Among the many untapped treasures in George Washington’s papers are thousands of manuscript pages detailing the various financial transactions that Washington made over the course of his adult life. The surviving records, while incomplete, are still voluminous, and they reveal much about both his private and public affairs. Washington kept meticulous accounts of all his plantation expenditures (including not only agricultural but milling and weaving operations) as well as his land investments and business ventures, and for a number of years he maintained equally precise accounts for the estates of his wife Martha and her children, Jacky (1754–1781) and Patsy Custis (1756–1774).

In addition, numerous financial papers follow the course of Washington’s nearly five decades of public service. Account books, invoices, receipt books, and warrant books record a wide range of disbursements during the French and Indian and the Revolutionary wars—including outlays for recruiting, supplies and munitions, payments to spies, and expenses for maintaining his military households. The daily expense accounts that Washington kept while serving as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, as president of the Constitutional Convention, and as our nation’s first president shed light on his travels, lodging, dining, almsgiving, and amusements. Whether in his own hand or those of aides-de-camp or stewards, these public financial accounts reveal much about the daily activities not only of Washington and his
family but of the wide variety of men and women who routinely crossed his path—merchants, planters, doctors, tavern-keepers, servants, slaves, quartermasters, and other military personnel.

The Washington Papers staff recently began editing these financial papers in a new series, which, like the completed Colonial, Confederation, and Retirement series and the ongoing Revolutionary War and Presidential series, will be comprehensive in scope. Unlike the other series, however, the Financial Papers Series is designed to be a hybrid electronic and letterpress edition in order to take advantage of the research capabilities of both formats.

The first of the financial records to be edited for publication will be a set of accounts that Washington called simply Ledgers A, B, and C. (Ledgers A and B are located in the Library of Congress and Ledger C is at the Morristown National Historical Park.) These three ledger books contain a series of both general cash accounts and accounts with particular individuals, in which Washington routinely recorded the debits and credits of his personal economic activities from the age of seventeen to his death fifty years later. Washington kept these ledgers to track his business and land dealings with numerous individuals as well as to monitor his routine cash expenditures for himself and his family. The accounts are all in his own hand except for the period of the Revolutionary War, when his distant cousin Lund Washington ran the Mount Vernon farms and looked after Washington’s financial affairs. Entries in both the cash and individual accounts are chronological with some of the longer individual accounts spanning all three of the ledger books; other individual accounts have as little as one or two entries.

Initial rough transcriptions for Ledgers A, B, and C have been completed, and when edited, they will be organized to facilitate the tracing of one or more accounts from beginning to end. Although scholars have long sought to understand the intricacies of Washington’s finances, access to these ledgers—as to most of Washington’s other financial papers—has been limited to a handful of serious researchers. Thus, ideally, Ledgers A, B, and C, since they span Washington’s entire adult life, will be published in a letterpress edition with a calendar of Washington’s other financial papers, providing both an introduction and a guide into the complex world of Washington’s finances as well as an entrée into the comprehensive electronic edition that ultimately, when the Financial Papers Series is complete, will be available not only to scholars but to laymen and students alike across the Internet.

—Frank E. Grizzard, Jr.

Washington’s “Remarkable Dead Eye”

Despite the wishes of Martha Washington and others, during the early years of the Revolutionary War George Washington resisted proposals that he sit for a portrait. Such a time-consuming project would have to wait, he told his brother Samuel on 15 March 1777, until “I am remov’d from the busy Scenes of a Camp, & ought to be at a time when the Mind is not bent down with care” (Revolutionary War Series, 8:584–85). Philadelphia artist Charles Willson Peale, who had made portraits of Washington in 1772 and 1776, was unable to take a proper one of the general when he visited Washington’s headquarters in New Jersey for that purpose in June 1777. Peale managed only to make a “Slite” pencil sketch of the general near Quibbletown, N.J., on 26 June before being obliged to return home to Philadelphia (see Revolutionary War Series, 10:121–23).

For some unknown reason, however, Washington finally agreed to sit for Peale on 28 September 1777. Ironically, it was a particularly busy time for the general, coming two days after the British capture of Philadelphia and a week before the Battle of Germantown. The sitting took place at Samuel Pennypacker’s house at Schwenksville, Pennsylvania. By 11 December 1777 Peale was working on a miniature of Washington that he
completed five days later; the miniature (pictured here) is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City. Immediately afterwards Peale began work on a copy of the miniature that he finished on 8 January 1778, and three days later he started on a wax bust of the general. Peale went to Washington’s headquarters at Valley Forge again the following month, and while there on 16 February he delivered a “Pictur” of the general to Martha Washington, charging her fifty-six dollars. On 24 March Peale gave her “2 miniatures,” and a few days later he began other miniatures of both husband and wife (see Peale Papers, 1:230, 236–37, 246, 258–59, 263–64, 268, 271).

The portraits taken by Peale and other artists sometimes revealed details about Washington’s appearance that might otherwise have remained unknown to posterity. One of the characteristics that was little known even to those who were well acquainted with the general was his amblyopia or “lazy eye,” or what President of Congress Henry Laurens called his “dead Eye.” On 3 March 1778 Laurens wrote his son, Washington’s aide-de-camp John Laurens, that “In my last dispatches I forwarded a miniature of the General to Mrs Washington, from Majr [Nicholas] Rodgers which he packeted in my presence & requested my care of. . . . the Major says the General has a remarkable dead Eye—this did not strike me in either of the three or four times when I saw him once I had as good a view as Candle Light could afford & I am seldom deficient in such strictures” (Laurens Papers, 12:505). John Laurens replied to his father six days later that “Mrs Washington has received the Miniature, and wishes to know whether Major Rogers is still at York—the defects of this Portrait I think are that the visage is too long, and old age is too strongly marked in it—he is not altogether mistaken with respect to the Languor of the Generals Eye—for altho’ his Countenance when affected either by Joy or Anger is full of expression—yet when the Muscles are in a state of repose, his eye certainly wants animation” (Laurens Papers, 12:533). The miniature that Major Rogers sent to Martha Washington has not been identified, and however pronounced Washington’s “dead Eye” may have been, it is difficult to detect in any of the portraits made of the general by Peale or other artists.

Edward G. Lengel

With me, it has always been a maxim, rather to let my designs appear from my works, than by my expressions. To talk long beforehand, of things to be done, is unpleasant, if those things can as well be done at one time or another.

—To James Anderson, 21 December 1797
(Retirement Series 1:525–26)
Anthrax and the President, 1789

In the middle of June 1789, only about six weeks after George Washington had been inaugurated first president of the United States with great fanfare at New York’s Federal Hall, he became alarmingly ill. “A very large and painful tumor” on Washington’s left thigh and a lingering “slow fever” left him almost totally unable to attend to any of his pressing new duties (GW to James McHenry, 3 July 1789, in Presidential Series, 3:109; and Massachusetts Centinel [Boston], 27 June 1789). Dr. Samuel Bard, one of the city’s leading physicians, soon was summoned to examine the ailing president. His diagnosis was anthrax!

Making an accurate modern diagnosis of Washington’s illness in 1789 is extremely difficult, if not impossible, because no precise description of the president’s medical condition has survived and because the eighteenth-century definition of “anthrax” was different than the one used today. The term as it was employed by Dr. Bard apparently meant “a Carbuncle-swelling...that arises in several Parts surrounded with fiery, sharp, and painful Pimples” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1:360). There is no reason to believe that Washington suffered from the “splenic fever” of sheep and cattle or “wool-sorter’s disease” caused by contact with infected animals or contaminated animal products that gained notoriety as an agent of bioterrorism at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The term “anthrax” was not applied exclusively to that disease until the latter part of the nineteenth century after German physician Robert Koch and French chemist Louis Pasteur independently discovered the link between it and Bacillus anthracis, the first bacterium proven to cause a disease.

Dr. Bard, in any case, simply treated Washington for the malignant carbuncle on his thigh, and, whether because or in spite of the doctor’s efforts, the president eventually recovered. Bard recommended surgery to Washington, and on 17 June, at the president’s residence on Franklin Square, Bard incised the troublesome tumor with the assistance of his seventy-three-year-old father Dr. John Bard. According to an anecdotal account, the elder Dr. Bard urged his son during the operation to “cut away—deeper, deeper still, don’t be afraid, you see how well he bears it” (John Brett Langstaff, Doctor Bard of Hyde Park [New York, 1942], 171).

Washington certainly needed all of his stoicism during the long and painful recovery that followed his surgery. According to another second-hand account that first appeared in an 1822 biography of the younger Bard, the doctor found Washington’s infection “so malignant as for several days to threaten mortification [i.e., gangrene]. During this period, Dr. Bard never quitted him. On one occasion, being left alone with him, General Washington looking steadfastly in his face, desired his candid opinion as to the probable termination of the disease, adding, with that placid firmness which marked his address, ‘Do not flatter me with vain hopes; I am not afraid to die, and therefore, can bear the worst.’ Dr. Bard’s answer, though it expressed hope, acknowledged his apprehensions.
The president replied, ‘whether to-night, or twenty years hence, makes no difference; I know that I am in the hands of a good Providence’” (John McVickar, *The Life of Samuel Bard* [New York, 1822], 136–37).

It is known that during the first week of Washington’s convalescence ropes or chains were stretched across the street that ran in front of his house to prevent carriages from passing and disturbing him (see *Massachusetts Centinel* [Boston], 27 June 1789, and Tobias Lear to James Duane, 25 June 1789, in Langstaff, *Doctor Bard of Hyde Park*, 172–73). On 3 July 1789, a little more than two weeks after his surgery, Washington wrote James McHenry that “my health is restored, but a feebleness still hangs upon me, and I am yet much incommoded by the incision which was made in a very large and painful tumor on the protuberance of my thigh—this prevents me from walking or sitting; however the Physicians assure me that it has had a happy effect in removing my fever, and will tend very much to the establishment of my general health; it is in a fair way of healing, and time and patience only are wanting to remove this evil. I am able to take exercise in my coach, by having it so contrived, as to extend myself the full length of it” (*Presidential Series*, 3:112).

Another three weeks passed before Washington could begin to sit up. On 26 July 1789 he wrote family friend David Stuart that “in the first moments of my ability to sit in an easy chair (and that not entirely without pain) I occupy myself in acknowledging the receipt of, and thanking you for your letter of the 14th inst” (ibid., 321). The next day he wrote his nephew Bushrod Washington that “among the first acts of my recommencing business (after lying six weeks on my right side) is that of writing you this letter....Not being fairly on my seat yet, or in other words not being able to sit up without feeling some uneasiness, it must be short” (ibid., 334). On 2 August 1789 the president wrote Senator Richard Henry Lee of Virginia that

“I am unable to sit yet without (soft) Cushings; but have assurances from the Doctors that in a few days more I may expect to be relieved of this inconvenience” (ibid., 371).

Washington was most forthcoming about his long ordeal in his letter of 8 September 1789 to his old friend and personal physician Dr. James Craik, who had not been present during the crisis. “My disorder was of long and painful continuance,” Washington wrote Dr. Craik, “and though now freed from the latter, the wound given by the incision is not yet closed—Persuaded as I am that the case has been treated with skill, and with as much tenderness as the nature of the complaint would admit, yet I confess that I often wished for your inspection of it—During the paroxysm, the distance rendered this impracticable, and after the paroxysm had passed I had no conception of being confined to a lying posture on one side six weeks—and that I should feel the remains of it for more than twelve—The part affected is now reduced to the size of a barley corn, and by saturday next (which will complete the thirteenth week) I expect it will be skinned over—Upon the whole, I have more reason to be thankful that it is no worse than to repine at the confinement. The want of regular exercise, with the cares of office will I have no doubt hasten my departure for that country from whence no Traveller returns; but a faithful discharge of whatever trust I accept, as it ever has, so it always will be the primary consideration in every transaction of my life be the consequences what they may” (ibid., 4:1).

Friends of the new federal government also had much reason to be thankful that the president’s illness, coming so soon after his inauguration, was no worse than it was, because to an extraordinary degree the government’s reputation, in the first years of its existence, was linked to Washington’s own person and character. The underlying political reality of the summer of 1789 was that Washington was much more popular and better trusted by his fellow citizens than was the new Constitution of the United States. No one was more keenly aware of Washington’s vital importance to the operation of the new governmental machinery than James Madison, who had done more than anyone else to create it. “The President,” Madison wrote Edmund Randolph on 24 June 1789, “has been ill, but is now in a safe way. His fever terminated in an abscess which was itself alarming, but has been opened with success, and the alarm is now over. His death at the present moment would have brought on another crisis in our affairs” (Madison Papers, 12:258). Washington truly was an indispensable man at that point in American history, and his health was as much a national concern as it was a personal one.

—James E. Guba and Philander D. Chase

**Washington’s Writings: An 1837 Bestseller?**

Between 1800 and 1850, hundreds of books, poems, and essays were written celebrating George Washington. Other than John Marshall’s five-volume biography, *The Life of George Washington* (Philadelphia, 1805–7), few of these works were based on Washington documents. Instead, they simply reflected and reinforced the popular view of Washington as a symbol of the new American nation. Historians of the day, including Marshall, followed the same style; they produced work that was reverential and commemorative in content.

Jared Sparks (1789–1866) was the first editor of Washington’s papers. He began his career as an Unitarian minister, published the *North American Review*, and eventually became the first professor of history at Harvard and then president of that institution. Sparks is best known today for his biographies of important figures of the revolutionary generation and his interest in the letters and various other documents written by Washington. For five years Sparks traveled extensively throughout the United States and Europe collecting materials pertaining to Washington and his life. His research culminated in a twelve-volume work entitled *The Writings of George Washington*, which included eleven edited volumes of selected writings (1834–37) and a biography of Washington (1837).

Sparks’s volumes were popular not only because they made many of Washington’s writings available in print for the first time, but also because of the
image of Washington that they conveyed. Sparks consciously selected documents designed to accommodate the public’s perception of Washington. Sparks believed, he wrote Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story on 7 May 1827, that “every American will desire to have preserved, in a durable form, such portions of the writings of Washington as illustrate his own great deeds and character, and reflect honor on the country whose national existence and prosperity his services contributed so much to create and establish” (University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library).

Sparks was correct in his assumption that there was a strong popular market for Washington’s writings. To make his product as affordable as possible to the general public, Sparks wrote Story, the books were priced not to be “so expensive as to impose an unreasonable tax on the purchasers,” while remaining “handsome and worthy of the subject.” No part of the country was left untouched by Sparks’s volumes. While stationed at St Louis as an army engineer in 1837, thirty-year-old Robert E. Lee observed their popularity firsthand:

I have been much pleased to learn of the extensive sale that Sparks life and writing of Washington has met with in the West. It speaks greatly in favour of the People, which I am sure you will give them credit for, and must tend vastly to their benefit in every respect—I have met in many places where I least expected it full copies of the handsome calfskin editions, which cost according to the distances to be transported from $4. to $5. a volume—I recollect at two different times dining at the houses of two ship carpenters at New Albany, Indiana Men who lived by their daily labour and could afford nothing better than a small piece of Pork with a few Potatoes and Corn Bread for their families, and to my surprise found in each house an edition of the kind I speak of, ranged along side of the Bible in a Glass case. One of them expressed to me the pleasure he had enjoyed it in its perusal, and said that in the long cold nights of last Winter, “They were better to him than the best conversation he had ever met with”—George Calvert told me when in Baltimore that he had seen Spark’s Agent when in that City, and after he had only been there three or four days, Who said that he had already Sold 300 copies, and expected to sell 500—That in Boston he had sold 11,00 copies—So you see that the work has not failed in the encouragement it deserved (To George Washington Parke Custis, 25 August 1837, University of Virginia Archives, Alderman Library).

Like many of his generation, Lee held Washington in the highest regard as a model of virtue. In addition to the fact that Lee was married to the daughter of Washington’s adopted son, to whom the above letter was addressed, many of his ideals of Southern independence were founded on those of the Revolutionary cause.

Sparks was far more successful in catering to the public’s idealized image of Washington than he was in establishing and maintaining high standards of documentary editing. The many liberties he took while editing the documents included correcting spelling errors, changing sentence structure and wording, omitting passages, and toning down phrases he felt were vulgar. Although Sparks defended his actions on the grounds that the changes were ones that Washington would have made, his work ultimately became an example of how not to edit historical documents. Despite the cloud that now hangs over Sparks’s editing practices, the books were hugely popular at the time of their publication because they satisfied the public’s desire to read documents that supported and preserved its idealized image of the father of their country.

—Jennifer E. Stertzer
Have you seen the latest volumes of *The Papers of George Washington*? One volume was published this past fall, one this winter, and two more volumes are scheduled to appear in print during 2002.

**Revolutionary War Series volume 11** (August–October 1777), edited by Philander D. Chase and Edward G. Lengel, was published during the fall of 2001. Covering one of the most militarily active periods of the war, this volume documents the battles of Brandywine and Germantown and the beginning of the struggle for control of the Delaware River.

**Revolutionary War Series volume 12** (October–December 1777), edited by Frank E. Grizzard, Jr., and David R. Hoth, was published early in 2002. This volume documents the fall of the American forts on the Delaware River and Washington’s subsequent decision to encamp the Continental army for the winter at Valley Forge.

**Presidential Series, volume 10** (March–August 1792), edited by Robert F. Haggard and Mark A. Mastromarino, will be published in the fall of 2002. Among the topics covered are the first use of the presidential veto power, Gen. Arthur St. Clair’s disastrous defeat by Indians, and Washington’s efforts to expedite the construction of the new capital on the Potomac.

**Presidential Series, volume 11** (August 1792–January 1793), edited by Christine Sternberg Patrick, also will be published in the fall of 2002. It covers preparations for a new Indian campaign under Gen. Anthony Wayne, the developing conflict within the cabinet between Hamilton and Jefferson, and Washington’s decision to accept a second term as president.

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From the newly-published Volume 12 of the Revolutionary War Series:
Washington’s first orders from Valley Forge, 1777

General Orders

Head Quarters, at the Valley-Forge, Decr 20th 1777.1
C. Signs Concord. Cambridge.

Parole Haverhill.

Genl McIntosh is appointed to the command of the North Carolina brigade.2

The Major Generals accompanied by the Engineers are to view the ground attentively, and fix upon the
proper spot and mode for hutting so as to render the camp as strong and inaccessible as possible—The Engineers
after this are to mark the ground out, and direct the field Officers appointed to superintend the buildings for each
brigade where they are placed.

The soldiers in cutting their firewood, are to save such parts of each tree, as will do for building, reserving
sixteen or eighteen feet of the trunk, for logs to rear their huts with—In doing this each regiment is to reap the
benefit of their own labour.

All those, who in consequence of the orders of the 18th instant, have turned their thoughts to an easy, and
expeditious method of covering the huts, are requested to communicate their plans to Major Generals Sullivan,
Greene or Lord Stirling, who will cause experiments to be made, and assign the profer’d reward to the best projector.

The Quarter Master General is to delay no time, but use his utmost exertions, to procure large quantities of
straw, either for covering the huts, if it should be found necessary, or for beds for the soldiers—He is to assure the
farmers that unless they get their grain out immediately, the straw will be taken with the grain in it, and paid for as
straw only.3

The Quarter Master General is to collect, as soon as possible, all the tents not now used by the troops, and as
soon as they are huttered, all the residue of the tents, and have them washed and well dried, and then laid up in store,
such as are good for the next campaign, the others for the uses which shall be directed—The whole are to be carefully
preserved—The Colonels and Officers commanding regiments are forthwith to make return to the Qr Mr General, of
every tent belonging to their corps.

The army being now come to a fixed station, the Brigadiers and officers commanding brigades, are immedi-
ately to take effectual measures, to collect, and bring to camp, all the officers and soldiers at present scattered about
the country.

All officers are enjoined to see that their men do not wantonly or needlessly burn and destroy rails, and never
fire their sheds, or huts when they leave them.

Varick transcript, DLC:GW.

Muhlenberg’s orderly book begins with an order that is omitted in the Varick transcript: “The Guards to parade at ½
past 3 o’clock this afternoon near the Park” (“Muhlenberg’s Orderly Book,” 35:302). Weedon’s orderly book begins with a
similar order: “The Guards to parade near the Park” (Weedon’s Orderly Book, 160).

Varick transcript, DLC:GW.

1. For all the hardships associated with the encampment at Valley Forge, Pa., which was located on the Schuylkill River
about twenty miles northwest of Philadelphia in Chester and Philadelphia (now Montgomery) counties, it provided the Continental
army with an adequate defensive position to guard against a British surprise attack, the ability to limit the extent of British
depredations in the state of Pennsylvania, and a base to cover both Lancaster and York, where the Pennsylvania state government
and the Continental Congress, respectively, had moved after the evacuation of Philadelphia. GW reputedly headquartered at a
stone millhouse near the mouth of Valley Creek in Philadelphia County that was owned by Isaac Potts and was occupied at this
time by his aunt Deborah Pyewell Potts Hewes, the widow of Thomas Potts II and the wife of Caleb Hewes. At GW’s quarters,
Timothy Pickering wrote to his wife Rebecca White Pickering on 30 Dec., they were “exceedingly pinched for room” (Pickering
and Upham, Life of Pickering, 1:199). The headquarters house is shown on an early plan of the Valley Forge encampment drawn
by the French engineer Brigadier General Duportail (see fig. 6). The Continental army remained at Valley Forge until 19 June
1778.

2. An invitation to Lachlan McIntosh in Tench Tilghman’s writing, which is dated only “Monday,” may have been
written around this time: “General Washington presents his Compliments to Genl McIntosh and requests the favor of his
Company at dinner tomorrow at 4 O’clock” (NIC). The twentieth of December was a Saturday.
What’s New at The Papers of George Washington

New Online Resources

We are updating our web site with a new design:
http://www.virginia.edu/gwpapers

Check the site to see new content and links to outside resources.

The new online edition of John C. Fitzpatrick’s edition of The Writings of George Washington has been posted by the University of Virginia’s E-Text Center:
http://etext.virginia.edu/washington

The University’s E-Text Center has also posted an online version of the Association for Documentary Editing directory:
http://e-text.virginia.edu/ade/directory/index.html

New Staff

We welcome these talented new staff members:

Assistant Editor John C. Pinheiro received his Ph.D. in history from the University of Tennessee this past December after completing his dissertation on “Anti-Catholicism, Manifest Destiny, and the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846–1848.” John worked on the James Knox Polk Correspondence project at Tennessee, and he now is helping to edit our Presidential Series.

Administrator/Research Assistant Charlotte W. Morford received an M.A. in eighteenth-century English literature from the University of Virginia before working as a corporate marketing director and consultant in the Washington, D.C., area. Her masters thesis is entitled “Augustan Writers and the Arts of Conversation.”

Digital Developer Mark J. Leibert recently received a Masters of Fine Arts degree from the Rochester Institute of Technology, where he specialized in painting and digital technologies. Mark worked as a digital artist in San Francisco before moving to Virginia.

Research Assistant James E. Guba, who has worked for the Washington Papers as a French language specialist and text transcriber since the fall of 2000, has taken on important new responsibilities as the project’s copy editor.

The project bids farewell to Administrative/Editorial Assistant Hannah L. Edelen and Copy Editor Tanya L. Stanciu. We are very grateful for the many contributions of Hannah and Tanya to the Washington Papers, and we wish them the best in their future endeavors.

New Books by Washington Papers Editors

Look for these new books by Washington Papers editors that will be published this spring:

George Washington: A Biographical Companion, by Frank E. Grizzard, Jr., published by ABC-CLIO, Santa Barbara, CA. This first encyclopedic work devoted exclusively to George Washington is not limited to conventional inquiries into Washington’s roles as military leader and first president, but also includes much about his personal and family life, his land holdings and business dealings, and his many correspondents. To order, call toll free 800-368-6868 or go to www.abc-clio.com on the Internet.

The Irish Through British Eyes: Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era, by Edward G. Lengel, published by Praeger Publishers, Westport, CT. This book describes the change in British perceptions of Ireland as a result of the potato famine from a rhetoric of marriage to one of master and servant. To order, call toll free 800-225-5800 or go to www.greenwood.com on the Internet.
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