Annual Report by the Editor in Chief

The Papers of George Washington project continues to be very productive. Two volumes were published in 2006: Revolutionary War 15, edited by Ed Lengel, and Revolutionary War 16, edited by David Hoth. Two volumes were also completed for publication in 2007—one already released, Presidential 13, edited by Christine Patrick, and another forthcoming, Revolutionary War 17, edited by Phil Chase. We are on a firm footing to continue delivering two volumes each year until the project is completed.

The project was fortunate to gain a new Fiscal Administrator, Stacy Diggs-Allen. We are pleased to have her aboard to manage our various financial accounts and to assist us with the Oracle accounting system that sometimes seems as inscrutable as any oracle of the mythical past.

Last year I reported that we had instituted a few changes in the volumes. The most remarkable of these may be the maps on the endpapers of each volume. Maps of Washington’s farms and the new District of Columbia—subjects of issue throughout his presidency—will appear on the front and back endpages, respectively, in each future edition of the Presidential Series. Beginning with Volume 18, to be published next year, the endpapers of the Revolutionary War Series will feature new maps of the northern theater of the war in the front of each volume, and the southern and western theaters in the back. We are already receiving very positive comments on the new appearance of the Presidential Series.

Our most significant news, however, is the roll-out of the Digital Edition early this spring. Late in 2004 we agreed to join with Mount Vernon and the University of Virginia Press to launch an electronic edition of the Papers of George Washington under the Press’s new digital imprint, Rotunda. In the spring of 2005 we began the creation of a team within the project to support that work under the direction of Assistant Editor Jennifer Stertzer. The first fifty-two volumes are now available online in scholarly and public editions, and new volumes will begin to be added in 2008. The scholarly and more robust (fee-based) edition has already been licensed to a
Throughout GW’s presidency he received numerous requests for assistance from individuals in need. During the latter half of 1793, refugees who had fled the violence on the island of Santo Domingo (Hispaniola) added to these calls. GW’s response to two refugee sisters, who requested the means to buy clothing to protect themselves and their young children from the cold Delaware winter, reveals both his charitable impulse and his cautious stewardship.

To George Read

Dear Sir, Philadelphia 26th Decr 1793.

Two of the unhappy female fugitives from St Domingo have (as you will see by the enclosed letters) laid their distresses before me; which, if true in the degree they have stated, merits much commiseration. But I have received so many applications of a similar nature, and some of them from Imposters, that I find it necessary to guard what little relief I am able to afford, against imposition. For this reason—and because I am not well acquainted with any other Gentleman in Newcastle (from whence the letters come) I have taken the liberty of putting my answer to them, under cover to you, open, that if upon enquiry the authors are found to merit relief it may be sealed and handed to them—if on the other hand it should prove a fictitious tale it may be returned to me.1

I will make no apology for giving you this trouble because, to be employed in acts of humanity cannot, I am sure, be disagreeable to such a mind as yours. With very great esteem & regard I am—

Dear Sir Yr Most Obedt Serv.

Go: Washington

1 GW enclosed two letters written to him by Laurent De Saxë and Laurent De Verneüil, dated 6 and 10 December, and his reply to the two ladies, dated 26 December. Read wrote him on 4 January 1794 that after “making every inquiry within my reach then of their character situation and circumstances” he was “induced to believe they are such persons as they represent themselves in their enclosed Letters and further that their family Connections have been among the most respectable of that Island. Under this Impression I delivered your Letter addressed to them with it’s particular contents and they expressed much satisfaction at receiving it” (PHi: Sprague Collection). Read returned the letters that the ladies had written to GW.

To Laurent De Saxë
& Laurent De Verneüil

Madames, Philadelphia 26th Decr 1793.

I have been favored with your letters of the 6th & 10th of the present month, but not in due time.
I wish my resources were equal to the relief of the distresses which you, and many others under like circumstances have described. But the truth is, my private purse is inadequate, & there is no public money at my disposal.

Such as the first was competent to, I placed early in the hands of a Committee in this City, to be disposed of for the benefit of the unfortunate Sufferers from St Domingo whose necessities were greatest & means least.1

I preferred this mode of contributing my mite, 1st because it was not in my power to enquire into the degree of individual wants—2dly because I did not possess the means of administering to them in the extent which might be required. and 3dly to guard against impositions, several of which had been attempted with success.

In almost every City and large Town in the United States, Committees similar to the one I have already mentioned, are established. To the one nearest you, I should conceive it might be well to make your case known. In the meanwhile to supply your momentary wants I send you Twenty five dollars in Bank notes.2

With very poignant feelings for the distress you describe yourselves to be in I am—Madames Your Most Obedt and Very Hble Servant

Go: Washington

1 At a meeting held in Philadelphia on 9 July “to consult on measures for the relief of the distressed citizens of Cape Francois,” a committee was created to “ascertain the number of the persons to be relieved” and “to afford temporary relief” (Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser [Philadelphia], 12 and 15 July). GW’s accounts, under the date of 18 July, debit $250, “gave by the President’s order into the hands of Israel Israel, one of the Committee, towards the Relief of the French from St. Domingo” (Household Accounts).

2 The $25 is debited under the date 27 December in GW’s accounts: “Conting Exps. delivd the President to send to two distressed French women at New Castle” (Household Accounts).

George Washington’s Long-Distance Management of Mount Vernon

No one would argue with the statement that George Washington was a complicated man, but too often the focus on his life centers around the Revolutionary War and his two terms as President. However, if you want to have a better understanding of Washington, you need to examine his relationship to his estate on the Potomac River. The mansion house, as Washington called his home at Mount Vernon, is an impressive architectural achievement, and its location on a hill overlooking the Potomac River is aesthetically pleasing. Just imagine the pleasure you would have living there today, with modern conveniences of course, and you can appreciate how much Washington longed for home during the many years he lived elsewhere. On 15 June 1790, President Washington wrote from Philadelphia to his friend David Stuart that he would “rather be at Mount Vernon with a friend or two about me, than to be attended at the Seat of Government by the Officers of State and the Representatives of every Power in Europe” (Presidential Series, 5:523-28). And he truly meant this. His desire to be at home is a theme that permeates his war-time and presidential correspondence.

Mount Vernon, however, was more than just a home; it was an immense landed estate and the site of much economic activity. It eventually included more than 7,000 acres, consisting of five farms, woodlands, and swamps.
Each farm was assigned to an overseer, who was responsible for the daily management of that particular farm, including the numerous slaves and livestock who lived on it. While Washington's managerial skills were a key factor in maintaining Mount Vernon's efficient operation, he had to rely on various estate managers to do this for him during his long absences. In order to ensure that the estate functioned properly, Washington composed lengthy letters to these gentleman, offering detailed instructions on every aspect of estate life. During his residency in Philadelphia as president, he routinely set aside time on Sundays to do this. Washington explained his system for an orderly exchange of letters in a letter to manager Anthony Whitting of 2 December 1792: “Perhaps you may not know, that if the Thursdays Post (which leaves Alexandria before day) is missed, no letter if sent to the Office even half an hour afterwards, will reach this place before Tuesday afternoon. Tuesdays Post from that place reaches this on Thursday—Thursdays come in on Saturdays—and Saturdays not till Tuesdays, on account of Sundays intervening. You will see by this the necessity of sending up your Reports in time always on Wednesdays. It is more convenient for me to receive them on Saturdays than any other day; because between that & the departure of the Post on Monday, which gets into Alexandria on Wednesdays I can write with less interruption than at any other time” (Presidential Series, 11:460-64).

From these letters, as well as from those exchanged with agriculturalists in the United States and Great Britain, one can see Washington’s attention to detail, his inquiring mind, his eagerness to adopt new techniques, and his attempt to keep up with the latest scientific theories in agriculture and livestock management. These letters illustrate his interest in improving the breeding of sheep, his promotion of the mule to American farmers, and his desire to introduce new crops or new varieties of old ones. To achieve this last goal, he had what he called the “little garden,” a plot of land near the Mansion House, where he experimented with seeds gathered from friends in other states or correspondents in Great Britain.

This report from Dogue Run farm shows the detailed accounts of livestock and labor that GW expected from his farm managers each week. From “William Pearce to George Washington, Farm Report, 1 February 1794,” the George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress.
In his letter to manager William Pearce of 13 July 1794, Washington wrote: “I am sensible that I express my wishes faster than they can be accomplished—but by keeping them steadily in view you will fulfill them as fast as time and seasons will permit; and this is all I can expect or do desire.” Having said this, Washington then qualified this statement: “But in order that my directions, when given, may not escape you, read my letters over frequently; or take them at the time they are received such parts by way of Memorandum to refresh your memory occasionally, as are necessary” (ALS, ViMtvL).

A portion of a letter to Pearce of 12 January 1794 provides a glimpse of the detailed instructions that Washington sent weekly: “From a review of the plan of rotation which has been already communicated to you, it appears (if it can be carried into affect this year) that you will want the following seeds, and at the following farms, &c.

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Oats & Buck Wheat at the different farms, at this
time, because it is mentioned in the Plans of rota-
tion. But that I may know how to provide for
your want of <any> of these articles, it is neces-
sary for one to be informed, with precision,
<the> quantity on hand of each, & without de-
lay” (ALS [letterpress copy], DLC:GW). No won-
der that Washington instructed Pearce to reread
his letters!

Through these farm letters, one can also see that
Washington expected his estate manager and the
overseers of the various farms to be just as par-
ticular in their reports as he was in his instruc-
tions. Individual farm reports, spinning reports,
gristmill reports, carpenters’ reports, and garden
reports were expected every week. The farm re-
ports submitted during his presidency not only
recorded the weather—temperature and precipita-
tion at morning, noon, and night—but also in-
cluded very specific information about each field
and the laborers and livestock on each farm.
Moreover, when these reports failed to give the
details expected, Washington protested, as in his
letter to Pearce of 16 Feb. 1794: “I perceive my
Overseers are beginning to report the increase of
Lambs this year as they did last; by which I never
know what they lose. Let them know it is my ex-
pectation, that, every lamb that falls, and every
one that dies in the week, and what are actually in
being at the time, is to be precisely set down. It is
from hence only I can form a judgment of their
care and attention to them. According to their
mode of rendering the Account, I may, if an hun-
dred Lambs fall in a week, and fifty of them die,
have an increase of 50 only in the report; and al-
though this is true in fact, it is by no means a
fair—or a satisfactory state of the case” (ALS,
ViMtvL).

Alas, no one, white or black, ever fully met
Washington’s expectations—some slaves were on
the sick list far too often and work was often not
completed in a timely manner. For Washington,
his overseers were the worst of the lot—lazy, in-
competent, dishonest, or all three. Only one
seems to have pleased Washington, and that was a
slave by the name of Davy. Washington was par-
ticularly irked by tools left out in the rain, snow,
and hot sun, where they would eventually warp or
rot. In a similar manner, he was disturbed by ac-
counts of missing supplies and tools, which he
suspected were lost due to carelessness or, worse
yet, stolen for sale in nearby Alexandria, Virginia.
In vain, he repeated his favorite adage—a penny
saved is a penny earned—when told that these
items needed to be replaced. Yet Washington per-
sisted, and week after week, on every Sunday af-
fternoon, Washington sat down at his desk to write
his detailed instructions once again. If all his in-
structions were not always followed exactly, most
of them were, and Washington’s estate at Mount
Vernon was a profitable one, even in his absence.

—Christine Sternberg Patrick

A meteorological account of the weather at Mount Vernon. From “William Pearce to George Washington, Farm Report, 1
To Gouverneur Morris

Dear Sir, Fish-kill, Octr 4th 1778.

My public Letters to the Presidt of Congress will inform you of the Wind that wafted me to this place—nothing more therefore need to be said on that head.

Your Letter of the 8th Ulto contains three questions & answers—to wit—Can the Enemy prosecute the War? Do they mean to stay on the Continent? And is it our interest to put impediments in the way of their departure? To the first you answer in the negative—To the second you are decided in opinion that they do not—and to the third say clearly No.

Much my good Sir, may be said in favor of these answers; and some things against the first & second—By way therefore of dissertation on the first, I will also beg leave to put a question, and give it an answer—Can we carry on the War much longer? certainly No; unless some measures can be devised, and speedily executed, to restore the credit of our Currency—restrain Exortion—and punish Forestallers.

Without these can be effected, what funds can stand the present Expences of the Army? And what Officer can bear the weight of prices, that every necessary article is now got to? A Rat, in the shape of a Horse, is not to be bought at this time for less than £200—A Saddle under Thirty or forty—Boots twenty—and Shoes and other articles in like proportion! How is it possible therefore for Officers to stand this, without an Increase of pay? And how is it possible to advance their pay, when Flour is selling (at different places) from five to fifteen pounds pr Ct.—Hay from ten to thirty pounds pr Tunn—and Beef & other essentials in this proportion.

The true point of light then, in which to place, & consider this matter, is not simply whether G. Britain can carry on the War, but whose Finances (theirs or ours) is most likely to fail: which leads me to doubt, very much, the infallibility of the answer given to your second question, respecting the Enemy’s leaving the Continent; for I believe, that they will not do it while even hope, & the chapter of accidents can give them a chance of bringing us to terms short of Independance—But this you perhaps will say, they are now bereft of I shall acknowledge that many things favour the idea; but add, that, upon a comparative view of circumstances there is abundant matter to puzzle, & confound the judgment—To your third answer, I subscribe with my hand and heart. The opening is now fair, and God grant they may embrace the opportunity of bidding an eternal adieu to our—once quit of them—happy Land. If the Spaniards would but join their Fleets to those of France, & commence hostilities, my doubts would all subside—without it, I fear the British Navy has it too much in its power to counteract the schemes of France.

The high prices of every necessary—The little—indeed no benefit, which Officers have derived from the intended bounty of Congress in the Article of Cloathing. The change in the establishment, by which so many of them are discontinued—The unfortunate delay of this business, which kept them too long in suspence, and set a number of evil spirits to work—The unsettled Rank—and contradictory modes of adjusting it—with other causes which might be enumerated, have conspired to Sour the temper of the Army exceedingly; and has, I am told, been productive of a memorial, or representation of some kind, to Congress; which neither directly nor indirectly did I know, or ever hear was in agitation, till some
days after it was dispatched—owing, as I apprehend, to the secrecy with which it was conducted, to keep it from my knowledged; as I had, in a similar instance last spring, discountenanced, & stifled a child of the same illigitimacy, in its birth—if you have any news worth communicating, do not put it under a bushel, but give it to Dr Sir Yrs sincerely

Go: Washington

1 See GW's two letters to Henry Laurens of 3 October.
2 Gouverneur Morris's letter to GW of 8 September has not been found.
3 The draft manuscript reads: “the two first of them.”
4 GW is referring to the memorial to Congress of 13 September from the Continental field officers and captains then in camp at White Plains. Their grievances included “the Exclusion of Officers from the Army, without the imputation of a Crime or Regard to the Articles of war” and the inadequacy of Congress’s provisions for pay, half-pay, clothing, medical care, support of disabled and captured officers, and procurement of cavalry horses and forage. Four copies of the memorial, each signed by a different group of officers, were enclosed in a brief covering letter that Cols. Daniel Morgan, Otho Holland Williams, and William Davies wrote to Henry Laurens on 22 September (DNA:PCC, item 41; see also Laurens Papers, 14:347-50). Congress read the letter and the memorials on 20 October and ordered that they “lie on the table, until Congress have fully considered and determined on the report of the committee of arrangement” (JCC, 12:1025-26).

To Alexander McWhorter

Sir. Head Qrs Fredericksburg 12th Otbr 1778

There are now under sentence of death, in the provost, a Farnsworth and Blair, convicted of being spies from the enemy, and of publishing counterfeit Continental currency. It is hardly to be doubted that these unfortunate men are acquainted with many facts respecting the enemies affairs, and their intentions which we have not been able to bring them to acknowlege. Besides the humanity of affording them the benefit of your profession, it may in the conduct of a man of sense answer another valuable purpose—And while it serves to prepare them for the other world, it will naturally lead to the intelligence we want in your inquiries into the condition of their spiritual concerns. You will therefore be pleased to take the charge of this matter upon yourself, and when you have collected in the course of your attendance such information as they can give you will transmit the whole to me. I am Sir &c.

G. W——n

Alexander McWhorter (1734-1807) graduated from the College of New Jersey at Princeton in 1757, and the following year he was licensed as a Presbyterian preacher. By the beginning of the Revolutionary War, McWhorter had gained considerable prominence as minister of the Presbyterian church at Newark, New Jersey. He also was a strong supporter of the American cause, and he apparently became acquainted with GW in late June 1775, when GW stopped at Newark on his way north from Philadelphia to take command of the Continental army in Massachusetts. Forced to flee from Newark in November 1776, when British forces occupied the town and ransacked his parsonage, McWhorter attached himself to GW's retreating army as an unofficial chaplain at large. In the summer of 1777, McWhorter became chaplain of Brig. Gen. Henry Knox's Continental artillery brigade. He served in that capacity until sometime in the fall of 1778, when he resigned in order to return to Newark and care for his wife, who had been injured by a lightning bolt. In the spring of 1779 McWhorter moved to Charlotte, N.C., to become minister of the Presbyterian church there and president of a local academy, but he returned north after the British invaded the Charlotte area in early 1780. In April 1781 he resumed his duties as pastor of his old church in Newark, where he remained for the rest of his life. There is no record of McWhorter's reply.

1 For the trials of David Farnsworth and John Blair, see Horatio Gates to GW, 9 October, and note 1 to that document, and GW to Gates, 10 October. For GW's order for their executions, see General Orders, 23 October. They were put to death at Hartford on 3 November.
A landmark in historical scholarship, *The Papers of George Washington* encompasses five separate series and the complete diaries. This digital edition offers the complete *Papers* to date in one online publication. You may search on full text and by date, author, or recipient across all volumes and series. The exceptional indexing of the individual print volumes is combined here into a single master index. All of the internal document cross-references are linked.

**Editor's Introduction**

**Acknowledgments**

**Contributors**

**The Papers of George Washington**

**Digital Edition**

Now students, teachers, and scholars can use the *Papers of George Washington* in ways never possible before. The new Digital Edition Features:

**Chronology:** Documents and diary letters listed by date, regardless of order in the printed source. **Print:** An online equivalent of the print edition, divided into series and volumes. **Index:** The consolidated index, organized into levels of main entry, subentry, and so on. **Search:** Results can be narrowed by a variety of categories, and are navigable as a separate document set. **Planned Enhancements:** Like most digital publications, *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition* is a dynamic product. It will grow as new volumes from the print edition are integrated, as corrections are made, and as new features and documents are added.

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- **Recipient:** [Enter *GW* for George Washington, or *** for full list.]
- **Date range:** [see print contents for dates included in the search.]

Sort results by:  ○ relevance  ○ date

**Coming soon:**

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- **Searchable Index:** By keyword and main entry.
- **Revision history:** A list of corrections by volume and page number to be generated for owners of the print edition interested in adding corrections to their own set.

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Staff News

Ted Crackel’s article “George Washington and the Constitution” appeared in the September 2007 issue of History Now: American History Online, published quarterly by the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. On 9 May, Crackel spoke briefly at Kean University in Union, New Jersey, at a ceremony in which the Kean family formally transferred the title of the family estate, Liberty Hall, and its adjoining property, to the university. Also included in the transfer was a huge collection of family papers and historical documents dating back to the colonial era. Crackel highlighted the importance of this yet untapped collection to state and national history and then held high a copy of a hitherto unknown Washington letter to Jacob Kean from that collection.


Lengel appeared in the History Channel documentary “Save Our History: The Search for George Washington” in February 2007. That month, he was also featured in an Arts & Sciences Online article entitled “George in War.” He spoke to the Charlottesville branch of the Sons of the American Revolution in April 2007, as well as to elementary and middle school teachers at the Mount Vernon Teachers’ Symposium in June and July 2007.

Christine Sternberg Patrick presented a program entitled “George Washington: A Personal Glimpse” to the Jack Jouett Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Charlottesville on 12 April 2007. Her presentation emphasized Washington’s relationship with his wife, his love of Mount Vernon, and the value he placed on his military, political, and personal papers. In October 2006, Patrick was elected to serve a second term as secretary of the Association for Documentary Editing.

On 16 April 2007, William M. Ferraro spoke to more than 100 people at a meeting of the Mahwah Museum Society in Mahwah, New Jersey. His talk, “War Without Battles: George Washington and the Continental Army in New Jersey, 1779-1781,” focused on scouting and intelligence activities under the direction of Brig. Gen. William Maxwell, who was posted in Elizabethtown, and sparked an hour of enthusiastic questions. Ferraro plans to expand his research on New Jersey and New Jerseyans during the Revolutionary War as he continues his editorial work on the Papers of George Washington. With the support of a $1,500 research grant from the Dean of the College of Arts & Sciences and the Vice President for Research and Graduate Studies at the University of Virginia, Ferraro examined correspondence in the Charles Ewing Papers and Thomas Ewing Family Papers at the Library of Congress for his book manuscript on the Sherman-Ewing family during the Civil War. This project is an outgrowth of his longstanding interest in the noteworthy brothers John and William Tecumseh Sherman.

Ted Crackel, speaking at Kean University in May, holds up a copy of a recently discovered Washington letter (GW to Jacob Kean, 1 July 1787), found in the Kean Family Papers.

In March 2007, Jennifer Stertzer delivered a paper entitled “The Digitization of George Washington’s Papers” at the Society for Textual Scholarship’s annual conference. She was appointed in February to the position of webmaster for the Association for Documentary Editing.

In June 2007, Tom Dulan and Alexis Luckey attended the National Historical Publications and Records Commission’s Institute for the Editing of Historical Documents in Madison, Wisconsin.

In November 2006, Luckey delivered a paper about the 1968 Democratic Convention at the Film and History League’s biennial conference, “The Documentary Tradition,” in Dallas, Texas.

New Staff Members

Stacy Diggs-Allen joined the Washington Papers as the new Fiscal Administrator in March 2007.

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