring a set of tools to accomplish its most refined form, including cups, strainers, ladles, and

sometimes a punch pot[8] in the place of a bowl, in addition to the knowledge of a set of accompanying behaviors, including toasting, "with its implied connotations of restraint, fortitude, courtesy, and obligation" (Goodwin 1999:131).

Early theoretical interpretations of punch drinking, when it was specifically mentioned, equated the practice with the transition from communal to individual-centered lifeways and the structural shift from medieval folk to Georgian courtly dining traditions (Deetz 1977, Yentsch 1991a; see also Smith 2001 and 2008 for a discussion of the historiography of the archaeology of alcohol). More recently, scholars interested in the history and archaeology of alcohol and the transformative role of material culture have approached punch drinking from alternative theoretical angles. In his study of late seventeenth through early eighteenth-century Barbados, Frederick Smith (2001) concluded that punch drinking and other forms of alcohol consumption reflected two fundamental needs on the Caribbean's unstable frontier: the need for sociability and the need to ease anxiety in a socially fluid world where claims to status were continually undermined. Cultural historian Karen Harvey (2008) viewed punch drinking through the lens of gender and refinement. Specifically, she juxtaposed tea and the teapot, women, and refinement with punch and the punch bowl, men, and barbarity. She argued that these dichotomies broke down at the end of the eighteenth century – strict lines between genders blurred and the punch fraternity underwent a brief period of domestication as evidenced in the decline of the punch bowl and the ascendance of the more polite punch pot. Lorinda Goodwin (1999) interpreted punch drinking as an essential reflection of the pursuit of novelty in goods readily available during the consumer revolution. One's ability to obtain items considered new and unique and use

[8] By the mid-eighteenth century, punch could also be served (though rarely) from a pot nearly identical to a teapot but larger in capacity and possibly missing the tea-leaf strainer on the inside at the base of the spout (Harvey 2008). Neither of these two distinctions has been systematically analyzed (i.e., how much bigger were punch pots than tea pots and how closely does a lack of a strainer correlate to identified punch pots in museum collections) to make identification of punch pots in the archaeological record feasible.

them along with a well-refined set of mannerly behavior set the individual apart from the "crowd of dedicated consumers" (Goodwin 1999:119). Theoretical developments like these, however, cannot even begin to be addressed without a systematically-developed understanding of the consumer dimensions of punch drinking – one that draws on a material culture approach.

Documentary data indicate that the punch ceremony served increasingly elaborate and specialized purposes in the decades before the Revolution, at least in some households (Breen 2012). The consumer behaviors of the Washington households at Mount Vernon suggest that punch and gentility went hand in hand. Lawrence Washington's inventory included at least three punch bowls: one of Chinese export porcelain, and two most likely of delftware. Additionally, Lawrence possessed a punch ladle, probably silver (Washington 1753). Increased investment in the punch ceremony is evident in the early years of George Washington's tenure at Mount Vernon (Table 7-8). In 1758, he received an invoice for a shipment of a dozen white salt-glazed stoneware punch bowls in three sizes: three pints; one quart; and two quarts. One year prior, Washington was billed for six punch ladles. The presence of a silver strainer in the museum collection thought to have been brought with Martha Custis to Mount Vernon upon her marriage, might explain the lack of documentation associated with the purchase of this necessary implement of punch drinking in its highest form (Cadou 2006:56-57). In 1766, Washington received an invoice for two punch bowls, one with a capacity of one gallon, and the other, of two quarts capacity of porcelain with a Nanking border. Just four years later, another invoice spoke to the importance of punch in the household – George Washington was charged for 17 bowls in 9 different sizes of "Queen's China" or creamware, in sizes ranging from a pint and a half to two gallons (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). It is possible that the smallest bowls, measuring a pint and a half, were intended to serve as waste bowls for the teawares also ordered

at this time. However, archaeological evidence from the South Grove Midden suggests that average slop bowl size was smaller, with capacity of about a pint.

Table 7-8. George Washington's purchases of punch bowls, pre-1775.

Shipment Date	Invoice Description	Cost	Order Date	Matching Order Description
08/18/1758	3 punch Bowls [possibly white stoneware]	1.11.6	1/1758	1/2 dozn fashionable China Bowls from a large to a Midlg Size*
08/18/1758	2 two Quart bowl [possibly white stoneware]	0.17.0	1/1758	1/2 dozn fashionable China Bowls from a large to a Midlg Size*
08/18/1758	1 two Quart bowl colourd [possibly white stoneware]	0.7.6	1/1758	1/2 dozn fashionable China Bowls from a large to a Midlg Size*
08/18/1758	4 three pint bowl enameld [possibly white stoneware]	1.1.4	1/1758	1/2 dozn fashionable China Bowls from a large to a Midlg Size*
08/18/1758	2 large quart bowl [possibly white stoneware]	0.9.0	1/1758	1/2 dozn fashionable China Bowls from a large to a Midlg Size*
11/17/1766	1 Galln Punch Bowl [possibly Chinese porcelain]	0.14.0	6/23/1766	1 large China bowl to hold a Gal.
11/17/1766	1 two Qt punch bowl Nankn bordr [Chinese porcelain]	0.6.6	6/23/1766	1 large China bowl to hold a Gal. and a half
11/13/1770	1 la: Bowl [creamware]	0.5.0	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 1 two Galln Bowl**
11/13/1770	1 Smaller bowl [creamware]	0.3.6	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 1 Gallon [Bowl]
11/13/1770	2 Smaller bowls [creamware]	0.2.6	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 1 one and a half Galln bowl
11/13/1770	2 Smaller bowls [creamware]	0.2.6	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 2 three Quart [bowl]
11/13/1770	4 Bowls [creamware]	0.5.0	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 2 five Pint [bowl] and 2 two Qt [bowl]
11/13/1770	2 Bowls [creamware]	0.2.0	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 2 three pint [bowl]
11/13/1770	3 Bowls [creamware]	0.2.0	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 3 Quart [bowls]
11/13/1770	3 Bowls [creamware]	0.1.6	8/20/1770	Of Queen's China— 3 pint and a half [bowls]

*Washington orders 6 bowls, but receives 12.
**Washington orders 17 bowls, but receives 18.

This invoice in 1770 suggests that the practice of the punch ceremony changed significantly in the Washington households in the span of approximately 20 years, but also that the ceramics market increasingly either responded to or encouraged this demand. George Washington ordered more and more bowls (for a total of 32 in a 12 year period) from British factors, and their recorded and requested capacities exhibited an increasingly larger range suggesting that the punch ceremony was becoming more elaborate and specialized just as mass-produced, fashionable ceramics like white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware began to meet this need. Even period images support the hypothesis that punch bowl size mattered (Figures 7-6 and 7-7). Paintings and prints depict intimate settings that necessitated smaller bowls while larger, more raucous and convivial groups demanded vessels that could hold several gallons of drink.

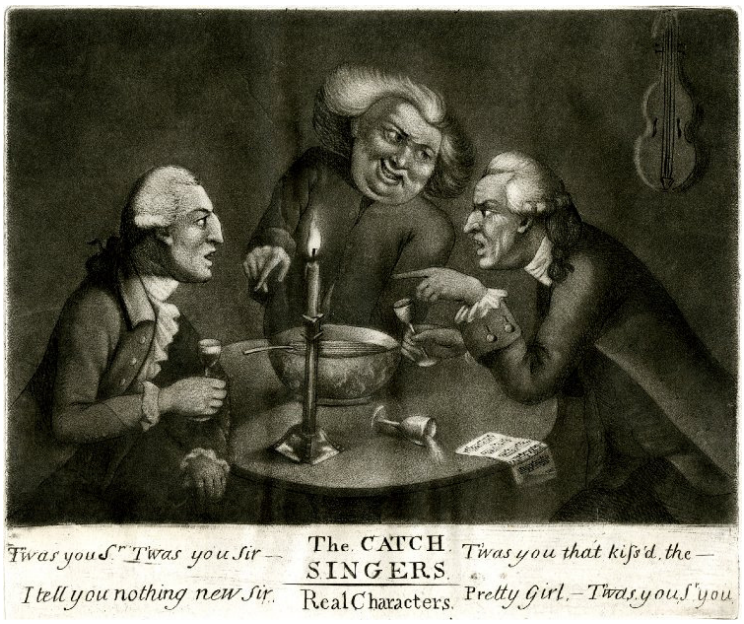


Figure 7-6. "The catch singers," publications attributed to Robert Sayer, second half of the eighteenth century. (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

Figure 7-7. "Glee singers executing a catch," drawn by Robert Dighton, second half of the eighteenth century. (Courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum.)

Alexander Henderson only ordered punch bowls in his first two years of operation at Colchester, 1759 and 1760. His large inventory of 587 punch bowls in tin-glazed earthenware (86% of the total inventory), white salt-glazed stoneware (8%), and porcelain (6%) must have lasted him for a few years. In terms of capacity, when his total punch bowl inventory is considered, the earthenware was stocked in three sizes, the stoneware in two, and the porcelain in four. Customers would have had to shop elsewhere for punch drinking accoutrements.

One limitation of these yearly inventories is that we cannot access purchasing habits. However, just down the road from Colchester in Dumfries, Virginia, an independent merchant

named Daniel Payne operated a store during the late 1750s and early 1760s (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007). His transcribed store accounts, dating 1758 to 1764, record that 27 individuals purchased punch bowls during this period, some all in one transaction, others in multiple. One individual bought a punch ladle, suggesting that ladles were among this store's offerings (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007:28). Of the 27 transactions, 24 clearly recorded the number of bowls purchased by individual customers. More than 50 percent (n=13) bought a single bowl. Approximately 30 percent (n=7) bought 2 bowls and for the remainder, one customer each bought a total of 4, 5, 6, and 9 bowls. Unfortunately, the level of specificity of sizes purchased by individuals is lacking, but we can at least say that Payne offered bowls of five sizes: one pint, one quart, two quarts, and one gallon. Therefore, store documents suggest that merchants offered punch bowls with some variety of type and size and even some accoutrements.

The difference, it appears, was not that local stores and English factors offered remarkably different punch-related products, but that the consumer had different goals in mind when acquiring them. The majority of mid-eighteenth century consumers bought one to two punch bowls without accoutrements to meet their punch drinking needs. Other consumers, like George Washington, Robert Wickliff, Jr., and William Powell (the latter, shoppers in Dumfries), needed to have on hand multiple punch bowls of differing capacities to be ready for any social situation that might arise and the implements to serve the drink in a truly genteel manner (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007:67, 82). This demand only increased with the introduction of creamware, as represented by George Washington's specific request for punch bowls of nine sizes: half pint, three pint, five pint, one quart, two quart, three quart, gallon, one and a half gallon, and two gallon (Table 7-8). This difference in consumer behavior is one that should be apparent from the archaeological record. However, measurements required for estimating

capacity are not systematically recorded for published minimum vessel count lists and prior to the inception of this project, though some measurement data are captured on the sherd level, punch bowl was initially not a vessel form option in DAACS (Breen 2012). Therefore the development of a tool to explore differential consumption of punch bowls on archaeological sites is crucial.

I mined published print and online collections from seven institutions for tin-glazed punch bowls with measurement data in order to develop formulas that allow for the estimation of punch bowl capacity from both whole and fragmentary bowls. From these sources, 215 unique vessels had either height, rim, and footring diameter or just height and rim diameter measurements. The vessels date from 1680 to 1780, with bowls most frequently falling into the 1741 to 1760 period.

The closest geometric shape to a punch bowl is a frustum (or clipped cone) and therefore its formula can be borrowed to estimate bowl capacity (Miervaldis 2012a):

$$Volume\ (inches^3) = (\pi * height / 12) * [base\ diameter^2 + (base\ diameter * rim\ diameter) + rim\ diameter^2]$$ [9]

Half an inch was subtracted from the heights of all museum punch bowl examples (representing an average footring height) since a frustum does not have a footring. The resulting volume was then translated into a historically relevant system of liquid measure (i.e. the imperial pint)—a calculation which required multiplying the volume of a frustum (in cubic inches) by 0.03.

Tests of the frustum formula on complete punch bowls suggest that capacity is slightly overestimated. This could be attributed to the following reasons. *First*, the frustum is not the exact shape of a punch bowl; it is a close estimation of it. *Second*, it is unknown how potters

[9] This exact formula can be used to estimate milk pan capacity, as the truncated cone shape of a frustum is nearly identical to these straight-sided, flared vessels.

calculated the sizes of the vessels they sold and how exact they were when producing them. Research suggests that eighteenth-century acts for standardizing liquid measures probably did not apply to wheel-thrown, non-tavern, fine wares and that there was variability in bowl capacities (Green 1999). *Third*, there is also the question of how high these bowls were filled. It was presumably not to the top to allow for easier movement of the bowl without spilling its contents, which would allow for differing capacity measures taken for the same bowl. Calculations of volume and capacity, therefore, should be considered as relative estimates and not as exact numbers.

In order to estimate the volume of a punch bowl, rim diameters, footring diameters, and the height are required. Because of the fragmentary nature of archaeologically recovered ceramics, the known measurements will most likely be found in either the rim or footring diameters. Interestingly, there is a consistent ratio of rim to footring diameter of 2.3 to 1. For example, if a rim diameter is 10 inches, the footring can be estimated as 4.35 inches (i.e. 10/2.3 inches). The confidence interval around 2.30 is 0.03. Therefore, if an archaeologist has a tin-glazed rim sherd of 10 inches, the footring can be expected to measure between 4.29 and 4.4 inches 95 percent of the time. This ratio also allows archaeologists to estimate rim diameter by multiplying a footring sherd by 2.3. In addition, with either a known or estimated rim or footring diameter, approximate height can be obtained using regression formulas developed by Miervaldis (2012a). Once these three variables are calculated, they can be entered into the frustum volume formula.

A) Estimating the height if you have the footring diameter measurement:

$$height = 1.0747 * footring\ diameter\ (inches) - 0.5999$$

Based on museum sample footring diameter values ranging from 2.875 inches to 7.625 inches, the estimate of height computed by this regression line could vary by ± 1.744 inches. (Regression equation is highly significant, $p < 0.0001$. The coefficient is significant at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level ($p < 0.0001$). However, the intercept is not. $R^2 = 0.53$.)

B) Estimating the height if you have the rim diameter measurement:

*height = 0.518492*rim diameter (inches) – 1.27252*

Based on museum sample rim diameter values ranging from 6.81101 inches to 21.73224 inches, the estimate of height computed by this regression line could vary by ± 1.5688 inches. (Regression equation is highly significant, $p < 0.0001$. Both the intercept and coefficient are significant at the $\alpha = 0.05$ level ($p < 0.0001$). $R^2 = 0.67$.)

C) Estimating the height if you have both the rim and footring measurements:

*height = 0.7054*rim diameter (inches) – 0.348*footring diameter (inches) – 1.5431*

Based on the data from this study, the estimate of height using both the rim and footring measurements can be expected to vary by ± 1.8097 inches. (Regression equation is highly significant, $p > 0.0001$. $R^2 = 0.72$.)

As mentioned previously, the punch bowl is not catalogued in DAACS as a standard type of vessel form. But, because basic bowl form is recorded, as is the general category "unidentified tableware," we can still apply these formulas to tease out punch bowl capacity to sherds recorded in the DAACS catalogue. Out of the 21 sites catalogued in DAACS, I identified 6 Dutch or English delftware punch bowls from 6 different archaeological sites of enslavement located in the Chesapeake (DAACS 2010). These bowls were identified because they have rim sherds with diameters that measured between 6.81 and 21.73 inches and were catalogued as either bowls or unidentified tableware (Table 7-9). In addition to these vessels from DAACS, the capacities of

the three punch bowls excavated from the South Grove Midden are included in this study (Table 7-9). Using the ratio of 2.3, the footring diameter can also be estimated based on the known rim diameter, and height can then be estimated using the regression formula. Finally, by applying the frustum formula to estimate the volume of the punch bowl, we see that these nine bowls range in capacity from about one-and-a-half pints to one gallon. For the South Grove Midden examples, the first one listed is made of creamware and matches a capacity ordered by George Washington (see Table 7-8). The next two are made of delftware, measuring one quart and one gallon.

Capacity, once elusive to archaeologists, but so important to George Washington and many of his contemporaries, is now attainable from a single rim or base punch bowl sherd. The ability to assign rim sherds to the punch bowl form, and estimate punch bowl capacity based on whole object data, offers a compelling research avenue that archaeologists were previously unable to pursue.

Table 7-9. Estimating punch bowl capacity in the archaeological record.

Site	Rim Dia. (in)	DAACS Form	Punch Bowl EVE	Est. Footring Diameter (in) ±0.03	Est. Height (in) ± 1.57	Est. Vol. (in^3)	Est. Capacity
Rich Neck	7.09	Bowl	1	3.08	2.42	51.62	1.55 pints or about 1 1/2 pints
Palace Lands	9.45	Unid Holloware: Tableware	1	4.11	3.64	138.27	4.15 pints or about 2 quarts
Utopia	11.02	Bowl	1	4.79	4.46	230.16	6.9 pints or about 3 1/2 quarts
House for Families	7.48	Unid Holloware: Tableware	1	3.25	2.62	62.28	1.87 pints or about 1 quart
Fairfield	8.66	Unid Hollowware	1	3.77	3.23	103.03	3.09 pints or about 1 1/2 quarts
Chapline	7.48	Unid: Tableware	1	3.25	2.62	62.28	1.87 pints or about 1 quart
South Grove	12.67	Punch bowl	1	5.51	5.35	365.01	10.95 pints or about 1 1/2 gallons
South Grove	9.06	Punch bowl	1	3.54	3.95	130.94	3.93 pints or 1 quart or half gallon
South Grove	11.78	Punch bowl	1	5.12	4.93	290.61	8.72 pints or about 1 gallon

From these data, we see that for elites the punch ceremony was transformed over the course of the eighteenth century from habit to ritual. Anthropologically speaking, rituals are commonly defined as large public events, special and distinct from everyday life and recognized archaeologically in part through the excavation and interpretation of mysterious, unidentified, or anomalous artifacts and monumental or specialized architecture (Turner 1969; Renfrew 1994; Gazin-Schwarz 2001). More recent definitions of rituals are focused on household level performances and everyday objects imbued with symbolic qualities that aid in fixing collective meaning to patterns and events (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:43; Gazin-Schwarz 2001). "More effective rituals use material things, and the more costly the ritual trappings, the stronger we can assume the intention to fix the meanings to be" (Douglas and Ishwerwood 1979:43). The performance of rituals – public or private, sacred or secular, once a decade or once a week –

results in community definition and cementation, justification of social relations, and creation of social ties (Gazin-Schwarz 2001:273).

It is instructive to explore the ritual properties of punch because of its implications for elite and non-elite consumer behaviors and differential access to consumer goods. For George Washington and his peers, no longer was a single bowl sufficient to meet the social needs of those gentlemen enacting a genteel ideology. They desired a bowl to match each social situation – from small meeting to large gathering – increasingly accompanied by proper tools to formalize the preparation and service of a drink containing some expensive, exotic, and difficult to come by ingredients. Along with specialized, not-widely-available accoutrements and centered around toasts (which, like songs, prayers, and other incantations, are common components of rituals) given by and to a bounded group of individuals, the punch ceremony at its height was enacted in a "proscribed, repetitive, and consistent manner," all hallmarks that individual action achieved ritual function (Gazin-Schwarz 2001:276). Smith (2001:491) argues that, "Punch drinking events, as with tea ceremonies, created the impression of wealth, power, and stability throughout the British colonial world." This impression was desperately sought after by the colonial gentry attempting to form a bridge to the metropolitan elite and their "the fashionable drinking behaviors" as part of constructing a genteel ideology in the face of feelings of inferiority and cultural critique from their British brethren (Yentsch 1990; Smith 2001:488). Consuming a convivial bowl of punch with a closed group of individuals who shared similar social, economic, and political sentiments could succeed in imparting this impression and easing anxiety.

Store account and archaeological data suggest that for the majority of the colonial population (the majority not afflicted by the same anxieties as their wealthier neighbors), a single bowl filled with a sweet rum concoction sufficed as a fashionable option of alcohol-based

hospitality. Despite the fact that Alexander Henderson was aware of the importance of bowl size, non-elites appear to have embraced a more informal and perhaps more habitual enjoyment afforded by an unaccompanied single bowl and, if the required ingredients were hard to come by, the aesthetic pleasure that these statement pieces offered. The confluence of documentary, archaeological, and museum collection-based data now allows for interpretations of the archaeological record previously not available when studying the social world of the Washingtons in the decades surrounding the Revolution. The next step is to apply this capacity estimation formula to other archaeological sites where minimum vessel counts have been performed.

Further capacity research expands these findings beyond the bowl and to other expressions of alcohol-based hospitality. Fragments of mugs are common finds on eighteenth-century archaeological sites in part due to their fragility (especially the thin-bodied Nottingham and white salt-glazed stoneware variety), their rough treatment, their low cost, and their necessary function in a culture where ales and ciders were common beverages of choice. As a consumer good, mugs were available and affordable to large segments of the colonial population; taverns stocked mugs as did domestic dwellings. They served a functional purpose, but also allowed consumers to stay abreast of changing fashions in ceramic wares, particularly with the advent of white salt-glazed stoneware and creamware. Additionally, ownership of multiple mugs of varying capacities allowed genteel planters like George Washington to meet the needs of any social situation. Purchase and use of mugs of different capacities, and other vessels like punch bowls, supports previous research on the elaboration and specialization in dining and foodways over the course of the eighteenth century (Deetz 1977; Carson 1990; Yentsch 1991a).

Mugs were straight sided drinking vessels with single handles measuring taller than they were wide (Beaudry et al. 1988:60). A minimum of 39 mugs were excavated from the South Grove Midden. The majority were slip dipped (n=15) and Nottingham (n=9) stoneware. A minimum of 11 mugs were excavated from the House for Families, primarily in refined earthenware and English brown stoneware. Estimating the volume of a mug is a simpler exercise in geometry than it is for punch bowls by simply applying the volume formula of a cylinder where:

$$Volume = \pi r^2 h$$

Problematically, unlike punch bowls, volume cannot be estimated from a single rim or base sherd. This is because while a rim can be estimated from a base diameter and vice versa (as most were straight-sided), mugs with the same diameter could have contained different liquid measures of drink based on their heights. In other words, vessels with the same radius came in short and tall mugs shapes. Therefore, because of the lack of any complete profiles from the House for Families, capacity estimation is not possible with this dataset.

However, deposits like the South Grove Midden that represent household cleaning events often possess ceramic forms with a high degree of reconstructability. Nine of the mugs from the South Grove had the measurements necessary to solve for volume: rim or base diameter and height. Most of these are made of Nottingham stoneware. After the volume for each was found in cubic inches and converted to a liquid system of measure (by multiplying by 0.03), capacities were estimated. What this small dataset displays is the breadth of sizes used and discarded by the Washington households: gills (half of a half pint), half pints, pints, and quarts (Table 7-10).

George Washington ordered and received approximately 154 ale and beer drinking vessels on multiple occasions between 1757 and 1772 (Table 7-11) (Mount Vernon Archaeology

Department 2012b). The material of these vessels varied and included stoneware (brown and white), Chinese export porcelain, creamware, glass, and tin. Size was usually specified by Washington and his factors, though this was not always the case for the glass vessels. Sizes ranged and included gills, half-pints, pints, quarts, and pottles (2 quarts). Over time, it appears that Washington needed a greater variety of vessel capacities to suit different social situations. Simultaneously, pottery factories increased their range of capacities. For example, his earliest invoice, in 1757, was for pint and quart mugs. By March of 1761, Washington was charged for brown stoneware (possibly Nottingham) mugs ranging in size from half a pint, to pint, to quart. In 1770 and 1771, when Washington received his large order of creamware, those mugs varied in size from half a pint, to pint, to quart, to pottle. On average, Washington purchased a dozen ceramic mugs at a time, though invoiced quantities ranged from 4 in 1766 to 21 in 1771.

Table 7-10. Capacity estimates for mugs from the South Grove Midden.

ObjectID	Ware	Volume (mm^3)	Volume (in^3)	UK Pint	Capacity
2573	Nottingham	197820.00	12.07	0.36	about a gill
2574	Nottingham	197820.00	12.07	0.36	about a gill
2581	Nottingham	376957.00	23.00	0.69	about a half-pint
2594	Nottingham	445978.13	27.21	0.82	about a pint
2592	Nottingham	527755.50	32.20	0.97	about a pint
2572	Slip Dip	643072.00	39.24	1.18	about a pint
2536	Staffordshire Mottled Glaze	678240.00	41.38	1.24	about a pint
2652	Redware	745750.00	45.50	1.37	about a pint
2568	White Salt Glaze	794812.50	48.49	1.45	about a pint and a half
2577	Nottingham	816400.00	49.81	1.49	about a pint and a half
2598	William Roger's Stoneware	973400.00	59.39	1.78	about a quart
2569	White Salt Glaze	1567252.50	95.62	2.87	about a quart

Table 7-11. Ceramic mugs sent to George Washington, pre-1775.

Invoice Year	Invoice Description	Material	Quantity	Cost
1757	Quart Mugs	not recorded	6	0.2.0
1757	point Ditto [Mugs]	not recorded	6	0.1.0
1761	Emborsd China Mugs 3 sizes	porcelain	6	1.10.0
1761	Quart Mugs brown Stone	brown stoneware	4	0.1.8
1761	pints Ditto [brown stone mugs]	brown stoneware	4	0.1.0
1761	1/2 pints Do [brown stone mugs]	brown stoneware	4	0.0.6
1765	blue & white China Qt Mugs	porcelain	2	0.8.0
1765	pts Nankeen Ditto [Mugs]	porcelain	2	0.8.0
1765	Quart Mugs	stoneware	6	0.2.6
1766	fine painted Image Quart Mugs	porcelain	4	2.0.0
1767	Pint stone Mugs	stoneware	3	0.0.7 1/2
1767	Quart Ditto [stone Mugs]	stoneware	6	0.2.6
1767	Pottle Do [stone mugs]	stoneware	3	0.3.0
1770	Pottle Mug	creamware	1	0.1.9
1770	Quart Ditto[mug]	creamware	2	0.1.8
1770	Pints Do[mug]	creamware	4	0.2.0
1770	1/2 pint Mugs	creamware	4	0.1.0
1771	1/2 pint cream Col[ore]d Mugs	creamware	6	0.1.0
1771	Pint Do[mugs]	creamware	6	0.2.0
1771	Quarts [mugs]	creamware	6	0.4.0
1771	2 Quarts [mugs]	creamware	3	0.4.0

Alexander Henderson repeatedly ordered mugs, which he usually called cans, made of a variety of materials, ceramic, metal, and glass, and available in a variety of capacities, half-pints, pints, quarts, and pottles (Table 7-12) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). However, within any given material, he never offered more than three sizes. The order placed in 1764 was a repeat of a 1763 order which was never received. These vessels must have been best sellers, as Henderson ordered 444 (342 of which were ceramic).

However, data from a store ledger in nearby Dumfries, Virginia, for the same period suggests that individuals most frequently purchased just one mug (Hamrick and Hamrick 2007). Between 1758 and 1764, mugs or cans were purchased on 40 different occasions. Seventy percent of the time, customers bought only one mug.

Table 7-12. Mugs stocked by Alexander Henderson.

Year	Quantity	Item	Item Description	Material	Cost (if known)
1759	48	can	2 quart [pottle] Canns, blue & White	earthenware	
1759	48	can	pint Canns, blue & White	earthenware	
1759	48	can	half pint Canns, blue & White	earthenware	
1759	48	can	quart Canns	stoneware	
1759	48	can	pint Canns	stoneware	
1759	48	can	half-pint Canns	stoneware	
1759	12	mug	Japan'd quart Mugs	tin or copper	0.10.0
1759	6	tankard	quart Pewter Tankards	pewter	0.15.0
1759	144	tumbler	Tumblers, sorted	glass	
1760	48	can	blue & white quart Cans	stoneware, possible	1.0.0
1760	3	can	quart Canns enamel'd	Chinese porcelain	
1760	3	can	pint Canns enamel'd	Chinese porcelain	
1761	12	can	Quart Tin Canns	tin	
1761	12	can	pint Tin Canns	tin	
1762	12	can	Pint Tin Canns	tin	0.3.0
1762	12	can	Quart Tin Canns	tin	0.4.6
1764	12	can	Japan'd Quart Canns	tin or copper	0.9.0
1764	24	can	Japan'd Pint Canns	tin or copper	0.6.0

George Washington ordered and reordered mugs from his factors in England. Alexander Henderson stocked and restocked his store with large inventories of mugs. Based on these datasets, the difference appears to have been in the quantities in which individuals purchased these items of beverage consumption. Consumers like Washington and his peers sought to foster hospitality amongst guests in a variety of social gatherings – large and small – that necessitated a stock of multiple vessels of different capacities, preferably of the same ware type. Much like non-elite punch takers, the free whites and enslaved blacks who frequented the local store did not desire to consume ale or beer in such a formal setting. Archaeologists can better study this consumer strategy on archaeological sites through the application of a formula to estimate capacity.

Milk pans are the final group of goods explored in this foodways category and speak to the production side of the foodways process. Though not visible on the landscape today, Mount Vernon once had a dairy located south west of the mansion. This building was demolished ca. 1775 to make room for the new kitchen and expanded mansion (Dalzell and Dalzell 1998:106-107). Records pertaining to the individuals assigned the task of dairying are similarly sparse. Most likely, enslaved women, under the supervision of the female head of the household, shared this plantation craft among the other daily duties to which they were assigned (Yentsch 1991b).

Our primary source of evidence for dairying in the South Grove Midden comes in the form of a ceramic vessel type called a milk pan. Milk pans could have served a variety of kitchen-related tasks, but their shallow, wide (greater than 10 inches in diameter), straight-sided form traditionally promoted the rapid cooling of milk and separation of cream to the surface (Beaudry et al. 1988:65). As consumer goods, milk pans were in high demand on plantations where dairying was part of a self-sufficient and successful plantation.

George Washington's invoices document that he received 244 milk pans during the first half of the 1760s (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). While the invoices and orders continue through 1775, milk pan purchases from England end in 1765. He asked for 72 earthen milk pans in 1760, 6 large and 6 small tin milk pans and 144 "midlg size & not Deep" earthen milk pans in 1762, and 96 "Welch" milk pans in 1765.

Vessel size, then, was a consideration for milk pans, at least to George Washington and his British factors. However, unlike mug or punch bowl capacity, these sizes were on a relative scale with no mention of exactly how much milk a pan was intended to hold. The frustrum shape and volume formula applied to punch bowls can also be used for milk pans. The only modification is that internal rim diameter was used for those pans where the rim was flared (Buckley type, for example). Of the minimum 381 ceramic vessels from the midden, 22 are milk pans, made from a variety of ware types including: Buckley; William Roger's earthenware; Colonoware; North Devon Gravel-tempered; Post-medieval London-area Redware; North Midlands/Staffordshire Slipware; Staffordshire Manganese Mottled Glaze; and Redware. Eight of these had reliable rim measurements. It seems likely that planters like George Washington, who were committed to a successful and self-sufficient dairying enterprise, would have made an investment not only in high quantities of milk pans, but also ones of different capacity. Milk pans excavated from the midden cluster around two sizes – large (14 pints or nearly 2 gallons) and small (less than 10 pints or around 1 gallon). The one measureable milk pan from the House for Families (out of a minimum of four) has an estimated capacity of about 14 pints (Pogue and White 1991; DAACS 2013b). Therefore, Mount Vernon's dairy used two distinct sizes of milk pans for cooling milk – large and small.

Accounts from Alexander Henderson's store in Colchester, Virginia illustrate milk pans were regularly stocked and that size may have been a concern for his customers as well (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Henderson reordered milk pans each year with the exception of the last for which there is documentation, 1765, although the 1763 order may not have ever arrived. Tin milk pans seem to have been the most regularly reordered and possibly came in two different sizes (also seen in Washington's invoice of 1763) as reflected in the double listing for tin milk pans at two different prices. Henderson also offered milk pans of coarse brown ware and white stoneware, with the latter being the only of a specified capacity: two gallons. This size fits the larger category of milk pans excavated from the South Grove and the House for Families.

If size was a desired option to retail and consignment shoppers, it appears that quantity may have been the overriding factor that motivated large-scale planters to purchase these utilitarian items from England. Though we do not know the quantity of milk pans ordered in 1759, using the price information, we can estimate that it was about 76. Interestingly, Henderson stocked at least 250 milk pans in his store over this 5 year period. George Washington was invoiced for only a few less during an overlapping 4 year period. In other words, it took as many milk pans to stock a diversified plantation as it did a local store. George Washington's targeted and relatively large orders for milk pans in the early 1760s represents a particular consumer strategy for this diversifying, large-scale plantation operation, one that can be best described as conspicuous production as opposed to conspicuous consumption (Bell 2000). Acts of conspicuous production, or material investments in plantation self-sufficiency and diversification towards economic success for current and future generations, have been interpreted as just as telling as acquisition of luxury items (Bell 2000). Alexander Henderson simply did not stock the

quantities of milk pans necessary to carry out significant dairying operations like that undertaken by Washington. Henderson met the needs of his clientele who invested less significantly in dairying activities or who may have also used the convenient and sturdy pans as wash basins and for food preparation and cooking (Beaudry et al. 1988:65).

Milk pans, and a few other vessel forms, open a window into the presence of informal and local avenues of access to goods found in plantation households. Both the South Grove Midden and the House for Families have Colonoware vessel assemblages with the former comprising 4.3 percent and the latter 5.7 percent of the total ceramic vessel assemblage. Both assemblages are dominated by bowl forms, used in food preparation and consumption. The South Grove assemblage also has milk pans suggesting that dairying, food preparation, and consumption activities occurring near the mansion incorporated imported and locally made equipment. No evidence has been found to date that enslaved individuals made Colonoware at Mount Vernon, but a growing body of data supports the use of this locally manufactured ware type in the northern Virginia region (Shott 1978; Heath 1996; Higgins et al. 1997; Veech 1997; Mouer et al. 1999; Crowl 2006; Heath and Breen 2009). Colonowares could have made their way around the Upper Potomac region through informal modes of exchange by peddlers, for example. The presence of two milk pans (in addition to two mugs) made by the Yorktown, Virginia potter William Rogers (in production from 1725 to 1745) provides additional evidence for local access to goods, despite the fact that Rogers' kiln was in violation of British laws against colonial industries (Barka 2004).

Adornment and Accessories. Consumer goods that fall into the categories of clothing, personal adornment, and accessories offered individuals a readily available, affordable, portable, and appealing means through which to communicate and define their identity and express

important characteristics (Carson 1994; Heath 1999b; White 2005; Galle 2010). Individuals from all socio-economic levels consumed items of adornment and accessories that dialectically reinforced and destabilized the colonial social order. This section tackles the evidence of consumption of buttons, buckles, watches, fans, metallic threads, and beads.

In the eighteenth century, buttons and buckles were sold separately and therefore could be considered accessories to and opportunities for self-expression on elite and non-elite clothing. They offer evidence of bulk consumer purchases relating to the outfitting (literally) of a diverse and self-sufficient plantation on the part of elites. Additionally, by looking beyond count and function to the aesthetic variety present on button assemblages, we glimpse consumer motivations on the part of non-elites. In general, eighteenth-century buttons were most often associated with men's clothing, appearing on outerwear such as coats and cloaks, but also on waistcoats, breeches, stocks (neckcloths), sleeves, collars, and handkerchiefs. Women's clothes were fastened using laces, hooks and eyes, buckles, and straight pins (Hinks 1988; White 2005), but they did use linked buttons to close shirt sleeves and collars (Cofield 2012).

The evidence for George Washington's personal orders for buttons as well as the ones that he intended as provisions come from the data in the consistent order and invoice documentation dating from 1754 through 1773 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). He was invoiced for buttons on 22 occasions, and placed orders for three additional shipments, though the invoices do not survive. Over this nearly 20-year period, Washington received shipments of no less than 8023 buttons in quantities ranging from a single pair to 6 double gross (or 1,728). Some of these buttons were clearly intended for Washington himself, such as the breast and silk coat buttons for a fine blue suit (complete with coat, waistcoat, and breeches) for "a Tall Man" sent in 1759 (Abbot 1988[5]:111). Others like the 42 breast (or vest) and coat

buttons sent in 1765 were specifically for house slaves' livery suits. On average, Washington ordered buttons in quantities of 174. This includes the massive order for buttons placed in 1773 of 1,728 buttons. This order is twice the second highest order for buttons at 864. If we remove this outlier and recalculate the average, it appears that Washington on average ordered buttons by the gross, more in line with the mode for the dataset: 144. The median is 72.

Using these descriptive statistics as a guide, we can break the dataset down into below average, average, and above average invoice entries and then overlie the order and invoice descriptions. Below average orders of buttons from 1 pair to 72 appear most often associated with suits of clothes intended for Washington or for liveried slaves. In fact, this range is probably more accurately represented from 1 pair to 54. (Washington's order for 1 gross of shirt buttons in 1758 was broken down into two invoiced items (72 buttons each), one slightly more expensive than the other, but representing a total order of a gross of shirt buttons.) These orders were almost always for coat or vest buttons; only once were sleeve buttons specified. The one pair of buttons that Washington ordered he most certainly intended for himself. Just after his order for a "best" hunting whip to be engraved with his name, Washington asked for a pair of fashionable gold enameled buttons (Abbot and Twohig 1994[9]:67). When the bill came due in the fall of 1772, Washington owed £2.6.0 for the gold plated buttons, a huge sum compared to his other button charges.

The mode and average of 144 is reflective of the fact that on a near-annual basis, Washington placed button orders, coat, vest, and shirt, of a gross. Buttons sent in quantities of 144 and above fall into three categories: metal (sometimes plated); wire; and horn. When isolating the above average orders, they were for coat and vest buttons when specified. What these descriptive statistics and the button descriptions suggest is that Washington was purchasing

buttons in quantities large enough to outfit slaves' provisioned items of clothing being made at Mount Vernon.

Buttons were popular items at the Colchester store as well. Contained in the store ledgers from 1759 to 1766 is evidence for the purchase of over 11,087 buttons (Reber 2003:122). We cannot calculate the total number of buttons stocked in the store because they were sometimes ordered by bag instead of by count, but total inventory was well over 21,000 buttons. Despite this massive button inventory, some of George Washington's orders for buttons were on par with individually stocked button types in Henderson's store, speaking to the sheer volume of buttons necessary to clothe a large plantation. In some years, Washington's large scale orders for buttons destined for the work shirts worn by the enslaved community would have completely consumed Henderson's supply of certain button types.

Interestingly, it appears that Henderson initially underestimated the demands of his button consumers, stocking 19 varieties in 1759 and increasing that to 29 in 1760 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). His clientele clearly wanted more options for buttons and the opportunity for self-expression that they embodied. Within the orders, button descriptions were sent to suit every fabric option (including broad cloth, druggist, duroy, drab, serge), item of apparel (including vests, shirts, jackets, coats, sleeves), taste (wire, glass, pearl, textile, metal both plated and unplated), and price. In fact, the local store seems to have offered a much broader world of buttons than that needed by George Washington, who at most was invoiced for 7 different types in a given year, compared to the 29 available locally. Therefore, one need not be a consignment consumer to have access to the world of button options.

Within the archaeological assemblages of the South Grove and the House for Families, we can assume a mix of provisioned and purchased buttons, but how might we distinguish

between the buttons that Washington provided to be sewn upon the slaves' clothing and the choices that they may have expressed at the local store? An assemblage of 26 buttons dating to the eighteenth century was excavated from the South Grove. Three functional button types are identifiable (based on size ranges published in Hinks 1988:91, table 5 and White 2005:55-56): large buttons for outerwear like coats and waistcoats, also called vests, (n=8); small linked buttons used primarily for sleeves (n=7); and small shirt buttons (n=7). The House for Families yielded a larger assemblage of 38 identifiable buttons with a similar function breakdown: outerwear (n=23); sleeve (n=7); and shirt (8) (DAACS 2013b).

By focusing in on one button type, we can explore the variability between sites and potentially illuminate consumer behavior on the part of non-elites. The fancy pair of gold plated buttons was George Washington's only recorded purchase of linked buttons. We can hypothesize that because Washington was not documented as provisioning sleeve buttons to the slaves, that those found archaeologically may have come through local retail outlets or were part of undocumented orders placed by Lawrence Washington (particularly in the case of the midden). Sleeve buttons are "among the most personal of personal adornment artifacts" because of the varieties available to consumers and because they offered an interchangeability that sew-on buttons did not (Cofield 2012:100). Today, cufflinks are associated with male displays of wealth and status, such as with Washington's gold pair. However, historical and archaeological evidence suggests that this was not always the case in the eighteenth century when cheap versions were widely available and the buttons themselves were used to fasten the collars and sleeves of shirts worn by free and enslaved men and women (Cofield 2012). The store inventories are frustratingly lacking in detail with the types of sleeve links sold beyond descriptions of black/mourning and assorted varieties (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department

2012c). In the sleeve button assemblage present from the South Grove, the predominant type is the round faceted clear and blue paste jewel set in a copper alloy housing (n=4) (similar to Figure 7-8; top center and top center-right). This type is present within the House for Families assemblage as well (n=3), but an additional three intaglio glass disks exhibit an aesthetic variability that may have been chosen for the personal clothing of slaves (Figure 7-8). One is molded to resemble a shell while another bears what appears to be a branch of coral. The final disk is intricately molded with a house, tree, and fence. A stamped copper alloy pair is also present. A stamped copper alloy pair is also present.

Figure 7-8. An assortment of linked buttons from the House for Families. (Photo by Karen Price, 2013; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

Within the category of outerwear buttons, there appears to be a similar degree of aesthetic variability not present on in the South Grove Midden assemblage. One is a gold-plated waistcoat button stamped with a basket weave motif. A silver plated coat button is stamped with a foliate and lattice work motif, while another has an intricately woven copper alloy wire face. The one decorated outerwear button from the South Grove is engraved with an eight-point start. This aesthetic variability may suggest consumer choices on the part of the enslaved on personal clothing, though the case is less clear than for sleeve buttons as George Washington did provision gilt, silver plated, and wire coat buttons.

Buckles too were sold separately and therefore offered a way to enhance appearance and express status and individuality. George Washington displayed both wealth and gentility when he wore a matching pair of decorated and "exceedingly handsome" shoe and knee buckles that he ordered from England in 1766 (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:449). Buckles were popular items at local stores as well, frequented by less wealthy planters, tradesmen, and slaves. Even among the more modest assortment of buckles offered at stores, one could choose among materials and quality. Field slaves were provisioned the most basic items of clothing, including shoes without buckles, leaving little room for personal expression except with what items of personal adornment they were able to procure on their own (Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington 2012). Male slaves assigned to duties in the mansion received suits of livery, which included knee and shoe buckles (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

The assemblage of South Grove buckles consists of 18 buckles and buckle fragments, 14 of which could be from eighteenth-century clothing. The assemblage of clothing buckles is dominated by eight shoe buckles, with five of an unidentified, clothing-related purpose (Table 7-13). The remaining identifiable buckle is associated with women's clothing. This decorative

buckle would have secured a belt of ribbon, known as a girdle, around a woman's waist, serving as a fashion accessory. This breakdown is not unexpected as shoe buckles are the most commonly recovered buckle type within an archaeological context (White 2005:39). One shoe buckle (2534) is possibly for a woman's shoe (Fales 1995:55). Members of the Washington household and the enslaved individuals assigned to duties near the mansion wore these buckles.

George Washington was charged for buckles in six different invoices for pairs and sets, which included matching shoe and knee buckles (Table 7-14) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Most of the buckles were likely used to fasten his shoes and breeches. One order, however, can specifically be linked to the provisioning of buckles for enslaved, male house servants. In 1759, Washington ordered a dozen sets of coarse shoe and knee buckles in addition to hats, hose, and fabric appropriate for slave clothing. The 1768 invoice for "strong Pinchbeck buckles" could also have been intended for liveried house servants, though the context of the order does not provide additional support for this contention. The term Pinchbeck referred to an alloy of copper and zinc used to make inexpensive clocks and jewelry and came to be associated with anything of deceptive appearance or little value (Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:136, footnote 6).

Buckles must have been popular items at Alexander Henderson's store – he stocked a total of 612 pairs and had to replenish his inventory on 3 occasions within a span of 6 years (Table 7-15) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Interestingly, Henderson only stocked one type of buckle – shoe – although he offered an extensive selection within this one type (black mourning, copper, steel, white metal, fine, strong, strong copper, strong steel, and women's). The repeated orders for "strong" shoe buckles suggest that they were meant for fastening utilitarian work shoes. The description of a dozen "fine" shoe buckles hints that some buckles served as fashion accessories on dress, as opposed to work, shoes.

Table 7-13. Buckles from the South Grove Midden.

ID	Type	Material	Decoration
2706	Clothing, unidentified	Copper Alloy	Decorative rococo style scrollwork.
2713	Clothing, unidentified	Pewter	Decorative rococo-style scrollwork.
2763	Clothing, unidentified	Copper Alloy	Undecorated.
1025-929N-FLT-1/4--00005	Clothing, unidentified	Copper Alloy	Undecorated.
1025-328H-FLT-1/4--00035	Clothing, unidentified	Iron	Undecorated.
2757	Girdle	Iron	Ornate, high style buckle, probably plated; botanical motif appears to have pears and round fruit, possibly apples.
2534	Shoe	Pewter	Geometric design.
2756	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Ornamental grooves with possible heart shaped motifs on either end of the frame.
2758	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Undecorated.
2759	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Ornamental grooves and linear design.
2760	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Geometric and linear decoration.
2761	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Molded scrollwork and foliate decoration. Scalloped edges.
2762	Shoe	Iron	Undecorated.
1025-328H-FLT-1/4--00034	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Ornamental grooves.

Table 7-14. Buckles from George Washington's invoices and orders.

Invoice Date	Invoice Description	Order Description	Quantity	Cost
3/15/1760	Setts mettal Buckles	1 dozn pr course Shoe & knee buckles	12 sets	0.10.0
2/13/1764	Oval Stone knee Buckles	1 pr midling large Ovalstone knee Buckles	1 pair	1.0.0
2/13/1764	large steel knee buckles	1 pr Knee buckles proper for Do[buckskin breeches]	1 pair	0.1.0
12/20/1765	diamd Cut Steel Buckles	2 pr Strong steel shoe & knee buckles	2 sets	0.3.4
11/17/1766	strong Diamd cut steel Buckles	2 Setts strong Steel Shoe & knee Buckles	2 sets	0.3.0
11/17/1766	A pair of Silver knee Buckles	a pair of plain Oval Silver knee buckles	1 pair	0.7.0
11/17/1766	A Sett of Filligree Metal gilt Buckles in a case	1 Sett of exceedg handsome (yellow) Philigree Shoe & knee buckles not to cost ab[ov]e 15 or 20/	1 sett	0.17.0
9/28/1768	[s]tro[n]g Pinchbeck buck.	3 Setts strong Shoe & knee Buckles	3 setts	0.7.6
12/3/1771	best mettle Sho. B[uckles]	1 pr Men's fashe Shoe Buckles not to excd 21/	1 pair	0.10.6

Table 7-15. Buckles ordered for Alexander Henderson's store.

Year	Quantity	Inventory Description	Cost
1759	12 pair	Black mourning Shoe Buckles	0.6.0
1759	36 pair	Copper Shoe Buckles	0.9.0
1759	36 pair	Steel Shoe Buckles	0.12.0
1760	12 pair	white mettal Shoe Buckles	0.10.0
1760	12 pair	fine Shoe Buckles	0.10.0
1760	24 pair	Copper Shoe Buckles	0.5.0
1760	24 pair	Copper Shoe Buckles	0.6.4
1760	24 pair	Copper Shoe Buckles	0.9.0
1760	24 pair	Steel Shoe Buckles	0.9.0
1760	24 pair	white mettal Shoe Buckles	0.13.0
1760	36 pair	Strong Shoe Buckles	0.12.0
1760	36 pair	Strong Shoe Buckles	0.15.0
1764	24 pair	Strong Copper Shoe Buckles	0.5.0
1764	24 pair	Strong Steele Shoe Buckles	0.8.0
1764	24 pair	Strong Steele Shoe Buckles	0.5.0
1764	24 pair	Women's [Shoe] Buckles	0.5.0
1764	24 pair	Strong Steele Shoe Buckles	0.6.0
1765	24 pair	Strong Shoe Buckles	0.6.0
1765	24 pair	Strong shoe Buckles	0.6.0
1765	36 pair	Strong Shoe Buckles	0.13.6
1765	36 pair	Strong shoe Buckles	0.13.6
1765	36 pair	Strong Shoe Buckles	0.9.0
1765	36 pair	Strong shoe Buckles	0.9.0

The House for Families cellar contained 11 identifiable, clothing-related buckles (DAACS 2013b) (Table 7-16). Many bear rococo-style decorative attributes, similar to those recovered at the South Grove, representing the predominance of that fashion trend in the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century (White 2005:40-41). Most of the buckles fastened shoes, with the exception of a small, complete iron buckle that was most likely used to secure breeches, possibly provisioned by George Washington for one of his liveried male slaves. An additional two buckles stand out in the assemblage in terms of their method of manufacture and possible function. Their frames are rectangular with the pin cast as part of the frame. The frames are about the same length, around 63mm, which is about the size of a common shoe buckle in the 1760s (White 2005:41) (Figure 7-9). Both exhibit flat profiles, as opposed to a profile curved to accommodate the top of a foot usually but not always a feature of shoe buckles (White 2005:40). The research on these buckles' function of is slim. DAACS catalogued them as harness buckles presumably because of the cast pin and flat profile, despite the fact that they are rarely decorated (Grillo et al. 2003:5). Whitehead (2003:61, 71) groups buckles of this type (including one identical to 1007-47K-FLT--00053 (Whitehead 2003:65, no.402) into a category of "spectacle," decorative buckles used to secure leather straps, as opposed to knee and shoe buckles. One end of a leather strap could have been sewn onto the cast pin. In fact, a buckle identical to 1007-40BB-WTS--00082 was excavated from the eighteenth-century site of Wetherburn's Tavern in Williamsburg, Virginia and identified as a belt buckle (Noël Hume 1971:figure 2, number 9), though period illustrations of similar buckles used on belts have not been found (Carolyn White 2013, pers. comm.). Noël Hume (1969:85, figure 20, numbers 1, 2, 4) also identifies these types of buckles as associated with belts. While the shoe buckle assemblage most likely represents a combination of provisioned and purchased or otherwise procured buckles, these two possible

strap buckles may offer evidence of consumer choice and expression of style on otherwise standard issue clothing.

Buttons and buckles offer evidence of a variety of consumer motivations on the part of individuals living in colonial Virginia. Elite planters bought buttons and buckles as accessories both for their own suits of clothes and for liveried slaves. Additionally, George Washington had buttons sewn onto the clothes provisioned to the enslaved community. Within the documentary record of George Washington's invoices and orders, these motivations are best distinguished by the factors of quantity, price, and quality. However, both the store schemes of goods and the archaeological record of acts of consumerism suggest that even within a fairly limited sample, enslaved individuals sought out buttons and buckles for their intrinsic appeal and opportunity to individualize a provisioned wardrobe. Clothing and accessories also appear high on the list of what enslaved individuals purchased when store accounts are examined (Heath 1999).

Table 7-16. Identifiable clothing buckles from the House for Families slave quarter.

ID	Type	Material	Decoration
1007-40E-WTS--00092	Knee	Iron	Indeterminate.
1007-40FF-WTS--00022	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Linear decoration.
1007-40E-WTS--00089	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Decorative rococo-style open scrollwork.
1007-40EE-WTS--00013	Shoe	Iron	Undecorated.
1007-47DELTA-WTS--00218	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Decorative rococo-style scrollwork.
1007-40E-WTS--00112	Shoe	Iron	Undecorated.
1007-40FF-WTS--00023	Shoe	Iron	Undecorated.
1007-40FF-WTS--00196; 1007-47AA-FLT--00113; 1007-47X-FLT--00049	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Decorative rococo-style scrollwork.
1007-47AA-FLT--00116	Shoe	Copper Alloy	Decorative rococo-style open scrollwork.
1007-40BB-WTS--00082	Shoe or Strap?	Copper Alloy	Rococo-style shell and diamond motif.
1007-47K-FLT--00053	Shoe or Strap?	Copper Alloy	Rococo-style shell motif.

Figure 7-9. Buckles from the House for Families (left, 1007-40BB-WTS--00082; right, 1007-47K-FLT--00053). (Photo by Karen Price, 2013; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

Moving from adornment to accessories, while a variety of fans were available to George Washington and to local consumers, the exact types are not discernible from the documentary records. Washington purchased at least 10 fans, most likely for Martha, between 1760 and 1773 including two fashionable fans made of ivory, two cheap fashionable fans, one handsome fan (the most costly), one neat fan, three India fans, and a fan appropriate for mourning. They ranged in price from cheap (about a shilling) to expensive (over £3) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Alexander Henderson also offered mourning fans in addition to regular and fashionable fans in 1759 (for a total of 60). Fans do not seem to have been in high demand among Henderson's clientele as he only restocked them once, in 1763, when he ordered 36 more (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Henderson's selection of three fans never cost him more than a shilling each and even if they were marked up for sale, would have fallen into the cheaper category of fans purchased by Washington.

Archaeologists recovered 29 hand-carved, bone folding fan fragments (minimum n=1) from the midden feature. Of the total, 24 exhibit decorative, symmetrically carved edges (Figure 7-8). The sturdier outer blades, called guards, also appear to have been carved on the face of with a herringbone pattern. The rest are undecorated. Though archaeologists excavated individual blades of fans made of bone from the midden, the more treasured and perhaps more expensive fans had their lives extended through repair. Martha Washington's fans were mended and fixed on four different occasions in the 1760s and early 1770s (Abbot 1988[6]:406; Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:478; Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:454; Abbot and Twohig 1994[9]:20). This practice was common because some fans were expensive, personal, yet fragile items (White 2005:124). In Mount Vernon's museum collections, five fans are attributed to Martha Washington (Cadou

2006:258). This act of maintaining and curating fans may explain why archaeologists tend to most often find the cheapest fan parts for everyday use.

Fans functioned as props of gentility and fashion accessories and they also offered women a way to communicate without even speaking (Armstrong 1974; Deagan 2002; White 2005). A quick flick of the fan might impart her agitation; while a slow fluttering of the fan suggested flirtation. Books were published to aid women in learning the language of the fan and her ability to master this language spoke to her fine manners and pedigree (Armstrong 1974). In fact, the main female prop featured in a popular eighteenth-century book of manners, or courtesy books as they were called, was the fan (Nivelon 1737). This type of prescriptive literature offered a guide to genteel behavior and appropriate comportment in social situations. The illustrated book describes and shows how a woman should curtsy, give or receive an object, and even properly walk, all while hold a fan.

Non-elites including enslaved individuals too acquired and used fans, but for what specific purpose, we can only begin to speculate. Comparable documentary sources detailing the function of fans in non-elite households do not exist, but analyses of fan fragments from other archaeological sites allows for better understandings of their prevalence and popularity from a variety of contexts over time. In the study of a non-elite widow's (Elizabeth Pratt) houselot in colonial Newport, Rhode Island, Hodge (2010:231) found evidence of a folding fan that she interprets as the appropriation of "feminine qualities once the territory of leisured upper-status women." Hodge (2010:230-231) suggests that the fan acted as a prop of empowerment for this nontraditional female head of a middling household and business woman.

Was this the motivation behind slave consumption of fans, as well? Fans found at sites associated with slaves suggest that they were uncommon but not unknown; out of 48 sites

queried, 5 had evidence of fans (DAACS 2012a). Two buildings along Monticello's Mulberry Row (slave quarters and outbuildings located near Thomas Jefferson's mansion) had one fan fragment each. One was from Building m, interpreted as a smokehouse/dairy (Smith and Massey 2011); however, it was discovered in topsoil and therefore its direct relationship to the late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century activities that occurred at the site is questionable. The second fragment was excavated from a ca. 1790-1826 context at Building l, a multi-purpose structure that served as the site of nail production and possibly a residence for enslaved teenage boys (Galle 2006:136-137; Galle 2010:34). Richneck Quarter (68AP) outside Williamsburg had four fan blade fragments excavated from the fill of a cellar dating to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The large cellar may have actually housed an overseer or driver and the fill, therefore, could have originated from either enslaved or free households (Galle 2006:124-125). The outlier is Palace Lands, a slave quarter located approximately a mile from the center of the city of Williamsburg and near the owner's residence, which yielded 18 fan blade fragments (Galle 2006:128-129). The fragments were excavated from the fill of a sub-floor pit located underneath a structure believed to have been occupied by a kin-group including a mother and her children (Franklin 2007).

Mount Vernon's House for Families slave quarter also had a fan blade fragment whose possible post-manufacture modification, in the form of a carved decoration on the face of the blade, suggests that it may have been used differently than those excavated from the nearby midden site (Figure 7-10). This particular fan blade was a guard, more thickly made to provide structure and protection for an otherwise fragile item, decorated on the face with a geometric motif comprised of notches, parallel lines, and cross-hatching dissimilar to the rococo-inspired carved fragments found at the South Grove and other sites (White 2005:123, 127). While cross-

hatching is a familiar decorative attribute seen on bone-handled utensils, the motif bears a slight resemblance to a carved bone artifact excavated from a slave quarter structure (Structure 1) on the Utopia II complex in James City County, Virginia (Samford 2007:168, figure 8.6). Clearly, more systematic research is needed on archaeologically-recovered fan parts and in museum collections to definitively make the argument that the decoration on the House for Families blade was made by an enslaved individual residing in that dwelling, but the possibility is intriguing.

Figure 7-10. Carved bone fan blades excavated from the South Grove Midden (left) and the House for Families (right). (Photo by Karen Price, 2012; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

For elite women, fans as social props were central to communicating the unspoken language of gentility. Given the relatively small supply of fans stocked by Alexander Henderson and their infrequent recovery on sites associated with enslaved individuals, we can speculate that they were not an integral part of the material retinue of African-American life. However, their excavation from non-elite households including sites associated with enslaved communities suggests that fans did play a role in everyday life in ways that may have depended on the site-specific context (Heath 1999b). The excavation of multiple fan fragments from the Palace Lands quarter may indicate that the female head of household appropriated this item of material culture that she had seen in use by elite women in the environs of urban Williamsburg, just as the widow Pratt had in colonial Newport. The single fragments excavated from Building l and the House for Families may indicate that these fans were valued for their parts and not their original, intended use.

Another even rarer find on archaeological sites are watches and their accessories including chains, fobs, keys, and seals. "The watch was the most valuable and most prominent item, but the other trinkets were an important part of the watch ensemble" (White 2005:131). Only three watch related artifacts are indentified in DAACS, two of which are from the House for Families site (DAACS 2013d). The other watch part, what appears to be a partial key, was excavated from Building o on Monticello's Mulberry Row, a dwelling for enslaved individuals in the last quarter of the eighteenth century (Hill 2003). Discovery of the artifact in topsoil, however, raises some issues in associating the key with its original owner. The two watch-related artifacts from the House for Families were excavated from Phase 1 of the cellar. Both are seals, one of which still houses the original glass intaglio bearing the profile of a classical figure. Seal iconography varied from highly individualized (coats of arms and initials) to generic (anchors or

sentimental sayings) (White 2004:60-61, figure 20-21, 2005:133; Paresi 2013). The copper alloy bezel is all that remains of the second example.

Though no watch parts or related accessories were excavated from the midden, the Washingtons appreciated the communicative properties of watches. The final entry in Lawrence Washington's probate inventory is for one silver watch, valued at no less than six pounds (Washington 1753). Like his older brother, George Washington made investments in this artifact of adornment as early as 1758 when he ordered crystals for a watch for which he was charged six shillings (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). A few years later, in 1764, he paid about half a pound for his watch to be fixed and for a watch key. He paid to have his watch chain fixed in 1771, in addition to another order for keys. There is additional evidence for watch repair, performed locally, in the plantation ledger (Washington 1750-1774) suggesting that watches were treated much like folding fans, extending the lives of these personal objects through repair as opposed to replacement. At this time, Washington also paid to have a seal made of stone reset in a gold bezel and purchases a new seal, both engraved with the Washington crest. A year later, Washington ordered a gold seal fit for a woman's watch (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b).

Watches and accessories, much like folding fans, are considered clear signals of status, luxury, display, education, and distinction (Carr and Walsh 1994:69; Fales 1995; White 2005:130-133) or, in the case of the House for Families, possibly an appropriation of the values embodied in this small artifact. How one or more of the slaves living at Mount Vernon came to acquire this item is unknown. Alexander Henderson's store did not stock watches, their parts, or accessories, perhaps instead relying on a local watchmaker to meet this (minimal) consumer demand. The appropriation of this element of genteel material culture emphasizes the fact that

despite elite attempts to reinforce their claim to cultural legitimacy through barriers of access to consumer goods, enslaved individuals living in the quarter nearest to the mansion sought some material equity through acts of consumption.

The next category of adornment artifacts once decorated the shoes and clothes of elite consumers. The presence of metallic threads offers evidence that elite consumers had open access to certain goods that would have been less available to retail shoppers. Though archaeologists rarely deal in textiles, a growing body of archaeological evidence from seventeenth and eighteenth-century sites in Maryland, Virginia, Florida, and Newfoundland suggests that spun threads wrapped in flattened strips of metallic wire survive (Tuck et al. 1999:153; Deagan 2002:177; White 2005:127; Cofield 2011; DAACS 2013e). The embellishment of articles of men's and women's clothing and apparel with metallic threads was just one of a number of embroidery techniques that transformed everyday garments into luxury items for elite consumers (Marsh 2006). Archaeologists recovered gold and silver metallic threads in 18 contexts from the South Grove Midden, while none were found in the House for Families. Within George Washington's invoices and orders for goods (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b) and his correspondence with his English tailor (Abbot and Twohig 1993[8]:501; Abbot and Twohig 1994[9]:62-63), we see evidence for orders of raw metallic textiles and gold and silver embroidered waistcoats and petticoats. Martha Washington herself wore a silver trimmed petticoat and shoes to her wedding in 1759 (Cadou 2006:234). Alexander Henderson did not supply metallic textiles or metallic threads in his shop (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c) leaving local consumers to seek out tailors in larger towns like Williamsburg to complete these fashionable garments if desired and/or financially

feasible. As with matched table settings, exclusive access to some goods may have motivated elite participation in the consignment system.

The complexities involved in understanding the avenues of access to another artifact category, beads, arise from a lack of documentary evidence, at least in this upper Potomac region, and the lack of survivals of period beadwork on anything but the most high style of items. Fundamental questions remain specifically about beads from the South Grove and more generally about beads in colonial Virginia: who used them; how were they used; and how were they obtained. From documentary evidence and museum collections, we know beads were used on high-style elite clothing, pockets, purses, shoes, and items such as fork and knife handles (Victoria and Albert Museum 2012). Additionally, beads were worn by non-elites, particularly enslaved men and women, as jewelry (encircling necks or waists, dangling from ears), hair ornamentation, and possibly as embroidery on clothing (Heath 1999b). This addresses the first two questions – everyone (men, women, elite, and enslaved) used beads in many different ways. In a mixed elite and enslaved context like the South Grove Midden, the beads could have been associated with either group, complicating our ability to get from a single bead to the original object it once adorned. However, archaeological evidence has shown distinct preferences for beads, and presumably the items to which they were once affixed, existed, even between households on the same plantation (Heath 1999b). These findings highlight the need for comparative bead research on sites with similar excavation methods, artifact recovery techniques, and cataloguing protocols.

This brings us to the third question, what was the primary method of obtaining beads in the eighteenth century? Like most other items of material culture in the colonies, glass beads were imported from England. Unfortunately, George Washington's invoices and orders and

Alexander Henderson's schemes of goods are silent on the matter (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b, 2012c). Neither Washington nor Henderson ordered beads by the bagful. In fact, this research has not identified a single store in Virginia that stocked beads in the eighteenth century, though this is an area for additional research. Based on objects in museum collections, we can speculate that some of the formal articles of clothing and jewelry ordered by Washington came decorated with beads of the smallest variety (White 2005; Cadou 2006). This cannot account for all the beads in the midden, especially the long, tubular type associated with necklaces. Does the presence of some beads on archaeological sites, then, represent an undocumented avenue of access to goods through an informal economy, as with Colonoware? If so, how might we tease out access to and choice and function of beads in the archaeological record?

Generations of archaeologists have grappled with the conundrum of bead typology (summarized in Karklins 1985 and White 2005). Based on the previous artifact category case studies presented in this dissertation wherein size has proven to be both a historically significant factor in consumerism and one that is identifiable archaeologically, I approached the archaeological assemblages with the assumption that bead size is loosely correlated with bead function (Stone 1974; Heath 1999b; White 2005). Additionally, since most of the beads from both sites are undecorated, bead color offered an additional option for aesthetic expression.

Seed or small beads (below 6 mm) are most commonly associated with embroidered clothing or other objects while larger, tubular beads (above 6mm) are associated with neck, waist, or wrist strands (Karklins 1985; Heath 1999b; White 2005). Of the 224 measureable beads from the South Grove, 139 (62%) are below 6mm and 85 (38%) are 6mm and above (Figure 7-

11). The histogram suggests that there are at least two clusters with means around 1.5 and 10mm, with the smaller cluster exhibiting a tighter range.

The House for Families assemblage is smaller with 51 measurable beads that breakdown more distinctly into two clusters with means similar to the South Grove. Of the total, most (n=48 or 94%) tightly cluster around a mean between 1.5 to 2mm in length with only 3 beads (6%) tightly clustering around 10mm (Figure 7-12). In addition to the lower percentage of strung beads, a more limited color palette is represented by the House for Families assemblage with a predominance of green beads as opposed to the clear and red more frequently discarded in the South Grove (Table 7-17).

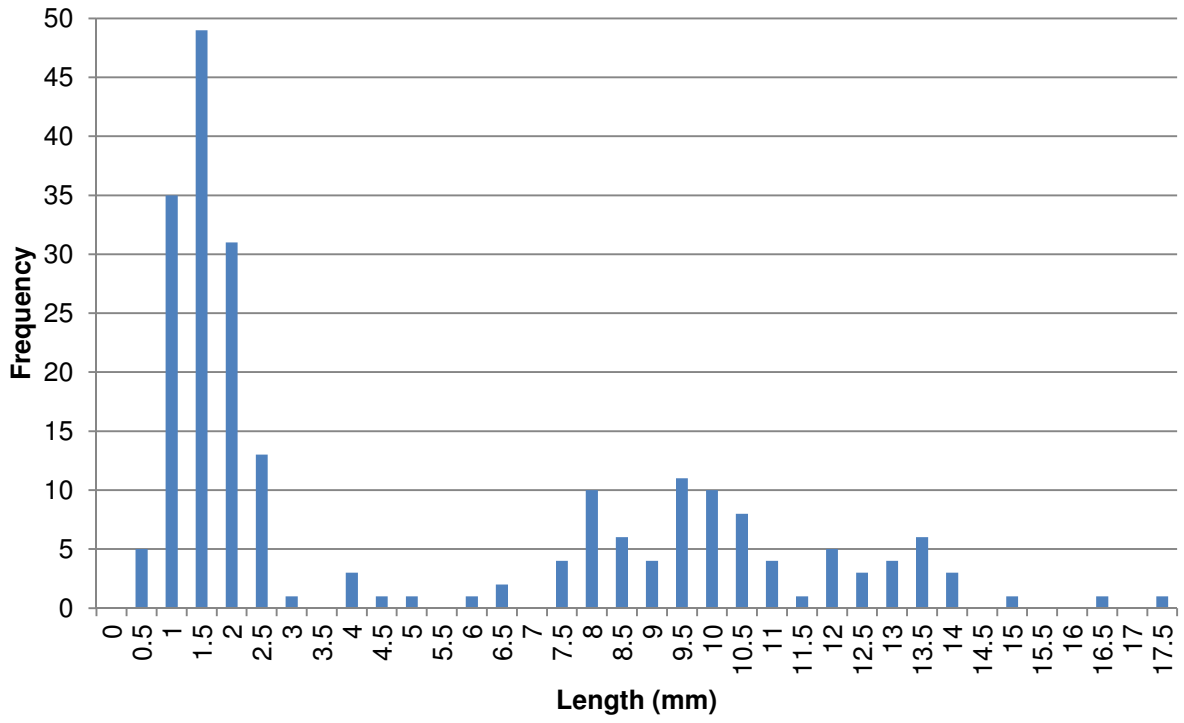


Figure 7-11. Histogram of beads by length from the South Grove Midden.

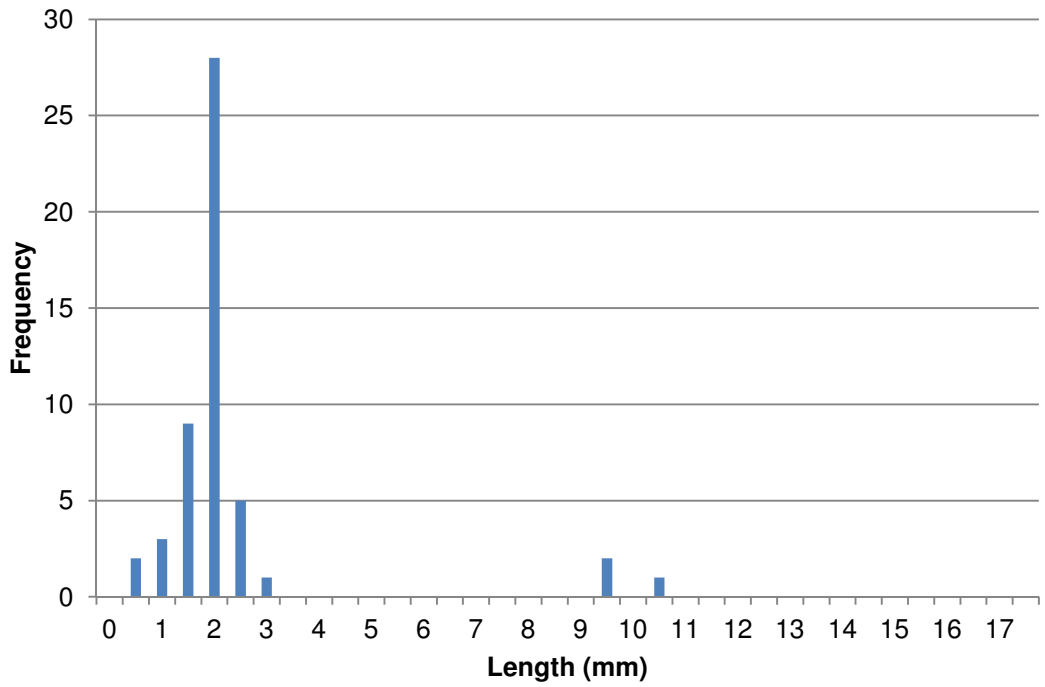


Figure 7-12. Histogram of beads by length from the House for Families.

Table 7-17. Breakdown of bead color from the South Grove Midden and the House for Families.

Color	South Grove (n)	House for Families (n)
Unidentifiable	1	6
Pink	2	0
White	7	0
Blue	14	4
Green	15	38
Black	43	0
Red	52	3
Clear	90	0

Beads represent expressions of consumer choice on the part of an enslaved community whose access to goods extended beyond the bounds of the formal economy. These colorful glass items of adornment evince a community in transition – with one foot in an informal economy and the other in the marketplace where they were given access to wider world of consumer goods, but not yet with the bounds of legal sanctions. Calculating the trajectory of buckles and buttons over time versus that of beads from slave-related sites might graphically show this transition from beginning to end. The different choices (preferences for certain sizes and colors) made by these individuals are embodied in the bead assemblage of the South Grove Midden and the House for Families. These modes of personal adornment were more frequently expressed by enslaved individuals, but elites also, though less extensively, valued beadwork on certain items of material culture. In the case for the midden, some of these beads may have once been affixed to elite clothing and other items of material culture, though the numbers that can be attributed to this function are likely few.

Other Consumer Goods. This broad category encompasses the remainder of systematic object studies and includes: marked objects; books; medicine; chamber pots; combs; toys; tacks; tobacco pipes; shot; thimbles; and straight pins. Some of these items are unique and others are prosaic staples of plantation life. Artifact groups mirror differential access to consumer goods seen in the realms of foodways and personal adornment: access to goods simply not available locally (as seen with matched sets of table and glassware and ornately embroidered clothing) and access to the sheer inventory of certain goods necessary to fuel a large-scale, diversified plantation (milk pans and some types of buttons, for example). The array of choices offered to local store-goers was sometimes as extensive, if not more so, than what George Washington opted for (as evident with buttons), but some of the examples discussed below show major

constraints to expressions of free choice within the bounds of the retail trade. Even within these boundaries, non-elite consumers expressed motivations all their own.

As the array of goods became increasingly available to all levels eighteenth-century consumers, one way that George Washington and other members of colonial Virginia's gentry could distinguish shared items of material culture was to have them marked. Pewter plates offer a good example. As discussed, Alexander Henderson stocked his shelves with plates and dishes in high demand among his clientele. A simple pewter plate could be elevated and distinguished with the placement of a family crest, as George Washington requested be done with his set of 96 pewter dishes in 1759 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Eighteenth-century marks made by engraving or impressing included names and initials, but also symbols such as family crests and coats of arms. The significance of these formally marked objects related to expressions of gentility, status, and identity (Hancock 2009; White and Beaudry 2009:218-219) and evidence the use of material culture as a bridge back to the source of power drawn from tradition and heritage and an exclusionary tactic towards non-elites without access to these common yet distinguished items (Douglas and Isherwood 1979; McCracken 1988). The need to confer ownership on items of significance crossed socio-economic boundaries and non-elites developed their own recognizable systems.

Figure 7-13 depicts a small, silver marked object that once adorned a sword scabbard, or sheath. Scabbards commonly had two fittings, also called collars or mounts, one at the opening where the sword was inserted (the top mount) and one around the middle (the middle mount). The midden object attached to the collar at the scabbard opening. The fragment is complete on the two decorated edges, but exhibits possible cut and tear marks on the top where it was detached (purposefully or accidentally) from the collar. The collars were simultaneously

functional and decorative – secured to a strap by a ring, they allowed the sword to hang from the shoulder. The top mounts were often engraved with the names and initials of owners or makers and sometimes both on opposing sides (Hartzler 2000). In fact, this fragment bears the bottom of an engraved monogram which is believed to be George Washington's based on its similarity to marked objects in Mount Vernon's collection such as his monogrammed hunting whip (Figure 7-13) (Cadou 2006:64-65).

Figure 7-13. George Washington's monogram as engraved on a scabbard mount fragment (left) and the butt end of a hunting whip (right). (Photo by Karen Price, 2012; courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

From George Washington's invoices and orders, we have evidence that he requested two swords: a small one with spare scabbards in 1757 and a genteel mourning sword in 1773 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). This fragment, however, appears to be the work of John Bailey, an English immigrant who made swords in New York (Bezdek 1994:77). The style of the scabbard mountings made by Bailey is nearly identical to the midden object (Hartzler 2000:19, 150). In fact, as Washington's participation in the consignment system ended, evidence suggests that he was seeking to buy a sword made locally in 1778 (Hoth 2006[16]:243, Chase 2008[17]:245-246). Writing from Fishkill, New York, Washington asked a Philadelphia merchant for "a Cut & thrust Sword – genteel, but not costly – with Chain & swivels – strong" (Chase 2008[17]:245-246). The Smithsonian owns a sword, referred to as Washington's service sword, and with a top mount inscribed "J. Bailey, Fish Kill" suggesting that his request was fulfilled (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 1963:31-32). A visit to view the sword in comparison with the artifact revealed that it does not fit onto the existing top mount. Perhaps the midden artifact is from a second scabbard, as they frequently wore out from use as suggested from the 1757 order and invoice.

Alexander Henderson did stock swords at his store, but on a very limited basis (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). In 1760, he offered a single sword with a belt for £1. Swords were available, then, to anyone who could afford one, but formally marking them was not. Washington was not alone in his marking of objects. Prominent Virginia families such as the Fitzhughs, the Carters, and the Wormeleys all had silver engraved with coats of arms (Rozbicki 1998). The Fairfaxes of nearby Belvoir plantation, true English nobility, served wine from crest-impressed bottles. One room of the Belvoir estate was heated with a massive, 300 pound fireplace back cast with the Fairfax coat of arms (Rasmussen and Tilton 1999:20).

Archaeologists rarely find such formally personalized objects. The silver scabbard ornament is one of the few artifacts that we have found with George Washington's name engraved upon it. The other object excavated from the South Grove Midden that can be linked directly to Washington is a trunk plate engraved "Gen: Washington." Wine bottle seals with the coat of arms, name, or initials of their past owners are encountered more frequently in the archaeological record at Mount Vernon and on other historic sites of the colonial period (White and Beaudry 2009:218-219); however, it appears that Lawrence and George Washington did not have their own. A growing body of data suggests that non-elites, particularly enslaved individuals, found some meaning (spiritual, aesthetic, or personal) in objects with informal marks, often added post-manufacture (Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Franklin 2004:126; Heath et al. 2005; Samford 2007; Brock 2012:289-292). Sometimes these marks were similar to those made during manufacture, such as the plated copper alloy button etched "P A" excavated from the site of Washington's whiskey distillery – a plantation operation associated with hired white and enslaved men. Development of a dataset of marked objects excavated from non-elite sites is the next step in systematically studying the variety of marks used and the interpretation of the meaning behind these marks.

The ways in which Washington chose to formally mark objects appears to have changed over time and future research should test this transformation on a broader scale. Utilizing a material culture approach, data on marks referenced in documents, on objects, and on archaeological artifacts were compiled to explore the phenomenon – for a total of 48 datable occurrences (Figure 7-14). Initially, it seems that George Washington exclusively favored the use of his family's coat of arms (Figure 7-15). Washington ordered pewter and silver dining pieces and horse furniture with the Washington coat of arms – or its elements such as a griffin issuing

from a coronet – as early as 1755. In 1765, however, Washington began to incorporate his monogram on objects like a hunting whip and his pew at Pohick Church. Rarer were instances when he used his full name. Despite the reliance on his monogram to mark objects, Washington never ceased to use the crest to adorn punch ladles or mark his carriage.

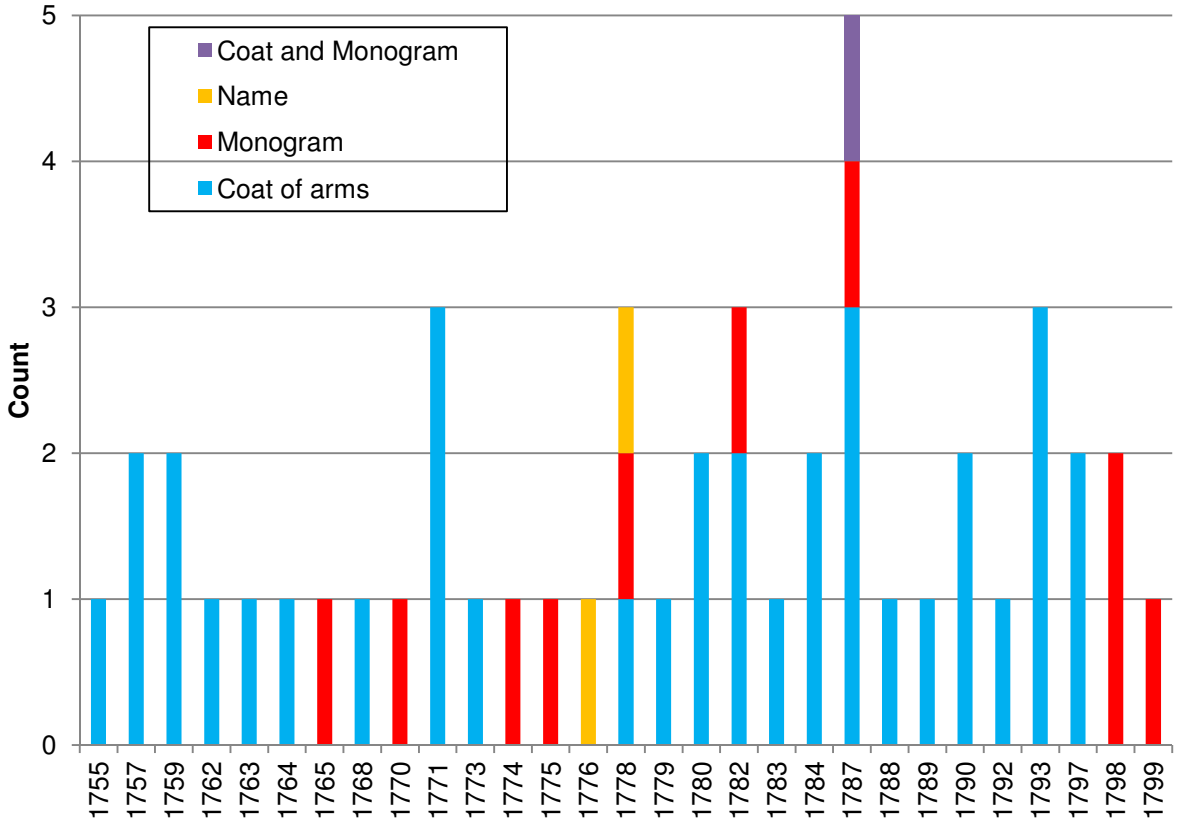


Figure 7-14. Objects marked with George Washington's name, coat of arms and/or monogram from the earliest known date of occurrence to his death in 1799.

Figure 7-15. Washington family crest as seen on a bookplate, 1783. (Courtesy of Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.)

What did it mean to people in the past, like George Washington, to set the dining table for guests with crest-engraved silver or monogrammed French porcelain? Coats of arms were an ancient symbol of ancestry and lineage in England that carried a certain patina of power passed down through the generations (McCracken1988; Shackel 1992; Rozbicki 1998; Goodwin 1999; Beaudry 2008, 2010). Objects with patina conveyed a sense of history, antiquity, and memory that legitimized claims to high status. The conditions of colonization in eighteenth-century Virginia afforded myriad opportunities and avenues to success beyond noble birth. Eighteenth-century Virginians were constantly negotiating their positions in relation to their social

counterparts by running for elected office, serving in the military, pursuing advantageous marriages and social alliances, investing in land and labor, and inheriting family wealth and prestige. Eventually, objects imbued with patina, valued for their ability to prove antique lineage and familial continuity, fell out of favor over the course of the eighteenth century as items were increasingly desired for their fashionability, valued for their new or novel qualities (McCracken1988; Goodwin 1999). However, the transition from patina to fashion, from pedigree to gentility, was complex and in the case of Washington's use of crests and monograms, never fully completed. Sometimes Washington chose to draw on symbols of family tradition, other times the power was in his name, or a creative melding of both as seen on the commanding fireplace backs dating to 1787 (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 2009). This finding bolsters Yokota's (2011) contention that just as they had before the Revolutionary War, Americans continued to look back across the Atlantic for cultural inspiration.

How might we draw broader conclusions based on this Washington-specific dataset? Wine bottles seals seem like an ideal candidate to test the shifting cultural values of patina and fashion – a robust dataset found in abundance on sites in colonial Virginia all marked with a diverse array of symbols. Mount Vernon's preservation staff is currently in the process of developing a crowd-sourced, online database (based on research in the field of wildlife biology (Harris 2012)) to facilitate a study of seals with the hypothesis that their marks reflect the same pattern seen within Washington's material culture – a slow and steady seriation away from crests and coast of arms towards names and initials.

In addition to marked objects, access to <u>books</u> in colonial Virginia provides one of the most compelling examples of the differences in one's ability to acquire consumer goods depending upon socio-economic status. Large-scale, wealthy planters like Lawrence and George

Washington had access to the most recently published books on a vast range of subjects. In the eighteenth century, books served to educate, but were also a symbol of luxury communicating status and taste. They required money to purchase, of course, but also rooms and furniture to keep, store, or showcase (Kern 2010). Over-sized books like quartos (at 9x12 in.) and folios (at 12x16-18 in.) were "serious, impressive books" that required a special space outside of the bookshelf on a table, bookstand, or large reading desk (Kern 2010:36). The metal hardware of these important texts left behind signatures in the archaeological record. These were books that made a statement to anyone invited into the intimate spaces of a study or required to visit as part of daily chores. The local store also offered books, but in a much more limited selection. This discrepancy in availability vested a "special authority… in those who had facility in writing and were conversant with books" (Isaac 1983:230). Literacy, education, and a tightly-held access to knowledge allowed the colonial gentry to legitimize and maintain their place in the social hierarchy. Non-elites, however, appear to have expressed a voracious appetite for self-education in the realms of spelling and grammar, religion, and history.

Lawrence Washington's books were valued at £15.8.0 in the inventory taken upon his death (Table 7-18) (Washington 1753). His inventory also included a book case for displaying his extensive collection, valued at nearly £6. Over his lifetime he amassed a library of 65 individual and multi-volume titles representing about 124 books. They fell into 13 identifiable subjects: biography/memoir; dictionary; geography; history/politics; language; literature; medicine; military; music; navigation; plays; poetry; and religion. Most of the books were of an unspecified size; however, he did have two folios and a quarto.

Table 7-18. Lawrence Washington's library at the time of his death (book size in bold).

Inventory Entry	£	s	d	Subject
Life of Mahamit		3		Biography/Memoir
Life of Socrates		3		Biography/Memoir
Welwoods Memoirs		2	6	Biography/Memoir
Baily Dictionary		8		Dictionary
Boyers Dictionary		14		Dictionary
Harris' Lexicon 2 Vol. **Folio**	1	15		Dictionary
Littleton's Dictionary		12		Dictionary
Gazetteer		2	6	Geography
Gordons Grammer		6		Geography
1 Vol. of the History of the Rebn		2		History/Politics
Bangors Committee		3		History/Politics
Browns Roman History		2	6	History/Politics
Conquest of Syria & McSarat		3		History/Politics
English Expositon		2		History/Politics
History of [illegible]		?		History/Politics
History of England by way of Ques[illegible]		2	6	History/Politics
History of Virginia		3		History/Politics
Mannings Dion Cassins		2		History/Politics
Mercers Abridgd		2		History/Politics
Present State of [illegible] at Bond [illegible]		?		History/Politics
Rapin's History 2 Vol. **Folio**	2			History/Politics
The History of the Five Nations Ind[ians]		7		History/Politics
Travels into Turkey		2	6	History/Politics
Virginia Justice		8		History/Politics
11 Latin Books	1	12	9	Language
8 Latin Books		?		Language
1 Tom Jones in the Married State		2	6	Literature
Don Quixote 4 Vol.		8		Literature
Drydens Works 9 Vol.		7	6	Literature
Gil Blas 4 Vol.		8		Literature
London Magazine for 1744		2		Literature
One Vol. of Telemachus		2	6	Literature
Swifts Work 2 Vol. of it		5		Literature
Tom Jones 4 Vol.		10		Literature
Voyages of Frenchman		2		Literature
Winters Evening confereren		3		Literature
Quinseys Dispensatory		8		Medicine
Bland Military Discipline		9		Military
Beggars Opera		2		Music
Musick 2 Vol.		2	6	Music
Songs 1 Vol.		2	6	Music
Atkinsons Epitome		2		Navigation
Peerage of Ingland		3		Navigation
1 Vol. French plays		2		Plays
Congreeves Plays 1 Vol.		4	6	Plays

Table 7-18 (continued).

Inventory Entry	£	s	d	Subject
Farquhars Works 2 Vol.		7	6	Plays
French Plays		2		Plays
French Plays 5 Vol.		2	6	Plays
Mount for the Plays		2		Plays
Plays 2 Vol.		8		Plays
Shakespears Plays 7 Vol.		14		Plays
Vole French Plays		2		Plays
Gays Poems 2 Vol.		7		Poetry
Hudibras		3	9	Poetry
Popes Dunciad		2	6	Poetry
Virgil		2		Poetry
1 **Quarto** Bible		17	6	Religion
Gospel Church		[?]		Religion
Ibbots Sermons		5		Religion
State of the Church		[?]		Religion
[illegible] 7 Vol one wanting		14		Unidentified
3 Vol. Roman E…..gy		6		Unidentified
Craftsman		3		Unidentified
Gentlemen Instructed		3		Unidentified
Kennets Anti		2		Unidentified

The consignment system provided the means for Lawrence and George Washington, and others of colonial Virginia's gentry, to purchase goods in a global market, which appears to have afforded them access to expensive books as well as to a wide selection. During the period represented by the invoices and orders, George Washington requested 21 titles, but only 18 of those orders (for an estimated total of 44 books) were fulfilled for a total of nearly £14 (Table 7-19) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). These books fall into 9 subjects including: agriculture/gardening; animal husbandry; cooking; current events; history/politics; medicine; military; reference; and religion. Three of these subject categories overlap with Lawrence Washington's (history/politics, military, and religion) showing the particular interests and personalities of these two brothers.

Table 7-19. George Washington's charges for books (book size in bold).

Invoice Year	Invoice Description	Subject	Cost
1759	Lisles Husbandry 2 vols.	Agriculture/Gardening	0.10.0
1759	Langley's Gardg 4to **[quarto]**	Agriculture/Gardening	0.15.0
1759	Home on Agriculture	Agriculture/Gardening	0.3.0
1759	System of Agriculture	Agriculture/Gardening	0.3.0
1761	Hales Compleat Body of Husby 4 Vols.	Agriculture/Gardening	1.4.0
1759	Gibson on Farriery 4to **[quarto]** (the only one in London)	Animal Husbandry	1.1.0
1771	Glass's Cookery	Cooking	0.5.0
1763	Dodsleys Annl Register 4 Vols.	Current Events	1.4.0
1763	Smallets History of England 11 Vols in Calf	History/Politics	3.3.0
1768	Beverly's Histy of Virga	History/Politics	0.5.0
1771	Burnes Justice 4 Vol. 8to **[possibly octavo]**	History/Politics	1.4.0
1771	Tissets Practice Physk	Medicine	0.7.0
1756	Blands Military Discipline	Military	0.6.0
1766	Larboratory or School of Arts	Reference	1.19.0*
1766	out of Print Museum Rusticum 33 Nos. bound in 6 Vol.	Reference	1.19.0*
1766	Handmaid to the Arts 2 Vols.	Reference	0.12.0
1766	Gilbert Bishop of Sarums Exposi[tio]n of the 39 Articles	Religion	0.6.0
1771	18to **[unknown size]** Prayer Book Tate Psalms red Morrocco	Religion	0.8.0

*These two books were invoiced together for a total value of £1.19.0.

The invoices and orders alone do not capture the entirety of George Washington's pre-Revolutionary library. An extensive list of books was recorded in 1764 to differentiate between and keep track of those titles owned by George Washington and by his new stepson John Parke Custis (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350). If we add the titles listed in this document owned by Washington to the ones for which he was invoiced, the library grows to 64 titles (for an estimated total of 113 books) on 16 subjects including: agriculture/gardening; animal husbandry; astronomy; biography/memoir; cooking; current events; economics; geography; history/politics; law; literature; medicine; military; poetry; reference; and religion. How the 46 books not accounted for in the invoices and orders documentation came under George Washington's ownership is not known. It is possible that some were inherited from Lawrence Washington. In fact, five of the books appearing in George Washington's 1764 list for which we have no

invoices were also found in Lawrence's inventory. Table A-4 in the Appendix presents a comprehensive list of books known to have been at Mount Vernon before the Revolutionary War.

Alexander Henderson stocked a total of 891 books for his customers for a total of £32 falling into only 3 subjects: religion; history; grammar and spelling (Table 7-20) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). These were not expensive books; on average, Lawrence Washington's individual book titles were valued 6 times higher than Henderson's.[10] However, the fact that Henderson's repeatedly ordered books every year except 1764 suggests their popularity and that non-elites valued the information contained in these affordable volumes. In fact, when Henderson opened his doors in 1759, he had nearly 300 books on hand (5 types of books on religion, 3 on grammar and spelling, and 2 on history), anticipating a strong demand in this category of consumer good. Henderson may have even under-anticipated his consumers' desire for knowledge as seen in his order of 1760 for another 267 books and more choices within the category of religion. He most commonly ordered his books by the dozen and by subject as opposed to specific title or author. Henderson did request specific sizes of books, though only on four occasions. The smallest were octavo (at 6x9 in.), though he also ordered bibles and a history book in folio. Two of these orders for books in specific sizes represent exceptions to the normal store operations. In 1760, Henderson placed an order for a "Folio Bible with Apachrypha good large print & good Paper" and "Josephees's History in Folio good print." The comment next to these two books reads, "I am desired to order these for a customer" (Hamrick and Hamrick 1999:48; Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). While we do not know the identity of the consumer, presumably they were wealthy enough to afford the most costly books (at nearly

[10] Per book value of George Washington's library does not exist for the pre-Revolutionary period; therefore this comparison can only be calculated for Lawrence's library.

£2.0.0 each) that Henderson ever ordered. With the exception of an order of four dozen spelling books in 1763, these single books were individually more expensive than the most expensive bulk order. The only other time that Henderson made special orders of this nature was for guns (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). These two comments suggest that while Henderson generally catered to small and middling planters, tradesmen, and enslaved individuals, customers of means could use their local merchant as a personal factor on occasion.

The majority of Henderson's book inventory (by value) was on the subject of religion at nearly 60 percent, followed by grammar and spelling at 24 percent, and history at 17 percent. In actuality, the proportion of books by value represented by religion was higher (when recorded). When analyzing Henderson's book inventory by counts of books, most (44 percent) fell into the subject of grammar and spelling followed by religion (41 percent) and history (15 percent). In other words, the religious books were valued more highly but probably purchased less frequently than grammar and spelling books.

Table 7-20. Books stocked by Alexander Henderson (book size in bold).

Year	Quantity	Store Inventory Description	Subject	£	s	d
1759	24	horn Books	Grammar/Spelling	0	2	0
1759	72	Royal Primers	Grammar/Spelling	0	15	0
1759	36	Spelling Books (Dyckes)	Grammar/Spelling	1	10	0
1759	6	Dutys of Man	History	0	10	0
1759	48	Historys	History	1	4	0
1759	12	Testaments	Religion	0	6	6
1759	12	Plain prayer books	Religion	0	15	0
1759	36	Psalters	Religion	0	18	0
1759	12	Common Bibles	Religion	0	19	0
1759	12	Gilt prayer books	Religion	1	2	0
1760	24	horn Books	Grammar/Spelling	0	4	0
1760	72	Primers	Grammar/Spelling	0	15	0
1760	36	Dylches Spelling Books	Grammar/Spelling	1	7	0
1760	6	Dutys of Man	History	0	10	0
1760	1	Josephees's History in **Folio** good print	History	1	15	0
1760	12	plain prayer Books in twelves	Religion	0	15	0
1760	36	Psalters	Religion	0	16	6
1760	24	Bibles good print & paper Neatly bound without Psalms	Religion	0	17	0
1760	6	Neat prayer Books in **Octavo**	Religion	0	18	0
1760	36	Testaments	Religion	0	18	0
1760	1	Bible without Psalms	Religion	0	18	0
1760	12	Gilt prayer Books in twelves	Religion	1	6	
1760	1	**Folio** Bible with Apachrypha good large print & good Paper	Religion	1	15	0
1761	12	Common Bibles w'tout Psalms	Religion	0	19	0
1762	24	Spelling Books	Grammar/Spelling			
1762	6	Bibles in **Quarto** with Apochrypha & books of Common Prayer	Religion			
1762	24	Psalters	Religion			
1762	36	Testaments	Religion			
1762	12	Common Bibles	Religion	0	19	0
1763	24	horn Books	Grammar/Spelling	0	2	0
1763	36	Common Primmers	Grammar/Spelling	0	7	6
1763	48	Spelling Books	Grammar/Spelling	1	16	0
1763	72	Common Historys	History	1	10	0
1763	24	Testaments	Religion	0	14	0
1763	12	Bibles without Psalms	Religion	0	19	0
1765	12	common prayer Books	Religion	0	15	0
1765	12	gilt prayer Books large	Religion	1	4	0

It appears that Henderson's limited selection, especially when compared to the offerings available through the consignment system, was common. Historians note, "Other Virginia merchants sold books in their stores, but the number and variety of titles they had on hand were always small" (Stiverson and Stiverson 1983:141). The issues of access, desire, and consumer motivations raised by this one category of goods are decidedly complex. The motivations on the part of the elite in their book-buying habits, I believe, are clear – patrons of the consignment system like George and Lawrence Washington benefitted from the unlimited access to knowledge imparted via printed texts that their wealth afforded them. They were familiar with the sonnets of Shakespeare, referenced advice on gardening and farming in Batty Langley's *New Principles of Gardening*, and got lost in the adventures of Don Quixote, all the while building cultural bridges back to their peers in England who were assuredly reading the same texts and erecting information barriers around their genteel subculture (Douglas and Ishwerood 1979; McCracken 1988).

The question, then, arises: when non-elites visited Alexander Henderson's store, were they disappointed by the limited and standard books available on his shelves? Did they desire to read about the travels and travails of a chivalrous Spaniard or a besotted Romeo? Or did they desire to take their amusement in other forms of entertainment and escape not captured in fine print? Here is where we can only speculate – that merchants like Henderson stocked the books most likely to sell and that non-elites seemed satisfied with the types he provided (or at least complaints about books did not register in Henderson's correspondence back to John Glassford). Certainly enslaved individuals assigned to the duties of housekeeping in the Washingtons' study were only too aware that a universe of books existed beyond the common bible in languages that they may not have even recognized, but perhaps their consumer needs were met by what they

could buy affordably and easily at the local store. If motivation can be read through demand, it appears that non-elites sought mastery of the written word in an attempt to bridge the gap between socio-economic groups and perhaps even increase opportunities for social mobility. However, the implications for class mobility and access to knowledge represented in the limited selection of subjects available to the average consumer cannot go unstated.

Ownership of and learning through print literature was closely tied to literacy. About two thirds of white males were literate enough to be able to sign their names in the mid-eighteenth century, for women the rate was much lower, and for the enslaved population the literacy rate has been described as "a tiny proportion" (Isaac 1983:231). General estimates suggest that three in four colonial Virginians were constrained to oral communication. Recipes and cures for ailments were passed down through the generations and passed around plantations and neighborhood networks. Scripture and common law was learned through recitation and performance in the "word-of-mouth culture of common people" (Isaac 1983:231-232). The high demand for books at Alexander Henderson's store, however, shows this transformation towards a subculture who increasingly valued the book over the spoken word.

George Washington was raised in a literate household; however, the disparities in access to education were apparent even within this one family. George Washington's father, Augustine, and Lawrence Washington received a preeminent colonial education, attending the Appleby Grammar School in England. After the death of Augustine Washington, however, the family could not afford the same formal, English education for George Washington, who instead was taught the basics in local Virginia schools or by tutors. George Washington's commitment to self-education and self-betterment is visible through his early book purchases (Chernow 2010:5-14).

Even if literacy rates were higher and access to education was more widespread, those lower on the socio-economic spectrum would have had much more limited access to the world of knowledge contained in Lawrence or George Washington's libraries (Figure 7-16). "Most people in eighteenth-century America never owned or bought more than a few books during the whole of their lives, and some (an unknown percentage but perhaps two-fifths of all adults) bought none at all" (Hall 1994:363). The demand for the limited selection of books, however, suggests that non-elites were aware of the power of books and the information they imparted and sought to appropriate and internalize some of that power for themselves.

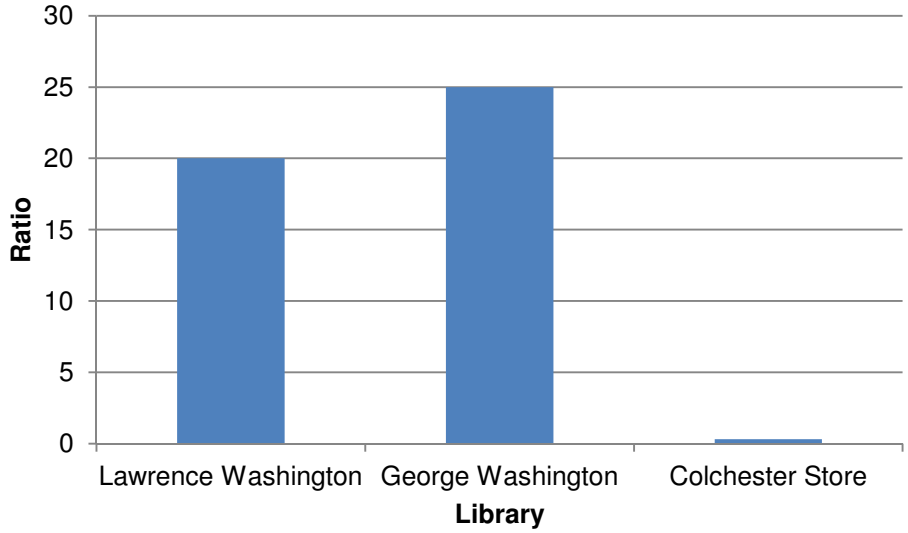


Figure 7-16. Subject to book title ratio represented in the libraries of Lawrence and George Washington and for sale in the Colchester store.

A similar example of the stark disparities in access to choices within a particular category of goods is found in the realm of medicine. George Washington ordered medicines on a regular basis, every year from 1759 to 1773 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). He placed orders on nearly 200 different occasions for a total of 89 unique treatments including caraway

seeds for stomach ailments, aqua bryoniae for female complaints and convulsions in children, guttae vitae for nausea, and Dr. James's powders for fevers. Alexander Henderson carried a different and quite limited supply of cures and remedies for ailments and diseases. He placed 23 orders for 11 types of remedies in the six-year period, but never ordered more than 8 types in a given year. For anything more than just the most generic of treatments, such as Turlington's Balsam of Life whose 27 ingredients cured everything from kidney stones to internal weakness (Griffenhagan and Young 1992:204), local northern Virginians would have had to travel some distance to visit an apothecary shop to procure remedies, call on a doctor, or rely on folk medicine to alleviate aliments and illness.

Though it is difficult to parse from the documentary evidence if George Washington purchased remedies to cure ailments suffered by both his household and the community of enslaved individuals, we do know that he hired physicians to treat and tend to slaves needing medical attention (Washington 1750-1774). Formal medical care was commonly provided by plantation owners and overseers either via a medical professional or dispensed using their untrained judgment (Groover and Baumann 1996). For example, 10 slaves were hurt when lightning struck the House for Families slave quarter in 1760; Washington had them treated by the common procedure of letting blood, from which they all recovered (both the lightning and the letting) (Jackson and Twohig 1976[1]:280). Enslaved blacks living on plantations had little choice but to welcome or succumb to decisions pertaining to their health made by their owners and physicians trained in western medical traditions. However, to supplement or perhaps even avoid a visit from a white doctor, enslaved individuals drew on African views of health and well-being: folk treatments; African-American healers, midwives, conjurers, and root doctors; and a knowledge of traditional remedies including locally available plants (Savitt 1978; Groover and

Baumann 1996; Edwards-Ingram 2005). Perhaps this accounts for the limited inventory stocked by Alexander Henderson – that middling and poor whites and enslaved individuals relied on informal medical care in the form of folk remedies to cure ailments instead of or in addition to those that were sold in stores. The conscious choice not to demand more of or consume readily available yet limited medicines entangled in western medical traditions may have ameliorated the intrusions of whites into this realm of their lives and offered enslaved individuals a modicum of control over the most personal of decisions – care of body and spirit (Edwards-Ingram 2005).

What these clear and compelling examples suggest is that planters' commitment to the consignment system afforded them access to material resources in the realms of education and knowledge, medicine, and formal means of assigning identity to material culture that they simply could not have found on the shelves of local stores. In other words, there might have been a strong cultural motivation for what has been interpreted as an economically irrational model of consumerism. These conclusions arose from a material culture approach that began with an investigation of a monogrammed fragment of silver, book hardware, ointment pots, and glass pharmaceutical vials found at the South Grove Midden and House for Families archaeological sites. From these few artifacts and the integration of the two robust documentary datasets, a picture emerges of elite and non-elite consumer behavior – one that suggests similar patterns might be found within other classes of colonial material culture.

Admittedly, these two examples are most clearly evidenced via the documentary as opposed to the archaeological record. The archaeological evidence of differential access to books and the knowledge they contain is only hinted at through a presence and absence analysis. The three unique pieces of copper alloy book hardware from the midden (two from pre-1775 deposits and one dating to the eighteenth century but redeposited in a modern phase) speak to cherished

volumes, family bibles for example, that necessitated clasps and metal corners to protect and preserve them through the generations. The excavation of a single book hinge from the House for Families slave quarter procured through undocumented avenues at the very least suggests the presence of a treasured volume within the walls of this dwelling for individuals serving the Washington households (DAACS 2013b). How this book was obtained remains unknown. Ointment pots and drug jars provide the most definitive evidence of medicines in the archaeological record. Of the minimum 399 ceramic vessels from the South Grove Midden, 3 fell into this category. Of the minimum 136 ceramic vessels from the House for Families, 2 fell into this category (Pogue and White 1991).

Two additional artifact groups fall within the health and hygiene-related realm of material culture. George Washington expressed his desire for chamber pots of stoneware (undecorated and scratch blue white salt-glazed stoneware and Rhenish) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b) probably replacing the more fragile delftware variety used by the Lawrence Washington household found in the South Grove Midden for a minimum of 15. Just three, of white salt-glaze and Rhenish stoneware, were found in the House for Families. Alexander Henderson's chamber pot inventory was dominated by pewter pots (not recoverable archaeologically) and available in limited quantities, at least when compared to other hygiene-related objects he offered (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). In the category of combs, George Washington's orders indicate that his household desired combs made from a variety of material including ivory, horn, tortoiseshell, bone, and coconut shell, while Alexander Henderson offered just ivory and bone (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b, 2012c). Archaeologically, combs made of bone are the most frequently found variety eighteenth-century

sites (White 2005) and the only type found in the South Grove Midden (n=2). None were excavated from the House for Families.

The presence of toys also may be indicative of differential access to consumer goods in the eighteenth century. The South Grove Midden yielded four artifacts that are interpreted as possible playthings including a small female figurine made of pipe clay and her male counterpart; a stone marble; and a miniature pewter bowl. George Washington's invoices and orders for toys for his stepchildren Jacky and Patsy include a variety of items from fiddles to books and dolls to toy hunting whips (Fitzpatrick 1931:335). Interestingly, Alexander Henderson's store offered nothing in the way of playthings for children, which implies that the cultural category of childhood assumed different material dimensions in non-elite households. However, members of Mount Vernon's enslaved community found some means to acquire at least one type of item commonly associated with children – marbles – five of which were found in the feature's earliest phase (DAACS 2013b).[11]

Marbles once rolled beneath the furniture in elite and non-elite colonial households. The remnants of treasured pieces of furniture that once inhabited the Washingtons' mansion survive only partially in the archaeological and documentary record in this pre-Revolutionary period. Furniture is deemed one category of consumer goods that elites invested in most heavily (Nash 2009). In fact, George Washington's most expensive non-textile purchase was a carved and upholstered mahogany bedstead procured by his factor Richard Washington for £25.10.0. The bed was not even new, but instead bought at an auction (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Washington, however, spent only 3 percent of his total purchases through the consignment system on furniture. This small amount spent is partly because these expensive

[11] Residents in the House for Families were not alone in their practice of this pastime. More than half of all sites in the DAACS database showed the presence of marbles (DAACS 2013f).

individual items were built to last, with consumers perhaps keeping up with current fashions by replacing the upholstery, hinges, and plates. The amount can also be explained because Washington made large-scale investments in furniture outside of the consignment system. In 1774, he bought card and tea tables, a sideboard, a chest of drawers, a shaving desk, chairs, and other mansion furnishings at an auction at nearby Belvoir plantation (Washington 1774).

One way of understanding consumer behavior in the realm of furniture represented archaeologically is through tacks – the primary physical evidence that remains for upholstered furniture and trunks common in the rooms of the mansion. Tacks secured upholstery and leather to a wooden frame while simultaneously imparting a dazzling appearance and emphasizing the shape and contours of the larger object. Brass tacks in a swag pattern punctuate the seats of side chairs known to have been used in George Washington's dining room in the late 1790s (Cadou 2006:182-183) and stud his Revolutionary War traveling trunk (Cadou 2006:90-91). Plain tacks were individually crafted with a cast domed head and square shaft tapered to a point.

Sources differ on the sizes of tack heads available to furniture makers and upholsterers in the eighteenth century. One source suggests that British manufacturers made tacks in a variety of sizes ranging from one quarter to three quarters of an inch (Jobe 1987:72). Another offers that tack heads measured up to one inch in diameter (Noël Hume 1969:227). Research has yet to uncover a period source that details how many tack sizes within these ranges were manufactured. One modern manufacturer of tacks for decorating reproductions offers them from a quarter to half an inch with intermediary sizes of 5/16ths, 3/8ths, 7/16ths of an inch (Track of the Wolf, Inc. 2012).

Why do these differences in size matter? Tacks of different sizes were made to suit specific purposes. I hypothesize that larger tacks correlate to larger pieces of furniture and small

tacks to smaller items, but no one has systematically measured tack head diameters on period furniture to test this hypothesis. It could also be the case that one piece of furniture had different sized tacks for functional or decorative purposes. Our ability to indentify tacks of different sizes on archaeological sites would enable a better understanding of investments in upholstered furniture and trunks by their past owners. Hypothetically, elite households would have had greater access to upholstered furniture and trunks decorated with tacks in a larger range of sizes. Washington's single order of a small paper of tacks (he was invoiced for half a pound) placed in 1762 suggests limited in-house furniture maintenance, an option also available to Colchester store goers with the inventory of 432 tacks stocked in 1759 (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b, 2012c). This order for tacks must have been sufficient as no others were placed during the six-year period. Tack sizes are not indicated in either source but are suggested by the archaeological record.

What sizes of tacks did the Washington households use and discard? Archaeologists found 62 copper alloy tacks, all with circular heads and square shanks. Of these, 53 had measureable heads, a measurement protocol enacted during the cataloguing process. When the tacks are broken down by size increments of 1/16th of an inch, a unimodal distribution results with most tacks (62% or n=33) measuring 7/16ths of an inch (Figure 7-17). The South Grove tack assemblage had only one tack at the smallest end of the range at a quarter of an inch and only three tacks measured 9/16ths of an inch, only slightly larger than half an inch.

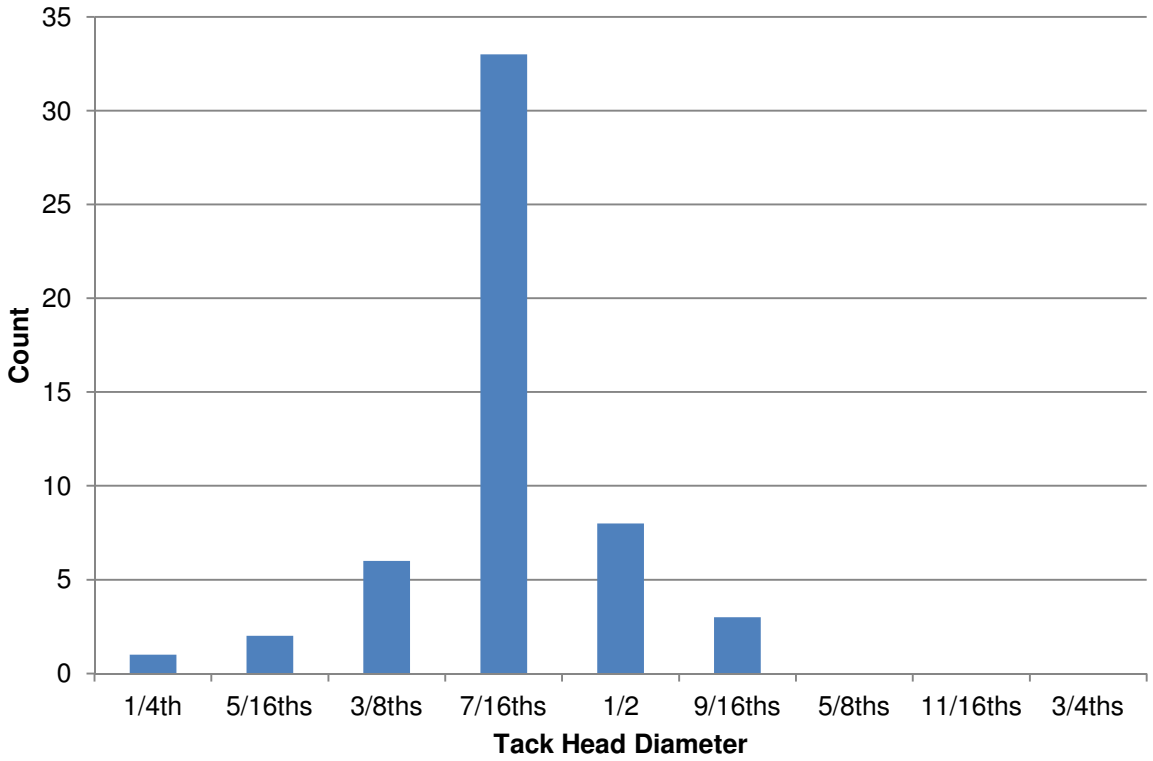


Figure 7-17. Diameter of tacks excavated from the South Grove Midden.

Statistical analyses on the midden's tack groupings by size are inconclusive, in part due to sample size. Only nine measurable tack heads were excavated from the House for Families site. These minimal data show a generally smaller tack head size, between a quarter and 7/16ths of an inch, with most of the tacks measuring 5/16ths of an inch as opposed to the larger and most frequent 7/16ths inch head size from the South Grove. Additionally, we need more information on the sizes of tacks on whole pieces of furniture and how they are distributed. Future research with museum collections is needed to definitely establish the link between archaeological tacks and the pieces of furniture they once adorned. Archaeological assemblages of tacks from eighteenth-century contexts need to be measured to assess the range of head size and variation within this range.

Tobacco pipes as well offer an additional avenue for future research. Documentary research on tobacco pipes from George Washington's invoices and orders and Alexander Henderson's store inventories suggests a disparity in the types of tobacco pipes available for the consignment versus the retail shopper. Records indicated that Washington ordered pipes on two separate occasions, once in 1762 and again in 1773. In both orders, he requested two types of pipes, common (or short) in great quantities and long in lesser quantities (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Alexander Henderson, on the other hand, outfitted his store with just one pipe type, which he refers to as "Hunters," in the thousands (2880 in 1759, 4320 in 1760, 5760 in 1763, and 7200 in 1765) (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Clues to the meaning of hunter pipes come from the invoice that Washington received in return for his order of 2,880 common tobacco pipes. Robert Cary refers to them as "Hunters" suggesting that the term was another name for short pipes (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:164, 192). Washington's large-scale orders for over 20 gross of tobacco pipes in 1762 and in 1773 raise a question about their intended recipients. If the long type, ordered in significantly lesser amounts, were intended for the Washingtons and their special guests, were the rest provisions given or sold to the enslaved or hired white laborers (Howson 1990:84; Barca 2012:52-53)? In fact, the vendor for the 2,880 Hunters and 144 long pipes in the 1763 invoice was Edward Manby, an English maker of tobacco pipes in Heritage Bridge, London (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:191-198). The discovery of five pipe bowls from the House for Families bearing the mark "WM" for William Manby, assumed to be the brother of Edward and who manufacture pipes from 1719-1763, bolsters this hypothesis (Pogue and White 1991:24; Barca 2012:49-50).

Attempts to indentify and statistically parse out short versus long pipes based on metric data in the archaeological record have thus far been unsuccessful, but it remains an intriguing

material culture question, as does the large-scale orders for short pipes (Barca 2012). Pipe length has been associated with identity, class, and acts of conspicuous consumption (Cook 1989; Beaudry et al. 1991; Mrozowski 2006; Graham et al. 2007). In fact, "No single class of portable artifacts supplies more systematic, quantifiable information on social dynamics of commodity production and consumption in the early modern Atlantic and within the Chesapeake" particularly in light of the fact that long pipes may have been less accessible locally (Graham et al. 2007:486). Identification of tobacco pipe length in the archaeological record remains an area for future research.

Lead shot is another prosaic yet important artifact of everyday life in the colonial period with robust documentary evidence both in George Washington's invoices and orders (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b) and Alexander Henderson's schemes of goods (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Though period nomenclature is inconsistent, it appears that neither Washington nor Henderson ordered more than four types of shot in a given year. Research has yet to discover documentation regarding lead shot sizes produced at mid-eighteenth century British factories; however, by the nineteenth century, dozens of named shot sizes were available, some with roots in the eighteenth century (Hanson 2001). Table 7-21 represents a convergence of shot names and sizes available in the nineteenth century with frequencies from the South Grove and references in the two documentary datasets. What becomes immediately apparent is that there are many more sizes of shot represented in the midden assemblage than ordered by Washington or stocked by Henderson. This suggests that the terminology had not yet been developed to specify lead shot smaller than No. 4 and larger than No. 1, and instead was encompassed by generic terms such as mustard seed (for the smallest sizes) and Bristol drop (for the larger sizes).

Table 7-21. Shot descriptions, diameters, and common names (Hanson 2001), linked to the South Grove Midden shot assemblage and period documentary references.

Description	Diameter of Shot (in.)	Usage/Common Name	Count from Midden	Henderson Inventories	GW Invoices and Orders
Extra Fine Dust	0.015				
Fine Dust	0.03				
Fine	0.04				
No. 12	0.05				
No. 11	0.06				
No. 10	0.07		3		
No. 9	0.08		4		
No. 8	0.09		11		
No. 7	0.1		19		
No. 6	0.11		30		
No. 5	0.12	Snipe	82		
No. 4	0.13	Plover	79		yes
No. 3	0.14	Pigeon	27		yes
No. 2	0.15	Pigeon	33	yes	yes
No. 1	0.16	Duck, White Goose	58	yes	yes
B.	0.17		51		
B.B.	0.18		19		
B.B.B.	0.19		11		
T., O.	0.20		7		
T.T., O.O.	0.21	Bristol, Gray Goose, Beaver	9	yes	yes
O.O.O, T.T.T., F.	0.22		7		
TTTT, F.F.	0.23		2		
	0.24		1		
	0.25		2		
	0.26		1		
	0.27		3		
Swan shot	0.28		5	yes	
	0.29		4		
	0.3		2		
	0.31		3		
	0.32		2		
Small Buck Shot	0.35		1		
Large Buck Shot	0.38		0		
	0.57		1		
	0.65		1		
	0.71		1		

At present, it is not possible to bring comparative archaeological site data to bear on this exploration of the frequency of shot sizes. Sites in DAACS like the House for Families were catalogued with protocols in place that batched all shot equal to or less than 5mm (or 0.2in) in diameter (Aultman et al. 2012). For the South Grove Midden, this would have meant losing size data on 91 percent (or 434 out of 479 measurable pieces) of the shot assemblage. Essentially, this protocol collapses four of Washington's shot size specifications into one group. The question remains, would Washington have recognized the differences in shot size categories at 0.12 inches and smaller or was this smaller shot simply loaded and fired from the same barrel without distinction? This degree of sophistication in hunting small mammals and birds was developed by the nineteenth century, but only further research into this redundant small finds artifact category will allow archaeologists to be able to recognize historically meaningful shot sizes in their assemblages.

Thimbles are another artifact in need of systematic study in archaeological collections. As consumer goods, thimbles came in a variety of materials and sizes to meet both functional and cultural needs. During the eighteenth century, thimbles were considered an essential tool for women, associated with ideals of femininity, precepts of socialization, as well as being utilitarian objects. Almost all young white women (and some black women) were taught to sew at a very young age and thimbles were made in a variety of sizes according to their intended use and owner (Noël Hume 1969:255-256; Hill 1995; Beaudry 2006:105). As children learned the art of sewing they outgrew their smaller thimbles, replacing them with larger versions suited for growing and more-capable fingers. Thimbles came in sizes four sizes: children's, maids', women's, and tailors (Beaudry 2006:105), but we currently cannot accurately identify these types in our archaeological assemblages. While none were excavated from the House for

Families, the South Grove Midden yielded two thimbles measuring 17.9 wide (diameter of finger hole) by 18.4 mm high and 13.5 wide by 14 mm high, leading one researcher to identify the latter as a child's thimble (Krofft 2012).

Between 1761 and 1766, George Washington received 60 brass thimbles, sizes unspecified; this quantity suggests that these implements may have been for enslaved seamstresses and shirt makers (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Thimbles in much smaller quantities, higher prices, and finer materials were ordered for Martha Washington and her daughter Patsy. For Pasty, a silver thimble was ordered in 1759 (Abbot 1988[6]:250) and another "small" silver thimble with a steel top was ordered in 1772 (Fitzpatrick 1937[3]:90-94). Martha received a gold-washed silver thimble in 1765 (Robert Cary & Company 1765). Alexander Henderson ordered 576 thimbles for his store between the years 1759 and 1763 at a price that suggests they were of the brass, work-a-day variety (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Henderson's stock of thimbles included both women's and tailor's, representing a limited selection of sizes, but there appears to have been no choice of material offered. Washington, then, had access to thimbles that served the functional and genteel needs of an elite household. Henderson's stock would not have facilitated the early education of young girls in the art of sewing. It remains to be seen if, through the collection of a robust dataset of thimble measurements from eighteenth-century contexts and the application of a statistical test such as k-means cluster analysis (subsequently discussed), can we be able to solidly identify a child's versus a maid's versus a woman's thimble and further explore the issues of access to these tools of femininity.

Straight pins, another sewing implement, were made by hand of copper alloy, and imported from England to the American colonies in large quantities in the eighteenth century.

The process of pin making was extremely laborious and included a dozen steps from pointing the shank to spinning the heads (Dutton and Jones 1983:176-178). During one of these steps, pins were coated with tin, resulting in a shinier appearance before the copper core was exposed through post-depositional processes (Beaudry 2006:20).

Despite their small size, straight pins represent everyday necessities of eighteenth-century life. Straight pins operated then as they do today – as sewing aids. Additionally, they fastened articles of clothing through the early nineteenth century when clothes and fasteners became mass-produced (Beaudry 2006:10-15). Research suggests that there may have been as many as 10 types of pins for consumers to choose from in the eighteenth century, depending on their sewing and fastening needs (Réaumur 1761; Beaudry 2006:24, figure 2.1). In a period article entitled, "The Art of Pin Making" (Réaumur 1761) published in Paris, the author presented a list of these 10 pin types and their corresponding lengths in lignes or lines, a French unit of measure. Table 7-22 shows these pins types and with their lengths converted to millimeters.

Table 7-22. Pins types manufacture in France, ca. 1761 (Réaumur 1761).

Pin Number	Length (lignes)	Length (mm)
5	8	18.05
6	9	20.3
7	10	22.56
8	11	24.81
10	11 1/2	25.94
12	12 1/2	28.2
14	13	29.33
17	14	31.58
20	15	33.84
22	16	36.09

Mary Beaudry's (2006:24, figure 2.1) work on sewing and needlework-related artifacts presents research on pin size, period terminology, and pin function. She proposes that lills (or minikens) were the smallest pins, approximately 12mm in length, and were used for fastening clothes or sewing fine fabrics. Short whites (24 to 30mm) and long whites, also possibly known as middlings (30 to 70mm), were the workhorse pins for sewing, while pins of approximately 76mm, variously called blanket, corking, or double long whites, fastened folds of blankets, fabrics, and other furnishings. Integration of the robust archaeological and documentary datasets on pins at Mount Vernon and in local stores offers a concrete case study upon which to explore this previous research.

Archaeologists uncovered 1,201 complete pins and pin fragments made of copper alloy with wound wire heads, when present, from the South Grove Midden. The pin assemblage contains 458 complete pins, 1 head, 309 heads with partial shanks, 257 shanks, and 176 tips with partial shanks. The minimum pin count from the midden contexts (calculated by adding up complete pins, heads, and heads with partial shanks) is 768. Of the 458 complete pins, there are 381 where the lengths and widths (or gauges) could be measured.

During the cataloguing phase, length was recorded for complete pins according to DAACS protocols to test the hypothesis that the presence of different pin sizes might indicate pin function (as proposed in Beaudry 2006). Additionally, width or gauge of complete pins was also recorded (not a current cataloguing protocol). Should pin length and width be found to correlate (as hypothesized by Beaudry 2006), then archaeologists could estimate length (and possibly function) based on their more fragmentary assemblages.

A scatterplot of width versus length (Figure 7-18) produces two intriguing patterns. The individual dots on the graph seem to cluster together into three groups, suggesting that most pins

from the midden site fall into three unique size categories and that shorter pins had smaller gauges. A histogram (Figure 7-19) showing counts of pins by length again yields a tri-modal distribution suggesting that there may be three sizes of pins present in the midden's assemblage.

K-means clustering is a method of cluster analysis that uses an algorithm to assign observations to pre-determined clusters based upon the nearest mean (StatSoft 2013). The results of this statistical analysis shows three discrete groups of pins and associated 95% confidence intervals: cluster 1 with a mean length of 28mm; cluster 2 with a mean length of 23mm; and cluster 3 with a mean length of 18mm (Table 7-23) (Miervaldis 2012b). What is compelling about these results is that none of the confidence intervals overlap, suggesting discrete pin types by size. Mean widths appear to correlate to mean lengths. In fact, the correlation of length by width is statistically significant (r=0.776; p=0.000). Therefore, by applying this formula to a minimum pin count (where complete pins and either head/shanks or tip/shanks are selected), complete lengths of fragmentary pins can be estimated if widths are measured:

$$Length\ (mm) = 9.111 + 19.673 * Width\ (mm)$$

This finding is particularly relevant for sites with statically insignificant sample sizes (generally less than 30 pins) as a way to be able to say more about differential consumption of pins on and between sites. In fact, querying straight pins from DAACS (2012b) yielded only 3 of 48 sites with a robust enough dataset for a k-means cluster analysis: the House for Families (n=118); Fairfield Quarter in Gloucester County, Virginia (n=150); and Building s on Monticello's Mulberry Row slave complex in Albemarle County, Virginia (n=56).

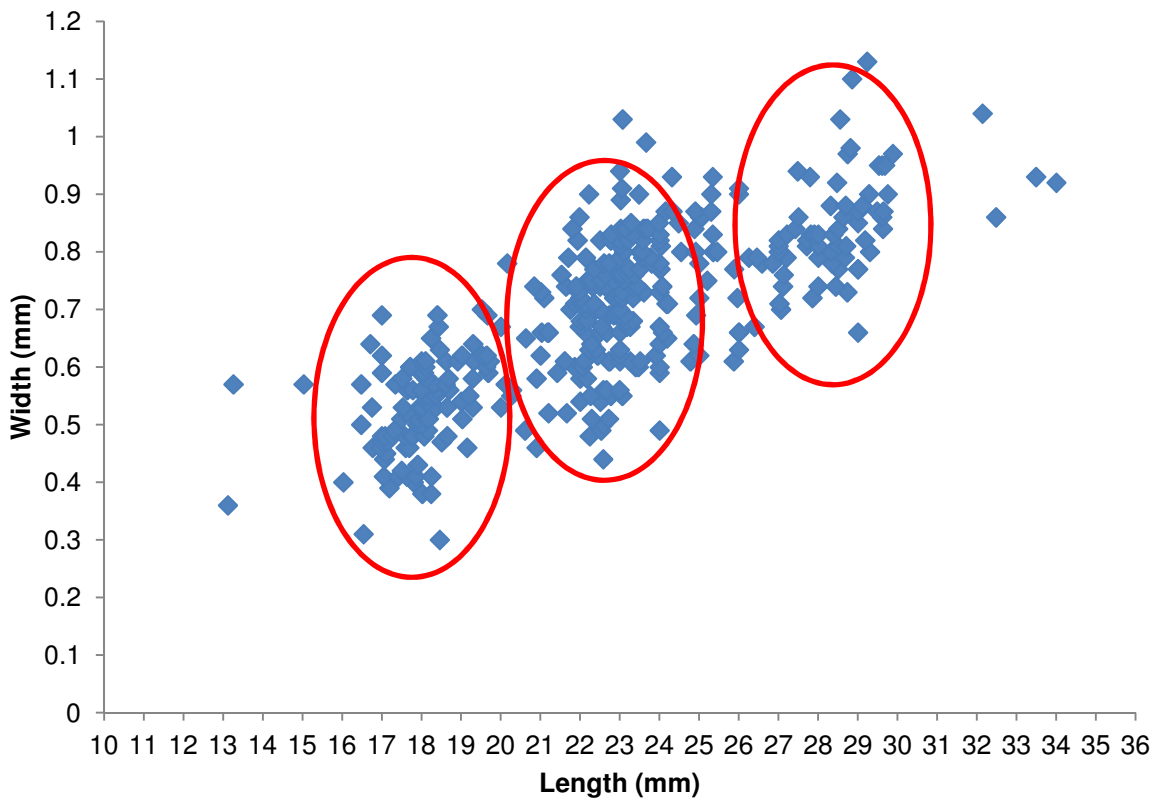


Figure 7-18. Scatterplot of straight pin measurements from the South Grove Midden.

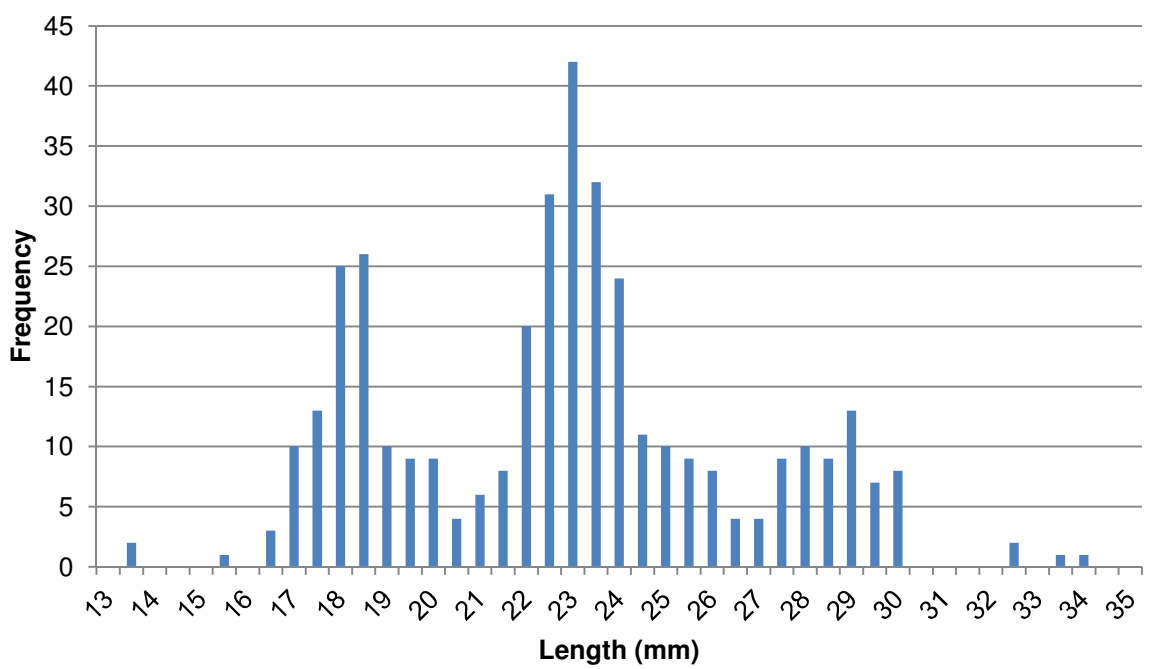


Figure 7-19. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the South Grove Midden.

Table 7-23. K-means cluster analysis on the South Grove Midden pin assemblage.

Cluster	n	(mm)	Mean	Median	Mode	Min	Max	95% confidence interval
1	76	width	0.832	0.825	0.79	0.61	1.13	+/- 0.023: 0.809 to 0.855 mm
		length	28.28	28.365	26	25.9	34	+/- 0.367: 27.913 to 28.647 mm
2	193	width	0.717	0.72	0.74	0.44	1.03	+/- 0.015: 0.702 to 0.732 mm
		length	22.99	23	23	20.6	25.5	+/- 0.152: 22.837 to 23.141 mm
3	112	width	0.53	0.535	0.48	0.3	0.78	+/- 0.016: 0.514 to 0.546 mm
		length	18.03	18.04	17	13.1	20.3	+/- 0.219: 17.808 to 18.246 mm

From 1760 through the beginning of the Revolutionary War, George Washington ordered a staggering 90,000 straight pins (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012b). Figure 7-20 tracks Washington's orders for straight pins by year. Total pin count for each year can be calculated except in 1765 when he requested pounds of pins (1 ½) as opposed to counts. South Grove pins weigh an average of 0.1 grams; therefore, this order was probably around 6,800 pins. The other interesting details captured in the requests for pins are the names George Washington used for them. Table 7-24 presents a list of pin types ordered by Washington for each year, with the terms lined up to show consistency over time. Terms "corking pins" and "large whites" appear to have been interchangeable – on occasion when Washington asked for large whites, he received corking pins. Corking pins and short whites were the most consistently ordered type followed by miniken and then middling.

What is fascinating about the pins coming to Mount Vernon by the thousands is that though there may have been some inconsistency in terminology, Washington never ordered more than three types of pins – the same number of clusters visible in the archaeological data. Combining the historical and archaeological records at Mount Vernon allows us to tentatively identify specific pin types by size. Could the longest midden pin cluster with a mean length of

28mm have been the corking pins to which George Washington and his factors referred while the short whites measured 23mm and the minikens 18mm on average? This stands in contrast to Beaudry's (2006:24, figure 2.1) typology, however. Comparative research in documentary sources and on other archaeological sites and the presence of pin sizes not found in the midden assemblage or in the invoices and orders dataset will allow us to be able to further explore this hypothesis.

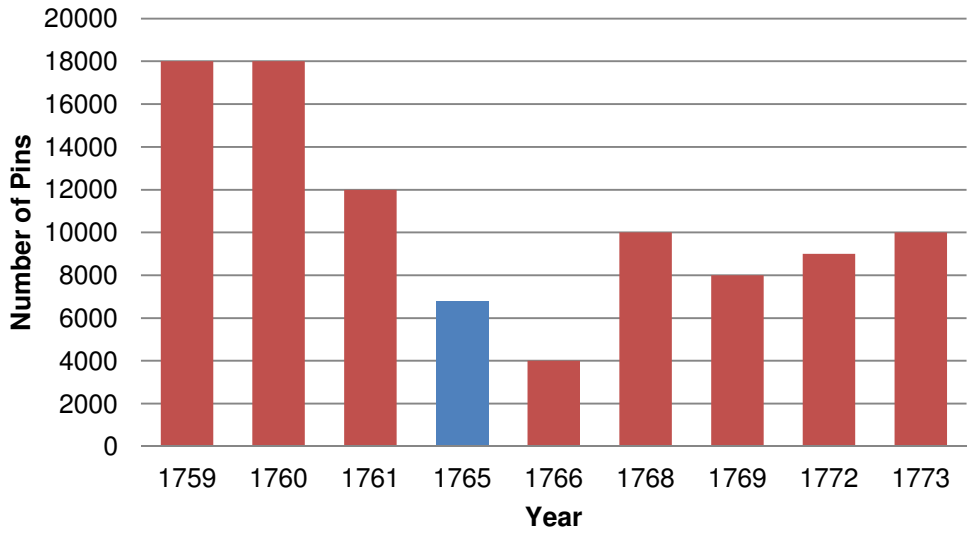


Figure 7-20. George Washington's orders for straight pins.

Table 7-24. Types of straight pins ordered by George Washington.

Year	Pin Size			
1759	corking	short whites	miniken	
1760	large whites	short whites	miniken	
1761	corkg whites	short whites	miniken	
1765	[not specified]			
1766		short whites		
1768	corking	short whites		
1769	corkg	short whites	minikin	
1772	large	short whites		middling
1773	large		minikan	middling

George Washington's needs for pins surpassed those of the customers who frequented Alexander Henderson's store during the same time period. Henderson asked that his store be stocked with 480 pins in 1759, 576 in 1760, and 504 in 1765 for a total of less than 2000 in a 6-year period (Mount Vernon Archaeology Department 2012c). Henderson was not always specific about the types of pins he requested (Table 7-25). In 1759, he ordered three unspecified types with different values. He ordered an additional three specified types: large; Tiffanys; and Lettekins. The only pin type restocked the next year, in 1760, were large pins. The only other time that Henderson restocked his pin inventory was in 1765. In that year, he ordered four unspecified types, again with different values. In addition, Henderson specified orders for Durnfords, Tiffanies, and Lettikins. A trade card in The British Museum's collections online provides evidence that Durnford was a large pin-making company in London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (British Museum 2013). Thus far, research has uncovered nothing definitive on Tiffanys or Lettikins, though the latter sounds similar to lillikins, a hybrid of lils and minikins mentioned in Beaudry (2006). The store inventories suggest that more pin types were available for customers than those required by George Washington, perhaps reflecting the wider range of clientele and more variable uses to which they put the pins, but that the quantities in which they were stocked would have been inadequate for Washington's needs.

Table 7-25. Pins ordered by Alexander Henderson for his store in Colchester.

Year	Count	Description	Pounds	Shillings	Pence
1759	96	pins	1	0	0
1759	96	pins	1	4	0
1759	96	pins	1	10	0
1759	144	large pins	2	14	0
1759	24	Tiffanys	0	6	0
1759	24	Lettekins	0	6	0
1760	576	Large pins	1	8	0
1765	96	pins	1	0	0
1765	96	pins	1	4	0
1765	96	pins	1	8	0
1765	96	pins	1	12	0
1765	48	Durnford	1	0	0
1765	48	Tiffanies	not given		
1765	24	Lettikins	not given		

Analyzing the House for Families assemblage allows for a comparison of pin sizes used and discarded by the enslaved individuals living above the brick-lined cellar. Excavations yielded a total of 494 straight pins and pin fragments for a minimum pin count of 314 (DAACS 2012b) and 118 complete pins with measurable lengths. A histogram of the pin length data shows a tri-modal distribution of pins similar to the South Grove Midden's (Figure 7-21). In fact, a k-means cluster analysis run on three clusters yields remarkably similar means for the three clusters (Table 7-26). The similarity of the two pin assemblages between the sites could be a function of either source or need or a combination of both factors. Perhaps there were enough pins at Mount Vernon and that they flowed easily enough around the plantation that the enslaved individuals who used and discarded them did not need to purchase them on their own. These three pin types that George Washington found most useful also seem to have suited the needs of the individuals assigned to the House for Families.

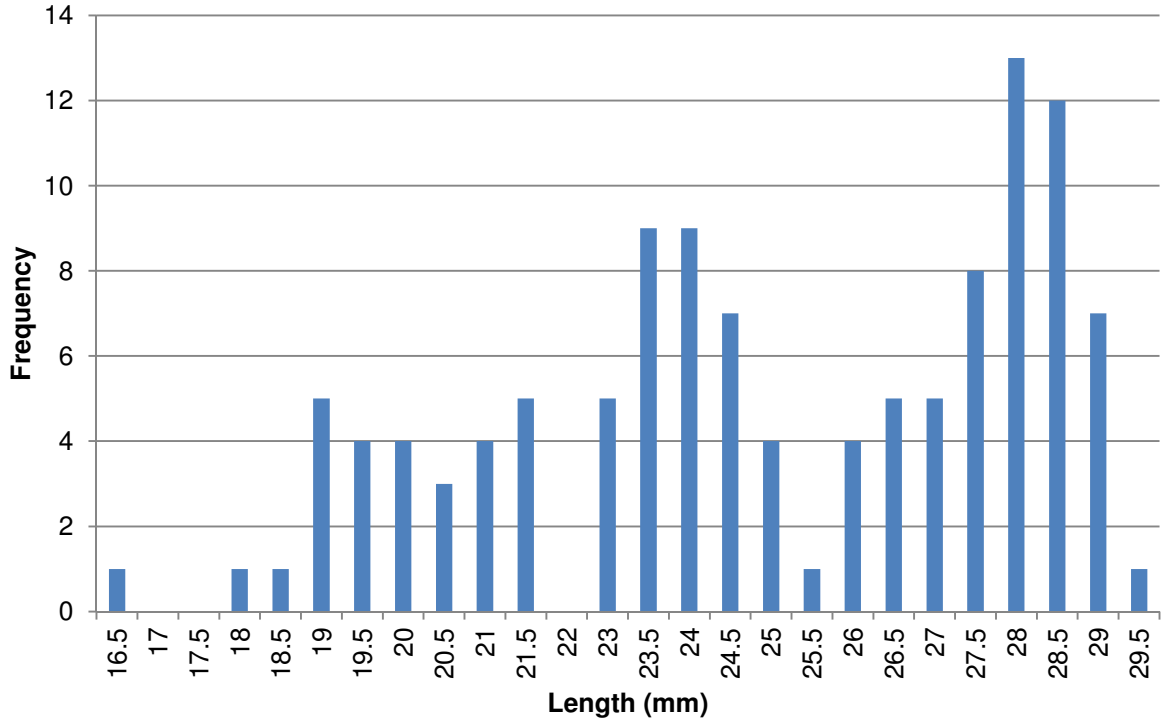


Figure 7-21. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the House for Families.

Table 7-26. K-means cluster analysis on the House for Families pin assemblage.

Cluster	n	Mean	Minimum	Maximum	95% confidence interval
1	52	28.15	26.41	29.5	+/-0.218: 27.93 to 28.367mm
2	40	24.27	22.84	26.17	+/-0.271: 24.005 to 24.546mm
3	26	20.13	16.95	21.8	+/-0.478: 19.648 to 20.604mm

Data from another mid-eighteenth century site in DAACS, however, raises the possibility that enslaved consumers used and discarded pins of other sizes. Fairfield Quarter, owned by the Burwell family of Gloucester County, Virginia, is represented by a complex series of structures represented by postholes and sub-floor pits that yielded a total of 339 pins and pin fragments for a minimum pin count of 245 with 150 complete pins with measurable lengths (Brown 2006; DAACS 2012b). Again, these data show three main groups with means similar to the South Grove and House for Families at approximately 20, 24, and 29mm (Figure 7-22). With so little data yet recovered or available on larger pins, it is hard at this point to state if the 1 pin at 34mm represents another type or is simply an outlier. What is intriguing about the pins from Fairfield is that there appears to be a cluster of pins in the 11.5 to 14mm range, distinctly smaller than any recovered from Mount Vernon and perhaps falling into the pin type that Beaudry (2006:24, figure 2.1) identifies as lills used for fastening clothing and sewing fine fabrics.

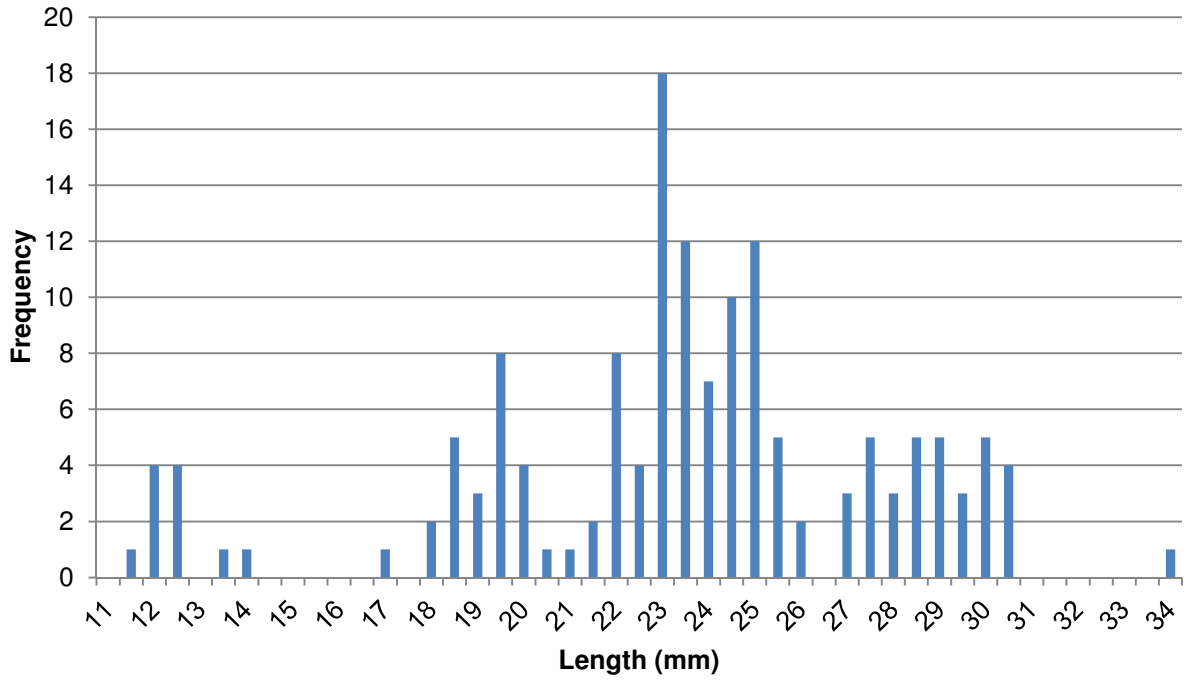


Figure 7-22. Distribution of straight pin lengths from the Fairfield Quarter.

The question remains, what did George Washington do with all those pins? Conclusive evidence can be found in his orders for other types of sewing-related material culture. From 1761 to 1766, Washington purchased 60 thimbles. From 1757 to 1771, he was invoiced for 6,200 needles. From 1754 to 1772, he was invoiced for 8023 buttons. Finally, the category of goods upon which Washington spent most of his money (38 percent) was textiles and he invested most of his money (31 percent) on the subcategory of fabric.

Could he have intended these bulk orders to facilitate the manufacturing suits of clothes for his growing community of enslaved individuals? A document recorded in 1759 lists the duties to which the newly formed enslaved community – individuals owned by George Washington already living at Mount Vernon and those owned by Martha from her first marriage, brought from Virginia's tidewater region following their marriage – were assigned. Two individuals sewed shirts for slaves: Squire, a 21-year-old man owned by Washington, and Scomberg, a 42-year-old man who was a dower slave. Betty, a 21-year-old woman (also a dower slave) may have also assisted in making clothes for slaves – her occupation was that of a seamstress. Though she may not have had need for pins, Phillis, a Washington slave age 25, spun raw fibers into thread that could be used to weave textiles for clothing. The majority of Washington's raw textiles were imported, but his slaves did produce some cloth for plantation use. Moll's duties speak to the occurrence of sewing for the Washington household. As a 19-year-old enslaved woman, she waited on Jacky and Patsy, performing various duties including sewing for them (Abbot 1988[6]:282).

The labor of these enslaved individuals clothed the growing African American community whose numbers, by 1765, had grown to nearly 70 enslaved adults. In 1774, Washington's farm manager recorded that male field slaves were issued a jacket, breeches, two

shirts, one pair of stockings and one pair of shoes and female field slaves received a petticoat, two shifts, a jacket, one pair of stockings and one pair of shoes. While the hose were purchased ready-made, the other articles of clothing were crafted from coarse linen like osnaburgs ordered from England. Men and boys assigned to duties of the household wore suits of livery made from fine wool and women and girls attending Martha Washington wore gowns made from finer cloth (Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington 2012).

In the eighteenth century, consumers entered stores or wrote letters to their English factors to buy luxury items. In this instance, however, straight pins fall into a category of consumer goods that represent conspicuous production as opposed to conspicuous consumption (Bell 2000). While straight pins were available to all segments of the colonial population, the decision to invest in mass quantities of pins for a large-scale clothes manufacturing was a pattern characteristic of elite planters, at least in the case of George Washington.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to systematically study differential consumer access to a broad range of goods circulating around the upper Potomac region of Virginia in the decades preceding the American Revolution utilizing a material culture approach that triangulated between the available evidence contained primarily in documentary and archaeological records. The extensive archaeological and documentary data associated with Mount Vernon plantation and the surrounding neighborhood offers a case study to address the perpetuation of the consignment system on the part of elite shoppers and the constraints on consumer choices available to any given colonial northern Virginian depending upon socio-economic factors. Twenty one artifact groups were studied and, in some cases, analytical tools developed to better recognize consumer behavior archaeologically. The final goal of this chapter was to gather the

material evidence available to explore the complex and multiple dimensions of consumer motivations.

Elite Consumer Motivation. The results of this systematic object analysis propose that elite consumers opted to perpetuate the consignment model even in the face of expanded local networks of retail trade for the following reasons. Elite planters had access to some consumer goods that their neighbors simply did not. Secondly, other patterns suggest that a particular consumer good could have been purchased through both avenues in this bifurcated system of trade, but that the array of options available through consignment enticed elite consumers. In other cases, while the goods may have been available locally, they were not stocked in the quantities that a planter like George Washington needed to operate such a large and diversified plantation operation. Inherent within these motivating factors is how elite consumers used the consignment system as a tactic of control of symbolic capital, a tool of cultural exclusion, a reinforcement of a genteel ideology at its height, and a bridge back to the source of high style and culture. Their success in these endeavors to manipulate material culture varied, however, as is documented in the evidence of non-elite consumer behaviors.

Expectedly, elite consumers like George Washington maintained their participation in the consignment model because they had the wealth to purchase, and the monopoly on, the most tasteful, fashionable, and novel objects available, and the consignment system gave them, in many cases, exclusive access to these goods. For some of the artifact classes studied here, this exclusivity and <u>controlled access</u> was more clearly the case for elite consumer motivation. As dining and the realm of foodways became more elaborate, fashion dictated, elite consumers demanded, and the market provided massive matched sets of ceramic tablewares in a diversity of forms allowing them to enact the fullest expression of a genteel table not possible from store

offerings. George Washington set a precedent for setting his genteel table as early as 1757, even before establishing a household with Martha Custis. In addition to matched sets of ceramics and glass, Washington invested in a large set of pewter plates, common to colonial consumers of all socio-economic groups. His pewter plates, however, were embellished with the family crest and thereby adopting the strategy of patina to elevate this common object with a claim to status conferred over several generations (McCracken 1988:34-35). Counter to the established theory of patina, however, Washington's persistent use of the family crest and coat of arms shows that the patina strategy was never fully eclipsed by the symbolism of his monogram even after the Revolutionary War (McCracken 1988; Yokota 2011). Restricted access to the tools, ingredients, and performance aspects of the punch ceremony allowed the colonial gentry to develop a ritual around this alcohol-based display of hospitality that simultaneously cemented social relationships within this closed circle, justified social hierarchy, and eased anxieties experienced by this liminal group on the wider trans-Atlantic stage.

Myriad other artifact types, such as buckles, chamber pots, and fans, could have been ordered through a factor or purchased at a local store. These goods were available to all levels of consumers, but elites were generally offered a broader range of choices through their British personal shoppers. As was the case for many local store owners, to operate a successful business, Alexander Henderson catered to a middling consumer (Patrick 1990). Therefore, it may not have been in his best interest to stock the shelves with every available type of folding fan, book, or tobacco pipe. However economical this choice on Henderson's part, we must consider the potential repercussions of this sound business model that essentially created a different universe of purchasable goods for the retail consumer. George Washington and his peers had access to an impressive range of choices of materials, qualities, and types that allowed them to stay abreast of

the fast-changing world of style and fashion that local store goers did not. Even for goods rarely seen outside the home, he could order fine ivory, horn, and tortoiseshell combs and chamber pots in the newest, most fashionable plain and decorated white salt-glazed stoneware. By emphasizing choice as evidence of a revolution in consumerism without a thorough and systematic understanding of its breadth and constraints, scholars of material culture run the risk of "obfuscate[ing] the underlying social relations of power and control" (Wurst and McGuire 1999:192). Elites enjoyed an access not to the books themselves, as Henderson invested heavily in this market, but to the range of subjects and therefore ideas contained in their pages. Washington did not even have to know the name of the title or author to ask his factor for the "newest and most approvd Treatise of Agriculture" (Abbot 1988[6]:317). This meant that Washington's neighbors without these trans-Atlantic connections were less likely to be knowledgeable of agricultural innovations that could have increased productivity and output and affected one's ability to attain greater prosperity and social mobility. If information imbued in material culture (symbolically and literally) is power, as Douglas and Isherwood (1979) suggest, elites retained a tight control over this type of cultural capital.

Other artifact groups, specifically buttons, milk pans, and straight pins, offer evidence that elites may have participated in the consignment system because local stores did not stock merchandise in the quantity necessary to operate a large-scale, diversified plantation with the goal of self-sufficiency. Alison Bell (2000) describes this consumer behavior as conspicuous production, as opposed to conspicuous consumption. Just as a fine carriage or elegant tea service might communicate prestige in the eighteenth century, a lucrative and self-sufficient plantation operation encompassing large land and slave holdings presented and perpetuated planter identity and success. Non-elites too were motivated just as powerfully by conspicuous production,

investing at a smaller scale in land, labor, and tools to increase productivity, signal success, and bequest something to future generations. As small as they are, straight pins literally underpinned a planter's efforts to sustain a productive plantation and therefore count himself among Virginia's elite. Washington's ability to purchase pins in mass quantities, those prosaic, redundant, and even "lowly" bits of material culture (Beaudry 2006), was central to his identity as a slaveholder, large land owner, and self-sufficient agriculturalist. In pins, Washington could visualize his patriarchical role in providing clothing for a community, but also strive to achieve a self-sufficient plantation free from reliance on British imports and colonial economies. While these three artifact categories were available to all segments of the colonial population, the decision to invest in significant quantities for large-scale dairying and clothes production efforts was an important motivation on the part of elite planters, at least in the case of George Washington.

Non-elite Consumer Motivation. Documentary and archaeological research, past and present (Carr and Walsh 1994; Martin 2008; Heath and Breen 2012), has found that acquisition of some of the very same goods found in elite households motivated middling and poor whites and enslaved blacks to enter into the consumer revolution, but presumably to achieve goals different than their wealthier neighbors or owners. In some cases, it appears that certain subgroups may have eschewed the formal marketplace altogether and instead relied on, for example, deep traditions of medicine and healing in the face of inadequate and invasive western practices. Perpetuation of African and folk-derived healing practices would have, in turn, lessened the demand for store-bought remedies and books detailing current western medical treatments. What this study clearly shows is that differential access to consumer goods was a reality dependent upon socio-economic status. With this basic fact now revealed in systematic

detail, the choices and underlying agency expressed particularly by enslaved individuals become even weightier. While acknowledging that there is still much more work to do in the documentary and archaeological records of non-elite consumers, including the development and analysis of more robust datasets, this object analysis points towards some potential motivations – empowerment through expression of choice and aesthetic preference, accrual and exhibition of prestige, and a complex process of emulation and appropriation.

Apparent in the archaeological assemblage excavated from a small cellar beneath the House for Families slave quarter are artifacts that exemplify expressions of aesthetic preference on the part of enslaved individuals assigned to duties on George Washington's Mansion House Farm. Specifically, the subassemblages of buttons, buckles, and stemware exhibit consumer choices not evident in the mixed midden assemblage suggesting that the communal enslaved household living near the mansion had aesthetic values that differed from the Washingtons and others whose refuse was deposited behind the kitchen. In the case of buttons, store goers demanded a variety of buttons not anticipated by even a seasoned merchant and not matched in Washington's invoices and orders. This aesthetic is hinted at in the subassemblage of linked buttons from the slave quarter context. Enslaved individuals living on plantations in the mid-eighteenth century had multiple sources from which to assemble and ways in which to enact an aesthetic that pleased, empowered, reflected, and transformed their concepts of self in relation to others (Howson 1995; Heath and Bennett 2000; King-Hammond 2008). The result, at least at the House for Families, was mismatched yet still fashionable tablewares, provisioned and carefully selected items of personal adornment, and ornately decorated wine glasses.

Meaning can be found even in items acquired through avenues of internal plantation trade, outside of the bounds of the formal economy. Certainly the different bead assemblages

from the two sites, whose means of acquisition point to informal trade networks, exhibit distinct aesthetic preferences for size and color. Other goods were acquired through what Galle (2006:80) defines as special provisioning or the non-uniform distribution of goods from master to slave either as gifts or hand-me-downs. In fact, this appears to have been the case for many of the objects excavated from the slave quarter including ceramics and tobacco pipes. The acquisition of these goods through this avenue does not diminish their active roles in signaling identity to others within this community (Galle 2006:80). Rewards, in the form of plates and dishes, bestowed upon these individuals who lived and labored in close proximity to the white household and exhibited specialized skills valued by the Washingtons allowed them to accrue a kind of prestige perhaps less available to those assigned to the fields of outlying farms. Individuals like Sally and Rose, the maids of Martha Washington and her daughter, most certainly could have been the beneficiaries of these specially provisioned goods (Abbot 1988[6]:282). However, while Sally and Rose received some of the material benefits of living in close proximity to the Washingtons, they undoubtedly incurred some of the costs as well, particularly in the realm of limited privacy and the requirement that they be constantly available to serve (Murtha 2011:58).

Sally, Rose, and others who appeared in the list of Mansion Farm slaves recorded by George Washington in 1759, some of whom undoubtedly lived in the House for Families, would have also been highly proficient in identifying and understanding the context of the use of those accoutrements of gentility worn by their masters, that decorated the mansion, and filled the outbuildings (Abbot 1988[6]:282). The individuals in this quarter were highly trained in setting a genteel table, dressing their master or mistress, and caring for and keeping clean household furnishings (Kern 2010). Mullins' (2004) suggestion, then, that nineteenth and twentieth century

domestic laborers were introduced to and even swayed by the material culture found in the white homes in which they worked – essentially offering that consumer strategies of emulation still hold interpretive power – find a particular resonance in this context. Appropriation of these tools of gentility, and therefore the values conferred upon them, must have been initially quite disconcerting to elite plantation owners and offered a visual affront to the reigning rigid hierarchies (Breen 2004). An often-cited quote by a Polish visitor to the Mount Vernon estate in 1797 captures this sentiment: "We entered one of the huts of the Blacks… The husband and wife sleep on a mean pallet, the children on the ground; a very bad fireplace, some utensils for cooking, but in the middle of this poverty some cups and a teapot" (Niemcewicz 1965). These sentiments are echoed in runaway servant and slave advertisements that carefully detail the quality of the freedom seeker's dress (Heath 1999; Breen 2004:160-161). But over the course of the eighteenth century, what was still worthy of comment to a European visitor unfamiliar with the institution and materiality of slavery must have become much less shocking to Virginia's slave owners, inured to these appropriations of gentility.

Future Research. This study has pointed future material culture specialists towards potential motivations possessed by different groups during the mid-eighteenth century consumer revolution and some tools through which to explore these dimensions. Five additional artifact groups – beads, wine bottle seals, thimbles, tobacco pipes, and tacks – offer promising avenues for future research on consumer choice as represented through the archaeological record. Determining metrics via k-means cluster analysis on a robust sample of thimbles would fix size to function and allow archaeologists to more thoroughly explore gender and childhood as represented by these artifacts. A study of tobacco pipes with the goal of being able to identify short versus long pipes from fragmentary remains would facilitate further study of class and race

on colonial plantations. Finally, tacks, our best evidence for furniture in the archaeological record, requires the collection of a robust dataset and the application of k-means cluster analysis to better understand variation in tack size which may be related to investment in upholstered furniture in different households.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

When compiled, this systematic object analysis of both unique and redundant classes of artifacts, of the minutia of materiality of life in the eighteenth century yields a complex and compelling narrative. The narrative begins… two men walk into a store. One does so only vicariously – through a middle man thousands of miles away whom he has entrusted to buy what he needs to convey a sense of gentility, bolster the life of an elite planter, and support a productive plantation, all at the right and fair price. The other man passes through the threshold of his most convenient retail outlet bearing hard-earned cash, a wagon load of tobacco, or other goods in exchange for available merchandise. Revealing the experiences and motivations of these different consumers, as recorded in documentary and archaeological sources, has been the primary focus of this dissertation. Through this study, differential access to consumer goods driven by the material culture evidence, I offer new insights into and new methods of analysis for our artifact assemblages that will hopefully find resonance on comparable historic sites.

The consumer revolution as experienced by elites like George Washington fueled attempts to solidify an ideology of gentility that naturalized the colonial social order through a system of refined, pleasing, and polite material culture (household goods, architecture, landscape, modes of behavior, and forms of entertainment), the performance of manners and expressions of etiquette, and attunement to notions of fashion, style, luxury, novelty, and patina. Why did elites, particularly in this period of increasing demographic and economic stability and class consolidation, need to distinguish themselves from their slaves or less wealthy neighbors by enacting a genteel ethos? The ideology of gentility faced repeated challenges to its dominance in the decades before the Revolutionary War. The onslaught came from all directions – economic, cultural, and material. The price that gentility incurred in the pocketbooks of elite consumers

introduced unprecedented levels of debt to and dependence on their British agents. These agents were not nameless, faceless bankers, but instead perceived of as friends and partners, which made the sting of credit contraction and debt collection feel even deeper (Breen 1985). Additionally, roving bands of religious revivalists introduced concepts of freedom and equality in a sacred vocabulary that challenged traditional hierarchies in the church and beyond (Isaac 1982). Colonial elites, though solidly entrenched at the top of cultural, social, racial, and economic hierarchies in the new world continued to be perceived of as inferior to their peers in England (Rozbicki 1998). This sense of inferiority and liminality on the trans-Atlantic stage motivated colonial elite consumers to strengthen their cultural and material connections back to the motherland and, hopefully, ease these anxieties (Rozbicki 1998; Yokota 2011). Finally, the mass availability of goods, once only the purview of the highest status individuals, offered its own kind of destabilizing force as "choice in the consumer marketplace had begun to uncouple status and class" (Breen 2004:158). Outward signals of fashion and wealth no longer directly correlated to an individual's economic worth, disconcerting to those relying on traditional modes of communication in this time of transformation (Carson 1994).

What were the effects of these challenges to the colonial social order? The response by George Washington and his peers was to double down on their commitment to the consignment system. Washington did so to the tune of nearly £5000 over the course of the two decades preceding the Revolutionary War. Within the documentation of Washington's orders and invoices for goods, this commitment is evident most clearly in the early 1760s. After only a brief decrease in the flow of goods from England to Mount Vernon in 1769, resulting from Washington's support of the non-importation acts, his purchases of imported goods picked right back up to pre-Stamp Act levels. The time, energy, and cost associated with consignment is

evident in the unpredictable wait times for shipments of goods, the sometimes inferior quality of goods supplied, and the exorbitant price of admission (in the form of associated fees) into this mode of economic transaction.

This unwavering participation in the consignment system appears even more questionable in light of the increased local availability of goods supplied by Scottish merchants acting on behalf of major retail conglomerates like Glassford and Company. The growing and increasingly reliable transportation networks that connected plantations to these burgeoning towns and centers of trade at mid-century made acquiring goods locally all the more convenient, particularly for the laborers, yeoman planters, and enslaved individuals, to a more limited extent, who patronized these retail outlets. Additionally, when viewed at the macro-level, it appears that store offerings were comparable to the types of goods that George Washington had access to direct from England. Textiles and plantation hardware dominate the broad categories of consumer goods ordered by Washington and supplied by merchant Alexander Henderson. When broken down into smaller sub-categories of goods, the two datasets exhibit nearly identical investments in imports, specifically, fabric and notions in the textile category and tools in the hardware category. Were elite consumers, then, so thoroughly economically entangled in the consignment system that they found it difficult or undesirable to extricate themselves? Was this simply a case of old habits dying hard? Or did the Chesapeake colonial gentry rely on and perpetuate a system of differential access to consumer goods "to assist in creating structured social distancing" and, therefore cling to an imperfect and ailing mode of transaction (Patrick 1990:73; Yentsch 1994:135-139)?

In fact, if we drill down more deeply and systematically into the data, discrepancies in this bifurcated system of trade are quickly exposed. These discrepancies exhibit an inverse

relationship to the scale of analysis: macro scale, access to goods appears equal; micro scale, differential access to goods becomes apparent. Overall, Henderson offered a lesser array of individual items and categories and subcategories of goods than that ordered by Washington. Admittedly, Henderson catered to a middling consumer. It was not in his economic interest to stock his store with high priced luxury items that he knew might have a smaller chance of selling despite these merchants' eventual goals to expand into this market. But what this bifurcation in access to merchandise essentially created was two different worlds of goods for two broad socio-economic groups – the differences in which we are now able to see quite clearly.

Elite consumers persisted and were motivated to consume in this exchange model for three reasons: access; choice; and self-sufficiency. Their mainline back to England afforded them access to goods simply not available at the local store. It afforded them a staggering array of options not just in individual items, but also in types of a single item. It afforded them access to the quantities of materials necessary to invest in and sustain a large-scale, diversified plantation operation. The results of this all-encompassing, material culture approach suggest that while many socio-economically and racially diverse men and women may have entered through store thresholds, the merchandise offered there was not the same as the inventory available through consignment. The specter of keeping up with the Joneses, the ideal of elite emulation simply could not have been realized through locally available goods. Yeoman planters or enslaved households would not have found the matched tableware in a diversity of forms needed to set a most fashionable table. The availability of formally marked objects, harkening back to an ancient pedigree or imbued with the power of the individual, remained the purview of the elite consumer. The esoteric knowledge contained in books on diverse subjects readily available through consignment certainly supported the ideology of gentility and reified existing social

structures as did the ritualization of the punch ceremony. Even on a practical level, the quantities of goods like straight pins and milk pans needed to sustain a large and diversified plantation could not have been found at the local store. Thus, through this systematic object analysis it becomes evident that the marketplace was not egalitarian and that choice was not as boundless as the term "consumer revolution" might imply.

With every hogshead they consigned, with every yard of fabric they ordered and plate they were invoiced for, with every consumer choice they made, elites used material culture simultaneously as fence and bridge (Douglas and Isherwood 1979:xv; McCracken 1988:). By importing the materiality of English style and fashion to colonial Virginia, wealthy planters attempted to create a link between motherland and colony. By drawing upon symbols of ancestry and pedigree, in the form of formally marked objects, George Washington and others drew a line of continuity between old and new worlds that they hoped would be strong enough to fight the forces of cultural drift (McCracken 1988:131-135). It was not simply the goods themselves, but the mode through which they were accessed that created a boundary between colonial elites and non-elites. The consignment system allowed them "to monitor if not to control the acquisition of status-designating items within a broader spectrum of less-advantaged households" (Yentsch 1994:135-139). Through the world of goods available to them through their British factors, the Chesapeake's colonial gentry concretized an ideology of gentility that persisted until and perhaps beyond the American Revolution (McCracken 1988:131-135; Yokota 2011).

Controlling the flow of goods and erecting boundaries around sub-cultures was never as easy as the colonial gentry had intended. Just as elites were deploying material culture as instruments of continuity, non-elites were experiencing goods as instruments of change (McCracken 1998). The sheer act of entering a store, choosing an item (however constrained that

choice may have been), and purchasing it with cash, tobacco, or barter put slaves and poor and middling whites on the same playing field, at the very least, as the colonial gentry (Martin 2008:174). Within Alexander Henderson's inventories, we are given glimpses that store goers quickly became adept at expressing choice through consumer demand and that merchants felt this pressure to meet their needs (see also Breen 2004; Martin 2008). These glimpses are more obviously evidenced through the running commentary between Henderson and his employer John Glassford wherein the merchant conveys consumer complaints about inferior, broken, or old-fashioned goods – complaints nearly identical to those of an elite and experienced consumer like George Washington – and more subtly through the shifts in the richness and diversity of goods stocked from year to year. These were not passive shoppers, but instead active participants in shaping, to a certain extent, their world of goods. "The act of choosing could be liberating, even empowering, for it allowed [consumers] to determine for themselves what the process of self-fashioning was all about" (Breen 2004:151). American children experience the power of purchase the first time they spend their hard-earned allowance. This act must have been all the more empowering to enslaved communities issued standard dress, but who actively sought out elements of personal adornment such as beads, linked buttons, and buckles to express individuality and aesthetic preference.

Within the layers of soil at Mount Vernon and myriad other plantation sites, the complexities of access to and flow of consumer goods becomes apparent. In the archeological record is evidence that some types of goods transgressed the lines established by the formal, bifurcated economy. On Mount Vernon plantation, we witness how goods flowed through informal and poorly documented avenues. While elites sought to erect fences between their group and others through the perpetuation of the consignment system, sometimes the forces

destabilizing these boundaries were the fence builders themselves. Though they may have intended the handing down of old or out-dated goods from "big" house to small as a symbolic act in true patriarchical form, to the enslaved recipients, these may have goods operated in ways that were just as important as those chosen from store shelves. It appears at Mount Vernon that there was a tight material connection between the Washington families and those living in the House for Families slave quarter in the form of special provisions, or those items given to slaves as gifts or rewards, such as table and teawares, wine glasses, and perhaps even tobacco pipes. Among the carpenters, shirtmakers, maids, spinners, seamstresses, and laundresses listed in an informal census of Mansion House Farm slaves taken in 1759, any could have easily been the beneficiaries of these goods once used by the Washingtons (Abbot 1988[6]:282). The social alliances afforded to those slaves working and living in close proximity to their master and their master's family allowed for the accrual of a kind of prestige within the enslaved community itself and a bridge between plantation communities within the bounds of a solidly patriarchical tradition (Galle 2006; Kern 2010:101-102).We must acknowledge, however, both the foundation and function of this bridge. The material enmeshment of these two communities was constructed from the constant negotiations and tensions between elite and enslaved households as viewed through our modern interpretive lens. Through proper comportment and attention to duties assigned, these enslaved individuals could earn tips or special provisions that they and their relatives certainly enjoyed. Enslaved domestic servants and artisans lived and labored in close proximity to and under constant surveillance of their master and their master's guests, however, in ways that their community members living on outlying farms did not.

What were the consequences of a proliferation of goods that functioned as bridges between free and enslaved individuals living on plantations in the mid-eighteenth century? How

were their everyday lives "changed by possession of newfangled artifacts" and what was the potential of these artifacts for rearranging social order (Carson 2001)? Within the House for Families assemblage, we witness evidence of artifacts such as a watch seal that represents an act of strategic emulation, an appropriation of an item of material culture and the values of gentility and education that it embodies that effectively shortened the material distance between plantation opposites. But the question left to be addressed is did this act of consumption lessen the social distance as well? Enslaved communities living on plantations could have collectively rejected fine porcelains, buttons, and buckles that fill slave quarter cellars, pits, and middens, but instead they embraced them. On a practical level, these things were readily available and increasingly so over the course of the eighteenth century. On a theoretical level, adoption of this material repertoire and "successful acquisition of commodities and consumer goods by slaves was a basic determinant of larger changes within slave society and how the Anglo-American culture viewed slaves" (Martin 2008:174). To Breen (2004:156), a slave acquiring a watch seal constitutes a "choice of out bounds" or a consumer decision made by non-elites that "transgressed the older boundaries of class and status." If "the pleasures and frustrations of so many consumer choices" compelled a colonial population to fight for freedom from tyranny, we should be equally cognizant of the effects it may have had on enslaved Africans and African Americans (Breen 2004:192).

Consumer choice certainly did not mitigate the extreme factors of enslavement, but we are left to wonder about the effects of the collective wave formed over the course of many decades by small acts of consumption, by choice after out-of-bound choice. To call the mid-eighteenth century expansion of consumerism outwards and downwards a revolution risks ignoring or glossing over just how equally individuals of differing socio-economic groups

experienced the radical shift in access to goods. Through a systematic analysis of classes of material culture, this dissertation offers evidence of differential access to consumer goods in this period tied to economic, social, and racial factors and how elites attempted to maintain this situation through the continued participation in the trans-Atlantic consignment system. While additional research is needed on non-elite consumer behavior as reflected in the archaeological record through the re-analysis of old collections and the excavation of new, enslaved individuals living at Mount Vernon eagerly participated in the marketplace, formally and informally, in ways that suggest an upending of social order through the power of material culture.

LIST OF REFERENCES

Abbot, W. W., editor
1983 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 1. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W., editor
1983 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 2. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W., editor
1984 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 4. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W., editor
1988 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 5. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W., editor
1988 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 6. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W. and Dorothy Twohig, editors
1990 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 7. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W. and Dorothy Twohig, editors
1993 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 8. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W. and Dorothy Twohig, editors
1994 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 9. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W. and Dorothy Twohig, editors
1995 *The Papers of George Washington: Colonial Series* vol. 10. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Abbot, W. W., editor
1999 *The Papers of George Washington: Retirement Series* vol. 4. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Anonymous
[1743] *Portrait of Lawrence Washington*. Oil on canvas. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Appadurai, Arjun
1986 Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value. In *The Social Life of Things*, Arjun Appadurai, editor, pp. 3-63. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Armstrong, Nancy
1974 *A Collector's History of Fans*. Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., New York, NY.

Aultman, Jennifer, Donald Gaylord, Jillian Galle, Kate Grillo, Chris Mundy, Jesse Sawyer, and Karen Smith
2012 DAACS Cataloguing Manual: General Artifacts. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/wp-content/uploads/general-artifacts.pdf>. Accessed 9 July 2013.

Ayres, Edward L., Lewis L. Gould, David M. Oshinsky, and Jean R. Soderlund
2009 *American Passages: A History of the United States, Fourth Edition*. Wadsworth, Boston.

Barca, Kathryn Gertrude
2012 "The Best Kind of Long Ones": Tobacco Smoking at George Washington's Mount Vernon. Master's thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. < http://mountvernonmidden.org/resources/The%20Best%20Kind%20of%20Long%20Ones.pdf>. Accessed 10 July 2013.

Barka,, Norman F.
2004 Archaeology of a Colonial Pottery Factory: The Kilns and Ceramics of the "Poor Potter" of Yorktown. In *Ceramics in America*, Robert Hunter, editor, pp. 15-47. Chipstone Foundation, London.

Barker, David
1999 The Ceramic Revolution 1650-1850. In *Old and New Worlds: Historical/Post Medieval Archaeology Papers from the Societies' Joint Conferences at Williamsburg and London 1997 to Mark Thirty Years of Work and Achievement*, Geoff Egan and R. L. Michael, editors, pp. 226-234. Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK.

Baumgarten, Linda
2002 *What Clothes Reveal: The Language of Clothing in Colonial and Federal America*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Beaudry, Mary C.
2006 *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

2008 "Above Vulgar Economy:" The Intersection of Historical Archaeology and Microhistory in Writing Archaeological Biographies of Two New England Merchants. In *Small Worlds: Method, Meaning, and Narrative in Microhistory*, James F. Brooks, Christopher R. N. DeCorse, and John Walton, editors, pp. 173-198. School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.

2010 Privy to the Feast: "Eighty to Supper Tonight." *In Table Settings: The Material Culture and Social Context of Dining, AD 1700-1900*, James Symonds, editor, pp. 62-79. Oxbow Books, Oxford, UK.

Beaudry, Mary C., Janet Long, Henry M. Miller, Fraser D. Neiman, and Garry Wheeler Stone
1988 A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System. In *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, Mary C. Beaudry, editor, pp. 51-67. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Beaudry, Mary C., Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski
1991 Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse. In *The Archaeology of Inequality: Material Culture, Domination, and Resistance*, Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter, editors, pp. 150-191. Blackwell, Oxford, UK.

Bell, Alison Kay
2000 *Conspicuous Production: Agricultural and Domestic Material Culture in Virginia, 1700-1900.* Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Bell, Claes
2013 Credit Card Interest Rates for Jan. 17, 2013. <http://finance.yahoo.com/news/credit-card-interest-rates-jan-080125568.html>. Accessed 17 January 2013.

Berlin, Ira
1998 *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America*. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Bezdek, Richard H.
1994 *American Swords and Sword Makers*, vol. 1. Paladin Press, Boulder, CO.

Bourdieu, Pierre
1984 *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Routledge, London, UK.

Bowen, Joanne
1993 Faunal Remains from the House for Families Cellar (44FX762/47). Report to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Bowen, Joanne, Steve Atkins, Susan Andrews, and Dessa Lightfoot
2012a Mount Vernon South Grove Faunal Catalogue. Report to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2012b South Grove Phased NISP, MNI, Meat Weight, Biomass. Report to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Breen, Eleanor E.
2003 Whose Trash is it, Anyway? A Stratigraphic and Ceramic Analysis of the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17), Mount Vernon, Virginia. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Boston.

2004 Whose Trash is it, Anyway? A Stratigraphic and Ceramic Analysis of the South Grove Midden (44FX762/17), Mount Vernon, Virginia. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 33:111-130.

2012 "One More Bowl and Then?": A Material Culture Analysis of Punch Bowls. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 28:81-97.

2013 South Grove Midden: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. < http://www.daacs.org/sites/south-grove/#background>. Accessed 13 November 2013.

Breen, T.H.
1985 *Tobacco Culture: The Mentality of the Great Tidewater Planters on the Eve of Revolution*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

1994 "Baubles of Britain:" The American and Consumer Revolutions of the Eighteenth Century. In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors, pp. 444-482.University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, VA.

2004 *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

Brekke, Linzy
2006 "To Make a Figure": Clothing and the Politics of Male Identity in Eighteenth-Century America. In *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*, John Styles and Amanda Vickery, editors, pp. 225-246. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Brewer, James and Roy Porter
1993 *Consumption and the World of Goods*. Routledge, London.

Brighton, Stephen
2001 Prices that Suit the Times: Shopping for Ceramics at the Five Points. *Historical Archaeology* 35(3):149-164.

British Museum
2013 DRAFT Trade Card of Richard Durnford, pin and needle maker. The British Museum, London, UK.
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3204449&partId=1&searchText=richard%20durnford>. Accessed 23 June 2013.

Brock, Daniel
2012 Contextualizing the Tipton-Haynes State Historic Site (40WG59): Understanding Landscape at an Upland South Farmstead. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Brown, David A.
2006 Fairfield Quarter: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/13/>. Accessed 9 July 2013.

Buchli, Victor
2002 Introduction. In *The Material Culture Reader*, Victor Buchli, editor, pp. 1-22. Berg, New York, NY.

Bushman, Richard L.
1992 *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities*. Random House, New York, NY.

Butler, Jon
2000 *Becoming America: The Revolution before 1776*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Cadou, Carol Borchart
2006 *The George Washington Collection: Fine and Decorative Arts at Mount Vernon*. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Callahan, Charles H.
1913 *Washington: The Man and the Mason*. Press of Gibson Brothers, Inc., Washington, DC.

Carr, Lois Green and Lorena S. Walsh
1994 Changing Lifestyles and Consumer Behavior in the Colonial Chesapeake. In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors, pp. 59-166. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Carson, Barbara G.
1990 *Ambitious Appetites: Dining, Behavior, and Patterns of Consumption in Federal Washington*. The American Institute of Architects Press, Washington, DC.

Carson, Cary
1994 The Consumer Revolution in Colonial America: Why Demand? In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors, pp. 483-697. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

2001 Teaching Visitors about the Consumer Revolution. *The Colonial Williamsburg Interpreter* 22(1).
<http://research.history.org/Historical_Research/Research_Themes/ThemeRespect/ConsumerRev.cfm>. Accessed 2 May 2011.

Carson, Cary, Joanne Bowen, Willie Graham, Martha McCartney, and Lorena Walsh
2008 New World, Real World: Improvising English Culture in Seventeenth-Century Virginia. *The Journal of Southern History* LXXIV(1):31-88.

Carson, Cary, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors
1994 *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, VA.

Casper, Scott E.
2008a *Sarah Johnson's Mount Vernon: The Forgotten History of an American Shrine.* Hill and Wang, New York, NY.

2008b A Mount Vernon Slave Census, 1815-1861.
< http://www.unr.edu/cla/history/casper.html>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

Center for History and New Media, George Mason University and Gunston Hall Plantation
2006 Probing the Past: Virginia and Maryland Probate Inventories, 1740-1810, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA. < http://chnm.gmu.edu/probateinventory/index.php>. Accessed 1 September 2009.

Chambers, Douglas B.
1996 'He Is an African But Speaks Plain:' Historical Creolization in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. In *The African Diaspora*, Alusine Jalloh and Stephen E. Maizlish, editors, pp.100-133. Texas A&M University Press, College Station.

2005 *Murder at Montpelier: Igbo Africans in Virginia*. University Press of Mississippi, Jackson.

Chase, Philander D.
2008 *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series* vol. 17. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Chernow, Ron
2010 *Washington: A Life*. The Penguin Press, New York, NY.

Clark, Ellen McCallister
1988 George Washington and Slavery at Mount Vernon. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Clemens, Paul G. E.
2005 The Consumer Culture of the Middle Atlantic, 1760-1820. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 63(4):577-624.

Crackel, Theodore J., editor
2008 *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*. The University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, VA. Accessed 25 March 2012.

Crane, Brian, Julie Abell, J. Sanderson Stevens, Madeleine Pappas, Carter Shields, Marie-Lorraine Pipes, and Justine Woodward McKnight
1999 Data Recovery Excavations at Site 44PW885 Town of Dumfries, Prince William County, Virginia U.S. Route 1/Possom Point Road. Report to Virginia Department of Transportation, Richmond, from De Leuw, Cather & Co. and Parsons Engineering Science, Inc., Fairfax, VA.

Crews, Ed
2002 How Much is that in Today's Money? *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Summer. <http://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Summer02/money2.cfm>. Accessed 3 August 2013.

Crowl, Heather
2006 Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 44PW1199, Innovation Property, Prince William County, Virginia. Report to Prince William County Historic Preservation Division, Woodbridge, VA from URS, Gaithersburg, MD.

Cochran, Matthew D. and Mary C. Beaudry
2006 Material Culture Studies and Historical Archaeology. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry, editors, pp. 191-204. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Cofield, Sara Rivers
2011 *Dazzling Duds: Metal Threads in the 17th Century*. <http://www.jefpat.org/CuratorsChoiceArchive/2011CuratorsChoice/Nov2011-Dazzling%20Duds-Metal%20Thread%20in%20the%2017th-Century.html>. Accessed 27 November 2012.

2012 Linked Buttons of the Middle Atlantic, 1670-1800. *Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology* 28:99-116.

Cook, Lauren J.
1989 Tobacco-Related Material Culture and the Construction of Working Class Culture. In Interdisciplinary Investigations of the Boott Mills, Lowell, Massachusetts. Vol. III: The Boarding House System as a Way of Life, Mary C. Beaudry and Stephen A. Mrozowski, editors, pp. 209-230. Cultural Resources Management Study, No. 21, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, North Atlantic Regional Office, Boston, MA.

Coombs, John C.
2011 The Phases of Conversion: A New Chronology for the Rise of Slavery in Early Virginia. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 68(3):332-360.

Cooper, J. I.
1978 Lawrence Washington: A Neglected Older Brother. *History Today,* 28(8):516-521.

Coulter, Calvin B.
1945 The Import Trade of Colonial Virginia. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 2(3):296-314.

Cuddy, Thomas
2008 *Revolutionary Economics: What Archaeology Reveals about the Birth of American Capitalism.* Alta Mira Press, Lanham, MD.

DAACS
2010 Artifact Query 5, August 15, 2012. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2011 The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Monticello, VA. <www.daacs.org>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

2012a Artifact Query 4, November 8, 2012. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2012b Artifact Query 5, August 15, 2012. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013a Context Query 1, June 29, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013b Artifact Query 5, March 10, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013c Mean Ceramic Date Query 1, June 26, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013d Artifact Query 5, August 27, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013e Artifact Query 5, January 7, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

2013f Artifact Query 5, August 27, 2013. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/>.

Dalzell, Robert F. and Lee Baldwin Dalzell.
1998 *George Washington's Mount Vernon: At Home in Revolutionary America*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

Deagan, Kathleen A.
2002 *Artifacts of the Spanish Colonies of Florida and the Caribbean, 1500-1800, Vol. 2, Portable Personal Possessions*. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Deetz, James
1977 *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life*. Doubleday, Garden City, NJ.

Delle, James A., Stephen A. Mrozowski, Robert Paynter
2000 *Lines that Divide: Historical Archaeologies of Race, Class, and Gender*. The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Demos, John
2004 *Circles and Lines: The Shape of Life in Early America*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Detweiler, Susan G.
1982 *George Washington's Chinaware*. Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, NY.

Digital Encyclopedia of George Washington
2012 Slave Clothing. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA. <http://www.mountvernon.org/educational-resources/encyclopedia/slave-clothing>. Accessed 1 December 2012.

Douglas, Mary and Baron Isherwood
1979 *The World of Goods: Towards Anthropology of Consumption*. Basic Books, New York, NY. Reprinted with a new introduction by Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood 1996 by Routledge, London, UK.

Dutton, H.I. and S.R.H Jones
1983 Invention and Innovation in the British Pin Industry, 1790-1850. *The Business History Review* 57(2):175-193.

Edwards-Ingram, Ywone
2005 *Medicating Slavery: Motherhood, Heath Care, and Cultural Practices in the African Diaspora*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of American Studies, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Fales, Martha Gandy
1995 *Jewelry in America, 1600-1900*. Antique's Collectors' Club Ltd., Suffolk, UK.

Farner, Richard L. and Barbara A. Farner
2000 Gunston Hall Plantation Probate Inventory Database Manual. <http://www.gunstonhall.org/library/probate/manual.pdf>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

Fauber, J. Everette, Jr.
1980 The John Carlyle House, Alexandria, Virginia. Restoration Report for the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, from Fauber Garbee, Inc., Forest, VA.

Fitzpatrick, John C. (editor)
1931 *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources,* vol. 2. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

1937 *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources,* vol. 3. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.

Franklin, Maria
2004 *An Archaeological Study of the Rich Neck Slave Quarter and Enslaved Domestic Life*. Colonial Williamsburg Research Publications, Williamsburg, VA and Dietz Press, Richmond, VA.

2007 Palace Lands: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/34/>. Accessed 1 September 2013.

Freeman, Douglas A.
1948 *George Washington, A Biography: Volume 1, Young Washington*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, NY.

Ford, Worthington Chauncey
1900 *George Washington, Volume 1*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Furgerson, Kathleen A., Varna G. Boyd, Thomas Cuddy, and Cassandra Michaud
2005 Phase III Archaeological Data Recovery Sites 18PR476, 18PR478, 18PR482, and 18PR496, Preserve at Piscataway, Prince George's County, MD. Report to Bailey's Associates, L. P., Vienna, VA from URS Corporation, Gaithersburg, MD.

Gaines, William H.
1955 To the Walls of Cartagena, or How 'Mount Vernon' Got its Name. *Virginia Cavalcade* 5(3):4-7.

Galle, Jillian E.
2006 *Strategic Consumption: Archaeological Evidence for Costly Signaling among Enslaved Men and Women in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake.* Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

2010 Costly Signaling and Gendered Social Strategies among Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake: An Archaeological Perspective. *American Antiquity* 75(1):19-43.

Gardner, William M., Kimberly A. Snyder, Gwen J. Hurst, and Tammy Bryant
1996 Phase II and Phase III Archeological Investigations of 44FX885, Fairfax County, Virginia (VDHR File No. 95-2142-F). Report to Chambers Construction Company, Lorton, VA, from Thunderbird Archeological Associates, Inc., Woodstock, VA.

Garrow, Patrick H. and Thomas R. Wheaton, Jr.
1986 Final Report, Oxon Hill Manor, Archaeological Site Mitigation Project, I-95/MD 210/I-295. Vols. 1 and 2. Report prepared for the Maryland Department of Transportation, by Garrow and Associates, Inc, Atlanta, GA.

Gazin-Schwarz, Amy
2001 Archaeology and Folklore of Material Culture, Ritual, and Everyday Life. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5(4):263-280.

Glassie, Henry
1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: A Structural Analysis of Historic Artifacts*. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Gomez, Michael A.
1998 *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Identities in the Colonial and Antebellum South*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Goodwin, Lorinda B. R.
1999 *An Archaeology of Manners: The Polite World of the Merchant Elite of Colonial Massachusetts*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, NY.

Graham, Willie, Carter L. Hudgins, Carl R. Lounsbury, Fraser D. Neiman, and James P. Whittenburg
2007 Adaptation and Innovation: Archaeological and Architectural Perspectives on the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 64(3):451-522

Green, Chris
1999 *John Dwight's Fulham Pottery: Excavations 1971-79*. English Heritage, London, UK.

Greene, Jack P.
1988 *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Griffenhagan, George B. and James Harvey Young
1992 Old English Patent Medicines in America. *Pharmacy in History* 34(4):199-229.

Grillo, Kate and Jennifer Aultman
2003 DAACS Cataloguing Manual: Beads. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/wp-content/uploads/beads.pdf>. Accessed 9 July 2013.

Grillo, Kate, Jennifer Aultman, and Nick Bon-Harper
2003 DAACS Cataloguing Manual: Buckles. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/wp-content/uploads/buckles.pdf>. Accessed 1 September 2013.

Groover, Mark D. and Timothy E. Baumann
1996 "They Worked their own Remedy:" Medicine and the Archaeological Record. *South Carolina Antiques* 28(1 and 2):21-32.

Hackett, John Francis, revised by Harry G. Heiss and Mary A. Lacy
2000 John Glassford and Company: A Register of Its Records in the Library of Congress. Finding Aid prepared by Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC < http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/mss/eadxmlmss/eadpdfmss/1998/ms998016.pdf>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

Hall, David D.
1994 Books and Reading in Eighteenth-Century America. In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century,* Peter J. Albert, Cary Carson, and Ronald Hoffman, editors, pp. 354-372. The University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Hamrick, Charles and Virginia Hamrick
1999 *Virginia Merchants: Alexander Henderson, Factor for John Glassford at this Colchester Store (Fairfax County, VA), His Letterbook of 1758-1766.* Iberian Publishing Company, Athens, GA.

2004 *Virginia Merchants: Alexander Smith & Son, Alexandria County, Virginia: His Letter Book of 1803-1822*. New Papyrus Publishing, Athens, GA.

2007 *Colonial Supermarket: Daniel Payne's Ledger for his Store at Dumfries in Prince William County, Virginia for the Years 1758-1764, a Transcript.* New Papyrus Publishing, Athens, GA.

2011 *Virginia Merchants: William Hodgson of Alexandria, His Daybook for 1800-1803: A Transcript Based on the Original Daybook*. Iberian Publishing Company, Athens, GA.

Hancock, David
2009 *Oceans of Wine: Madeira and the Emergence of America Trade and Taste*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Handler, Jerome
1994 Determining African Birth from Skeletal Remains: A Note on Tooth Mutilation. *Historical Archaeology* 28(3):113-119.

Hanson, James A.
2001 Shot Sizes – What do they mean? *Quarterly – The Museum of the Fur Trade* 2001:7-13.

Hardin, John and Gersham Keyes
1752 Inventory of Lawrence Washington Esq. Estate in Frederick County, December 23. Historical Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Harris, Sarah
2012 The Sight of Roadkill Makes a Pretty, Data-Rich Picture. *All Things Considered*, National Public Radio, December 1. <http://www.npr.org/blogs/alltechconsidered/2012/12/02/166320907/the-sight-of-road-kill-makes-a-pretty-data-rich-picture>. Accessed 4 July 2013.

Hartzler, David D.
2000 *Silver Mounted Swords: The Lattimer Family Collection featuring Silver Hilts through the Golden Age*, vol. 1. Josten's Printing Company, State College, PA.

Harvey, Karen
2008 Barbarity in a Teacup? Punch, Domesticity and Gender in the Eighteenth Century. *Journal of Design History* 21(3):205-221.

Hatch, Danny Brad
2009 Bottomless Pits: The Decline of Subfloor Pits and the Rise of African American Consumerism in Virginia. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

Heath, Barbara J.
1996 Temper, Temper: Recent Scholarship on Colonoware in 18th-Century Virginia. In *The Archaeology of 18th-Century Virginia*, Theodore R. Reinhart, editor, pp. 149-177. Spectrum Press, Richmond, VA.

1997 Slavery and Consumerism: A Case Study from Central Virginia. *Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network*, Number 19. < http://www.diaspora.uiuc.edu/A-AAnewsletter/newsletter19.html#slavery>. Accessed 19 November 2011.

1999a *Hidden Lives: The Archaeology of Slave Life at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

1999b Buttons, Beads and Buckles: Contextualizing Adornment Within the Bounds of Slavery. In *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, Maria Franklin and Garrett Fesler, editors, pp. 47-70. Dietz Press, Richmond, VA.

1999c 'Your Humble Servant:' Free Artisans in the Monticello Community. In 'I*, Too, Am America:' Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 193-217. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

2000 The Data are in the Details: Thoughts on the Utility of the Digital Archaeological Archive of Chesapeake Slavery. Paper presented at the Digital Archaeological Archive of Chesapeake Slavery's Steering Committee Workshop, Charlottesville, VA. < http://www.daacs.org/wp-content/uploads/heath.pdf>. Accessed 30 June 2013.

2004 Engendering Choice: Slavery and Consumerism in Central Virginia. In *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective*, Jillian E. Galle and Amy L. Young, editors, pp. 19-38. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Heath, Barbara J. and Amber Bennett
2000 "The little Spots allow'd them": The Archaeological Study of African-American Yards. *Historical Archaeology* 34(2):38-55.

Heath, Barbara J. and Eleanor E. Breen
2012 Assessing Variability among Quartering Sites in Virginia. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 38:1-28.

Heath, Barbara J., Randy Lichtenberger, Keith Adams, Lori Lee, and Elizabeth Paull
2005 Poplar Forest Archaeology: Studies in Plantation Life and Landscape, Excavations and Analysis of Site B, Southeast Curtilage, June 2004-August 2005. Report to the Public Welfare Foundation.
< http://www.poplarforest.org/sites/default/files/Site%20B%20%28Heath%202005%29.pdf>. Accessed 27 July 2013.

Henriques, Peter
1992 Major Lawrence Versus the Reverend Charles Green: A Case Study of the Squire and the Parson. *Virginia Magazine*, 100(2):233-264.

Higgins, Thomas F., III, Charles M. Downing, Kenneth E. Stuck, Deborah L. Davenport, Joanne Bowen, Gregory J. Brown, and Susan T. Andrews
1997 A Post-Revolutionary Farmstead in Northern Virginia: Archaeological Data Recovery at Site 44FX1965 Associated with the Proposed Interstate 66 Widening and Route 28 Interchange Project, Fairfax and Prince William Counties, Virginia. Report to Dewberry & Davis from William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research, Williamsburg, VA.

Hill, Erica
1995 Thimbles and Thimble Rings from the Circum-Caribbean Region, 1500-1800. *Historical Archaeology* 29(1):84-92.

Hill, Martha
2003 Building o: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. <http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/4/>. Accessed 27 August 2013.

Hinks, Stephen
1988 A Structural and Functional Analysis of Eighteenth Century Buttons. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

History's Best Dressed
2011 George Washington: America's First Fashion Icon.
<http://historysbestdressed.tumblr.com/tagged/George_Washington>. Accessed 1 November 2013.

Hodge, Christina J.
2010 Widow Pratt's World of Goods: Implications of Consumer Choice in Colonial Newport, Rhode Island. *Early American Studies* (Spring):217-234.

Hoth, David R.
2006 *The Papers of George Washington: Revolutionary War Series* vol. 16. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Howson, Jean.
1990 Social Relations and Material Culture: A Critique of the Archaeology of Plantation Slavery. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):78-91.

1995 *Colonial Goods and the Plantation Village: Consumption and the Internal Economy in Montserrat from Slavery to Freedom*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, New York University, New York. University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, MI.

Hudson, Larry E., Jr.
1994 *Working Toward Freedom: Slave Society and Domestic Economy in the American South*. University of Rochester Press, Rochester, NY.

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

1983 Books and the Social Authority of Learning: The Case of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia. In *Printing and Society in Early America*, William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, editors, pp. 228-249. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

Jackson, Donald and Dorothy Twohig (editors)
1976 *The Papers of George Washington: Diaries* vol. 1, 1748-1765. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

1978 *The Papers of George Washington: Diaries* vol. 4, 1784-1786. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Jobe, Brock
1987 The Boston Upholstery Trade, 1700-1775. In *Upholstery in America and Europe from the Seventeenth Century to World War I*, Edward S. Cooke, Jr., editor, pp. 65-89. W.W. Norton and Company, Inc, New York.

John Glassford and Company Records
1758-1769 Alexandria Store Ledger. John Glassford and Company Records, Library of Congress, Microfilm, Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

John Glassford and Company Records
1760 Colchester Store Ledger. John Glassford and Company Records, Library of Congress, Microfilm, Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

John Milner Associates
2004 Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens Cultural Landscape Study, volume 1. Report to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA from John Milner Associates, Inc. in association with Rivanna Archaeological Consulting, Charlottesville, VA.

Johnson, Paul
2005 *The Founding Father: George Washington.* Harper Collins Publishers, New York, NY.

Karklins, Karlis
1985 *Glass Beads: The 19th-Century Levin Catalogue and Venetian Bead Book and Guide to the Description and Classification of Glass Beads. Studies in Archaeology, Architecture and History.* Environment Canada-Parks, Ottawa, Ontario.

Kellar, Elizabeth
2004 *The Construction and Expression of Identity: An Archaeological Investigation of the Laborer Villages at Adrian Estate, St. John, USVI.* Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Syracuse University, NY. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Kern, Susan
2010 *The Jeffersons at Shadwell*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Kimbel, Steve
2010 The Archaeology of The Carlyle House. *Carlyle House Docent Dispatch* January: 1-4.

King, Julia A., Catherine L. Alston, Gregory J. Brown, Edward E. Chaney, John C. Coombs, C. Jane Cox, David Gadsby, Philip Levy, Al Luckenbach, David F. Muraca, Dennis J. Pogue, Benjamin J. Porter, and Shawn Sharpe
2006 A Comparative Archaeological Study of Colonial Chesapeake Culture Final Report. Prepared for The National Endowment for the Humanities (RZ-20896-02) and The Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Washington, DC and Richmond, VA
< http://www.chesapeakearchaeology.org/Interpretations/NEHFinalReportIntro.cfm>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

King-Hammond, Leslie
2008 Identifying Spaces of Blackness: The Aesthetics of Resistance and Identity in American Plantation Art. In *Landscapes of Slavery: The Plantation in American Art*, Angela D. Mack and Stephen G. Hoffius, editors, pp. 58-85.

Knollenberg, Bernhard
1964 *George Washington: The Virginia Period, 1732-1775*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Krofft, Heidi E.
2012 Growing up a Washington. Master's thesis, Historical Archaeology Program, University of Massachusetts Boston, Boston.

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

Lange, Amanda E.
2001 *Delftware at Historic Deerfield, 1600-1800*. Historic Deerfield Inc., Deerfield, MA.

Lee, Lori
2008 Late Antebellum Slavery at Poplar Forest (1828-62). *Archeological Society of Virginia Quarterly Bulletin* 63(3):165-177.

2012 Consumerism, Social Relations, and Antebellum Slavery at Popular Forest. In *Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest: Unearthing a Virginia Plantation*, Barbara Heath and Jack Gary, editors, pp. 261-285. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Leone, Mark
1984 Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rule of Perspective in the William Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland. In *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory*, Daniel Miller and Christopher Tilley, editors, pp. 25-35. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

1988 The Georgian Order as the Order of Merchant Capitalism in Annapolis, Maryland. In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, Mark Leone and Parker Potter, editors, pp. 235-261. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

2005 *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Library of Congress
1999 George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. < http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/>. Accessed 12 March 2012.

Lockridge, Kenneth A.
1985 *A New England Town: The First Hindered Years*. Norton, New York, NY.

Lovejoy, Paul E.
1997 The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion under Slavery. *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* II(1):1-23.

Madsen, Andrew David
1995 'All Sorts of China Ware… Large, Noble and Rich Chinese Bowls:' Eighteenth-Century Chinese Export Porcelain in Virginia. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

Majewski, Teresita and Michael Brian Schiffer
2009 Beyond Consumption: Toward an Archaeology of Consumerism. In *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, T. Majewski and D. Gaimster, editors, pp. 191-208. Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, New York.

Manca, Joseph
2012 *George Washington's Eye: Landscape, Architecture, and Design at Mount Vernon*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

Marsh, Gail
2006 *18th Century Embroidery Techniques*. Guild of Master Craftsman Publications, East Sussex, UK.

Martin, Ann Smart
1993 Buying into the World of Goods: Eighteenth-Century Consumerism from London to the Virginia Frontier. PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

1994 "Fashionable Sugar Dishes, Latest Fashion Ware:" The Creamware Revolution in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake. In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, Paul A. Shackel and Barbara J. Little, editors, pp. 169-187. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

2008 *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, MD.

McClellan, Elisabeth
1904 *Historic Dress in America, 1607-1800*. George W. Jacobs & Company, Philadelphia.

McCracken, Grant
1988 *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

McKendrick, Neil, John Brewer, and J. H. Plumb
1982 *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

McKnight, Justine Woodward
2012 Report on the Analysis of Flotation and Waterscreen-recovered Archeobotanical Remains from the South Grove Midden, Mount Vernon, 44FX762/17: Cumulative Results of the 2011-2012 Laboratory Research Effort, March 12. Report to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA, from Justine Woodward McKnight, Archeobotanical Consultant, Severna Park, MD

McWilliams, James E.
2005 *A Revolution in Eating: How the Quest for Food Shaped America*. Columbia University Press, New York.

Menard, Russell
1997 Reckoning with Williams: "Capitalism and Slavery" and the Reconstruction of Early American History. *Callaloo* 20(4):791-799.

Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects
1993 Mount Vernon Historic Structures Report, Volume 1. Prepared for the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Mount Vernon, VA by Mesick, Cohen, Waite Architects, Albany, NY.

Miervaldis, Wendy
2012a Summary of Bowl Capacity Calculations and Formulas to Date, revised February 26. Manuscript on file, Mount Vernon Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon, VA.

2012b Statistical Analysis of the Straight Pins Excavated at Mount Vernon's South Grove Midden and Comparisons to the Straight Pins Excavated at Mount Vernon's House for Families and DAACS. Manuscript on file, Mount Vernon Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon, VA.

Miles, D. W. H. and M. J. Worthington
2006 The Tree-Ring Dating of Timbers from the Mansion House Cellar, Mount Vernon Estate and Gardens, Fairfax County, Virginia. Report to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA from Oxford Dendrochronology Laboratory, South Oxfordshire, UK.

Miller, Daniel
1987 *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Basil Blackwell, Oxford, UK.

Miller, George
1980 Classification and Economic Scaling of 19th Century Ceramics. *Historical Archaeology* 14:1-40.

1991 A Revised Set of CC Index Values for Classification and Economic Scaling of English Ceramics from 1787 to 1880. *Historical Archaeology* 25(1):1-25.

Miller, George L. and Silas D. Hurry
1983 Ceramic Supply in an Economically Isolated Frontier Community: Portage County of the Ohio Western Reserve, 1800-1825. *Historical Archaeology* 17(2):80-92.

Moreland, John
2001 *Archaeology and Text*. Duckworth Publishing, London, UK.

Morgan, Philip D.
1997 The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations, and New World Developments. *Slavery and Abolition* 18(1):112-145.

1998 *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Morgan, Philip D. and Michael L. Nicholls
1989 Slaves in Piedmont Virginia, 1720-1790. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 46(2):212-251.

Mouer, Daniel L., Mary Ellen N. Hodges, Stephen R. Potter, Susan L. Henry Renaud, Ivor Noël Hume, Dennis J. Pogue, Martha W. McCartney, and Thomas E. Davidson
1999 Colonoware Pottery, Chesapeake Pipes, and "Uncritical Assumptions." In *I, Too, Am America: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 83-115. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Mount Vernon Archaeology Department
1991 Mount Vernon Archaeology Program Description. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1996 Field Records for Mansion Drain Project (44FX762/49) Test Unit 123. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1997a George Washington Inventory Project Cataloguer's Manual, April 7. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1997b Summary of the GW Database Project, April 14. Memorandum, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2012a Mount Vernon's Midden Project. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA. <www.mountvernonmidden.org>. Accessed 13 November 2013.

2012b George Washington Invoices and Orders Project. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA. <http://www.mountvernonmidden.org/data/searchI.html>. Accessed 26 January 2013.

2012c Alexander Henderson's Colchester Scheme of Goods Project. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA. <http://www.mountvernonmidden.org/data/henderson.html>. Accessed 26 January 2013.

Mount Vernon Glassford and Henderson Transcription Project
2012 Transcription Manual: Alexandria and Colchester Store Accounts of John Glassford and Alexander Henderson, September 14. Mount Vernon Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon, VA.

Mount Vernon Ladies' Association
1764-1769 Alexandria Store Ledger. John Glassford and Company Records, Microfilm, Mount Vernon Library, Mount Vernon, VA.

1774 Inventory of Furniture Bought by George Washington at Belvoir Sale, 1774 August 15. Reproduction, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1963 *General Washington's Military Equipment*. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2009 Fireback, 1787. E-museum, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA. <http://emuseum.mountvernon.org/code/emuseum.asp?style=single&currentrecord=26&page=search&profile=objects&searchdesc=hard&quicksearch=hard&sessionid=141C6906-9F4B-44FB-9F3D-CE9979509197&action=quicksearch&currentrecord=25>. Accessed 27 July 2013.

Moxham, Robert M.
1976 *The First Hundred Years at Mount Vernon, 1653-1753*. Colonial Press, North Springfield, VA.

Mrozowski, Stephen A.
2006 *The Archaeology of Class in Urban America.* Cambridge University, New York, NY.

Mullins, Paul R.
1996 The Contradictions of Consumption: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer Culture, 1850-1930. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

1999 Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American Consumption, 1850-1930. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):22-38.

2004 Ideology, Power, and Capitalism: The Historical Archaeology of Consumption. In *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel, editors, pp. 195-212. Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., Oxford, UK.

2011 *The Archaeology of Consumer Culture*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Murtha, Hillary
2011 Bells and Horns. In World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States, Martha B. Katz-Hyman and Kym S. Rice, editors, pp. 57-61. Greenwood Publishing Group, Santa Barbara, CA.

Nash, R. C.
2009 Domestic Material Culture and Consumer Demand in the British Atlantic World: Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1770. In *Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean*, David S. Shields, editor, pp. 221-266. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.

Niemcewicz, Julian Ursyn
1965 *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805 with some further account of life in New Jersey*, Metchie J.E. Budka, editor. The Grassman Publishing Company, Inc., Elizabeth, NJ.

Nivelon, Francis
1737 *The Rudiments of Genteel Behavior*. Reprinted facsimile 2003 by Paul Holberton Publishing, London, UK.

Noël Hume, Audrey
1971 Wetherburn's Tavern Archaeological Report, Block 9 Building 00 Lot 20 & 21. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series 1182, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, Williamsburg, VA. <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports\RR1182.xml>. Accessed 1 September 2012.

Noël Hume, Ivor
1969 *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Ogundiran, Akinwumi and Toyin Falola
2007 Pathways in the Archaeology of Transatlantic Africa. In *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola, editors, pp. 249-287. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Orser, Charles E. Jr.
1987 Plantation Status and Consumer Choice: A Materialist Framework for Historical Archaeology. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, Suzanne Spencer-Wood, editor, pp. 121-137. Plenum Press, New York, NY.

2007 *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Otto, John Solomon
1984 *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1860: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in the Old South*. Academic Press, New York, NY.

Oxford English Dictionary
2012 "take, v." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/197158?rskey=fBbUfq&result=1&isAdvanced=false>. Accessed 25 March 2012.

Oxford English Dictionary
2013 "corking-pin, n." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.proxy.lib.utk.edu:90/view/Entry/41557?rskey=gwEDYP&result=5&isAdvanced=false#>. Accessed 5 October 2013.

Paresi, Alicia
2013 What's Love Got to do with it? Northeast Museum Services Center Archeology & Museum Blog, Museum Servives for the Northeast Region of the National Park Service. < http://nmscarcheologylab.wordpress.com/2013/02/14/whats-love-got-to-do-with-it/>. Accessed 1 September 2013.

Patrick, Steven E.
1990 "I Would Not Begrudge to Give a Few Pounds More:" Elite Consumer Choices in the Chesapeake, 1720-1785, The Calvert House Ceramic Assemblage. Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA.

Pecoraro, Luke
2011 Who are the People in the Neighborhood? Mount Vernon's Mystery Midden Blog, Mount Vernon Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon, VA. < http://mountvernonmidden.org/wordpress/?p=292>. Accessed 23 April 2013.

2012 Reanalysis of 44FX885, Fairfax County, Virginia. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, Virginia.

Penningroth, Dylan C.
1997 Slavery, Freedom, and Social Claims to Property among African-Americans in Liberty County, Georgia, 1850-1880. *Journal of American History* 84:405-435

2003 *The Claims of Kinfolk: African American Property and Community in the Nineteenth-Century South*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

2007 The Claims of Slaves and Ex-Slaves to Family and Property: A Transatlantic Comparison. *American Historical Review* 112(4):1039-1069

Pogue, Dennis J.
1988 Archaeology at George Washington's Mount Vernon: 1931-1987. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1993 Standards of Living in the 17th-Century Chesapeake: Patterns of Variability Among Artifact Assemblages. In *The Archaeology of 17th-Century Virginia*, Theodore R. Reinhart and Dennis J. Pogue, editors, pp. 371-399. Dietz Press, Richmond, VA.

1994 Mount Vernon: Transformation of an Eighteenth-Century Plantation System. In *Historical Archaeology of the Chesapeake*, Paul Shackel and Barbara Little, editors, pp. 101-114. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

1997 Culture Change Along the Tobacco Coast: 1670-1720. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, American University, Washington, DC.

2001a The Transformation of America: Georgian Sensibility, Capitalist Conspiracy, or Consumer Revolution?" *Historical Archaeology* 35(2): 41-57.

2001b Slave Lifeways at Mount Vernon: An Archaeological Perspective. In *Slavery at the Home of George Washington*, Philip J. Schwarz, editor, pp. 111-135. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2002 The Domestic Architecture of Slavery at George Washington's Mount Vernon. *Winterthur Portfolio* 37(1):3-22.

2003 House for Families: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. < http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/24/>. Accessed 30 June 2013.

Pogue, Dennis J. and Esther C. White
1991 Summary Report of the "House for Families" Slave Quarter Site (44FX762/40-47), Mount Vernon Plantation, Mount Vernon, VA. Manuscript, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon, VA.

Pogue, Dennis J., Esther C. White, and Eleanor E. Breen
2005 Digging for Trash and Finding Treasure at Mount Vernon. *The Magazine Antiques* CLXVIII(3):88-95

Posey, John
1765 Bill of Sale, October 22. Microfilm, Fairfax Deed Book G No. 1, 1765-1768, folio 303-305, reel 3. Fairfax Circuit Court Historical Records Room, Fairfax, VA.

Posey, John
1767 Bill of Sale, October 2. Microfilm, Fairfax Deed Book G No. 1, 1765-1768, folio 303-308, reel 3. Fairfax Circuit Court Historical Records Room, Fairfax, VA.

Preisser, Thomas M.
1981 Alexandria and the Evolution of the Northern Virginia Economy, 1749-1776. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 89:282-293.

Price, Richard
2006 On the Miracle of Creolization. In *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora*, Kevin A. Yelvington, editor, pp. 113-145. School of American Research Press, Santa Fe, NM.

Prown, Jules D.
1996 Material/Culture: Can the Farmer and the Cowman Still Be Friends? In *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*, W. David, Kingery, editor, pp. 1-27. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

Ragsdale, Bruce A.
1989 George Washington, the British Tobacco Trade, and Economic Opportunity in Prerevolutionary Virginia. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 97(2):132-162.

1996 *A Planters' Republic: The Search for Economic Independence in Revolutionary Virginia*. Madison House Publishers, Inc., Madison, WI.

Rasmussen, William S. and Robert S. Tilton
1999 *George Washington: The Man behind the Myths*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Réaumur, René-Antoine Ferchault de
1761 Art de l'épinglier. Academie des Sciences, Paris. Microfilm, The Winterthur Library, Printed Book and Periodical Collection, Winterthur, DE.

Reber, Paul
2003 *Retail Trade and the Consumer in Fairfax County, Virginia, 1759-1766*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of American Studies, University of Maryland, College Park. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Renfrew, Colin
1994 The Archaeology of Religion. In *The Ancient Mind: Elements of Cognitive Archaeology*, Colin Renfrew and Ezra Zubrow, editors, pp. 47-54. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Reps, John William
1972 *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland*. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, distributed by University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.

Robert Cary & Company
1765 Invoice of Costs and Charges, 13 February. Digital file, Invoice to George Washington, Manuscript Division, The George Washington Papers, The Library of Congress, Washington, DC. < http://memory.loc.gov/mss/mgw/mgw5/116/0300/0357.jpg>. Accessed 1 December 2012.

Rohleder, Anna
2001 George Washington Fashion Plate. *Forbes* 13 June.
< http://www.forbes.com/2001/06/13/0613pow.html>. Accessed 1 Nov. 2011.

Rozbicki, Michal J.
1998 *The Complete Colonial Gentleman: Cultural Legitimacy in Plantation America, 1720s-1770s*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

Samford, Patricia M.
1996 The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53(1) :87-114.

2007 *Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia*. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.

Savitt, Todd L.
1978 *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Schlereth, Thomas J.
1985 Material Culture and Cultural Research. In *Material Culture: A Research Guide*, Thomas J. Schlereth, editor, pp. 1-34. University Press of Kansas, Lawrence.

Schroedl, Gerald F. and Todd M. Ahlman
2002 The Maintenance of Cultural and Personal Identities of Enslaved Africans and British Soldiers at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. *Historical Archaeology* 36(4):38-49.

Shackel, Paul A.
1992 Modern Discipline: Its Historical Context in the Colonial Chesapeake. *Historical Archaeology* 26(3):78-84.

1993 *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695-1870.* The University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.

Shammas, Carole
1985 Black Women's Work and the Evolution of Plantation Society in Virginia. *Labor History* 29(1):5-28.

Shick, Laura
2004 An Analysis of Archaeobotanical Evidence from the House for Families Slave Quarter, Mount Vernon Plantation, Virginia. Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, American University, Washington, DC.

Shott, George C.
1978 Archaeological Investigations of Belvoir Historic Site, Fort Belvoir, Virginia. U. S. Army Engineer Museum, Department of the Army, Headquarters, U. S. Engineer Center and Fort Belvoir, Fort Belvoir, VA.

Simmel, Georg
1904 Fashion. *International Quarterly* 10:130-155.

Skerry, Janine E. and Suzanne Findlen Hood
2009 *Salt-glazed Stoneware in Early America.* University Press of New England, London, UK.

Smith, Frederick H.
2001 *Volatile Spirits: The Historical Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking in the Caribbean*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

2008 *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.

Smith, Karen and Alexandra Massey
2011 Building m: Background. The Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery. < http://www.daacs.org/resources/sites/background/55/>. Accessed 27 August 2013.

Smith, S. D.
1998 The Market for Manufactures in the Thirteen Continental Colonies, 1698-1776. The *Economic History Review* 51(4):676-708.

Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M.
1987 Introduction. In *Consumer Choice in Historical Archaeology*, Suzanne Spencer-Wood, editor, pp. 1-23. Plenum Press, New York, NY.

Sprouse, Edith Moore
1975 *Colchester: Colonial Port on the Potomac*. Fairfax County Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax, VA.

StatSoft, Inc.
2013 Electronic Statistics Textbook. StatSoft, Tusla, OK. <http://www.statsoft.com/textbook/cluster-analysis/>. Accessed 23 June 2013.

Steadman, Melvin Lee
1964 *Falls Church: By Fence and Fireside.* The Turnpike Press, Inc., Annandale, VA.

Stevenson, Brenda E.
1996 *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

Stiverson, Cynthia Z. and Gregory A. Stiverson
1983 The Colonial Retail Book Trade: Availability and Affordability of Reading Material in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia. In *Printing and Society in Early America*, William L. Joyce, David D. Hall, Richard D. Brown, and John B. Hench, editors, pp. 132-173. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA.

Stone, Lyle M.
1974 *Fort Michilimackinac 1715-1781.* Anthropological Series, Vol. 2, Publications of the Museum. Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.

Stone, Lawrence
1979 The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History. *Past & Present* 85:3-24.

Storer, Donald
2007-2012 Soil Chemical Results: South Grove Midden (44FX762/17). Data to Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA from Donald Storer, Southern State Community College, OH.

Styles, John and Amanda Vickery
2006 *Gender, Taste, and Material Culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Sweeny, Kevin M.
1994 High-Style Vernacular: Lifestyles of the Colonial Elite. In *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century*, Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman, and Peter J. Albert, editors, pp. 1-58. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Sweig, Donald
1978 1649-1800. In *Fairfax County, Virginia: A History*, Nan Netherton, Donald Sweig, Janice Artemel, Patricia Hickin, and Patrick Reed, co-contributors, pp. 5-151. Fairfax County Board of Supervisors, Fairfax County, VA.

1983 Slavery in Fairfax County, 1750-1860: A Research Report. History and Archaeology Section, Office of Comprehensive Planning, Fairfax County, VA.

1985 The Importation of African Slaves to the Potomac River, 1732-1772. *The William and Mary Quarter* 42(4):507-524.

Thomas Jefferson Foundation
2008 Monticello Plantation Database. < http://plantationdb.monticello.org/>. Accessed 27 October 2012.

Thompson, John Thornton
1989 The Improvident Ferryman of Mount Vernon: The Trials of Captain John Posey. *Virginia Cavalcade* 39(1):36-47.

Thompson, Mary
1991 African-American Families at Mount Vernon, 1799. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2001 They Appear to Live Comfortable Together: Private Lives of the Mount Vernon Slaves. In *Slavery at the Home of George Washington*, Philip J. Schwarz, editor, pp. 79-109. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2002 "Remarkable for the Excellence of its Domestics:" Food Service Jobs at Mount Vernon. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2006 Different People, Different Stories: The Life Stores of Individual Slaves from Mount Vernon and their Relationships with George and Martha Washington, revised from 2001 version. Paper presented at the George Washington and Slavery Symposium, Mount Vernon, VA. <http://www.mountvernon.org/sites/mountvernon.org/files/Different%20People%20Different%20Stories_JS%20edits.pdf>. Accessed 15 December 2012.

2011 George Washington's Acquisitions of Slaves Compiled by Mary V. Thompson. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2012 Virginia Laws Regarding the Enumeration of Tithables during the American Revolution. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

2013 Information on Mount Vernon Slaves Who Died, Were Sold, or Escaped Prior to the Summer of 1799 and the Compilation of George Washington's Final Slave List. Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Thornton, John
1998 *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Second Edition). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Toner, J.M.
[1890] Transcript of an Account Book Kept by George Washington in the Years 1747-1750, 1760, 1763-1766, copied from the original. Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Library, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Toner, Joseph M.
1891 Wills of the American Ancestors of George Washington in the Line of the Original Owner and the Inheritors of Mount Vernon: From Original Documents and Probate Records. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, MA.

Track of the Wolf, Inc.
2012 Internet Catalog, Tacks & Staples, for decorating your powder horns, Track of the Wolf, Inc., Elk River, MN. <http://www.trackofthewolf.com/List/Item.aspx/82/1?PageSize=25>. Accessed November 30 2012.

Tuck, James, Barry Gaulton, and Matthew Carter
1999 A Glimpse of the Colony of Avalon. In *Old and New Worlds*, Geoff Egan and R.L. Michael, editors, pp. 147-154. Oxford, Oxford Books, UK.

Turner, Victor
1969 *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Aldeine de Gruyter, New York, NY.

Vaughan, Samuel
1787 Vaughan Plan of Mount Vernon, [1787] [Nov.]. Historical Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Veblen, Thorstein
1899 *The Theory of the Leisure Class*. Macmillan, New York, NY.

Veech, Andrew
1998 *Signatures of Gentility: Assessing Status Archaeologically in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Fairfax, County, Virginia*. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Brown University. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Victoria and Albert Museum
2012 Search the Collections. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, UK. < http://collections.vam.ac.uk/>. Accessed 1 July 2012.

Voss, Barbara
2008 *The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis: Race, Sexuality, and Identity in Colonial San Francisco.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Voyages Database
2009a *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.* <http://www.slavevoyages.org>. Accessed 23 October 2013.

2009b *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.* <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1700&yearTo=1800&sla1port=21003.21106.21108>. Accessed 23 October 2013.

2009c *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.* <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1700&yearTo=1800&sla1port=21003.21106.21108>. Accessed 23 October 2013.

2009d *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.* <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1700&yearTo=1800&mjslptimp=21003.21106.21108>. Accessed 23 October 2013.

Wall, Charles C.
1945 Notes on the Early History of Mount Vernon. *William and Mary Quarterly* 2(2): 173-190.

Walsh, Lorena
1997 *From Calabar to Carter's Grove: The History of a Virginia Slave Community*. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.

1999 Summing the Parts: Implications for Estimating Chesapeake Output and Income Subregionally. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 56(1):53-94.

2001a The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58(1):139-170.

2001b Supplement Materials for "The Chesapeake Slave Trade: Regional Patterns, African Origins, and Some Implications." *William and Mary Quarterly* 58:139-170. < http://oieahc.wm.edu/wmq/Jan01/WalshAppendix.htm>. Accessed 23 October 2012.

2001c Slavery and Agriculture at Mount Vernon. In *Slavery at the Home of George Washington*, Philip J. Schwarz, editor, pp. 47-77. Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Walsh, Lorena S., Ann Smart Martin, and Joanne Bowen with contributions by Jennifer A. Jones and Gregory J. Brown
1997 Provisioning Early American Towns, the Chesapeake: A Multidisciplinary Case Study. Report for the National Endowment for the Humanities (RO-22643-93), Washington, DC.

Warren, Jack
1999 The Childhood of George Washington. *Northern Neck of Virginia Historical Magazine* XLIX(1):5785-5809.

Washington, George
1750-1774 Ledger A. Historical Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1753 An Inventory of the Estate of Lawrence Washington, 7-8 March. Historical Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1770-1794 Ledger B. Historical Manuscript Collection, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

1774 Inventory of Furniture Bought by George Washington at Belvoir Sale, 1774 August 15. Reproduction, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA.

Watkins, C. Malcom
1968 *The Cultural History of Marlborough: An Archeological and Historical Investigation of the Port Town for Stafford County and the Plantation of John Mercer, Including Data Supplied by Frank M. Setzler and Oscar H. Darter*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC.

White, Carolyn
2004 What the Warners Wore: An Archaeological Investigation of Visual Appearance. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 33(1):39-66.

2005 *American Artifacts of Personal Adornment, 1680-1820: A Guide to Identification and Interpretation*. Altamira Press, Lanham, MD.

White, Carolyn L. and Mary C. Beaudry
2009 Artifacts and Personal Identity. In *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*, T. Majewski and D. Gaimster, editors, pp. 209-225. Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, New York, NY.

Whitehead, Ross
2003 *Buckles, 1250-1800*. Greenlight Publishing, Whitham, UK.

Wilkie, Laurie
2010 The Lost Boys of Zeta Psi: A Historical Archaeology of Masculinity in a University Fraternity. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Wurst, LouAnn
1999 Internalizing Class in Historical Archaeology. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):7-21.

Wurst, LouAnn and Randall H. McGuire
1999 Immaculate Consumption: A Critique of the "Shop till you drop" School of Human Behavior. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3(3):191-199.

Yentsch, Anne Elizabeth
1990 Minimum Vessel Lists as Evidence of Change in Folk and Courtly Traditions of Food Use. *Historical Archaeology* 24:24-53.

1991a Chesapeake Artefacts and their Cultural Context: Pottery and the Food Domain. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 25:25-72.

1991b Engendering Visible and Invisible Ceramic Artifacts, Especially Dairy Vessels. *Historical Archaeology* 25(4):132-155.

1994 *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.

Yokota, Kariann Akemi
2011 *Unbecoming British: How Revolutionary America Became a Postcolonial Nation*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.

APPENDIX

Table A-1. A transcription of the inventory of the estate of Lawrence Washington appraised by the subscribers March 7 and 8, 1753 (Washington 1753).

page				£	s	d	sum
1	***Negros***	Dublin		40			
1		Dula		40			
1		Ned		40			
1		Sands		40			
1		Acco		40			
1		Sando		40			
1		Will		40			
1		Ben		40			
1		Frank		40			
1		Moll daughter to Frank		25			
1		Mildred _____ d^{o}____		20			
1		Hannah _____ d^{o}____		15			420._._
1		Penny _____ d^{o}____		10			
1		Moll		25			
1		Lett and Child		45			
1		Young Sands					
1		Barbara		40			
1		Will	Barbara	10			
1		Grace		35			
1		Phebe		35			
1		Couta and L[illegible] Child		45			
1		Ant[illegible]					
1		Judy		35			
1		Sarah	Judy	28			308._._
1		Kate		30			
1		Ceasar		25			
1		Tom		15			
1		Glasgow		10			
1		Charles		30			
1		Aaron	Grace	20			
1		Barbara	Couta	15			
1		George	Phebe	15			
1		Lucy	Lett	25			
1		Bella	D^{o}.	20			
1		Lydia	D^{o}.	15			
1		Nan	Mulato	15			233._._
1	***Horses***	One Roan Mare Countt^{s}		8			
1		King		15			
1		Young Mare Colt		12			
1		Pointer		4	10		
1		Rantor		4	10		
1		Figure		6			

Table A-1 (continued).

page				£	s	d	sum
1		Jockey		4	10		
1		Whistler		5			
1		Spark		4	10		
1		Bay		3			
1		Rock		6			73._._
2		Sum brought Over					
2	***Stock***	84 Sheep	at 6/__	25	4		
2	***Cattle***	1 Cow and Calf		1	10		
2		1 Cow and Yearling		1	15		
2		2 Yearlings			15		
2		3 Cows and Calves	@37/6	5	12	6	
2		36 Cows and Heffers	@30/__	54			
2		14 Steers	@30/__	21			
2		18 Yearlings	@10/__	9			
2		4 Bulls	@30/__	6			124.16.6
2	***Hoggs***	5 Sows 1 Barrow & 1 Boar	@6/__	2	2		
2		19 Shoats	@1/8	1	11	8	
2		3 Sows and Piggs	@8/__	1	4		
2		1 Sow and Boar	@7/6		15		
2		19 Small Hoggs	@3/__	2	17		
2		2 Sows and Piggs			15		
2		2 Sows		1	10		
2		9 Shoats			16		
2		1 Sow and Barrow			15		
2		12 Shoats		2	8		14.3.8
2	***Utensils &c***	2 Ploughs and Irons			12	6	
2		1 New Plough			7		
2		1 Dit and Colter			5		
2		11 Narrow Axes		1	5		
2		6 New Fall^{g} Axes		1	4		
2		1 Ax			3		
2		10 Axes	@3/	1	10		
2		[12 Hilling]		[illegible]			
2		14 Hilling D$^{(o)}$	@1/		14		
2		7 Hill^{g} D$^{(o)}$			7		7.17.6
2		6 Grubbing D$^{(o)}$	@2/6		15		
2		2 Grubbing D^{o}			4	6	
2		3 Grub^{g} D^{o}			8		
2		1 D^{o}			2	6	
2		14 Weeding D^{o}		1	4		
2		5 Wedges			15		
2		4 D^{o}			10		

Table A-1 (continued).

page		£	s	d	sum
2	6 Weeding Hoes		13		
2	1 Cow Bell		6		
2	The Iron of an Old Cart Body		8		5.6.0
2	Old Iron of Various Sorts 130 lb		10		
2	Old D° at Muddy Hole Quartr		3		
2	Old Barrs of Iron		10		
2	1 pair Millstones and Irons	1	5		
2	Two Syder Casks 1 of them Iron		12		
2	Bound				
2	Three wheat sieves		3		
2	1 Old Chair Body and old pair	3			
2	of Wheels				
2	2 Ox Chains		10		6.13.0
2	1 Grindstone		5		
2	3 Wheat Hogsheads & Covers		12		
2	25 Reap Hooks		5		
2	1 Garden Spade		4		
2	1 Iron Crow		5		
2	Cart Boxes		5		
2	1 Hay Knife		3		1.19._
3	Sum brt forward				
3	One Sain Rope	2	10		
3	One Compass Saw, 1 Gimblet & 1 Gouge		3		
3	Block and Stand		1	3	
3	Iron Traces		5		
3	1 Pott broke 2/ 1 Small Pan 1/6		3	6	
3	2 Potts 9/ 1 Small 1/		10		
3	4 Shovels 6/8 1 Spade broke 1/6		8	2	
3	7 Scythes & 4 Handles		10	6	
3	1 Hay Knife				
3	1 Half Bushel 1¾ peck				
3	1¼ peck and 1¼ peck				
3	2 Mill pecks 1 Iron Hoop for				
3	The Mill Tub 4 Tubs				
3	1 Pott 4/ 1 Frying Pann 1/6		5	6	
3	2 Hydes		12		
3	2 Sheep Shears 1/ 1 Pestle 2/6		3	6	
3	1 Spade 3/ Sundry Trace Iron 12/		15		
3	Scrues & Rowters		1		
3	3 Saddles	1	15		
	1 parl Lumber Cherry				
3	Tree				
3	Plank in the Dairy Loft		7	6	
3	A Pettuager with an Iron Chain		15		

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
		1 Grind Stone with an				
3		Iron				
3		Axle tree		6		
		One Ox Cart, 4 Oxen				
3		Geers	24			
3	***Household Furniture***					
3		One Bed, Bowlster, 2 Pillows				
3		1 pair of Sheet[illegible] Blanket a	7	10		
3		Cotton Count[illegible] 2 pillow				
3	***White***	Cases a [illegible]				
3	***Room***	1 Doz. Flag'd [illegible] Chairs @ 8/	4	16		
3		1 Looking Glass		6		
3		A p^{r} Andirons [illegible]		5		
3		1 Hearth Brush 1/ 1 Trunk 7/		8		13.4._
3		1 Bed, bowlster Pillow & Cover 1 pr				
3		of Sheets, 1 pr of Blankets, 1 Green				
3		Rug, 1 Stamp^{d} Counterpain	8	10		
3		with one Bedsted & Cord				
3	***Head of***	1 Trunnel Bedsted with Cord, 1				
3	***the Stairs***	small Bed, 1 pr of Sheets, 2 Quilts &	5			
3		2 Stamp^{d} Counterpains				
3		1 New Matrass	1			
3		1 small Table		4		
3		2 Chairs		7	6	15.1.6
3		1 Field Bedsted and Hangings,				
3		1 Bed with a check'd cover, 3 Blan				
3		kets, 1 Bowlster, 2 pillows and	8	10		
		a Neat Pained				
3	***Yellow***	Quilt				
3	***Room***	One dressing Table	4			
3		One Glass for D^{o}		16		
3		One powder Box		2		
3		One pair of Andirons		6		
3		One Hearth Brush		1		13.15._
3		One Bedsted, Silk plaid Curtains				
3		Vallaines, 1 Bed, bowlster 2 pil				
3		lows, 1 pr Sheets, 2 Blankets 1 Red	12			
3		Rug, 1 Stamped Counterpain &				
3		Two Pillow Cases				
3		1 Small Portmanteau Trunk		8		12.8._
4		Sum Brought Over				

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
4		1 Damask silk quilt, 2 pair of				
4		Blankets, 1 Bed with a check'd Cover				
4		1 pair of Sheets, 1 Bowlster, 2 pillows	18			
4		2 pillow cases, Bedsted Curtains				
4	***Red***	&c				
4	***Room***	6 Silk Damask covers for Chairs	3	15		
4		2 pair Red Damask Wind^{ow} Curt^{ns}	1	10		
4		One Beauro Dressing Table	4	7	6	
4		One Dressing Glass	1	5		
4		One pair of small Andirons		8		
4		One pair of Bellows, Tongs & Shov^{l}		6		29.11.6
4		One Bedsted, Bed and Curtains				
4		Window Curtains, cover of a				
4		great Chair check'd cover for the				
4		Bed, 1 pair of Blankett^{s}, French	10			
4		Quilt, Counterpain, 1 Bowlster				
4		Two pillows, and 1 pillow case				
4	***Mrs Lee's***	One Bedsted, cord, Bed, Bowlster				
4	***Room***	Two pillows, Two Blankets &	5			
4		one Quilt				
4		One Desk	1	5		
4		One Looking Glass	1	5		
4		One Case, and Bottles	0	10		
4		One pair of Andirons		10		
4		Two Fire Shovels		3	9	
4		1 Small Table 3/ 1 Tea Kett^{l} &				
4		Stand 5/		8		19.1.9
4		Two pair of Course Sheets	1	5		
4		18 New Napkins @ 2/	1	16		
4		4 New large [illegible] ask Table				
4		Cloths	4	10		
4		Two D^{o} ab^{l} 1/4	1	16		
4		Two large Diap[illegible] D^{o} ab^{r} 1/4 worn	1	12		
4		3 D^{o} Hucabuc [illegible]1/4 worn	2	15		
4	***Store***	4 Breakfast Cloths @ 5/	[illegible]			
4	***Room***	6 New Towels 1/6		9		
4		1 pr of Course Sheets		6		
4		1 pr of D^{o} 6/		6		
4		1 large strong D^{o} 20/ 1 pr D^{o} 10/	1	10		
4		1 pr D^{o} 12/ Two odd Sheets 15/	1	7		

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
4		1 Sheet 2/6 2 pr D^{o} 30/	1	12	6	
4		9 pillow cases 13/6 4 D^{o} fis^{n} [illegible] 8/	1	1	6	
4		5 Huccabuc Tow^{ls} 5/5 5 Lin^{n} D^{o} 2/6		7	6	
4		1 Trunk 5/ one Chest & Three box 5/6		10	6	22.4.0
4		One Large Moho;^{y} Table	4			
4		One Cherry Tree D^{o}	9			
4		One doz. Black leath^{r} Wal^{t} Chairs	9			
4		One Gilt Sconce Glass	5			
4		One Chimney Glass	6			
4		One Moho^{y}. Tea Table B.	1			
4		China on D^{o}	1	15		
4	***Hall***	One China Bowl		12	6	
4		One D^{o} Blew & white		8		
4		One D^{o} less 7/. Two Slop bowls 4/		11		
4		7 Custard Cups 7/. 1 doz. Cups & 4 Jam 6/.		13		
4		3 Butter Boats 2 at one Shil^{g} each				
4		and one at 5^{d}		2	5	
4		5 Tea potts 7/6 3 Cream D^{o} at /6		9		
4		6 China dishes 1 broke	2	10		
4		1 doz$^{n.}$ blew and white China Plates		15		
4		11 Soup D^{o}		18	4	36.14.3
5		Sum brought forward				
5		Two China Muggs		5		
5		6 Stone Hearts for Pickles		1	6	
5		8 Earthen plates 3 sml. D^{o} & 1 Dish		7		
5		3 D^{o}. Bowls 1 Quart Mug & Two Gills				
5		One Tea Pott		3	6	
5		Two Earthen Wash Basons		1	6	
5		One large Japan waiter		12	6	
5		One small D$^{o.}$ 5/ 1 large Maho^{y} D^{o} 5/		10		
5		One D^{o} less 2/6 2 Bottles lides 3/		5	6	
5		One Small Cherry Tree Table	1	15		
5	***Hall***	One Sett of Casters Silv^{r} Top'd	4			8.1.6
5		One Sett of Com^{n} D^{o} one want^{g}		5		
5		One Case of Silv^{r} han.^{d} Knives & Forks	3	10		
5		Eleven large Silv^{r} Spoons	11			
5		12 Tea Spoons, Tongs, Strein^{r}, & Case	4	1		

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
5		One Soup Ladle	3	15		
5		One punch Ladle	1	1	6	
5		1 Case for Silv^{r} Spoons		15		
5		3 Decant^{rs} 3/ 4 Salts 2/6		5	6	
5		4 Cruets 2/8 4 Beer Glas^{s} 2/8		5	4	
5		2 Tumblers & Six Wine Glass		4		
5		1 pr. Shovel Tongs, and Hearth Brush		6		
5		1 pr Andirons 10/ 1 pr Bell^{ows} 2/6		12	6	26.0.10
5		1 Large Table 12/6		12	6	
5		5 Tea Cannisters 2/6 1 Sug^{ar} Box 2/		1	6	
5		1 Small Table		3		
5		12 Russia Leath^{r} Chairs @ 5/	3			
5		1 Large Black Waln^{t} Table	2			
5		1 Desk 4/5 [illegible] Backgam^{n} Ta: 12/6	2	17	6	
5		1 Standish 5 [illegible] tt mon^{y} Tea: gw^{n} 10/		15		
5		1 Penks[illegible]		2		
5		1 Speaking [illegible] set		2		
5		[illegible]				
5	***Passage***	1 Perspective glass; broke		1		
5	***&***	1 Scrubbing Brush		3		
5	***Parlour***	1 Large old Fash^{d} Table		15		
5		One D^{o} New	1			
5		1 pr Andirons		9		
5		1 pr Tongs & Brush		3		12.8.0
5		2 Copper Basons		3		
5		1 Steel Mill		7		
5		4 Cast Irons, 1 Box Iron & heat^{r}ess				
5		and two stands		12		
5		1 pr. Tongs				
5	***Wash***	1 picture 5/ Weights & Scales 1/3				
5	***House***	1 Bed, Bowlster, Sheets Red Rug Bed				
5		sted sacking Bottom	3	10		
5		1 Bedsted, Matrass, 1 old Bed, 1 pr				
5		of Sheets, one Rug	3			
5		Two Tables		10		8.13._
5		1 Brass Kettle	1	10		
5		1 large Pott 12/ 1 D^{o} 6/ 2 D^{o} 7/	1	5		

Table A-1 (continued).

page				£	s	d	sum
		1 D^{o} broke 1/ 1 D^{o} sml.					
5		1/			2		
5		1 pr Pott Racks 14/ 2 spits 6/6		1	6		
5		5 pr pott Hooks 8/ 3 Ladles flesk					
5	***Kitchen***	fork and Skimmers			7	6	
5		1 Gridiron 2/6 2 Fry^{g} pans 6/			8	6	
5		1 Griddle 2/ 20 Skewers & hook 2/6			4	6	
5		1 Homony Pestel			3	6	
5		4 Water Tubs, 2 pales, & 1 pig^{n}			10		
5		1 Rug, 1 Sea Bed, and one course Quilt		1	10		
5		1 Iron Candlestick			4		7.11._
6		Sum brought Over					
6		Two doz^{n} Sweat Mt. knives & Forks		4	0		
6		One Lanthorn 3/ 1 D^{o} 1/			4		
6		9 Cannisters			1	6	
6		1 Knife Box, and 2 doz. Black Handle					
6		Knives and Forks			7		
6		4 Sweat Meat Potts			4		
6		Ten Ivory handle knifes & Forks			8		
6		1 Small Marble Mortar & Pestel			12	6	
6		1 D^{o} larger		1	5		
		4 Earthen Milk					
6		Pans			2	8	
6		One Close Stool Pan			3		
6		1 Butter Tub 1/ 1 Warmg pan 7/			8		4.15.8
6		1 Candle Box 1/6 1 old Chafg Dish /6			2		
6		3 Syphons 1/6 1 Copperpla:War^{g} 40/		2	1	6	
6		1 p$^{r.}$ Large Candlesticks 8/ 1 flat					
6		and 1 small D^{o} 3/6			11	6	
6		2 pr. Snuffers and Stands 5/			5		
6		2 Copper Chafing Dishes			9		
6	***Kitchen***	1 Tea Chest, 1/6 2 Coffee Pots 7/ 1 Cho: D^{o} 5/			13	6	
6	***Dairy***	1 Hatchet 1/ 2 Bellmet^{l} Skillets 10/			11		
6	**&c**	1 Copperskim^{r} 1/3 1 D^{o} Strainer 1/3			2	6	
6		1 Copper Bason 1/3 1 D^{o} Stew pan 10/			11	3	
6		1 large & 1 sml D^{o} Saucepan 7/			7		
6		74 ^{lb} best Pewter	@ 1/4	4	18	8	
6		55 ^{lb} D^{o} 2^{d} sort	@ /10	2	6	10	
6		1 Soup Dish & Cover, 7/6 1 fish pl. 1/6			9		
6		21 Tinn Dish Covers 1/6			6		13.8.9
6		2 Tinn Funnels 2/			2		
6		16 Tinn patty p[illegible]			3		
6		1 Spice Box [illegible] Candle Mould 4/			7		

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
6		1 Fish Kettle [illegible]		2		
6		1 pr. Stilliards 5/ [illegible] W^{mg} 1 pes^{l} 5/		10		
6		1 Box Iron 2/ [illegible]eal Tray 3		5		
6		6 Tubs 2/6 1 Bush^{l} 6/3 Sear^{s} 2/6		11		
6		3 Sifters 4/6 1 Churn 2/6		7		
6		4 large Earthen Potts 3/9 1 Gal. pew				
6		ter pott 4/		7	9	
6		1 Oyl Jarr 5/ 1 Fry^{g} Pan 2/		7		
6		1 Iron to hang Meat upon 2		2	6	
6		7 Empty Cannisters		3	6	
6		1 Basket		2		5.7.9
6		1 Bag Ginger 7/6 1 Box Castile s^{p} 8/		15	6	
6		1 Box Barley 3/ 12 ^{lb} Clay^{d} Sug^{r} 9		12		
6		1 Tub and Cocanuts	1	13	4	
6		1 Loaf double Refined Sug^{r}		10	6	
6		2 pr. Cotton Cards		6		
6		3 New Scythes 5/ 1 Box & 5 p^{r} pl^{d} Hoes 7/		12		
6		3 Old Tubs and 1 Bushl of Bay paint		5		
6		1 large Tub, 1 old Trunk 8		3		
6	***Stores***	1 Pott, 1 Tub, 1 pewter Chamber Pott				
6	**&c**	with a sm^{l}. quantity of paint in it		7		
6		4 Negro Caps @1/6		6		
6		1 New Tennant Saw 3/1½		3	1½	
6		Three Curry Combs and Brushes		7	6	
6		12 Sifter Bottoms 6/ 3 pr Sheep Sh^{rr} 6/		12		
6		Two Morticcing Chiz^{les} 1/6 6 Sear Rim. 3/		4	6	
6		Two D^{o} Damaged		3	6	
6		2 Sifters 3/6. 10 ^{lb} Red Lead 3/6		7		
6		1/2 ^{lb} Verdegrease 3/ 2 ^{lb} Yel^{w} Oker 1/		4		
6		1/4 ^{lb} Umber 6^{d} 2 Bar^{ls} Lamp Black 2/6		9		7.14.11$^{1/2}$
7		Sum brought Up				
7		3 Tubs with 12 ^{lb}. Gunpowder	1	4		
7		100 ^{lb}. 30^{d}. Nails 45/. 4 M 8^{d}. Nails @ 5/10	3	8	4	
7		1 M 20^{d}. Nails a @ 10/5		10	5	
7		4 M. 10^{d}. D^{o} @6/10	1	7	4	
7		6 Yards Hair Cloth 5/ a par^{l} of				

Table A-1 (continued).

page				£	s	d	sum
7		Curled Hair 7. 1 piece of [illegible]		1	17		
7		1 Cask of Coppras abt. 80#		1			
7		1 Inch and half Auger 3/ 1½ In. D° 1/			3		
7		I pairing Chiz[l] 2/. 1 Mort[g] D°. 1/_			3		
7		11 hand Saw files			2	9	
7		3 halbords 15/. 3 Bayonets 3/9			18	9	
7		1 Whip saw file 8[d].				8	10.15.3
7		1 doz. Black handle knives & forks			10		
7		5 large Smiths files 5/. 1 doz D° Sm 12/			17		
7		2 pruning knives 2/. 8 Cloak hooks					
7		and Two Shell D°.			6	6	
7		21 Gimblets 5/3			5	3	
7		1 Sett Desk Furniture			10		
7		1 large Stock Lock and hasp			5		
7		8 Staples 2/. 2 Quice paper 2/			4		
7		9 Sail Needles			2		
7		4 [lb] Old Mohair			10		
7		29 Yards Virginia Cloth @ 1/8		2	8	4	
7		3 Shammy Skins 3/9 1 [illegible] 10/			13	9	
7		5 Shoe Brushes @ 5			2	1	
7		1 Snaffle Bridle 2/. 1 Mop 4			2	4	6.16.3
7		24 Yards Manchester Check[d] @2/4		2	16		
7		Bed lace and [illegible]			8		
7		3½ Gross hors [illegible] tt[s] 9/ 4 g: sm[l] D° 8/			17		
7		1 Set of Box [illegible] Bag			10		
7	***Stores***	2 Busc [illegible]			1	½	
7	**&c**	1 Basket [illegible] ne Blew in it			2	6	
7		4 [lb] Glew			3		
7		8 Empty Bottles			1	8	
7		3 Doz Empty D°		2	10		
7		8 Empty D°			1	8	
7		2 Doz l. D°			2	6	6.9.11
7		1 Pipe 2/3 full Madera Wine		20	0		
7		16 Bottles D°	@ 1/6	1	4		
7		6 Bottle W[n]. Hanbury	@ 9d		4	6	
7		7 Bottles old Rum	@ 1/6		10	6	
7		6 Jarrs _ 30 Gls Jamaica Rum @ 5/		7	1		
7		6 Jarrs @ 3 Shl			10		
7		1 Cask Spirits 14 Gal' @ 6/		4	4		

Table A-1 (continued).

page		£	s	d	sum
7	5 Bottles Port Wine @ 2/6		10		
7	50 Gal^{s} Rum @ 3/6	8	15		40.16._
7	1 Bar^{l} Sug^{r} 225^{lb} @ 45/	5	1	3	
7	1 Flask Oyl		2		
7	2 Doz^{n} Butter Potts @ 2/6	3			
7	1 Pipe of Syder	1	10		
7	1 Empty Pipe		5		
7	7 Sydes and an half of Tea^{s}	1	10		
7	5 Empty Jarrs 4 g^{n} each		15		
7	4 Gross of Corks		8		
7	1 Garden Rake		1	3	
7	A parcel of old Copper		8		
7	One Pocket Compass		4		
7	7 Doz^{n}. Bristol Water @ 2/6		17	6	
7	1 Gun 30/. 1 D^{o} without Lock 12/	2	2		
7	1 M [illegible] it		15		
8	Sum brought Over				
8	One Book Case	5	10		
8	1 Quarto Bible		17	6	
8	Quinseys Dispensatory		8		
8	Bland Mil. Dis^{l}.		9		
8	Gays Poems 2 Vol. @3/6		7		
8	Plays 2 Vol. 4/		8		
8	Farquhars Works 2 Do 3/9		7	6	
8	Congreeves Plays 1 D^{o} 4/6		4	6	
8	Hudibras		3	9	
8	Beggars Opera		2		
8	Harris' Lexicon 2 Vol. Fol^{o}	1	15		
8	Rapin's History 2 Vol. Fol^{o} 20/	2			12.12.3
8	Gil Blas 4 Vol. 2/		8		
8	Don Quixote 4 Vol. 2/		8		
8	Littleton's Dict^{y}		12		
8	Boyers Dic^{ty}		14		
8	Tom Jones 4 Vol. 2/6		10		
8	1 D^{o} in the Married State		2	6	
8	Musick 2 Vol.		2	6	
8	Songs 1 Vol. 2/6		2	6	
8	[illegible] 7 Vol one want^{g}		14		
8	Mercers Abridg^{d}		2		

Table A-1 (continued).

page		£	s	d	sum
8	Virginia Justice		8		4.3.6
8	Baily Dic^{y}		8		
8	The History of the Five Nat^{ns} Ind		7		
8	French Plays 5 Vol'		2	6	
8	Shakespears Plays 7 Vol'		14		
8	3 Vol' Roman E…..^{gy}		6		
8	Kennets Anti		2		
8	[illegible]				
8	History of [illegible]		[illegible]		
8	Present State of [illegible] at Bond [illegible]		[illegible]		
8	Gordons Grammer		6		
8	Ibbots Sermons		5		
8	Peerage of Ingland		3		
8	Life of Mahamit		3		
8	Conquest of Syria & McSarat		3		
8	Winters Evening conf^{er}er^{en}		3		
8	Bangors Committee		3		
8	History of Virginia 3/		3		
8	Craftsman		3		
8	Life of Socrates		3		
8	Gentlemen Instructed		3		
8	Drydens Works 9 Vol.		7	6	
8	Gazetteer		2	6	
8	Swifts Work 2 Vol. of it		5		
8	Browns Roman Hist^{y}		2	6	2.1.6
8	Travels into Turkey		2	6	
8	Welwoods Memoirs		2	6	
8	History of Eng^{o}. by way of Ques[illegible]		2	6	
8	Popes Dunciad		2	6	
8	One Vol. of Telemachus		2	6	
8	French Plays		2		
8	Mount for the Plays		2		
8	Voyages of Frenchman		2		
8	Atkinsons Epitome		2		
8	1 Vol' of the History of the Reb^{n}		2		
8	Mannings Dion Cassins		2		
8	State of the Church		[illegible]		
8	Gospel Church 2/		[illegible]		
9	Sum brought forward		2		

Table A-1 (continued).

page			£	s	d	sum
9	Vol^{e} French Plays			2		
9	London Magazine for 1744			2		
9	Virgil			2		
9	1 Vol' French plays			2		
9	English Expositon			2		
9	8 Latin Books					
9	11 D^{o}	@ 1/6	1	12	9	
9	One Silv^{r} Watch		6			8.18.9

Table A-2. Items and assigned categories and subcategories in George Washington's invoices and orders.

Category	Subcategory	Item
Agriculture	Seed	burnett
Agriculture	Seed	cabbage seed
Agriculture	Seed	cauliflower seed
Agriculture	Seed	clover seed
Agriculture	Seed	cucumber seed
Agriculture	Seed	garden seeds
Agriculture	Seed	lettuce seed
Agriculture	Seed	lucerne
Agriculture	Seed	mustard seed
Agriculture	Seed	onion seed
Agriculture	Seed	peas
Agriculture	Seed	radish seed
Agriculture	Seed	rape seed
Agriculture	Seed	rye seed
Agriculture	Seed	savoy seed
Agriculture	Seed	seed, garden
Agriculture	Seed	St Foine
Agriculture	Seed	tares
Agriculture	Seed	turnip seed
Beverage	Alcohol	bottle
Beverage	Alcohol	bowl, punch
Beverage	Alcohol	bowl, punch (possible)
Beverage	Alcohol	case
Beverage	Alcohol	decanter
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, ale
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, beer
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, gill
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, punch
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, syllabub
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, wine
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, wine and water
Beverage	Alcohol	label
Beverage	Alcohol	ladle, punch
Beverage	Chocolate	pot, chocolate
Beverage	Coffee	coffee mill
Beverage	Coffee	cup, coffee
Beverage	Coffee	pot, coffee
Beverage	Coffee	saucers
Beverage	General	can
Beverage	General	jug
Beverage	General	mug
Beverage	General	pot, milk
Beverage	General	tumblers
Beverage	Miscellaneous	cock

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Beverage	Miscellaneous	cork screw
Beverage	Tea	basin, slop
Beverage	Tea	cup, breakfast
Beverage	Tea	cups and saucers, breakfast
Beverage	Tea	dishes, sugar
Beverage	Tea	dishes, sugar and covers
Beverage	Tea	kettle, tea
Beverage	Tea	milk pot
Beverage	Tea	pot, tea
Beverage	Tea	saucers
Beverage	Tea	tea kitchen
Beverage	Tea	tea set
Clothing	Accessories	belt
Clothing	Accessories	broach
Clothing	Accessories	buckle
Clothing	Accessories	earrings
Clothing	Accessories	egret
Clothing	Accessories	fan
Clothing	Accessories	garters
Clothing	Accessories	garters and buckles
Clothing	Accessories	gold
Clothing	Accessories	hair pins
Clothing	Accessories	handkerchief
Clothing	Accessories	handkerchief and hood
Clothing	Accessories	jewelry
Clothing	Accessories	knot
Clothing	Accessories	mask
Clothing	Accessories	necklace
Clothing	Accessories	necklace and earrings
Clothing	Accessories	pins
Clothing	Accessories	pocket book
Clothing	Accessories	pockets
Clothing	Accessories	sash
Clothing	Accessories	swivels
Clothing	Accessories	sword knot
Clothing	Accessories	watch
Clothing	Accessories	watch chain
Clothing	Accessories	watch glass
Clothing	Accessories	watch key
Clothing	Apparel	apron
Clothing	Apparel	breeches
Clothing	Apparel	cape
Clothing	Apparel	cloak
Clothing	Apparel	coat
Clothing	Apparel	frock

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Clothing	Apparel	gown
Clothing	Apparel	hoods
Clothing	Apparel	jacket
Clothing	Apparel	knot and necklace string
Clothing	Apparel	livery
Clothing	Apparel	negligee and coat
Clothing	Apparel	petticoat
Clothing	Apparel	sack
Clothing	Apparel	sack and coat
Clothing	Apparel	starching
Clothing	Apparel	stays
Clothing	Apparel	stocks
Clothing	Apparel	stomacher
Clothing	Apparel	stomacher and sleeve knots
Clothing	Apparel	suit
Clothing	Apparel	waistcoat
Clothing	Footwear	boots
Clothing	Footwear	boots and spur
Clothing	Footwear	boots, possible
Clothing	Footwear	brush, shoe
Clothing	Footwear	campaigner
Clothing	Footwear	clogs
Clothing	Footwear	garters
Clothing	Footwear	hose
Clothing	Footwear	pumps
Clothing	Footwear	shoes
Clothing	Footwear	skins
Clothing	Footwear	slippers
Clothing	Footwear	soles
Clothing	Gloves	gloves
Clothing	Gloves	gloves and mitts
Clothing	Gloves	mitts
Clothing	Headgear	bonnet
Clothing	Headgear	cap
Clothing	Headgear	hat
Food Preparation	Cooking	churn
Food Preparation	Cooking	dish cover
Food Preparation	Cooking	larding pin
Food Preparation	Cooking	milk pan
Food Preparation	Cooking	pan
Food Preparation	Cooking	pipkin
Food Preparation	Cooking	plate, tin
Food Preparation	Cooking	pot, butter
Food Preparation	Cooking	potting pot
Food Preparation	Cooking	potting pot with covers and stands

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Food Preparation	Cooking	potting pot, covers, and plates
Food Preparation	Cooking	skewer
Food Preparation	Cooking	skillet
Food Preparation	Processing	funnel
Food Preparation	Processing	mill
Food Preparation	Processing	sieve
Food Service	Cutlery	case
Food Service	Cutlery	crest
Food Service	Cutlery	fork
Food Service	Cutlery	knives
Food Service	Cutlery	knives and forks
Food Service	Cutlery	spoon
Food Service	Dessert	basket
Food Service	Dessert	glasses, jelly
Food Service	Dessert	glasses, sweetmeat
Food Service	Dessert	plate, sweetmeat
Food Service	Dessert	pyramid
Food Service	Dessert	salver
Food Service	Dishes	basket
Food Service	Dishes	crest
Food Service	Dishes	cup, custard
Food Service	Dishes	cup, egg
Food Service	Dishes	dishes
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, baking
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, fruit
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, fruit and stands
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, salad (nappys)
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, soup
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, sugar and stands
Food Service	Dishes	fish strainer
Food Service	Dishes	pickle leaves
Food Service	Dishes	plate
Food Service	Dishes	plate, dessert
Food Service	Dishes	plate, soup
Food Service	Dishes	plates, water
Food Service	Dishes	sauce boats and stands
Food Service	Dishes	sauce covers and spoons
Food Service	Miscellaneous	cruet
Food Service	Miscellaneous	cruet stand and casters
Food Service	Miscellaneous	dishes, butter
Food Service	Miscellaneous	dishes, butter and stands
Food Service	Miscellaneous	mustard pot
Food Service	Miscellaneous	pan
Food Service	Miscellaneous	pan, patty
Food Service	Miscellaneous	pepper box

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Food Service	Miscellaneous	pickle shells
Food Service	Miscellaneous	plate warmer
Food Service	Miscellaneous	porringers with stands
Food Service	Miscellaneous	salt
Food Service	Miscellaneous	salts and spoons
Food Service	Serving	chafing dish
Food Service	Serving	dishes
Food Service	Serving	salver
Food Service	Serving	sauce boat
Food Service	Serving	tureen
Food Service	Serving	tureen with cover and dish
Furniture	Fireplace	mounted dogs
Furniture	Hygiene	chest (dressing, close stool)
Furniture	Hygiene	table
Furniture	Recreation	table
Furniture	Seating	chair
Furniture	Seating	couch
Furniture	Sleeping	bed screw
Furniture	Sleeping	bedstead
Furniture	Table	table
Furniture	Unidentified	posters
Hardware	Furniture	cap
Hardware	Furniture	caster
Hardware	Furniture	nails
Hardware	Furniture	tacks
Hardware	Miscellaneous	bed cord
Hardware	Miscellaneous	brads
Hardware	Miscellaneous	cask
Hardware	Miscellaneous	chalk
Hardware	Miscellaneous	chalk line
Hardware	Miscellaneous	chalk rule
Hardware	Miscellaneous	coverplate
Hardware	Miscellaneous	diamond, glaziers
Hardware	Miscellaneous	emery
Hardware	Miscellaneous	garden line
Hardware	Miscellaneous	glue
Hardware	Miscellaneous	hinge
Hardware	Miscellaneous	lead
Hardware	Miscellaneous	line
Hardware	Miscellaneous	lock
Hardware	Miscellaneous	lock and staples
Hardware	Miscellaneous	nails
Hardware	Miscellaneous	padlock
Hardware	Miscellaneous	pinking irons
Hardware	Miscellaneous	plaster of paris

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Hardware	Miscellaneous	putty
Hardware	Miscellaneous	rope
Hardware	Miscellaneous	rotton stone
Hardware	Miscellaneous	screw plate
Hardware	Miscellaneous	steel
Hardware	Miscellaneous	tap borer
Hardware	Miscellaneous	tin
Hardware	Miscellaneous	twine
Hardware	Miscellaneous	window glass
Hardware	Paint	brush, painting
Hardware	Paint	ochre
Hardware	Paint	oil
Hardware	Paint	paint
Hardware	Paint	rundlet
Hardware	Paint	umber
Hardware	Tools	adze
Hardware	Tools	adze and howel
Hardware	Tools	astragills
Hardware	Tools	auger
Hardware	Tools	axe
Hardware	Tools	bell jar
Hardware	Tools	bit
Hardware	Tools	borers
Hardware	Tools	brand
Hardware	Tools	burr
Hardware	Tools	chisel
Hardware	Tools	compass
Hardware	Tools	crowbar, possible
Hardware	Tools	files
Hardware	Tools	firmer
Hardware	Tools	furniture
Hardware	Tools	gimblet
Hardware	Tools	gouge
Hardware	Tools	grindstone
Hardware	Tools	hammer
Hardware	Tools	handsaw
Hardware	Tools	hatchet
Hardware	Tools	hoe
Hardware	Tools	hollows and rounds
Hardware	Tools	hook
Hardware	Tools	howel
Hardware	Tools	iron
Hardware	Tools	jointer
Hardware	Tools	knives
Hardware	Tools	leash

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Hardware	Tools	mill stones
Hardware	Tools	mill wheel
Hardware	Tools	nibs and wedges
Hardware	Tools	ogee
Hardware	Tools	oil stone
Hardware	Tools	ovalo
Hardware	Tools	philester
Hardware	Tools	pincers
Hardware	Tools	plane
Hardware	Tools	plane irons
Hardware	Tools	plow
Hardware	Tools	prickers
Hardware	Tools	punch
Hardware	Tools	rasp
Hardware	Tools	riddle
Hardware	Tools	rings and wedges
Hardware	Tools	rounds
Hardware	Tools	rubbers
Hardware	Tools	saw
Hardware	Tools	scythe
Hardware	Tools	scythe cradle
Hardware	Tools	scythe stone
Hardware	Tools	sharpening stone
Hardware	Tools	shave
Hardware	Tools	shovel
Hardware	Tools	sickle
Hardware	Tools	sieve
Hardware	Tools	sieve bottom
Hardware	Tools	sieve, lawn
Hardware	Tools	sifter
Hardware	Tools	snipes bill
Hardware	Tools	spade
Hardware	Tools	spring pad
Hardware	Tools	spring pad and bits
Hardware	Tools	steel
Hardware	Tools	still
Hardware	Tools	trowels
Hardware	Tools	vice
Hardware	Tools	whetstone
Hardware	Tools	whipsaw
Heating	Grate	grate
Heating	Grate	tender
Heating	Tools	bellows
Heating	Tools	shovel
Heating	Tools	tongs

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	chimney
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	fire screen
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	plinths
Household Décor	Ornament	busts
Household Décor	Ornament	figure
Household Décor	Ornament	ornaments
Household Décor	Ornament	papier mache
Household Décor	Ornament	sconces
Household Décor	Ornament	vase
Household Décor	Painting	painting
Household Décor	Wall Cover	paper
Household Stores	Beverage	ale
Household Stores	Beverage	beer
Household Stores	Beverage	cider
Household Stores	Beverage	coffee
Household Stores	Beverage	porter
Household Stores	Beverage	porter
Household Stores	Beverage	wine
Household Stores	Food	allspice
Household Stores	Food	almonds
Household Stores	Food	anchovies
Household Stores	Food	bisquet
Household Stores	Food	box, sugar
Household Stores	Food	bread
Household Stores	Food	candy
Household Stores	Food	capers
Household Stores	Food	cheese
Household Stores	Food	chocolate
Household Stores	Food	cinnamon
Household Stores	Food	cloves
Household Stores	Food	cloves and cinnamon
Household Stores	Food	comfit (sweetmeat)
Household Stores	Food	currants
Household Stores	Food	ginger
Household Stores	Food	lead
Household Stores	Food	mace
Household Stores	Food	mangoes
Household Stores	Food	morels
Household Stores	Food	mustard
Household Stores	Food	nutmeg
Household Stores	Food	nuts
Household Stores	Food	oats
Household Stores	Food	oil
Household Stores	Food	olives
Household Stores	Food	orange chips

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Stores	Food	pepper
Household Stores	Food	pickles
Household Stores	Food	pimento
Household Stores	Food	powder blue
Household Stores	Food	raisins
Household Stores	Food	sago
Household Stores	Food	salt
Household Stores	Food	sugar
Household Stores	Food	truffles
Household Stores	Food	walnuts
Household Stores	Laundry	starch
Household Stores	Lighting	candle
Household Stores	Lighting	lamp oil
Household Stores	Medicine	allum
Household Stores	Medicine	antimony
Household Stores	Medicine	aqua mirabilis
Household Stores	Medicine	arsenic
Household Stores	Medicine	balsam capivi
Household Stores	Medicine	balsam honey
Household Stores	Medicine	balsam sulfur
Household Stores	Medicine	balsam universal
Household Stores	Medicine	bark
Household Stores	Medicine	bird lime
Household Stores	Medicine	bitters
Household Stores	Medicine	blistering plaster
Household Stores	Medicine	bluestone
Household Stores	Medicine	brimstone
Household Stores	Medicine	bryony water
Household Stores	Medicine	camphor
Household Stores	Medicine	caraway seeds
Household Stores	Medicine	caster
Household Stores	Medicine	caustic
Household Stores	Medicine	chamomile flower
Household Stores	Medicine	cinnamon water
Household Stores	Medicine	conserve of roses
Household Stores	Medicine	contrayerva
Household Stores	Medicine	cordial elixir
Household Stores	Medicine	cosia
Household Stores	Medicine	court plaster
Household Stores	Medicine	cream of tartar
Household Stores	Medicine	crude opium
Household Stores	Medicine	daffey's elixir
Household Stores	Medicine	diascordium
Household Stores	Medicine	elixir of vitriol
Household Stores	Medicine	ethiops mineral

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Stores	Medicine	glauber salt
Household Stores	Medicine	glister pipes
Household Stores	Medicine	guttae vitae
Household Stores	Medicine	hartshorn
Household Stores	Medicine	honey water
Household Stores	Medicine	ipecacuanha
Household Stores	Medicine	jallop
Household Stores	Medicine	james's powder
Household Stores	Medicine	jesuit bark
Household Stores	Medicine	laudanum
Household Stores	Medicine	launcet
Household Stores	Medicine	lavender
Household Stores	Medicine	lime
Household Stores	Medicine	linseed oil
Household Stores	Medicine	magnes alba
Household Stores	Medicine	manna
Household Stores	Medicine	matthew's pills
Household Stores	Medicine	melilot
Household Stores	Medicine	mercurius dulcis
Household Stores	Medicine	mint oil
Household Stores	Medicine	myrrh
Household Stores	Medicine	nitre dulcis
Household Stores	Medicine	oil of amber
Household Stores	Medicine	oil of turpentine
Household Stores	Medicine	ointment of marshmallows
Household Stores	Medicine	orange flower water
Household Stores	Medicine	orange peel
Household Stores	Medicine	paragorick
Household Stores	Medicine	pearl barley
Household Stores	Medicine	peppermint oil
Household Stores	Medicine	phials
Household Stores	Medicine	pilea ex duobus
Household Stores	Medicine	powder of musk
Household Stores	Medicine	powder tin
Household Stores	Medicine	precipitate
Household Stores	Medicine	pulvis balsamicus
Household Stores	Medicine	rhubarb
Household Stores	Medicine	sal ammonica
Household Stores	Medicine	sal volatile
Household Stores	Medicine	salep
Household Stores	Medicine	salt of lemon
Household Stores	Medicine	spanish flies
Household Stores	Medicine	spirits of lavender
Household Stores	Medicine	spirits of turpentine
Household Stores	Medicine	spirits of vitriol

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Stores	Medicine	spirits of wine
Household Stores	Medicine	spirma citi
Household Stores	Medicine	squires elixir
Household Stores	Medicine	sulfur
Household Stores	Medicine	syrup of poppies
Household Stores	Medicine	tincture of castor
Household Stores	Medicine	tincture of myrrh
Household Stores	Medicine	treacle
Household Stores	Medicine	turlington's balsam
Household Stores	Medicine	turmeric
Household Stores	Medicine	turpentine
Household Stores	Medicine	venice treacle
Household Stores	Medicine	vitriol
Household Stores	Medicine	wormwood
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	canister
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	copperas
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	cork
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	fig blue
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	gold leaf
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	indigo
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	isinglass
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	ivory black
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	lamp black
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	lead
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	sack
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	salt petre
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	whiting
Household Stores	Tea	tea
Household Utensil	Cleaning	amber grease
Household Utensil	Cleaning	blacking ball
Household Utensil	Cleaning	blacking ball
Household Utensil	Cleaning	broom
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush, clothes
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush, hearth
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush, plate
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush, rubbing
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush, table
Household Utensil	Cleaning	clamp
Household Utensil	Cleaning	mop
Household Utensil	Cleaning	rubbers
Household Utensil	Cleaning	scrubber
Household Utensil	Cleaning	skins
Household Utensil	Cleaning	tub
Household Utensil	Hygiene	basin
Household Utensil	Hygiene	basin, hand

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Utensil	Hygiene	bottle
Household Utensil	Hygiene	bottles and basins
Household Utensil	Hygiene	brush, tooth
Household Utensil	Hygiene	chamber pot
Household Utensil	Hygiene	comb
Household Utensil	Hygiene	comb bristles
Household Utensil	Hygiene	curling iron
Household Utensil	Hygiene	glasses, water and saucers
Household Utensil	Hygiene	pan
Household Utensil	Hygiene	powder box
Household Utensil	Hygiene	powder, hair
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor strop
Household Utensil	Hygiene	soap
Household Utensil	Hygiene	tooth cleaner
Household Utensil	Hygiene	tray
Household Utensil	Hygiene	wig bag
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	bird pot
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	blanket
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	flat irons
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	knives
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	nutcracker
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	pot
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	pot, water
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	scissors
Instrument	Measure	protractor
Instrument	Measure	rule
Instrument	Measure	scale
Instrument	Measure	square
Instrument	Measure	stilliard
Instrument	Miscellaneous	telescope
Instrument	Survey	chain
Instrument	Survey	circumferentor
Instrument	Survey	load stone
Lighting	Candle	box, candle
Lighting	Candle	candlestick
Lighting	Lamp	jar
Lighting	Lamp	lamp
Lighting	Lantern	lantern
Lighting	Lantern	safe
Lighting	Snuffer	snuffer and stand
Recreation	Fishing	hook
Recreation	Fishing	line
Recreation	Fishing	reel
Recreation	Fishing	seine

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Recreation	Games	cards
Recreation	Games	dice
Recreation	Hunting	hunting horn
Recreation	Miscellaneous	quadrille counters
Shipping	Container	bag
Shipping	Container	bale
Shipping	Container	barrel
Shipping	Container	basket
Shipping	Container	bottle
Shipping	Container	bottles and pots
Shipping	Container	box
Shipping	Container	canister
Shipping	Container	canister and box
Shipping	Container	case
Shipping	Container	cask
Shipping	Container	chest
Shipping	Container	crate
Shipping	Container	hamper
Shipping	Container	hogshead
Shipping	Container	jar
Shipping	Container	keg
Shipping	Container	pot
Shipping	Container	pottle squares
Shipping	Container	rundlet
Shipping	Container	square
Shipping	Container	tierce
Shipping	Container	trunk
Shipping	Fees	fees
Shipping	Material	hogshead
Shipping	Material	packaging
Shipping	Material	stopper
Shipping	Miscellaneous	credit
Stable	Medicine	aniseed
Stable	Medicine	carthamus
Stable	Medicine	coltsfoot
Stable	Medicine	cumin seed
Stable	Medicine	diapente
Stable	Medicine	fenugreek
Stable	Medicine	flour of brimstone
Stable	Medicine	licorice
Stable	Medicine	pepper
Stable	Miscellaneous	bottle stand
Stable	Miscellaneous	brush, horse
Stable	Miscellaneous	comb
Stable	Miscellaneous	comb, curry

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Stable	Miscellaneous	comb, curry and brushes
Stable	Miscellaneous	iron
Stable	Miscellaneous	phlegms
Stable	Miscellaneous	scissors
Stable	Miscellaneous	soap
Stable	Miscellaneous	sponge
Stable	Miscellaneous	tacks
Stable	Tack	bit, possible
Stable	Tack	bridle
Stable	Tack	buckle
Stable	Tack	collar
Stable	Tack	crupper
Stable	Tack	dog couple
Stable	Tack	girths
Stable	Tack	halter
Stable	Tack	hame
Stable	Tack	harness
Stable	Tack	holster
Stable	Tack	housing
Stable	Tack	livery
Stable	Tack	pillion
Stable	Tack	pistol machine
Stable	Tack	saddle
Stable	Tack	saddle cloth
Stable	Tack	spurs
Stable	Tack	stirrup leathers
Stable	Tack	stirrups
Stable	Tack	strap
Stable	Tack	surcingle
Stable	Tack	surcingle
Stable	Tack	thong
Stable	Tack	traces
Stable	Tack	whip
Textiles	Bed Upholstery	cornice
Textiles	Bed Upholstery	curtain
Textiles	Bed Upholstery	furniture
Textiles	Bed Upholstery	hook
Textiles	Bedding	bed ticks
Textiles	Bedding	bolster
Textiles	Bedding	case slip
Textiles	Bedding	compass rod
Textiles	Bedding	mattress
Textiles	Bedding	pillow
Textiles	Bedding	tick
Textiles	Bedding Over	blanket

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Textiles	Bedding Over	quilt
Textiles	Fabric	alopeen
Textiles	Fabric	blanket
Textiles	Fabric	buckram
Textiles	Fabric	buckram and ferret
Textiles	Fabric	buckram and stays
Textiles	Fabric	calico
Textiles	Fabric	callimanca
Textiles	Fabric	cambric
Textiles	Fabric	cambric and duty
Textiles	Fabric	camelot
Textiles	Fabric	canvas
Textiles	Fabric	cassimere
Textiles	Fabric	chintz
Textiles	Fabric	cloth
Textiles	Fabric	cloth, broad
Textiles	Fabric	cotton
Textiles	Fabric	cotton, kendell
Textiles	Fabric	cotton, welsh
Textiles	Fabric	diaper
Textiles	Fabric	dimothy
Textiles	Fabric	dowlas
Textiles	Fabric	drab
Textiles	Fabric	drab
Textiles	Fabric	drilling, russian
Textiles	Fabric	duffield
Textiles	Fabric	duroy
Textiles	Fabric	fearnought
Textiles	Fabric	figure
Textiles	Fabric	fustian
Textiles	Fabric	gauze
Textiles	Fabric	hessen
Textiles	Fabric	holland
Textiles	Fabric	jacconot
Textiles	Fabric	kenting
Textiles	Fabric	lawn
Textiles	Fabric	linen
Textiles	Fabric	lining
Textiles	Fabric	lining and pockets
Textiles	Fabric	lining, possible
Textiles	Fabric	luster
Textiles	Fabric	lustring
Textiles	Fabric	mignonette
Textiles	Fabric	millinett
Textiles	Fabric	muslin

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Textiles	Fabric	nankeen
Textiles	Fabric	napkin
Textiles	Fabric	orris
Textiles	Fabric	oznabrig
Textiles	Fabric	paduasoy
Textiles	Fabric	persian
Textiles	Fabric	plush
Textiles	Fabric	pocketing
Textiles	Fabric	roll
Textiles	Fabric	rommal
Textiles	Fabric	sarge
Textiles	Fabric	satin
Textiles	Fabric	serge
Textiles	Fabric	shag
Textiles	Fabric	shalloon
Textiles	Fabric	sheeting
Textiles	Fabric	silk
Textiles	Fabric	silk and twist
Textiles	Fabric	swize
Textiles	Fabric	tabby
Textiles	Fabric	tablecloth
Textiles	Fabric	tobine
Textiles	Fabric	toweling
Textiles	Fabric	trilley
Textiles	Fabric	velvet
Textiles	Floor	carpet
Textiles	Floor	matting
Textiles	Floor	rug
Textiles	Notions	binding
Textiles	Notions	binding, possible
Textiles	Notions	bobbin
Textiles	Notions	brazil
Textiles	Notions	button
Textiles	Notions	ferret
Textiles	Notions	flowers
Textiles	Notions	knitting needle
Textiles	Notions	lace
Textiles	Notions	laces
Textiles	Notions	loops
Textiles	Notions	mohair
Textiles	Notions	needle
Textiles	Notions	net
Textiles	Notions	netting silk
Textiles	Notions	pins
Textiles	Notions	ribbon

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Textiles	Notions	ruffles
Textiles	Notions	tape
Textiles	Notions	thimble
Textiles	Notions	thread
Textiles	Notions	trimming
Textiles	Notions	twist
Textiles	Notions	twist and thread
Textiles	Notions	wire
Textiles	Production	brush, weavers
Textiles	Production	cards
Textiles	Production	comb
Textiles	Production	hackle
Textiles	Production	pickers
Textiles	Production	shears
Textiles	Production	shuttle
Textiles	Production	slay
Textiles	Production	temples
Textiles	Upholstery	chair bottom
Textiles	Window	cornice
Textiles	Window	curtain
Textiles	Window	owes
Textiles	Window	tassel
Textiles	Window	vellum
Tobacco	Tobacco	box, snuff
Tobacco	Tobacco	pipe
Tobacco	Tobacco	pipe and tobacco
Tobacco	Tobacco	snuff
Tobacco	Tobacco	tobacco
Travel	Miscellaneous	oar
Travel	Storage	bag
Travel	Storage	trunk
Travel	Vehicle	bar
Travel	Vehicle	blinds
Travel	Vehicle	case and casing
Travel	Vehicle	chariot
Travel	Vehicle	cover
Travel	Vehicle	rings, waterg locks, & plates
Travel	Vehicle	splinters
Travel	Vehicle	tack
Travel	Vehicle	waterg and plates
Unidentified	Unidentified	making
Unidentified	Unidentified	unknown
Weapons	Edge	sword
Weapons	Fire	flints
Weapons	Fire	gun

Table A-2 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Weapons	Fire	gun vice
Weapons	Fire	gunpowder
Weapons	Fire	gunworms
Weapons	Fire	pistol
Weapons	Fire	shot
Weapons	Fire	shot and bags
Weapons	Fire	shot bag
Writing	Book	book
Writing	Magazine	magazine
Writing	Material	ink powder
Writing	Material	notebook
Writing	Material	paper
Writing	Material	paper case
Writing	Material	pencil
Writing	Material	pencil case
Writing	Material	seal
Writing	Material	sealing wax
Writing	Material	wafers
Writing	Material	wax

Table A-3. Items and assigned categories and subcategories in Alexander Henderson's schemes of goods.

Category	Subcategory	Item
Beverage	Alcohol	bottle
Beverage	Alcohol	bottle, pocket
Beverage	Alcohol	bowl, punch (possible)
Beverage	Alcohol	decanter
Beverage	Alcohol	glasses, wine
Beverage	Coffee	can, coffee
Beverage	Coffee	coffee mill
Beverage	Coffee	cup, coffee
Beverage	Coffee	cups and saucers, coffee
Beverage	Coffee	pot, coffee
Beverage	General	can
Beverage	General	jug
Beverage	General	mug
Beverage	General	pitcher
Beverage	General	pot, cream
Beverage	General	pot, milk
Beverage	General	tankard
Beverage	General	tumblers
Beverage	Miscellaneous	cock
Beverage	Miscellaneous	cork drawers
Beverage	Miscellaneous	cork screw
Beverage	Tea	cups and saucers
Beverage	Tea	cups and saucers, tea
Beverage	Tea	dishes, sugar
Beverage	Tea	kettle, tea
Beverage	Tea	pot, tea
Clothing	Accessories	bandanna
Clothing	Accessories	buckle
Clothing	Accessories	cord
Clothing	Accessories	cufflinks
Clothing	Accessories	fan
Clothing	Accessories	garters
Clothing	Accessories	handkerchief
Clothing	Accessories	mask
Clothing	Accessories	necklace
Clothing	Accessories	pocket book
Clothing	Accessories	spectacles
Clothing	Apparel	breeches
Clothing	Apparel	caddow
Clothing	Apparel	cape
Clothing	Apparel	cloak
Clothing	Apparel	coat
Clothing	Apparel	coat strap
Clothing	Apparel	coverlet

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Clothing	Apparel	gown
Clothing	Apparel	hoods
Clothing	Apparel	manteletts
Clothing	Apparel	stays
Clothing	Apparel	stockings
Clothing	Apparel	sun cap
Clothing	Footwear	boot strap
Clothing	Footwear	boots
Clothing	Footwear	brush, shoe
Clothing	Footwear	hose
Clothing	Footwear	pumps
Clothing	Footwear	shoe tools
Clothing	Footwear	shoes
Clothing	Footwear	shoes and pumps
Clothing	Footwear	tack, shoe
Clothing	Gloves	gloves
Clothing	Gloves	mitts
Clothing	Headgear	bonnet
Clothing	Headgear	caddow, hair
Clothing	Headgear	cap
Clothing	Headgear	coverlet
Clothing	Headgear	hat
Clothing	Headgear	hat or bonnet
Comment	Comment	comment
Food Preparation	Cooking	dutch oven
Food Preparation	Cooking	measure
Food Preparation	Cooking	milk pan
Food Preparation	Cooking	pan
Food Preparation	Cooking	pot, butter
Food Preparation	Processing	funnel
Food Preparation	Processing	mortar and pestle
Food Preparation	Processing	sieve
Food Service	Cutlery	knives
Food Service	Cutlery	knives and forks
Food Service	Cutlery	spoon
Food Service	Dishes	basket, bread
Food Service	Dishes	dishes
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, flat
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, soup
Food Service	Dishes	dishes, spoon
Food Service	Dishes	plate
Food Service	Dishes	plate, butter
Food Service	Dishes	plate, flat
Food Service	Dishes	plate, soup
Food Service	Miscellaneous	cruet

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Food Service	Miscellaneous	mustard pot
Food Service	Miscellaneous	pan, tart and custard
Food Service	Miscellaneous	porringer
Furniture	Desk	desk cover
Furniture	Desk	desk furniture
Furniture	Desk	desk mountings
Furniture	Sleeping	bed bunt
Hardware	Furniture	tacks
Hardware	Miscellaneous	bed cord
Hardware	Miscellaneous	glue
Hardware	Miscellaneous	hinge
Hardware	Miscellaneous	lead
Hardware	Miscellaneous	line
Hardware	Miscellaneous	lock
Hardware	Miscellaneous	nails
Hardware	Miscellaneous	padlock
Hardware	Miscellaneous	rope
Hardware	Miscellaneous	screw
Hardware	Miscellaneous	tap borer
Hardware	Miscellaneous	twine
Hardware	Miscellaneous	window glass
Hardware	Tools	adze
Hardware	Tools	auger
Hardware	Tools	awl blade
Hardware	Tools	axe
Hardware	Tools	chisel
Hardware	Tools	chisel, socket
Hardware	Tools	chisel, socket and gouge
Hardware	Tools	compass
Hardware	Tools	crowbar
Hardware	Tools	cutteau (knife)
Hardware	Tools	files
Hardware	Tools	gimblet
Hardware	Tools	gouge
Hardware	Tools	grindstone
Hardware	Tools	hammer
Hardware	Tools	handsaw
Hardware	Tools	hatchet
Hardware	Tools	hoe
Hardware	Tools	howel
Hardware	Tools	iron
Hardware	Tools	jointer
Hardware	Tools	knives
Hardware	Tools	nippers
Hardware	Tools	pen knife

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Hardware	Tools	pincers
Hardware	Tools	reap hook
Hardware	Tools	riddle
Hardware	Tools	saw
Hardware	Tools	scythe
Hardware	Tools	sickle
Hardware	Tools	sicklets
Hardware	Tools	sieve
Hardware	Tools	sieve, lawn
Hardware	Tools	sifter
Heating	Tools	bellows
Household Décor	Miscellaneous	looking glass
Household Décor	Painting	painting
Household Stores	Beverage	ale
Household Stores	Beverage	beer
Household Stores	Beverage	liquor
Household Stores	Beverage	rum
Household Stores	Food	allspice
Household Stores	Food	barley
Household Stores	Food	box, pepper
Household Stores	Food	box, sugar
Household Stores	Food	cheese
Household Stores	Food	cinnamon
Household Stores	Food	cloves
Household Stores	Food	ginger
Household Stores	Food	mace
Household Stores	Food	molasses
Household Stores	Food	mustard
Household Stores	Food	nutmeg
Household Stores	Food	oil, florence
Household Stores	Food	pepper
Household Stores	Food	pimento
Household Stores	Food	salt
Household Stores	Food	sugar
Household Stores	Lighting	candle
Household Stores	Medicine	allum
Household Stores	Medicine	bitters
Household Stores	Medicine	brimstone
Household Stores	Medicine	glauber salt
Household Stores	Medicine	ipecacuanha
Household Stores	Medicine	jesuit bark
Household Stores	Medicine	launcet
Household Stores	Medicine	rhubarb
Household Stores	Medicine	Stoughtons Elixir
Household Stores	Medicine	tarter emetic

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Household Stores	Medicine	turlington's balsam
Household Stores	Medicine	turpentine
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	canister
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	copperas
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	cork
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	fig blue
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	indigo
Household Stores	Miscellaneous	salt petre
Household Stores	Tea	canister, tea
Household Stores	Tea	tea
Household Utensil	Cleaning	blacking ball
Household Utensil	Cleaning	broom
Household Utensil	Cleaning	broom head
Household Utensil	Cleaning	brush
Household Utensil	Cleaning	clamp
Household Utensil	Hygiene	basin
Household Utensil	Hygiene	basin, wash
Household Utensil	Hygiene	chamber pot
Household Utensil	Hygiene	comb
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor case
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor strop
Household Utensil	Hygiene	razor with case
Household Utensil	Hygiene	soap
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	blanket
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	box iron with heater
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	knives
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	pot
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	scissors
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	scoop
Household Utensil	Miscellaneous	watering can
Instrument	Measure	copper shells with beam
Instrument	Measure	rule
Instrument	Measure	stilliard
Instrument	Measure	weight
Lighting	Candle	candle mold
Lighting	Candle	candlestick
Lighting	Candle	candlestick and snuffer
Lighting	Snuffer	snuffer
Recreation	Fishing	hook
Recreation	Fishing	line
Recreation	Games	cards
Recreation	Miscellaneous	cat gut
Stable	Miscellaneous	comb, curry
Stable	Miscellaneous	comb, curry and brushes

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Stable	Miscellaneous	phlegms
Stable	Miscellaneous	scissors
Stable	Tack	bridle
Stable	Tack	crupper
Stable	Tack	girths
Stable	Tack	halter
Stable	Tack	saddle
Stable	Tack	stirrup leathers
Stable	Tack	strap
Stable	Tack	surcingle
Stable	Tack	whip
Textiles	Bedding	bed ticks
Textiles	Bedding	mattress
Textiles	Bedding Over	quills
Textiles	Fabric	alamode
Textiles	Fabric	alopeen
Textiles	Fabric	barley corn
Textiles	Fabric	baze
Textiles	Fabric	bearskin
Textiles	Fabric	beaver
Textiles	Fabric	bombasine
Textiles	Fabric	buckram
Textiles	Fabric	calico
Textiles	Fabric	callimanca
Textiles	Fabric	camblet
Textiles	Fabric	cambric
Textiles	Fabric	check
Textiles	Fabric	chintz
Textiles	Fabric	cloth
Textiles	Fabric	cloth housing
Textiles	Fabric	cloth, broad
Textiles	Fabric	cloth, broad, possible
Textiles	Fabric	cotton
Textiles	Fabric	cotton, dell
Textiles	Fabric	crape
Textiles	Fabric	damask
Textiles	Fabric	dimity
Textiles	Fabric	dowlas
Textiles	Fabric	drab
Textiles	Fabric	drugget
Textiles	Fabric	duffield
Textiles	Fabric	durant
Textiles	Fabric	duroy
Textiles	Fabric	everlasting
Textiles	Fabric	fife

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Textiles	Fabric	figure
Textiles	Fabric	flannel
Textiles	Fabric	frieze
Textiles	Fabric	fustain
Textiles	Fabric	garlax
Textiles	Fabric	gauze
Textiles	Fabric	halfthick
Textiles	Fabric	harden
Textiles	Fabric	holland
Textiles	Fabric	humhums
Textiles	Fabric	jean
Textiles	Fabric	kersey
Textiles	Fabric	lawn
Textiles	Fabric	linen
Textiles	Fabric	linsey
Textiles	Fabric	mazareen
Textiles	Fabric	muslin
Textiles	Fabric	nankeen
Textiles	Fabric	nunnies
Textiles	Fabric	oznabrig
Textiles	Fabric	persian
Textiles	Fabric	plaiding
Textiles	Fabric	roll
Textiles	Fabric	rommal
Textiles	Fabric	sagathy
Textiles	Fabric	sarge
Textiles	Fabric	shag
Textiles	Fabric	shalloon
Textiles	Fabric	sheeting
Textiles	Fabric	shevareen
Textiles	Fabric	silk
Textiles	Fabric	stuff
Textiles	Fabric	tablecloth
Textiles	Fabric	taffety
Textiles	Fabric	tammy
Textiles	Fabric	tartan
Textiles	Fabric	twilling
Textiles	Fabric	velvet
Textiles	Fabric	worsted
Textiles	Floor	carpet
Textiles	Floor	rug
Textiles	Notions	button
Textiles	Notions	buttons and twist
Textiles	Notions	crewel (yarn)
Textiles	Notions	ferret

Table A-3 (continued).

Category	Subcategory	Item
Textiles	Notions	fringe
Textiles	Notions	incle
Textiles	Notions	lace
Textiles	Notions	laces
Textiles	Notions	mohair
Textiles	Notions	needle
Textiles	Notions	pins
Textiles	Notions	pins, possible
Textiles	Notions	ribbon
Textiles	Notions	sorele
Textiles	Notions	tape
Textiles	Notions	tapes or wimble bits
Textiles	Notions	thimble
Textiles	Notions	thread
Textiles	Notions	twist
Textiles	Production	cards
Textiles	Production	shears
Tobacco	Tobacco	box, snuff
Tobacco	Tobacco	box, tobacco
Tobacco	Tobacco	pipe
Tobacco	Tobacco	snuff
Travel	Storage	trunk
Unidentified	Unidentified	quart
Weapons	Edge	sword
Weapons	Fire	gun
Weapons	Fire	gunflint
Weapons	Fire	gunpowder
Weapons	Fire	shot
Writing	Book	book
Writing	Material	book
Writing	Material	index
Writing	Material	ink
Writing	Material	ink holder
Writing	Material	ink powder
Writing	Material	ledger
Writing	Material	ledger index
Writing	Material	letter folder
Writing	Material	memorandum books
Writing	Material	paper
Writing	Material	slate
Writing	Material	slates with pencils
Writing	Material	wafers
Writing	Material	wax

Table A-4. Books owned by George Washington at Mount Vernon before 1775.

Title (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	In LW's Inventory?	Citation (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	Volumes	Size	Year Invoiced	Subject
Duhamels Husby		Henri Louis Duhamel du Monceau. *A practical treatise of husbandry*. London, 1762				Agriculture/Gardening
Farmers Guide		John Ball. *The farmer's compleat guide*. London, 1760				Agriculture/Gardening
Hales Husbandry		Thomas Hale. *A compleat body of husbandry*. 4 volumes. London, 1758–59	4		1761	Agriculture/Gardening
Home on Agriculture						Agriculture/Gardening
Langley's Gardeng		Batty Langley. *New principles of gardening*. London, 1728			1759	Agriculture/Gardening
Lisles Do [Husbandry]		Edward Lisle. *Observations in husbandry*. 2 volumes. London, 1757	2		1759	Agriculture/Gardening
Maxwels Hy		Robert Maxwell. *The practical husbandman*. London, 1757				Agriculture/Gardening
Millers Gardrs Dicty.		Philip Miller. *Abridgement of the gardener's dictionary*. London, 1763		Quarto		Agriculture/Gardening
New System of Agriculture		Edward Weston. *New system of agriculture*. London, 1755			1759	Agriculture/Gardening
Gibsons Farriery					1759	Animal Husbandry
Solleysells Farriery		Jacques de Solleysell. *The compleat horseman: or, perfect farrier*. Translated by Sir William Hope. London, 1729				Animal Husbandry
Nature Displayd		Antoine Noël Pluche. *Spectacle de la nature; or, nature display'd*. Vols. 1–3 translated by Samuel Humphreys. 4 volumes. London, 1736–39	4	Quarto		Astronomy
Anson's Voyage		George Anson. *A voyage round the world, in the years MDCCXL, I, II, III, IV*. London, 1749				Biography/Memoir
Buckhorse		*Memoirs of the noted Buckhorse*. London, 1756	2	Quarto		Biography/Memoir

Table A-4 (continued).

Title (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	In LW's Inventory?	Citation (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	Volumes	Size	Year Invoiced	Subject
Life of Mahomet	yes	Humphrey Prideaux. *The true nature of imposture fully display'd in the life of Mahomet*. London, 1723				Biography/Memoir
Senecas Morals by way of Abt.		Seneca. *Seneca's morals by way of abstract*. London, 1746		Quarto		Biography/Memoir
Tour thro. Gt Brit		Daniel Defoe. *A tour thro' the whole island of Great Britain*. 4 volumes. London, 1758	4, possible			Biography/Memoir
Travels of Cyrus		Andrew Michael Ramsay. *The travels of Cyrus*. London, 1745		Quarto		Biography/Memoir
Voyages & Travels of Sir Jno. Mandeville		Sir John Mandeville. *The voyages and travels*. London, 1722		Quarto		Biography/Memoir
Glass's Cookery					1771	Cooking
Dodsleys Anl Register		*The annual register; or a view of the history, politicks and literature of the years 1758, 1759, 1760, 1761*. 4 volumes. Printed for R. & J. Dodsley. London, 1758–61	4		1763	Current Events
Guardian		Sir Richard Steele and Joseph Addison. *The Guardian*. 2 volumes. Dublin, 1744	2			Current Events
Spectators		Joseph Addison and Sir Richard Steele. *The spectator*. 8 volumes. London, 1744	8			Current Events
Compleat View British Customs.		Henry Crouch. *A complete view of the British customs*. London, 1731		Quarto		Economics
Gazetteer		Laurence Eachard. *The gazetteer's, or, newsman's interpreter*. London, 1751				Geography
Gordons Geo: Grammer	yes	Patrick Gordon. *Geography anatomiz'd: or, the geographical grammar*. London, 1749		Quarto		Geography
Molls Do		Herman Moll. *Geographia classica*. London, 1749				Geography
Beverly's Histy of Virga					1768	History/Politics

Table A-4 (continued).

Title (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	In LW's Inventory?	Citation (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	Volumes	Size	Year Invoiced	Subject
Burnes Justice 8to			4		1771	History/Politics
Epistles for Ladies		Mrs. Eliza Haywood. *Epistles for the ladies*. 2 volumes. London, 1749–50	2			History/Politics
Histy of the Piratical Sta.		*A compleat history of the piratical states of Barbary, viz. Algiers, etc*. Trans. Joseph Morgan. London, 1750]		Quarto		History/Politics
Seven Wise Master of R.		Francis Kirkman. *The History of Prince Erastus*. London, 1674				History/Politics
Smallets Hy of England		Tobias George Smollett. *History of England*. 11 volumes. London, 1758–60	11		1763	History/Politics
Mercers Abridgmt	yes	John Mercer. *An exact abridgement of all the public acts of Assembly of Va. in force & use Jan. 1, 1758*. Glasgow, 1759				Law
Millans Univl Register		John Millan. *Millan's universal register of court and city-offices*. London, 1758				Law
Virga Laws		*Acts of Assembly passed in the colony of Virginia from 1662 to 1715*. Volume 1. London, 1727				Law
Æsops Fables		Sir Roger L'Estrange. *The fables of Aesop and other eminent mythologists*. London, 1738				Literature
David Ranger		Edward Kimber. *The juvenile adventures of David Ranger, Esq*. London, 1757	2	Quarto		Literature
Female fortune Hrs		*The jilts, or female fortune-hunters*. London, c.1760	3, possible			Literature
Foundling	yes	Henry Fielding. *The history of Tom Jones, a foundling*. 4 volumes. London, 1750	4			Literature
Lord Lansdown's Works		George Granville, Baron Lansdowne. *The genuine works, in verse and prose*. 3 volumes. London, 1732	3	Quarto		Literature

Table A-4 (continued).

Title (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	In LW's Inventory?	Citation (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	Volumes	Size	Year Invoiced	Subject
Peregrine Pickle		Tobias George Smollett. *The adventures of Peregrine Pickle*. Dublin, 1751	3, possible			Literature
Telamachus	yes	François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai. *The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses*. London, 1749	2	Quarto		Literature
Docter Scarified		*Medicina flagellata; or, the doctor scarify'd*. London, 1721.		Quarto		Medicine
Prior on Tar Water		Thomas Prior. *An authentic narrative of the success of tar water*. London, 1746		Quarto		Medicine
Tissets Practice Physk					1771	Medicine
Blands Miliy Dise	yes	Humphrey Bland. *A treatise of military discipline*. London, 1753			1756	Military
Popes Works		Alexander Pope. *Works*. London, 1736	4			Poetry
Compleat Gamester		Richard Seymour. *The compleat gamester*. London, 1734				Reference
Handmaid to the Arts			2			Reference
Hoyles Games		Edmond Hoyle. *Mr. Hoyle's Games*. London, 1755?				Reference
Larboratory or School of Arts					1766	Reference
out of Print Museum Rusticum 33 Nos. bound			6			Reference
Riders Engh Merlin		Cardanus Rider. *Rider's British merlin*. London, 1756				Reference
18to Prayer Book Tate Psalms red Morrocco					1771	Religion
Bibles		*Novum Testamentum*. London, 1746				Religion
Comber on the Comn Prayer		Thomas Comber. *Short discourses upon the whole common-prayer*. London, 1712		Quarto		Religion

Table A-4 (continued).

Title (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	In LW's Inventory?	Citation (Abbot and Twohig 1990[7]:343-350)	Volumes	Size	Year Invoiced	Subject
Dissertation on the Mosaic		Simon Berington. *Dissertations on the Mosaical creation, deluge, building of Babel, and confusion on tongues*. London, 1750		Quarto		Religion
Gilbert Bishop of Sarums Exposi[tio]n of the 39 Articles					1766	Religion
Hicks Devotions		John Austin. *Devotions in the ancient way of offices*. Published by George Hickes. London, 1701				Religion
Ofspring on Reveln Sermn.		Ofspring Blackall. *The sufficiency of a standing revelation in general, and of the scripture revelation in particular*. London, 1717		Quarto		Religion
Rays Wisdom of God		John Ray. *The wisdom of God manifested in the works of the creation*. London, 1743		Quarto		Religion
Sir M. Hales Contempn		Sir Matthew Hale. *Contemplations moral and divine*. London, 1685		Quarto		Religion
Yorricks Sermons		Laurence Sterne. *The sermons of Mr. Yorrick*. 2 volumes. London, 1761	2	Quarto		Religion

VITA

Eleanor Breen was born in the small college town of Pullman, WA, to Denis and Margaret Breen. When she was three, Eleanor's family relocated to northern Virginia where she resided through high school, attending W. T. Woodson in Fairfax. During biology class, she received the opportunity to shadow a scientist and, following her career interests, choose archaeologists Drs. Dennis Pogue and Esther White at nearby Historic Mount Vernon, VA. Following this formative experience, Eleanor continued to pursue archaeology at the College of William and Mary as an Anthropology major and attended field school at Rich Neck Plantation. After working in cultural resources management, she accepted a research assistantship at the University of Massachusetts, Boston in the Anthropology Master's program. Eleanor returned to Historic Mount Vernon to complete research for her Master's thesis in 2003 on the refined ceramics from the South Grove Midden site. After working at Mount Vernon for five years as the Assistant Archaeologist, she once again matriculated, this time as a PhD student and teaching assistant at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, in Anthropology in 2007. During her tenure at UTK, she assisted Dr. Barbara Heath in locating and excavating quarter sites associated with the enslaved community owned by John Wayles, Thomas Jefferson's father-in-law. Finishing her coursework, she accepted a pre-doctoral fellowship at Historic Mount Vernon. Eleanor graduated from UTK in 2013 and is currently directing the archaeology program at George Washington's plantation home.