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Prepared For:
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Prepared By:
Matthew R. Laird, Ph.D. and Garrett R. Fesler, Ph.D.
James River Institute for Archaeology, Inc.
223 McLaws Circle, Suite 1
Williamsburg, Virginia 23185
(757) 229-9485

Thane H. Harpole, B.A. and David A. Brown, M.A.
DATA Investigations, LLC
and
Stephen Fonzo

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Manufacturing in Nineteenth-Century Buckland, Virginia: An Analysis of Store Account Books

Prepared by Stephen Fonzo

April 2011

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I. INTRODUCTION

Buckland began its development as a mill-based farming and manufacturing community in the late eighteenth century at least two decades before the Virginia General Assembly officially chartered the town in 1798. Previous research has established that numerous ancillary industries and trades grew around the early village so that by 1830 Buckland had not only two mills but a paved turnpike road, stagecoach inn, tannery, distillery, blacksmiths, shoemakers, a wheelwright and cooper in addition to several residences, a church, and common grazing land. Economic growth had been fast, and the surviving period newspaper, gazetteer, and personal accounts offer a glimpse and impression of the success of business in the town. However, it has proven difficult to explain the exact local chronology or financial mechanisms by which Buckland's enhanced productivity and trade appeared within only a few years of the charter and maintained itself through at least the first half of the nineteenth century, with milling and cloth manufacturing continuing into at least the late nineteenth century. Fortunately, the account books of multiple stores in Buckland make it possible to answer at least the second component of the above question – how manufacturing and trade worked on a day-to-day basis and how both changed over time, defining the economic viability and social fabric of the town. The best primary source evidence for the daily operations of stores, factories, and commodity exports comes from account books kept by some of the stores and manufacturers in the town at various points throughout the nineteenth century. This portion of Buckland's rich documentary record includes the Hampton Day Book (1810), the Britton Store/Turnpike Ledger (1813-1818), the B.G.D. Moxley Account Book (1829-1835), the Marsteller Papers (1829-1857), and the Sanders Family Papers (1877-1922). Previous efforts have permitted the acquisition, preservation, or digitization of these disparate sources. For the current project, the author has transcribed and compiled a representative sample of the most complete books into a financial transaction database, allowing for a close analysis of the range and success of products and services over time.

This analysis of business and manufacturing in Buckland focuses specifically on the period 1810-1857. The objective is to clarify and characterize in greater detail the historic context of business and manufacturing in Buckland – especially milling, distilling, and cloth-making – during its key periods of growth and change. Detailed business records prior to 1810 and from the years 1857-1876 have not yet been discovered. Furthermore, the Sanders Papers, though substantial in quantity, are not comparable to the early nineteenth century sources and are so voluminous as to demand their own study – an endeavor beyond the topic and scope of the current analysis. The Sanders Store Day Books and Ledgers from the 1877-1914 period reveal a town that had changed significantly since the 1830s. Local patrons were primarily buying groceries at the Sanders store, and these purchases of eggs, bacon, sugar, and fruit, while historically interesting, offer little information concerning manufacturing or industry in the town. From 1798 to 1835, various businesses and enterprises grew in the town of Buckland, most diminishing the scale of their operations in the mid-nineteenth century. The manufacturing industries included large-scale automated mills, a distillery, and a woolen mill. Additionally, there were small-trade manufacturers that included blacksmiths, coopers, wheelwrights, shoemakers, and tanners, as well as an ambitious road building company. African-American slaves and free laborers contributed to many of these trades, industries, and projects. Even before war brought financial devastation to the region, a flood in 1829 damaged buildings in the

town, including the distillery, the turnpike lost its private and public funding, and many of the families who had helped to build the large milling and manufacturing enterprises at the beginning of the nineteenth century left the region or passed away. The community that resided in Buckland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was substantially different than the Buckland established in 1798 – in composition, labor, economy, and outlook.

The earlier period of steady growth is represented by the records of four unique businesses, mostly covering the years 1810-1835: John and Henry Hampton's store (1810-1810), which sold whiskey, wool/cloth manufactures, dry goods, and produce, and was affiliated with the Buckland distillery and post office; George Britton's store (1814-1818), which brokered stock and supplies for the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike Company and sold general merchandise; B.G.D. Moxley's store (1829-1835), which sold dry goods, dealing especially in international imports/exports such as coffee, sugar, and flour; and the Marsteller family store (1826-1857), which sold mill products, cloth, and small blacksmithing manufactures. In contrast, the period 1876-1922 is represented by the records of only one business, the Sanders family store (1876-1922), which sold general merchandise and groceries and operated continuously in Buckland from Reconstruction through the early twentieth century.

Methods

The central topic of investigation – the range and quantity of manufacturing products and services at specific time periods – first requires the identification of relevant data shared by each of the account books. To organize and compare the large amount of information contained in business records, this study defines the individual transaction (a purchase/sale or exchange) as the basic unit of analysis. Quantitative analysis of the transaction data is presented in a series of descriptive statistics and charts a) describe and summarize the patterns in business and industry at Buckland; b) and interpret the relationships between different types of manufacturing in the periods under study, with the expectation that successes in each area of manufacturing fortified the overall financial activity of other industries and business in the town.

The method of quantifying individual transactions points to broader issues in the study of historical business records. Foremost are the differences between day books and ledgers. Day books record the daily transactions for a given store or business and are organized by calendar date. Next to each transaction the abbreviation "Dr" or "Cr" indicates whether the customer or account holder purchased, borrowed, or received the goods or services (Dr = Debit record) or whether the account holder provided cash or in-kind goods and services to the store (Cr = Credit record). Day books depict the quantity and variety of business conducted over the course of a day, and the level of detail is generally high with regard to the description and prices of goods and services. Seldom does a day book cover more than a year of business. Ledgers, written by copying and abstracting day books for the purpose of formal accounting, summarize the activities of individual customers' Debit and Credit accounts over the course of a year or over several years. While ledgers make it possible to follow the consumption and trade behaviors of individuals over longer periods of time, they are also more likely than day books to summarize transactions, neglecting the details of purchases or combining the fees for multiple purchases into one sum under the heading, "sundries." Ledgers are also more likely than day books to contain

duplicate entries for a single transaction, as a byproduct of the double-entry bookkeeping system. The goal of double-entry bookkeeping is to check all debits and credits to ensure that they match and to allow the business owner to document his/her profits and debts. The keeper of a ledger could always check his/her day books for yet another check, but the historian rarely possesses both documents for one store or business. The combined lack of specificity and double-entry in ledgers means that any quantitative study using both types of business account books must control for the difference between day books and ledgers by counting each transaction only once and only if there is adequate information about the date, account holder(s), and nature of the exchange - the goods or services transacted and their monetary value.

The study database organizes transactions by the following variables:

Date of transaction (organized into months, years, and key periods)
Name DR – name of debit account holder making the purchase or exchanging on credit
Name CR – name of credit account holder making the sale or providing in-kind goods/services
Category – the type of transaction (based on the item/service)
Item – the individual good or service being exchanged
Amount of good/service – amount (in standard units, e.g. bushels, pounds, gallons) of the individual item being exchanged)
$ - cost/market value of the individual transaction
# of transactions – count/frequency of transactions per category/item/time period
$ of transactions – sum of cost/value of transactions per category/item/time period

Assumptions and controls:

Every transaction represents a single exchange of money, goods, or services. Combined entries (that is, single payments for more than one good or service) are represented by one transaction, with the date of the final payment. In some cases, it is not possible to document the market value of the individual transactions being combined into one payment. In other words, there are no duplicate entries for exchanges. Transactions with an unknown category, date, item, or $ (cost) are excluded from the sample. Where it is possible to identify duplicate entries (those that appear in one account holder's DR and another's CR, with the same value, description, and/or date), the duplicates are removed from the test sample. All transactions in the "goods/sundries" category are removed from the sample, because these are uncharacterized and undifferentiated transactions that potentially overlap multiple categories. For example, a "sundries" transaction may have included bread, corn, nails, and ten yards of flannel – goods in four separate categories (non-manufacturing/groceries, milling, small manufacturing/blacksmith, and wool/cloth).

Values in $ are standardized across the data to allow for quantitative comparison. The earliest account book entries (1810-1816) list the cost of goods and services in English Pounds/shillings/pennies (L-S-D) Sterling, where there are 20 shillings per pound and 240 pennies per pound (12 pennies per shilling), so that 1L..10s..6d = £1.525. Several transaction notes contain contemporary conversion rates that confirm an exchange rate of £1.00 = $3.33 throughout the early account books. This ratio is used to calculate the value in American dollars

of every pounds Sterling transaction in the sample database. Some entries (notably many Merchandise transactions) have no legible cash amount and are thus excluded from the sample.

Transcription of relevant data from the Hampton, Britton, Moxley, and Marsteller account books culminated in an original database of 9,532 individual transactions. Using the preceding criteria, the sources of error were identified (Table 1) and removed from the test sample.

Table 1. Data Collection, Buckland Business Accounts 1810-1857.

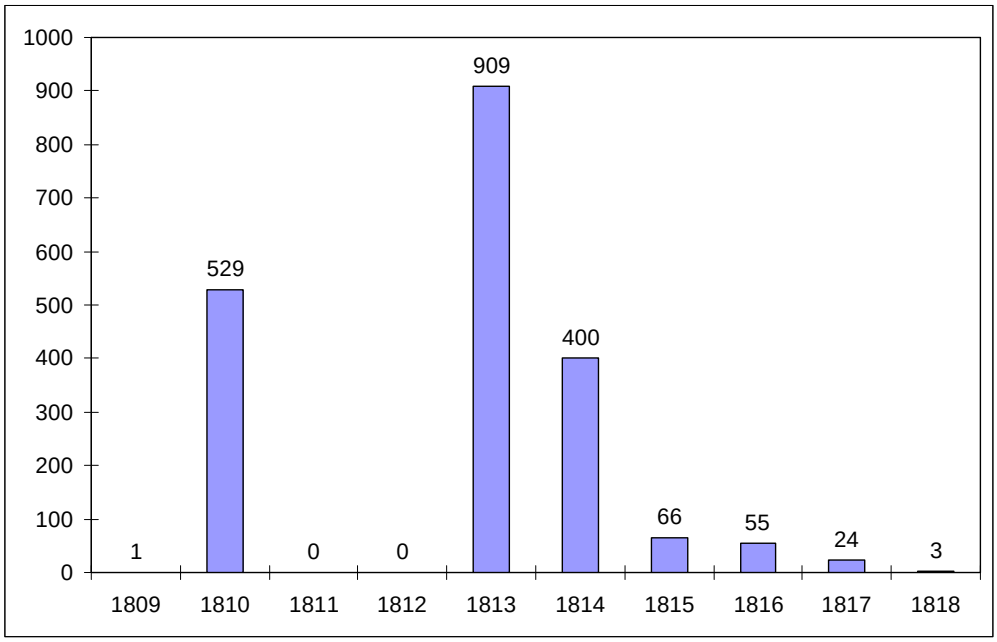
Original Source Data Sample	9532	
Sources of Error	Count	Percentage
Unspecified Cash Exchanges	1572	16%
Unspecified Goods/Sundries	283	3%
No Date	329	3%
No $ Amount	304	3%
No Description	98	1%
Summed Transactions	72	1%
Sources of Error	2658	28%
Test Sample	6874	72%

Of these, two sources of error – unspecified cash and unspecified goods – are worth further discussion in order to understand the general business context of transactions for the whole period of study.

"Cash/Finance" Transactions

This sample (n=1987), part of which is removed from the test sample to eliminate errors, displays certain patterns which help to explain the nature of the primary sources and general financial context for this study. All transactions in the "cash/finance" category occur within the first ten years (1810-1818) of the study period (Figure 1), meaning that questions posed regarding the correlation between general cash investments and specific manufacturing industries can only be answered during this first ten year period.

Figure 1. Distribution of Cash/Finance Transaction Sample



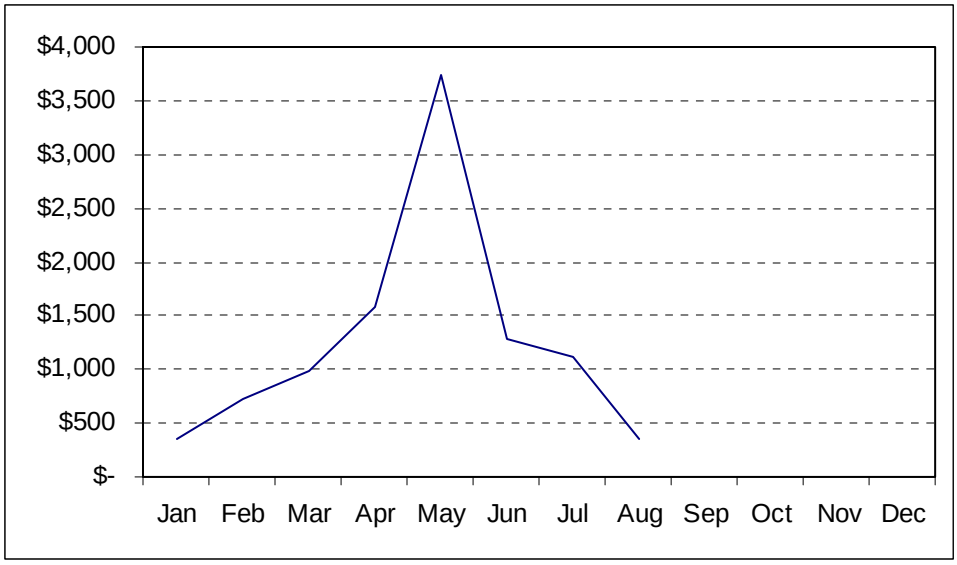
Furthermore, "cash/finance" transactions display a bimodal distribution around two periods: 1810 (frequency = 529) and 1813-1814 (frequency=1309), with a relatively low number from 1815-1817 (frequency=145). The absence of account books from 1811 to 1812 account for this gap. Continuous cash transaction data is not available for the overall period 1810-1857 nor is continuous data available for the period 1810-1818; by extension, it is reasonable to expect similar gaps in data for the other types of transactions in the main test sample. For this reason, all quantitative analyses will be based on discrete *key time periods* and not on trends encompassing the entire study period.

All "cash/finance" transactions are recorded in the Hampton Day Book (1810) and the Britton Ledger (1813-1818), and in no other source, not surprising given the clustering of data around 1810 and 1813-1814. These two account books are the most detailed documentary sources for business and manufacturing in Buckland, and the numerous unspecified cash exchanges they record (n=1572) represent the monetary value of unknown transactions, excluded from further quantitative analysis. The specified or known cash transactions (n=415) represent the transfer of investments such as stocks, bonds, loans, as well as business and travel expenses, court and tax fees, and postage. These known cash transactions are included in the quantitative analysis. The lack of a "cash/finance" category in the Moxley (1829-1835) and Marsteller (1829-1857) account book data is due to the nature of these sources, which are collections of miscellaneous accounts rather than complete day books or ledgers.

Dividing all "cash/finance" transactions into three groups (1810; 1813-1814; and 1815-1817) allows for a brief inspection of the trends in this data category over time. Unspecified cash

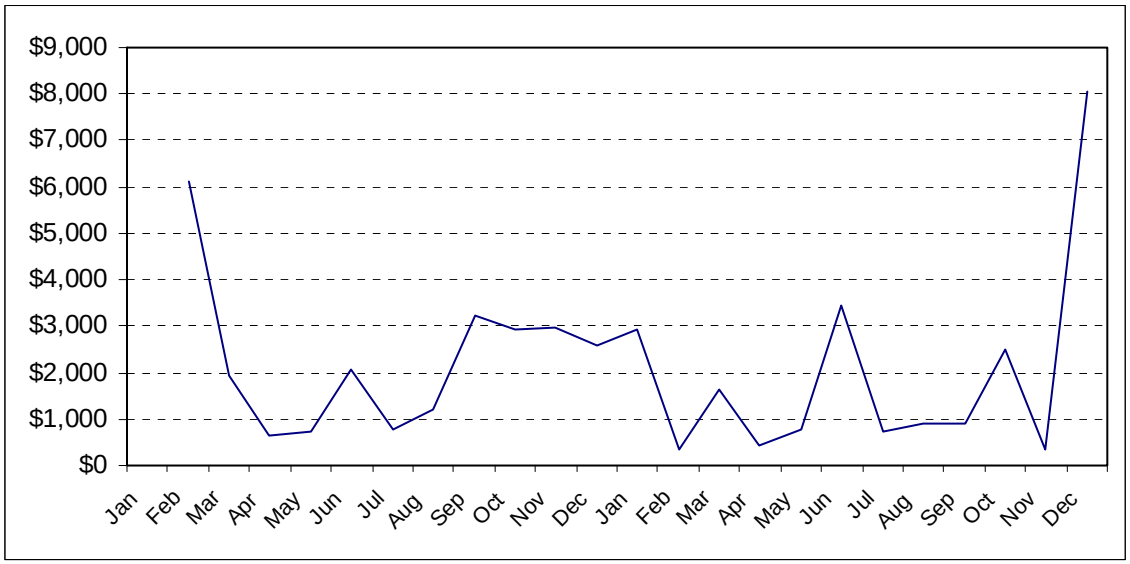
transactions, though of little comparative or analytical use, do provide an approximation of the level of overall financial activity in each period.

Figure 2. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.



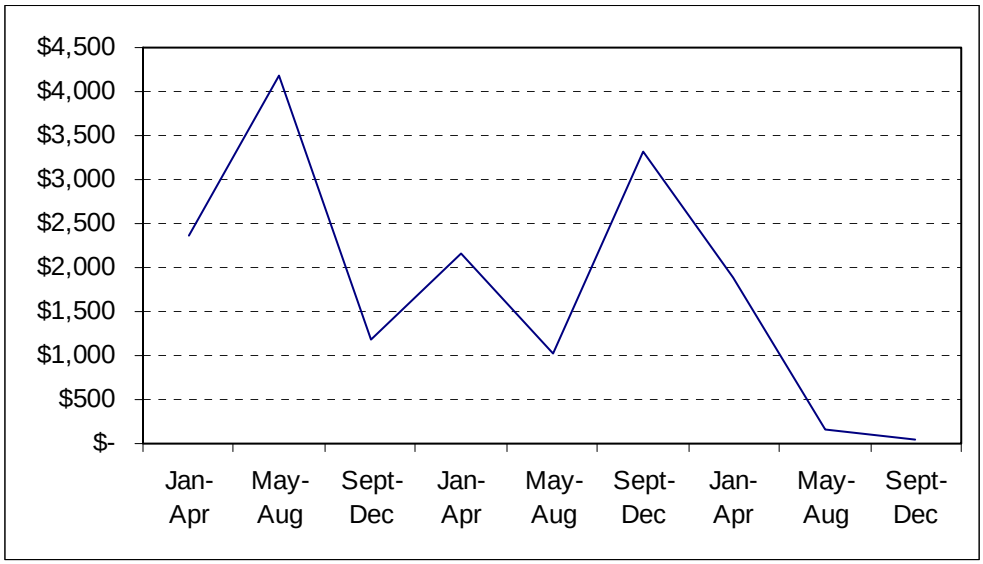
In 1810, the total dollar value of cash transactions peaked during the spring months (April-June – Figure 2). Only data from January through August are available for this year in the Hampton Day Book, but the pattern is easy to interpret: in 1810, the Hampton store experienced greater business in the spring than in other seasons, possibly because better weather and more passable roads brought more customers to the store. Indeed, the number of transactions each month positively correlates ($r=0.74$) to the money exchanged each month ($t_6=2.72$, $p < 0.05$). Each of the two variables – number of transactions per month and money exchanged per month – accounts for 55% ($r^2=0.55$) of the change in the other, suggesting that other variables contributed to the springtime boom in business. One possible factor might have been an increase in manufacturing (milling, distilling, and cloth-making) in the spring – a possibility that this study will explore further in following sections.

Figure 3. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1813-1814



From 1813-1814, the total dollar value of cash transactions was more erratic, with two large peaks – one in February 1813 and December 1814 - and a period of steady monetary exchange from August 1813 through January 1814. George Britton, like John and Henry Hampton, did buy and sell goods but the majority of his business included managing the Turnpike Company and facilitating credit for area residents in bulk sales and transport. One might expect therefore that cash transactions at Britton's store were less influenced by seasonal changes or production schedules and more by the state of progress in the construction of the Turnpike and the increased opportunities for trade and investment that this project brought to the town. The irregular trend in money exchanged over the years 1813-1814 cannot be accounted for by any similar trend in the number of customers and account holders buying and selling through Britton, and the two are not statistically correlated ($t21=1.90$, $p > 0.05$). In October 1813, $2,949.25 was exchanged in a total of 100 transactions, but one year later in October 1814, the comparable amount of $2.515.94 was exchanged in only 18 transactions. Clearly, the period 1813-1814 witnessed transactions varying widely in size and dollar amount.

Figure 4. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1815-1817



The period 1815-1817 is separated from the preceding years due to its consistently lower number of transactions compared to 1813-1814 (Figure 1). From 1815-1817, the total dollar value of cash transactions displays three peaks: mid-1815, early 1816, and late 1816. This trend, though less irregular than the money exchanged in 1813-1814, is still consistent with non-annual, non-seasonal business activity as recorded in the Britton ledger. Although the total amount of money exchanged and number of customers is moderately correlated ($r=0.47$), there is no significant relationship between the two ($t7=1.42$, $p > 0.05$). Just as in 1813-1814, some very large transactions made otherwise "quiet" months and years more lucrative than other time periods with more financial activity.

Table 2 and Table 3 list the most financially active account holders during the period 1810-1818, in total debit and credit "cash/finance" transactions, reflecting those individuals and businesses most invested in business at Buckland. Text in **bold** indicates that the account holder was also the owner of a business whose account book makes up part of the sample. Not surprisingly, the Turnpike Company, Britton Store, Hampton Merchandise, George Britton, and John Hampton are all within the top ten for debit transactions (purchases and obligations), primarily because the account books in the sample record their daily and yearly operations. These businesses were undeniably central in the economic life of the town during the early nineteenth century. Interestingly, however, there are also other names of individuals who were not owners of the two stores: Walter A. Smith (#2 in Debit); Enos McKay (#5 in Debit); John Love (#8 in Debit); John White (#9 in Debit); and Henry Washington ($10 in Debit). Similar patterns are visible for credit transactions (payments), with George Britton and John Hampton again appearing in the top ten along with their separate store accounts. Enos McKay (#4), Walter A. Smith (#6), and John Love (#7) reappear in the top ten. Sixteen names appear in both lists, giving some indication of the most active investors and entrepreneurs during this decade. Notably the Turnpike Company, at the top of debit transactions ($8,786.93), was #24 in credit transactions

($181.42), not a low position considering the whole sample, but suggesting that the Turnpike Company made many more payments to its investors, laborers, and construction costs than to its account with George Britton.

Table 2. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1810-1818.

Account Holder	*Debit Cash Transactions*	*$ Debit Cash Transactions*
Turnpike Company	102	$8,786.93
Smith, Walter A.	4	$5,803.33
Britton Store Cash Acct	70	$5,166.27
Hampton Store Merchandise Acct	35	$3,594.32
McKay, Enos	6	$3,495.46
Hampton, John	23	$3,337.70
Britton, George	145	$2,938.69
Love, John	9	$2,620.04
White, John	13	$1,963.77
Washington, Henry	9	$1,395.91
Hunton, Charles	7	$1,064.81
Barbee, Andrew R.	3	$1,012.05
Brooks, William	10	$783.99
Cundiff, William	13	$778.16
Boyd, William	5	$720.28
Hampton, Henry	16	$614.48
Amiss, Thomas	6	$561.60
Hill, John	30	$409.37
Grigsby, Nimrod	18	$393.57
Goram, Henson	28	$373.49
Mitchel, Adam	5	$365.13
Lane, Carr W.	12	$343.51
Davis, Benjamin R.	44	$323.30
Hancock, William	7	$303.81
Ward, Enoch	2	$299.70

Table 3. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1810-1818.

Account Holder	*Credit Cash Transactions*	*$ Credit Cash Transactions*
Britton Store Cash Acct	688	$7,975.94
Hampton, John	82	$7,283.31
McKay, Enos	35	$6,733.04
Britton, George	50	$6,417.78
Smith, Walter A.	59	$4,196.93
Love, John	46	$2,370.19
Cundiff, William	52	$1,865.60
Hampton Store Merchandise Acct	46	$1,131.94
Hunton, Charles	17	$1,097.27
Britton, Thomas	24	$838.77
Janney, Thomas & Co.	2	$751.22

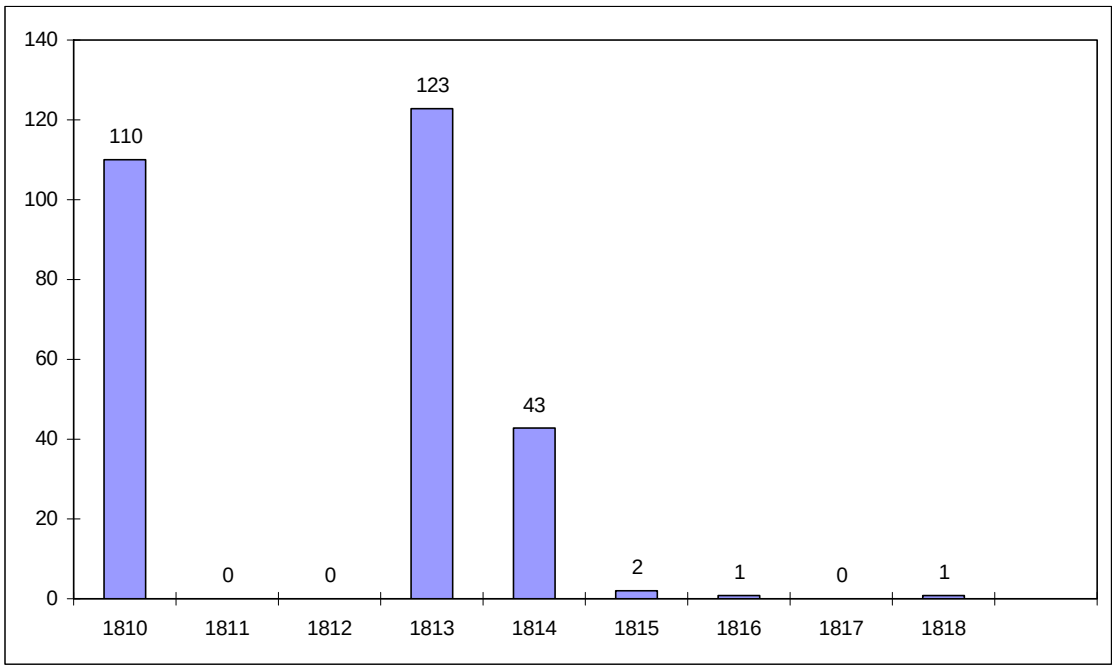
White, John	16	$751.01
Amiss, Thomas	4	$716.01
Lloyd, John	1	$615.16
Mitchel, Adam	11	$583.66
Cazenove, Anthony Charles	2	$525.28
Hampton and Love	3	$479.52
Washington, Henry	2	$449.55
Hampton, William H.	3	$414.42
Libby & Carne	7	$375.45
Hampton, Henry	17	$213.85
Barbee, Andrew R.	4	$198.91
Smith, Hugh	3	$193.98
Turnpike Company	5	$181.42
Carter, Landon	3	$170.50

"Goods/Sundries" Transactions

This sample (n=283) represents all transactions for which there is no description other than "goods," "sundry articles," or "sundries." The "goods/sundries" sample in its entirety is removed from the study's primary test sample to eliminate errors – specifically overlap with other categories of goods such as cloth, distilled products, and milled grains. Considered on its own, just like the unspecified cash/finance category, the goods/sundries category displays certain patterns which help to explain the nature of the primary sources and general financial context for this study.

Just as in the "cash/finance" category, all transactions in the "goods/sundries" category occur within the first ten years (1810-1818) of the study period. This is directly related to the data collection methods, in which more information was recorded from the Hampton and Britton account books because of their high level of detail and their integrity as complete books rather than loose papers.

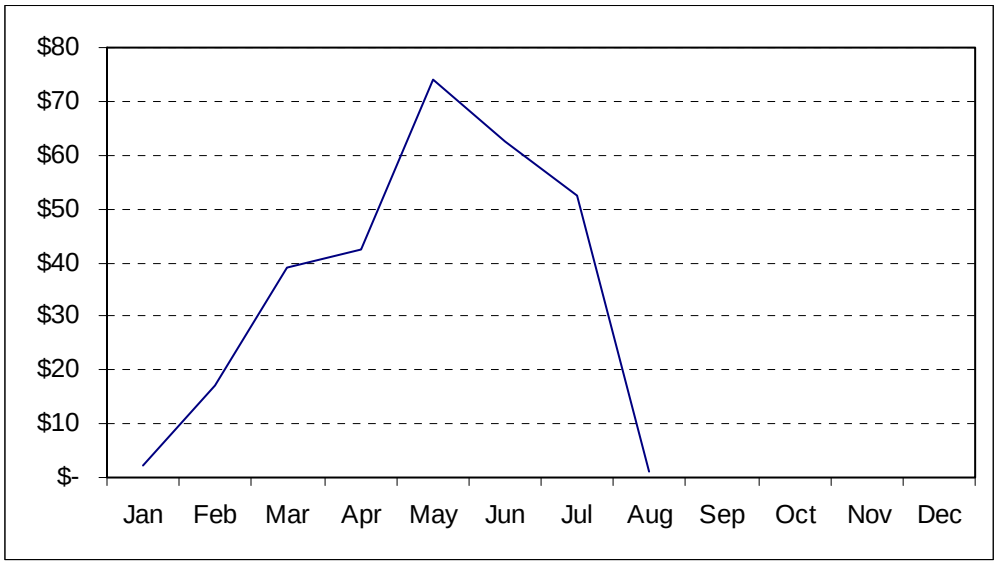
Figure 5. Distribution of Goods/Sundries Transaction Sample



Furthermore, “goods/sundries” transactions display the same bimodal distribution (Figure 5) around two periods: 1810 (frequency = 110) and 1813-1814 (frequency=168), with a very low number from 1815-1817 (frequency=4). This validates the research strategy that quantitative analyses will be based on discrete key time periods and not on trends encompassing the entire study period.

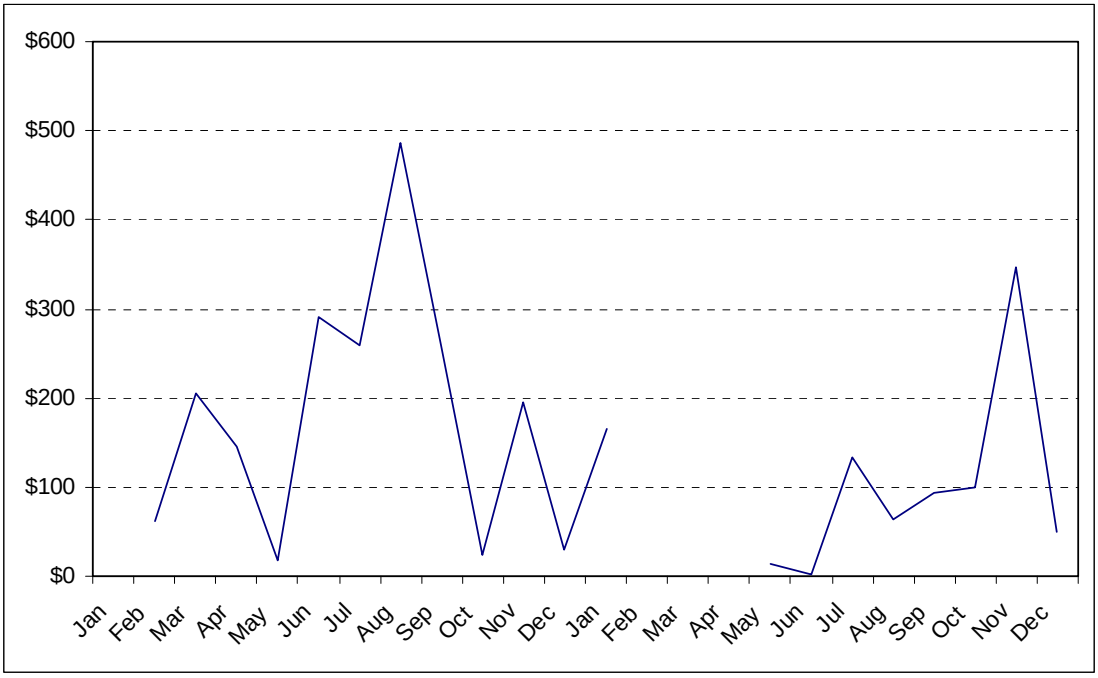
Dividing all “goods/sundries” transactions into two groups (1810 and 1813-1814) allows for a brief inspection of the trends in this data category over each period. Unspecified goods transactions, though of little comparative or analytical use, do provide an approximation of the level of small scale purchases and exchanges in each period – for groceries, supplies, and other domestic goods.

Figure 6. Value of Goods/Sundries Transactions, 1810



In 1810, the total dollar value of unspecified goods/sundries transactions peaked during the late spring and early summer (May-July – Figure 6). Only data from January through August are available for this year in the Hampton Day Book, and over one-half of the recorded transactions (61 out of 110) fall between May and July. The apparent peak is an effect of more recorded transactions from mid-1810 than in the rest of that year. There is a strong correlation between the money exchanged each month and the number of transactions ($t6=5.09$, $p < 0.05$), and each of the two variables accounts for 81% ($r2=0.55$) of the change in the other. There are two important implications to this fact. First, sampling clearly has an effect on observable trends in the money exchanged for miscellaneous "sundries." Second, this effect is stronger for "goods/sundries" than for cash transactions. "Goods/sundries" transactions tend to be more uniform and smaller in their dollar amount, representing sales between $0.06 and $483.52 (mean=$12.85 ± $38.03; median=$2.31). In contrast, "cash/finance" transactions are more highly variable and are on average larger, representing sales between $0.04 and $3,146.02 (mean=$37.77 ± $140.51; median=$5.49).

Figure 7. Value of Goods/Sundries Transactions, 1813-1814



From 1813-1814, the total dollar value of goods and sundries was irregular, with one large peak lasting throughout the summer of 1813 and a smaller peak in December 1814 (Figure 7). These patterns do not match the trends for cash transactions during the same two years, except for the peak in December 1814. The increase in general purchases and sales in the summer of 1813 is not repeated in 1814, suggesting that there was not an annual or seasonal pattern, either. This matches the expectation that transactions at Britton's store were less influenced by seasonal changes or production schedules than at the Hampton store. The irregular trend in money exchanged for sundries over the years 1813-1814 cannot be accounted for by any similar trend in the number of customers and account holders buying and selling through Britton, and the two are not statistically correlated ($t22=1.82$, $p > 0.05$). Clearly, the period 1813-1814 and the Britton store witnessed "goods/sundries" transactions varying widely in dollar amount.

Table 4 and Table 5 list the most active account holders during the period 1810-1818 in total unspecified "goods/sundries" transactions. These tables, unlike Tables 2 and 3, do not depict total cash investment, but instead list those individuals and businesses that spent or earned the most on unspecified goods and services. As such, this table provides a rough overview of those who conducted the most general day-to-day business in the town from 1810 to 1818, though this is by no means a representative sample. Text in **bold** indicates that the account holder was also the owner of a business whose account book makes up part of the sample. As in the tables for "cash/finance" transactions, the Turnpike Company, Hampton Merchandise, George Britton, and John Hampton are all within the top ten for debit transactions (purchases and obligations). Though some of the same names appear on both cash and sundries "Top 25 Individuals" tables, the top ten in each are noticeably different and include a different set of customers: William

Mann (#3 in Debit); Thomas Gant (#4 in Debit); Prince William County (#5 in Debit); and Isaac Meeks (#8 in Debit). Britton and Hampton stores again appear in the top ten for Credit transactions (payments), but the rest of the top ten credit accounts for sundries transactions resemble the "cash/finance" top ten, including Enos McKay (#1), John Love (#2), and William Cundiff (#4). Following these familiar names are a set of distinct accounts, including Christopher Neale, Blackford, and John O. Hancock. The wider variety of names and lower average dollar amount of "goods/sundries" transactions compared to "cash/finance" suggests that non-cash transactions - for goods and services rather than bonds, loans, and stocks – were common among a more diverse portion of the population.

Table 4. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Goods/Sundries, 1810-1818.

Account Holder	*Debit Sundries Transactions*	*$ Debit Sundries Transactions*
Turnpike Company	21	$516.39
Britton, George	14	$177.30
Mann, William	2	$68.66
Gant, Thomas	37	$65.78
White, John	1	$59.94
Prince William County	4	$42.97
Hampton Store Merchandise Acct	2	$35.01
Meeks, Isaac	17	$34.35
Mitchel, Adam	1	$30.59
Goram, Henson	3	$27.66
Smith, Walter A.	1	$24.64
Hampton, John	3	$20.96
Cundiff, William	2	$19.24
Hunton, Eppa	4	$16.98
Marshall, Richard	7	$16.19
Dawson, Thomas	1	$15.82
Hudson, Dennis	3	$13.99
Hampton, William	4	$12.80
Richardson, Henry W.	1	$11.86
Borland, William	1	$10.48
Chilton, Stephen	1	$10.41
Chapman, George	1	$7.99
Duncan, William	1	$7.68
Gill, Richard	7	$6.24
Eastham, Abner	4	$6.16

Table 5. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Goods/Sundries, 1810-1818.

Account Holder	*Credit Sundries Transactions*	*$ Credit Sundries Transactions*
McKay, Enos	4	$889.99
Love, John	10	$560.42
Britton Store Cash Acct	30	$404.28
Cundiff, William	2	$237.37
Brooks, William	5	$189.65
Hampton, John	1	$130.26
Neale, Christopher	2	$94.57
Blackford	1	$39.96
Hancock, John O.	4	$36.24
Hunton, James	1	$26.97
Tyler, G. & R.	1	$25.31
Buckley, John	2	$23.98
Amiss, Thomas	1	$20.42
Grigsby, Nimrod	2	$18.48
Hunton, Charles	1	$17.29
White, John	9	$14.84
King, John	1	$13.82
Hooe, Bernard	1	$13.24
Mattock, Widow	2	$9.27
Britton, George	1	$8.49
Carter, Wormley	2	$7.53
Mitchel, Adam	2	$7.01
Brooks & Hampton	1	$6.14
Henning, John	1	$5.00
Meeks, Isaac	1	$2.50

Summary of Primary Test Sample

The primary test sample (n=6874) contains only transactions with known dates, dollar amounts, account holders, and categories (descriptions of exchanges). The business account books cover the antebellum years 1810 to 1857. The earliest of the sources represented are the Hampton Store Day Book (1809-1810) and the Britton Store Ledger (1813-1818), which are both intact and complete account books. The other two sources are the Moxley Store Account Book (1829-1835), which is incomplete, and the Marsteller family papers (1826-1857), a collection of miscellaneous loose business accounts, letters, and receipts. Table 6 shows the proportion of the test sample represented by each account book. The sample is weighted heavily (75%) towards the year 1810 and the detailed Hampton Day Book (n=5150). Of secondary prominence (22%) is the Britton Store Ledger (n=1492). Representing collectively only 3% of the sample are the Moxley Account Book (n=70) and Marsteller Papers (n=162). Due to the fragmentary nature of the Moxley and Marsteller accounts, a different sampling strategy was required. No "cash/finance" transactions were recorded for these sources, as the lack of detail or description in

each source makes it impossible to define the nature of the cash transactions, which increases the risk of double-counting payments for goods listed elsewhere in the books. Furthermore, fewer "non-manufacturing" transactions were recorded so that analysis could focus on manufacturing – milling, distilling, and small manufacturing or artisan trades (blacksmithing, tanning, wheel/barrel making, etc.). Those "non-manufacturing" transactions included in the sample relate materially to manufacturing processes (e.g., Transaction #9256, 8 March 1830, Brig Genl. Pulaski (vessel), account drawn to B.G.D. Moxley Store for *flour*, butter, and lard at $418.24).

Table 6. Representation of Each Primary Source in the Test Sample

Source	*Number of Transactions in Sample*	*Proportion*
Hampton Day Book (1810)	5150	75%
Britton Store Ledger (1813-1818)	1492	22%
Moxley Account Book (1829-1835)	70	1%
Marsteller Papers (1826-1857)	162	2%
TOTAL	6874	

The uneven representation of years and businesses is in large part due to a simple fact of historical research – every source, whether document or artifact, is only a sample of human behavior in time and space, and every sample differs with regard to its size, level of detail, and level of preservation. Fruitful research does not require a perfectly intact historical record, which is never available. The Moxley and Marsteller accounts, though incomplete, are still valuable and irreplaceable sources of information for a period of time in Buckland spanning three decades prior to the Civil War. For the purposes of this study, each time period for which there is data will be evaluated on its own to answer questions about the range and quantity of manufacturing products and services at different times, and the connection between investment, trade, and manufacturing in Buckland. Defining these *key periods* of analysis requires a descriptive, graphical summary of the primary test sample using the same techniques applied to the cash-only and goods/sundries samples.

Key Periods

A histogram (Figure 8) showing the distribution of recorded transactions over the period 1810 to 1857 reaffirms the disproportionately large number of recorded transactions from 1810 (n=5150), reflecting the level of detail in the Hampton Day Book. Although the Hampton Day Book nominally covers the period 1809-1810, close inspection of the daily written entries reveals that all of the transactions actually occurred in 1810, with a few transactions erroneously dated "4 Jan 1809" instead of "4 Jan 1810." The skew towards 1810 makes it difficult to view the distribution of the test sample across the other years of interest. From this histogram and the "cash" and "goods/sundries" samples it is apparent that there are also disproportionately large clusters of records from 1813 (n=767) and 1814 (n=528). Based on these trends and the lack of

data for the years 1811-1812, a revised histogram (Figure 9), excluding the years 1810-1814, makes patterns for the later periods easier to identify.

Figure 8. Distribution of Transactions within Test Sample, 1810-1857

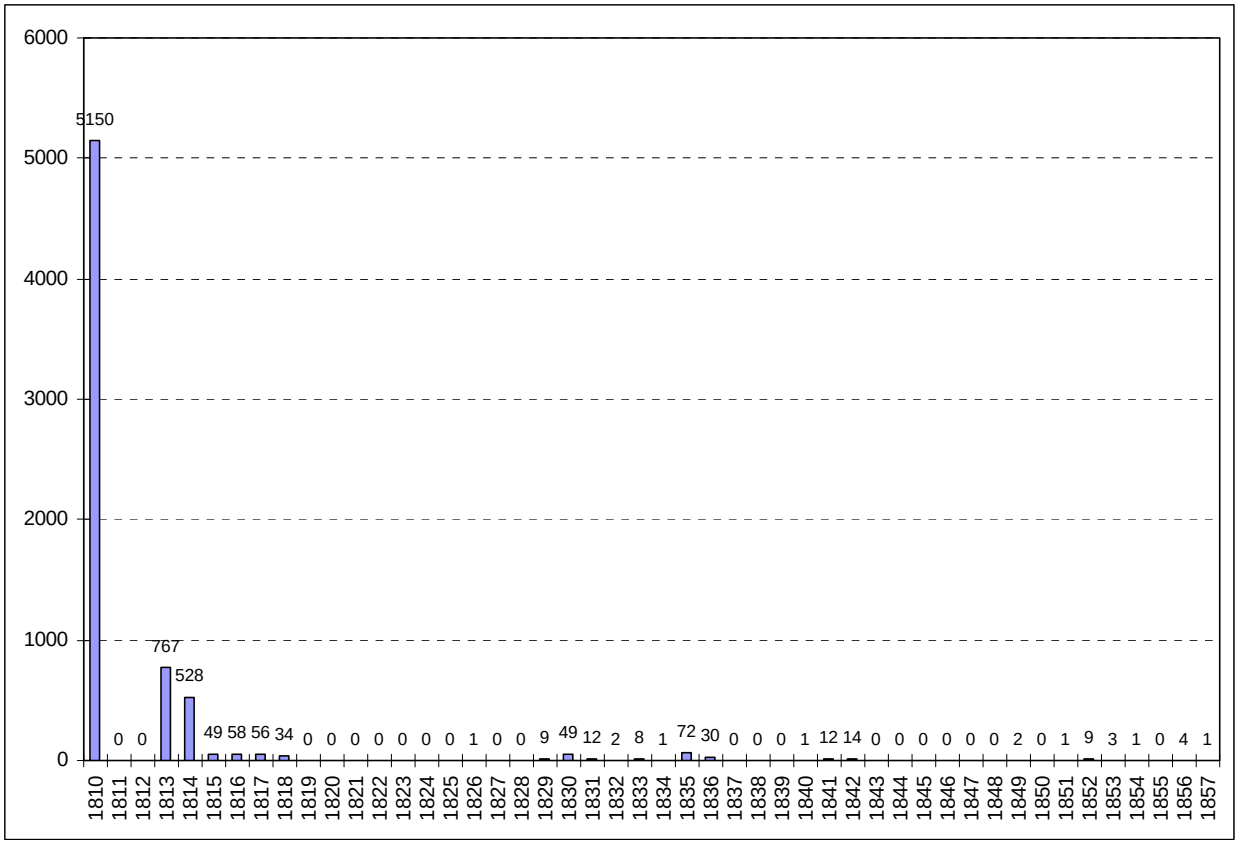
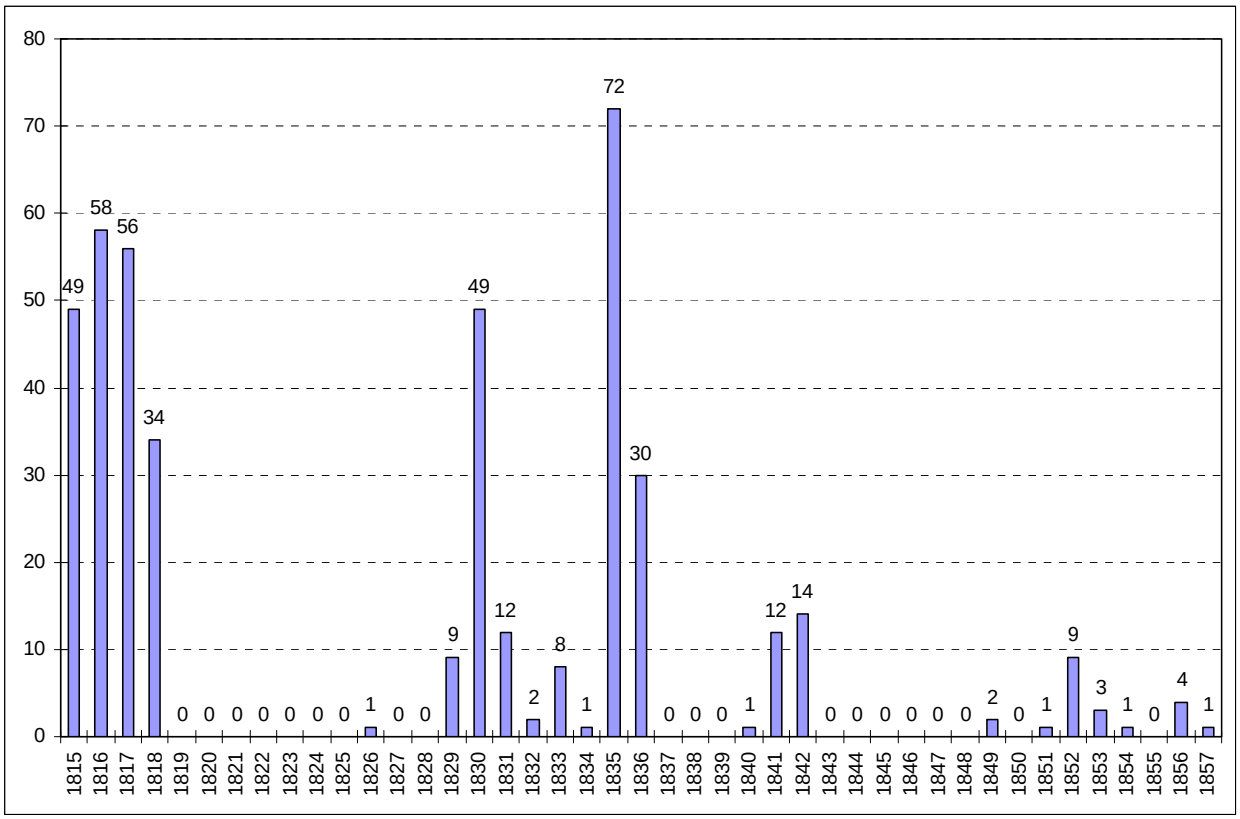


Figure 9. Distribution of Transactions within Test Sample, 1815-1857



In addition to the key periods 1810, 1813, and 1814, there are four other key periods or clusters of business data for the Buckland sample: 1815-1818; 1829-1836; 1841-1842; and 1849-1857 (Figure 9 and Table 7). Defining the key periods in this way minimizes the inclusion of years with no data and favors periods with relatively consistent distribution properties (statistical skewness between -2 and +2 and standard error of less than 10). The periods 1815-1818 (n=197) and 1829-1836 (n=183) are of comparable sample size, although the latter period is twice as long as the former and is considerably more variable from year to year. The periods 1841-1842 (n=26) and 1849-1857 (n=21) are of comparably small size, but like the two key periods preceding them, they are not equivalent to one another in the span of time each period covers. The small size of these last two samples will limit quantitative analysis, but considered on their own they will provide valuable contextual information about the 1840s and 1850s.

Table 7. Key Periods of Analysis for Buckland Manufacturing Sources

Period	*Sample Size*	*Source(s)*	*Years Covered*	*Avg # per year*
1810	5150	Hampton	1	5150
1813	767	Britton	1	767
1814	528	Britton	1	528

1815-1818	197	Britton	4	49
1829-1836	183	Moxley/Marsteller	8	23
1841-1842	26	Marsteller	2	13
1849-1857	21	Marsteller	8	3

II. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1810

Sample Summary

The Hampton Day Book documents transactions at the Hampton Store from January 1st through August 11th, 1810, covering exchanges of many types of goods and services. These goods and services included whiskey from the Buckland distillery, cloth, milled grains, and also miscellaneous artisan products, dry goods, and cash/credit exchanges. An overview of the 1810 sample (Figure 10) shows a marked peak in overall business activity from May through July, which may reflect a seasonal increase in production and/or trade in the late spring and early summer. The May 1810 peak in overall business activity is also represented by a contemporary peak in the monetary value of transactions (Figure 11). Fittingly, the number of transactions each month positively correlates ($r=0.85$) to the total value of transactions each month ($t_6=3.93$, $p < 0.05$). Each of the two variables – number of transactions per month and total value of transactions per month – accounts for 72% ($r^2=0.72$) of the change in the other.

Figure 10. Transactions per Month, 1810

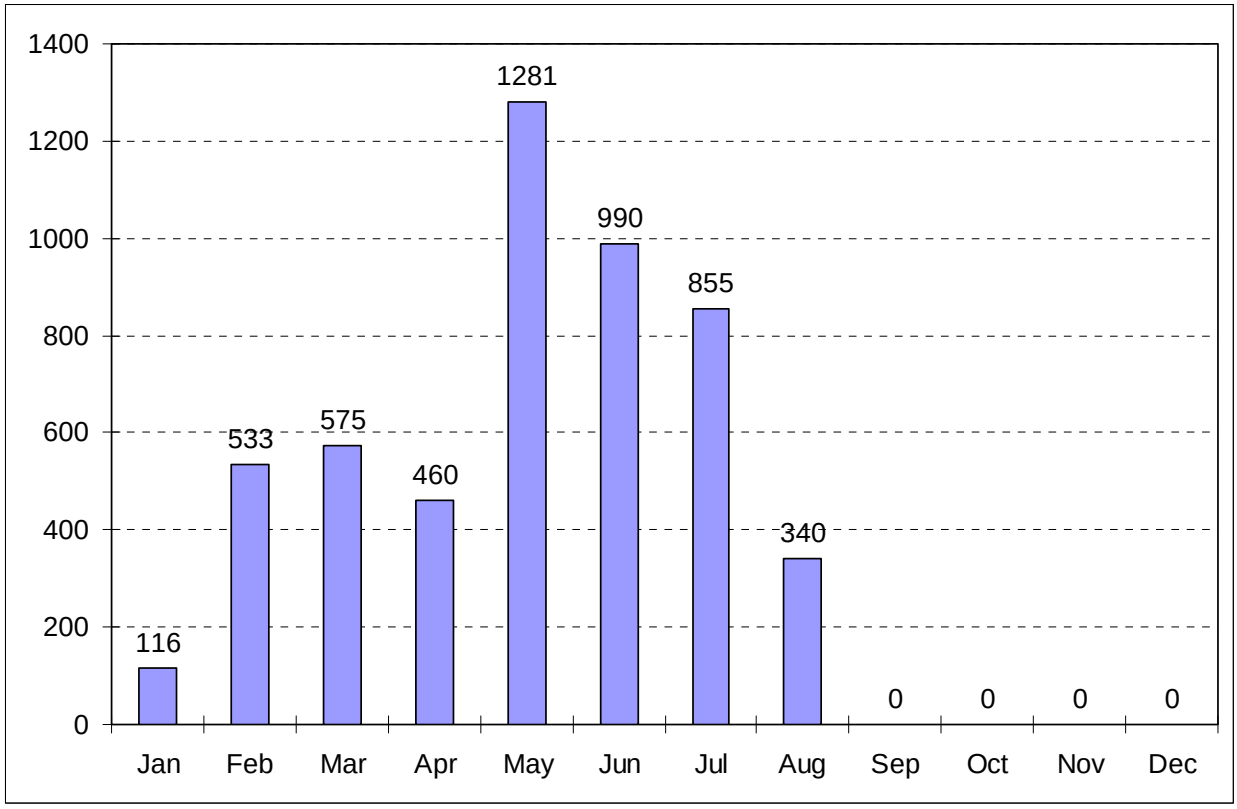
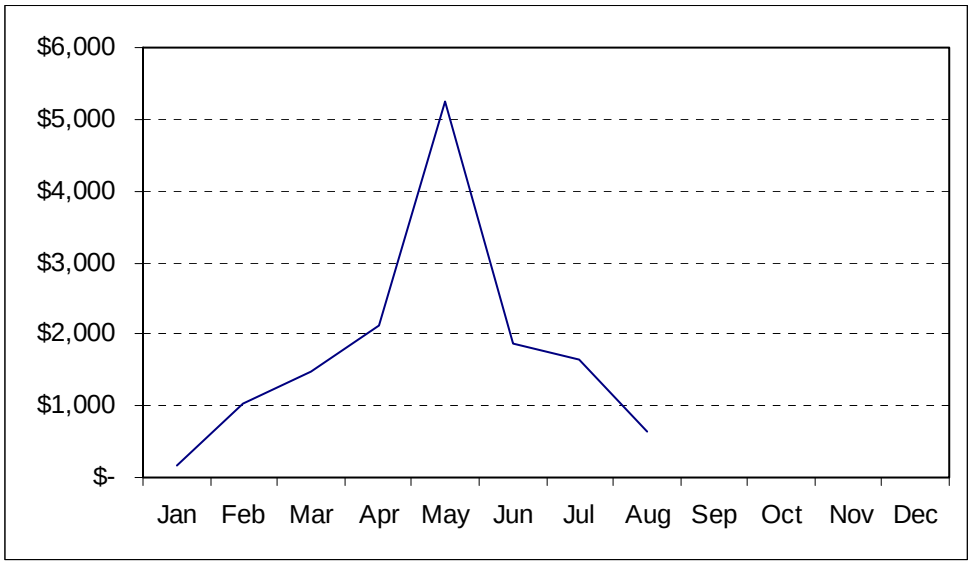


Figure 11. Value of Transactions in all Categories, 1810



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Cloth, Whiskey, Raw Materials, and Finance at the Hampton Store in 1810

Table 8 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total value for each type of transaction. Three categories (distillery; mill; and tannery) represent manufacturing businesses in Buckland that required specialized facilities, structures, and/or teams of labor to operate. All but the tannery required machinery powered by water, and in the case of the distillery, the addition of high temperatures. For this reason, the distillery and mills can be termed "industries," in that they possessed traits of factory workflow. The tannery was a special kind of manufacturing that required extensive resources and multiple hands, but was generally not automated. "Cloth" transactions were identified by the standard unit of bulk measurement – yards – and the category includes cloth in a wide assortment of styles and materials. The "small manufactures" category incorporates all manufacturing trades that required specialized skills and tools but which could be done by one individual in a standard domestic space, workshop, or abroad without automated machinery or hired help except for apprentices and/or family. This category includes the trades of blacksmith; tailor; shoe/boot maker; saddler; cooper; wheelwright; carpenter; mason; and locksmith. Often one individual would work in more than one trade, so that a blacksmith might also make locks and fix wagons, and a saddler might make boots and shoes. "Raw material" includes the materials used by the various factories and tradesmen: grains (used in milling and distilling); wool, cotton, hemp, flax and other fibers (used in cloth manufacturing); metals (used in blacksmithing, wagon work, building, and cooperage); wood/charcoal/tar (used in carpentry, building, wagon work, cooperage, and as general fuel); minerals and chemicals (used in dyes, cloth manufacturing, woodwork, tanning, and blacksmithing); and hides (used in tanning and leather work). The

"transport" category refers to shipments, exports, road/bridge work, and hauling services, while "labor unspecified" covers all types of non-manufacturing labor (such as planting, harvesting, mowing, butchering, digging, etc.) and any work not described in the account books. "Non-manufacturing" is a broad category encompassing household, farm, and personal goods such as groceries, non-distilled beverages, livestock, feed, tableware, office supplies, medicines, and luxury items (tobacco, jewelry, etc.). Finally, "cash/finance" transactions represent financial obligations and credit, including loans, stock, bonds, taxes, court and business expenses, merchandise accounts, rent, postage, and contracts.

Table 8. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1810

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	1072	$1,572.21	$1.47	20.8%
distillery	718	$2,174.62	$3.03	13.9%
mill	24	$275.21	$11.47	0.5%
tannery	26	$105.45	$4.06	0.5%
small manufactures	1048	$970.40	$0.93	20.3%
raw material	380	$2,065.67	$5.44	7.4%
transport	59	$553.94	$9.39	1.1%
labor unspecified	22	$88.23	$4.01	0.4%
non-manufacturing	1631	$1,105.40	$0.68	31.7%
cash/finance	170	$5,298.02	$31.16	3.3%
TOTAL	5150	$14,209.14		

Figure 12. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1810

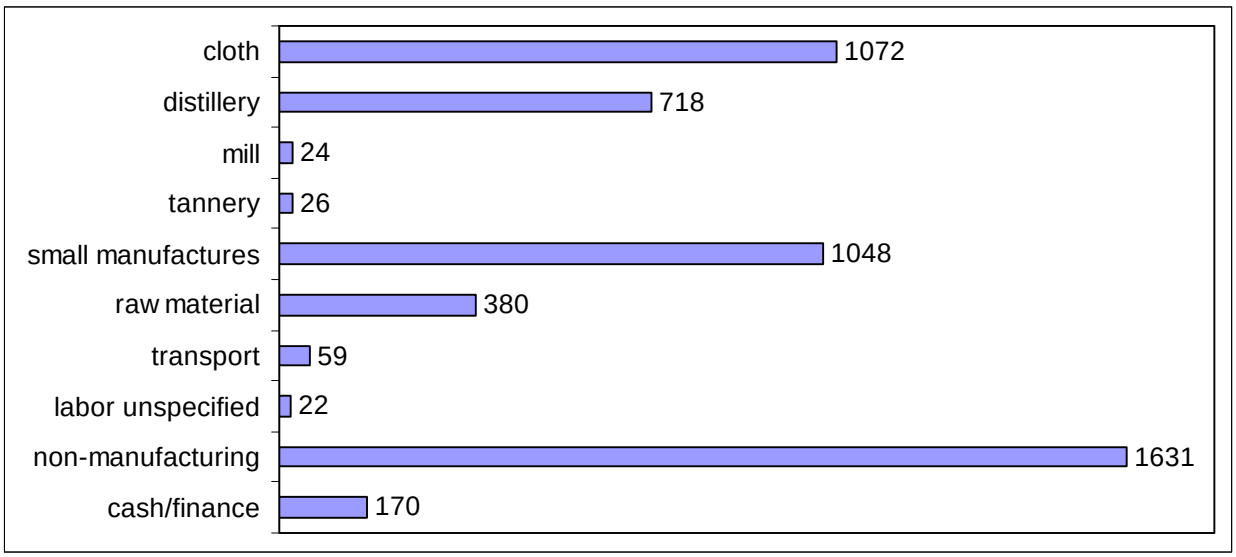


Figure 12 shows that over the course of 1810, the most frequently recorded transactions in the Hampton Store were for non-manufacturing items (n=1631). Given the broad definition of this category, one would expect non-manufacturing transactions to be common, but this also reveals that the Hampton Store sold a wide variety of domestic and farm goods in 1810, including a great number of small manufactures (n=1048). Second in abundance were cloth transactions (n=1072), and the prominence of this more specialized category along with distillery transactions (n=718) shows that Hampton Store was not only a general merchandise store but a source for specific local and intensive manufactures, as John and Henry Hampton owned the distillery which was adjacent to their store. Raw materials, fifth in relative prominence (n=308), indicate the easy access to bulk grains, metals, wood, and other basic materials from the surrounding farms and the new turnpike.

Figure 13. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1810

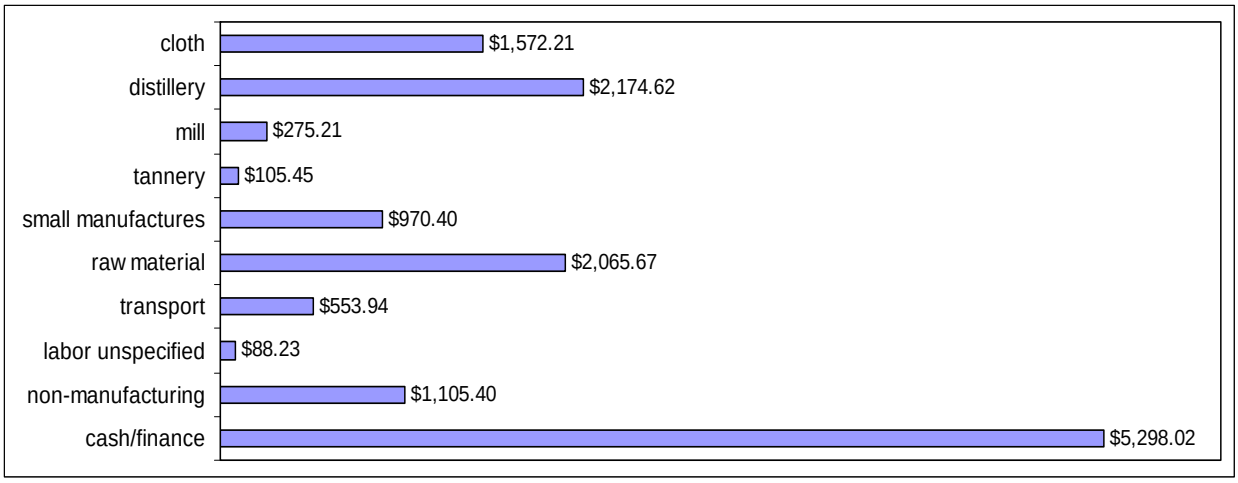


Figure 13, outlining the total dollar value of each category for 1810, displays some important differences. First, cash/finance transactions, which made up only 3.3% (n=170) of the transactions, accounted for $5,298.02, more than double the value of any other transaction category. The average dollar value for a finance transaction (an expense, investment, or loan) was at least three times as large as the average dollar value for any other type of transaction. Further discussion of this fact will continue in the following section on the range of products and services exchanged during 1810. Small manufactures and non-manufacturing goods, though a steady source of business (together 52% of all transactions), had low average dollar values and accounted for moderate overall sales ($2,075.40 together), reflecting their abundant supply, moderate demand, and low-resource expenditure compared to the manufacturing industries located in the town. Distillery transactions, for instance, made up 13.9% of all transactions and $2,174.62 in total sales. Raw materials such as grain, which along with the factories themselves were the very basis of the town's manufacturing capability, comprised only 7.4% of all transactions but accounted for $2,065.67 in sales. Finally, cloth transactions, 20.8% of all transactions, were of moderate value on average, accounting for a total of $1,575.21 in sales.

This may be an instance of extensive trade with outside merchandise suppliers leading to high supply and stable prices.

Figure 14. Averages and Distributions of Transaction Dollar Value in Each Category, 1810

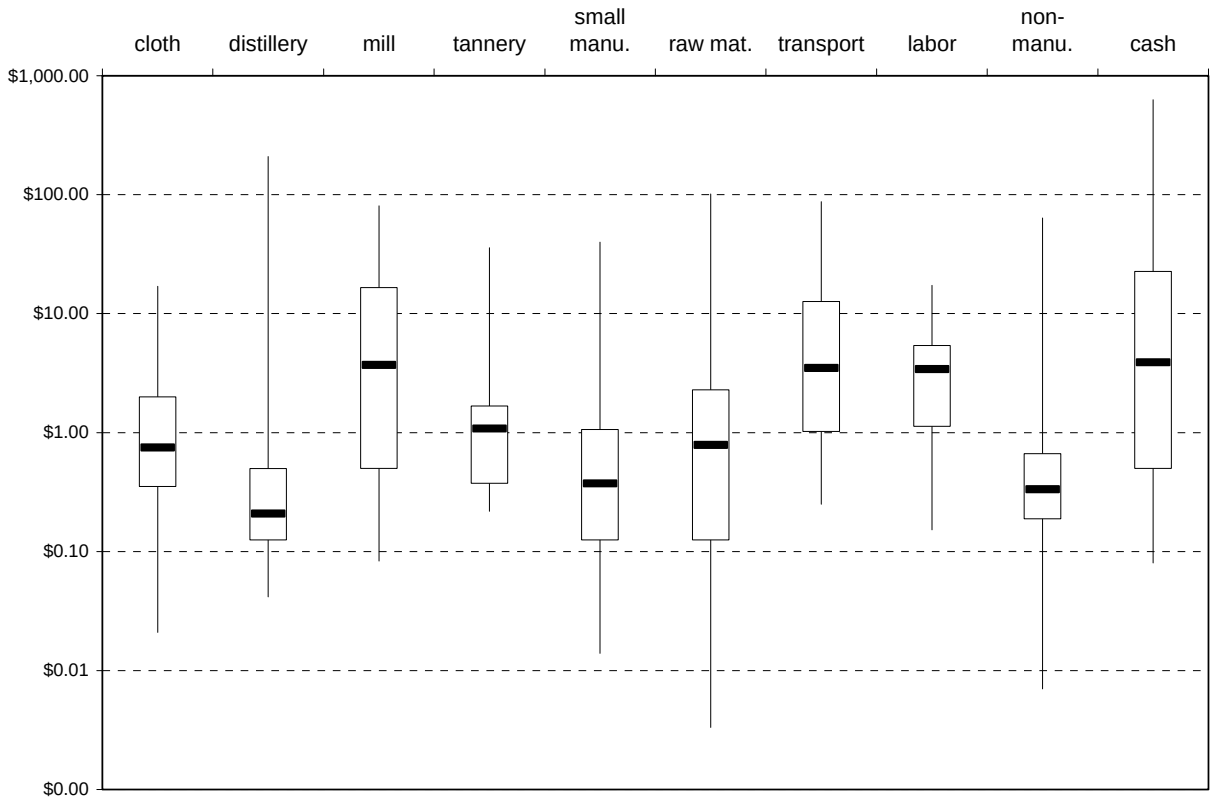


Figure 14 depicts the median dollar value and comparative spread for transactions in each category for 1810 (boxes inscribe 50% of all transactions for a given category). This box plot shows that although mill and transport transactions comprised respectively only 0.5% and 1.1% of all transactions, they had high average values, confirming their importance in the town's economy but suggesting that most mill and road business was conducted by other Buckland entrepreneurs and not by the Hampton brothers. The success of their business depended on cloth, whiskey, and raw materials. The low average value but high upper price range for distillery transactions in Figure 14 makes it clear that while most customers purchased a pint, bottle, or quart of whiskey at a time, the most lucrative sales of whiskey for the Hamptons were exports of gallons and barrels to markets along or at the end of the turnpike – helping to further explain the high median value of transport services.

The Range of Products and Services Available at the Hampton Store (and Buckland) in 1810

Cloth: Multiple Materials and Styles

That one of the Hampton Store's specialties was the buying and selling of cloth is illustrated by the diverse assortment of cloth goods bought and sold at their store throughout 1810 (Table 9). Forty types of cloth were available along with cards (for the processing of raw fibres), indigo and padding (for dye), cotton and wheels for spinning, and various types of thread (sold in skeins). The 40 varieties of cloth represent different period production techniques and fashion styles, all of which utilized one or more of six basic raw materials: cabled yarn; cotton; hemp; linen (flax); silk; and wool. The types of cloth which sold the most by bulk were cotton fabrics (1,442 yards), linen fabrics (794 yards) and fabrics of various or unknown materials, usually cotton and/or linen (427 yards; see materials Table).

Table 9. Cloth Materials Purchased at Hampton Store, 1810.

Material	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Yards*	*Avg. Cost per Yard*
cotton	542	$765.15	$1.41	1442.38	$0.53
linen	186	$307.30	$1.65	794.375	$0.39
various/unknown	235	$297.89	$1.27	426.79	$0.70
wool	50	$138.69	$2.77	109.25	$1.27
cabled yarn	14	$23.98	$1.71	65.5	$0.37
silk	18	$24.24	$1.35	18.88	$1.28
hemp	1	$0.56	$0.56	1.5	$0.37
TOTAL	1046	$1,557.81		2858.66	

Table 10. Range of Cloth Transactions, 1810.

Cloth/Product Type	*Material*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Yards*	*Avg. Cost per Yard*
cotton (spinning)	cotton	6	$7.99	$1.33	N/A	-
thread	various	50	$8.26	$0.17	N/A	-
cards (carding)		4	$3.50	$0.87	N/A	-
indigo (dye)		16	$6.81	$0.43	N/A	-
padding (dyeing)		3	$0.71	$0.24	N/A	-
spinning wheel		1	$3.00	$3.00	N/A	-
linen	linen (flax)	131	$230.70	$1.76	669.38	$0.34
Hum-hum	cotton	152	$129.46	$0.85	413.25	$0.31
calico	cotton	73	$143.24	$1.96	314.5	$0.46
cambric	cotton	113	$165.26	$1.46	207.13	$0.80
cotton (general)	cotton	63	$94.92	$1.51	187.63	$0.51
ribbon	various	75	$24.00	$0.32	153.25	$0.16

cloth (misc)	various	49	$207.22	$4.23	146.00	$1.42
Gingham	cotton	25	$46.25	$1.85	102	$0.45
cotton (shirting)	cotton	16	$34.40	$2.15	65.5	$0.53
cord	cabled yarn	14	$23.98	$1.71	65.5	$0.37
nankeen	cotton	24	$48.70	$2.03	64.25	$0.76
cassimere	wool	22	$93.69	$4.26	63.63	$1.47
Holland	linen (flax)	42	$27.79	$0.66	59.5	$0.47
Irish linen	linen (flax)	8	$40.92	$5.11	49	$0.84
leno/muslin	cotton	43	$50.45	$1.17	42.13	$1.20
fustian	cotton/linen	19	$5.44	$0.29	35	$0.16
ferreting/edging	various	9	$1.93	$0.21	34	$0.06
flannel	wool	16	$21.25	$1.33	28.63	$0.74
Dimity	cotton	13	$18.52	$1.42	28	$0.66
check	various	8	$7.43	$0.93	17.41	$0.43
Ticklenburg	linen (flax)	5	$7.89	$1.58	16.5	$0.48
coating	wool	10	$22.31	$2.23	14.25	$1.57
seersucker	cotton	4	$13.99	$3.50	12	$1.17
unknown	unknown	3	$12.49	$4.16	9.5	$1.31
lace	various	8	$8.49	$1.06	8	$1.06
silk (general)	silk	8	$8.97	$1.12	7.13	$1.26
stuff/wadding	various	2	$3.68	$1.84	6.75	$0.55
Marseilles	cotton	10	$11.97	$1.20	6	$2.00
pullstring	unknown	1	$6.66	$6.66	5	$1.33
webbing	various	4	$3.81	$0.95	5	$0.76
velvet	silk	3	$4.78	$1.59	4.5	$1.06
oil cloth	various	2	$2.41	$1.21	3.5	$0.69
waistcoating	various	5	$6.07	$1.21	3.38	$1.80
sarsenet	silk	3	$2.50	$0.83	3	$0.83
lutestring	silk	2	$4.12	$2.06	2.75	$1.50
baise	wool	1	$1.00	$1.00	2	$0.50
hemp (general)	hemp	1	$0.56	$0.56	1.5	$0.37
Florentine	silk	1	$2.00	$2.00	0.75	$2.67
satin	silk	1	$1.87	$1.87	0.75	$2.49
ratmille/ratine	wool	1	$0.44	$0.44	0.75	$0.59
TOTAL		1070	$1,571.82		2858.66	

Cotton fabrics included 12 distinct varieties: calico; cambric; shirting cotton; spinning cotton; plain cotton; Dimity; Gingham; Hum-hum; Leno (muslin); Marseilles; nankeen; and seersucker. Of these the most popular were Hum-hum (413 yards sold), a coarse cotton lining for coats; calico (315 yards sold), an inexpensive light-weight import from India with printed designs, used for curtains and other household applications; cambric (207 yards sold), a thin, fine-weave fabric for shirts, tablecloths, and undergarments; unspecified plain cotton by the yard (188 yards sold), ready for multiple uses by clothiers and tailors; and Gingham (102 yards sold), a plain-weave cotton blend with dyed yarns creating check/plaid patterns, used in dresses. Linen fabrics included 4 distinct varieties: Holland; plain linen; Irish linen; and Ticklenburg. Of these the most popular by far was plain domestic linen (669 yards sold), also the single most popular individual fabric style sold at the Hampton store. Fabrics of unknown or hybrid materials included 13 distinct varieties: check; unspecified cloth (by color); ferreting; fustian; lace; oil cloth; ribbon; stuff/wadding; thread; waistcoating; and webbing. Of these the most popular were

ribbon (153 yards sold); unspecified cloth (146 yards sold by color and/or pattern); and fustian (35 yards sold), a coarse blend of twilled cotton and flax.

Fabrics made of wool (109 yards) and silk (19 yards) were also important products at the Hampton Store. Although the bulk sales of wool and silk fabrics were not high, these materials brought the highest average price per yard ($1.27/yard for wool and $1.28/yard for silk), probably because they were imported from other regions or countries. Wool fabrics included 5 distinct varieties: baise; cassimere; coating; flannel; and ratmille/ratine. Of these the most popular were cassimere (64 yards sold), a soft, medium-weight cloth for everyday men's clothing; and flannel (29 yards sold), a soft, medium-weight woven cloth with a slight nap. Silk fabrics included 6 distinct varieties: Florentine; lutestring; sarsenet; satin; plain silk; and velvet. Of these the most popular was plain silk (7 yards sold). Other fabrics worth mentioning are cord (66 yards sold), a cabled yarn; and nankeen (64 yards sold), a durable, felt-like cloth, often in shades of yellow.

The assortment of materials and styles – coarse and fine; casual, rugged, and decorative – suggests the wide-ranging consumer preferences and needs in the town and region, especially as many of these fabrics, such as silk and Irish linen, were imported. The most expensive fabrics, by average cost per yard, were Florentine ($2.67), an import silk; satin ($2.49); Marseilles ($2.00), an import cotton; wool coating ($1.57-$1.80); and silk lutestring ($1.50). The least expensive fabrics, by average cost per yard, were ferreting/edging ($0.06), a type of stiff cotton tape; fustian ($0.16); ribbon ($0.16); Hum-hum ($0.31); and linen ($0.34). That Hum-hum and linen were not only among the least expensive fabrics but were also the two highest selling in Buckland shows that despite the boutique assortment of specialty, luxury, and import cloth available at the Hampton Store, the core of the cloth business in Buckland was inexpensive, domestic, multi-use fabrics for a working town of households, laborers, farmers, artisans, and entrepreneurs.

Cloth: Trends over the Course of 1810

The value of cloth transactions (Figure 15) shows a similar trend to that of the value of all transactions in 1810 (Figure 11), with a major peak in May, which may reflect a seasonal increase in production and/or trade in cloth during the late spring. However, the total value and total number of transactions for each month are so strongly correlated (r=0.996; Table) that they are indistinguishable (Table 11). This peak may be a true reflection of increased cloth purchases, given the evenly distributed price of cloth purchases, which was less variable than the price of other transaction categories (Figure 14). Indeed, the average price of cloth purchases was irregular over the course of the year, but variable within only a narrow range and showing no trend in any direction (Figure 16).

Figure 15. Value of Cloth Transactions, 1810.

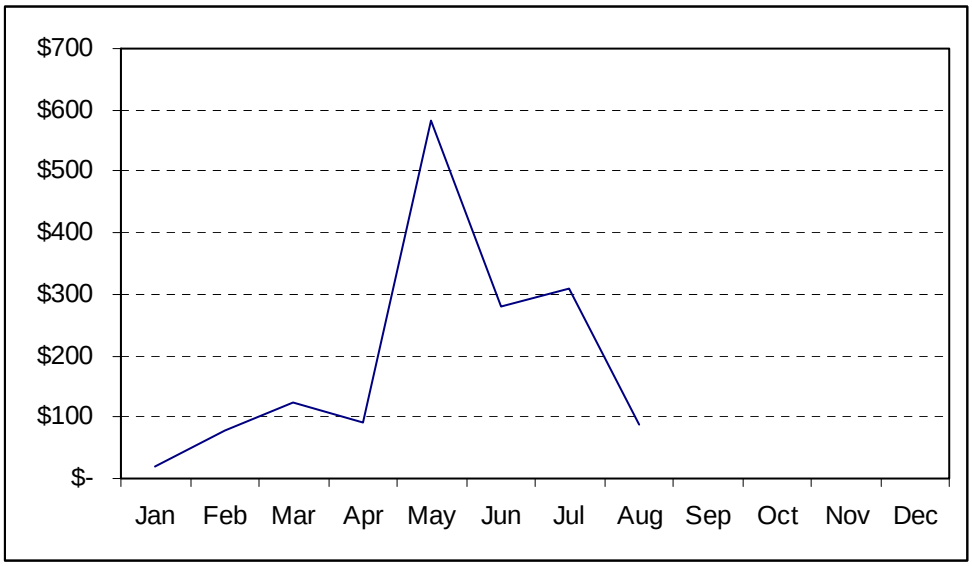
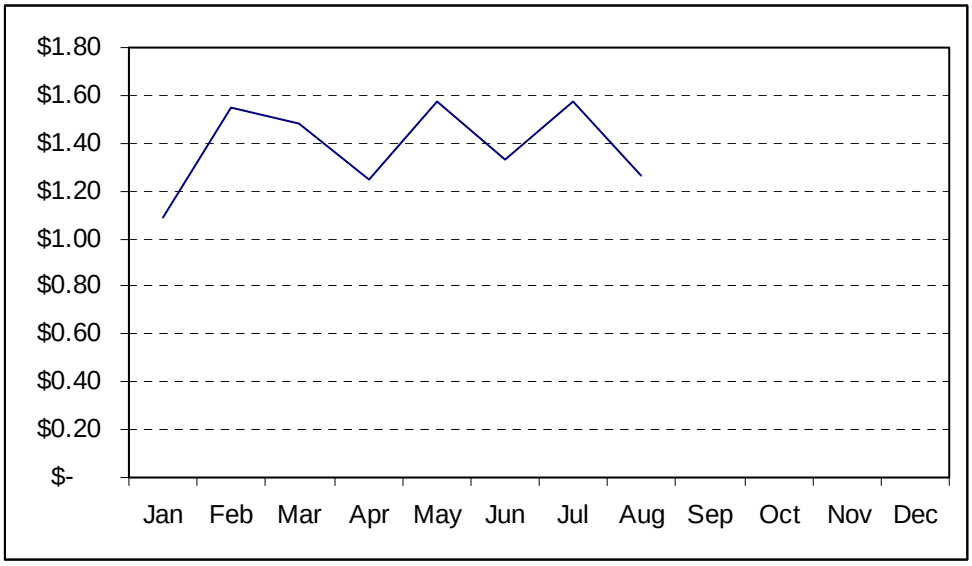


Table 11. Value of Cloth Transactions, 1810.

1810	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg Transaction*
Jan	$ 19.55	18	$ 1.09
Feb	$ 77.61	50	$ 1.55
Mar	$ 122.96	83	$ 1.48
Apr	$ 90.82	73	$ 1.24
May	$ 583.61	371	$ 1.57
Jun	$ 281.50	211	$ 1.33
Jul	$ 307.83	196	$ 1.57
Aug	$ 88.33	70	$ 1.26
Sep			
Oct			
Nov			
Dec			
df	6		
Pearson r	0.996		
r^2	0.991		
t	26.249		
t crit (0.05)	2.447		

Figure 16. Average Price of Cloth Transactions, 1810.



Cloth: Top Account Holders for 1810

Table 12 and Table 13 list the most active account holders during 1810 in total cloth transactions. These tables provide an overview of those who bought or sold the most cloth at the Hampton Store – by count and by total expense, which were strongly correlated for cloth debit transactions (r=0.85). Text in **bold** indicates accounts associated with the store itself. John and Henry Hampton were fittingly the most active debit account holders at their store – they purchased much of the cloth from merchants in Alexandria and other large regional markets. The other top debit account holders included a cross-section of Buckland residents, such as Francis Green (#4), Richard Gill (#6), Larkin Sanders (#14), and three members of the Hunton family, as well as other individuals from surrounding counties. Many of this latter group, including Thomas Chilton (#8), Dixon Robinson (#13), and James B. Ball (#20), were investors in the Fauquier and Alexandria Turnpike Company. Consistent with the relatively narrow range of prices for cloth, the amounts that the top cloth customers invested are considerably more even from customer to customer than the amounts invested by the top entrepreneurs in cash-only transactions (Tables 2 and 3).

Table 13 shows the eleven account holders who had credit accounts for cloth with the Hampton Store. Credits for cloth, though generally small, may indicate that these individuals provided cloth to the Hampton Store, either as producers or through general trade. The number of women (five of the eleven account holders) is noteworthy and suggests that these women may have been independent producers or finishers of cloth. Hannah Hampton (#2) was credited for 3.75 yards "country flannel" in February 1810 (direct to the store Merchandise account) and 6 yards cassimere and 1 yard Holland in May of that year, along with silk handkerchiefs and button mauls (to William Hampton). She was the only member of the Hampton family with recorded cloth credits to the store. Susanna Robinson (#3) was credited for 17 yards "country cloth" in

May 1810 and 2.375 yards of unspecified cloth in June, and she was the only member of the Robinson family with recorded cloth credits to the store. Mary Eastham (#4) was credited for 12 yards linen to the Hampton Merchandise account in July 1810, and she was the only member of the Eastham family with recorded cloth credits to the store. Kitty Hunton (#8) was credited for 3.75 yards "country flannel" to the Hampton Merchandise account in February 1810, while Charles Hunton (#1) was credited for $14.44 of miscellaneous cloth and buttons to John Hampton the following month. Fanny Welch (#9) was credited for thread sold in Alexandria and 3 yards of "country cotton" to the Hampton Merchandise account in May 1810, and she was the only member of the Welch family with recorded cloth credits to the store.

Table 12. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Cloth, 1810.

Account Holder	*Debit Cloth Transactions*	*$ Debit Cloth Transactions*
Hampton, John	39	$ 81.77
Hampton, Henry	25	$ 56.57
Hunton, James	34	$ 54.60
Green, Francis	31	$ 52.10
Horton, Craven	27	$ 45.39
Gill, Richard	31	$ 38.78
Chilton, Blackwell	19	$ 36.11
Chilton, Thomas	26	$ 35.58
Hunton, Thomas	13	$ 34.23
Settle, William	22	$ 33.39
Horton, Nathaniel	14	$ 32.65
Hampton, William	20	$ 31.99
Robinson, Dixon	16	$ 31.88
Sanders, Larkin N.	19	$ 31.75
Hunton, Eppa	25	$ 31.44
Manuel, Thornton	19	$ 26.94
Deneale, George	11	$ 24.64
Drummond, William	8	$ 23.77
Brown, Robert Jr.	8	$ 23.28
Ball, James B.	10	$ 22.87
Mason, William Jr.	19	$ 22.87
Hampton Store Merchandise Acct	10	$ 20.77
Florence, William	16	$ 19.18
Chilton, Stephen	12	$ 17.59
Carter, Presley	11	$ 17.48

Table 13. Credit Accounts for Cloth, 1810.

Account Holder	*Credit Cloth Transactions*	*$ Credit Cloth Transactions*
Hunton, Charles	1	$14.44
Hampton, Hannah	3	$12.93
Robinson, Susanna	2	$9.91
Eastham, Mary	1	$5.99
McClanahan, Peter	1	$4.00
Rust, John	1	$3.50
Lawler, James	1	$3.00
Hunton, Kitty	1	$2.53
Welch, Fanny	2	$2.29
Sutton, John Jr.	1	$0.83
Sisson, James	1	$0.31

Whiskey: Variety by Volume

In addition to cloth, distilled spirits (namely whiskey) were the principal manufacturing product bought and sold at the Hampton Store in 1810. While the success of cloth depended on the variety of materials and styles, with a narrow margin of variation in price, the success of spirits depended on volume (pints, bottles, quarts, gallons, and barrels), with a corresponding wide margin of variation in price. The Buckland distillery had specialized equipment and a factory setting, but its object of production and trade was singular: whiskey, sold in the town and shipped to as many other customers as possible. Table 14 shows that the range of distillery products bought and sold included spirits, barrels and other containers, distillery equipment/hardware, and ingredients. Whiskey (n=639) accounted for 89% of all transactions, $1,964.35 (91%) of the total value of the distillery business, and 3,062 gallons - 99% of the volume of all spirits sold. Whiskey was the most abundant and lucrative of the spirits available (whiskey; two types of brandy; and four types of rum), and it brought the lowest average cost per gallon ($0.64), reflecting the large and local scale of production as well as the accessibility of raw ingredients (especially corn and rye) from the nearby farms and mills. The most expensive spirits available were brandy ($2.04/gallon), peach brandy ($1.67), and “Best Rum” ($1.57), but together these three spirits sold only three gallons by volume over the course of 1810, a small fraction of spirits sales. Their presence in the account books highlights the importance the store placed on catering to diverse tastes as well as possible trade with other spirits merchants, as there is no direct evidence for or against their production at Buckland. The second most important distillery product available at the Hampton Store was barrels (n=14), a category that made up 2% of all transactions, $71.03 (3%) of total sales, and 90 units (individual barrels). In the early nineteenth century the average whiskey barrel accommodated 31 gallons, so the sale of at least 2,790 gallons of spirits can be inferred just from the sales of barrels. The prominence of barrels indicates the importance of whiskey as a bulk export. The last major type of distillery product mentioned in the account book is distillery equipment – pans, funnels, pots, measures, and the stills themselves. These items, like the barrels, were manufactured by local craftsmen, and together they accounted for a comparable market value ($69.33). The most expensive type of equipment was the still, valued at $32 per unit.

Table 14. Distillery products sold at Hampton Store, 1810.

Item	*Type*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Units*	*Gallons*	*Avg. Cost per Gallon*
barrels	barrels	14	$71.03	$5.07	90		
brandy	brandy	4	$1.02	$0.25		0.50	$2.04
brandy (peach brandy)	brandy	2	$0.42	$0.21		0.25	$1.67
bottle (2/3 quart)	containers	1	$0.12	$0.12	1		
jug (gallon)	containers	3	$2.58	$0.86	3		
frying pan	distillery equipment	1	$1.50	$1.50	1		
funnel	distillery equipment	2	$0.83	$0.42	2		
gallon measure	distillery equipment	1	$0.75	$0.75	1		
pot	distillery equipment	1	$2.00	$2.00	1		
still	distillery equipment	2	$64.00	$32.00	2		
tin pan	equipment	1	$0.25	$0.25	1		
corn & yeast	ingredients	1	$19.98	$19.98		30	$0.67
rye	ingredients	1	$5.00	$5.00		48	$0.10
rum	rum	19	$11.45	$0.60		10	$1.14
rum (Antigua rum)	rum	1	$0.75	$0.75		0.50	$1.50
rum (Best Rum)	rum	7	$2.75	$0.39		1.75	$1.57
rum (N.E. rum)	rum	15	$16.48	$1.10		16.04	$1.03
whiskey	whiskey	639	$1,964.35	$3.07		3062	$0.64
TOTAL		715	$2,165.25			3091.05	

Most customers – 391 (58%) – bought Buckland whiskey by the pint (Table 15). At around $0.16 for every pint sold, however, these walk-in purchases (from the store or sometimes directly from the adjacent still house) made up only $61.20 (3%) of the total sales of spirits. The Hamptons sold 55.25 gallons of whiskey by the pint in 1810, mostly to residents of Buckland who could visit the store for whiskey regularly – in some cases on a nearly daily basis. The next most common purchase was whiskey by the gallon (often in partially filled barrels or gallon jugs) – 172 (25%) of the transactions. These sales were far more lucrative, averaging $9.94 and accounting for $1,718.51 (86.4%) of all sales and 2,756.63 total gallons. The average purchase was 16 gallons (or one-half a barrel). Quarts, another popular unit of measure – 15% (99) of all purchases – cost on average $0.26 and made up only $26.14 (1.3%) of all sales and just over 25 total gallons.

Table 15. Sizes (by volume) of whiskey purchases, 1810.

Unit of Volume	*# Transactions*	*$ Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Total Quantity*	*Avg. Quantity*	*Gallons*
barrels	2	$154.70	$77.35	8	4	248
gallons	172	$1,710.51	$9.94	2756.63	16.03	2756.63
quarts	99	$26.14	$0.26	101.50	1.03	25.375
bottles	11	$1.96	$0.18	11	1	1.837
pints	391	$61.20	$0.16	442.00	1.13	55.25
lbs	2	$25.72	$12.86	34.13	17.06	
TOTAL	677	$1,980.22				3087.087

Whiskey and Other Spirits: 1810 Trends

Customer selection for whiskey was a function of quantity, and this is also reflected in the sales trends over the course of 1810. Figure 17 shows a dramatic peak in distillery purchases in the late winter (February) followed by a drop in the number of transactions during the spring and a subsequent rise in the summer. Even though there were fewer purchases of whiskey in the spring of 1810, this is precisely when sales by dollar were the highest (Figure 18). These two trends are so different ($t_6=1.452$, $p > 0.05$) that there can be no direct correlation between the number of distillery transactions and the dollar amount of whiskey sales. Figure 19, showing the change in average distillery transaction price, explains this discrepancy by revealing a peak in the average purchase price in April and May, when there were at least a few large purchases.

Figure 17. Number of Distillery Transactions, 1810.

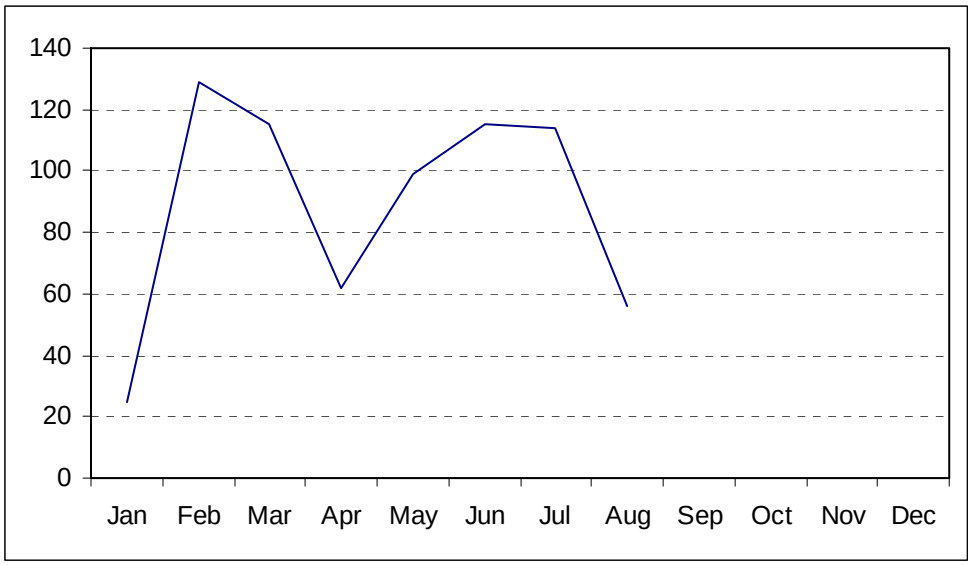


Figure 18. Value of Distillery Transactions, 1810.

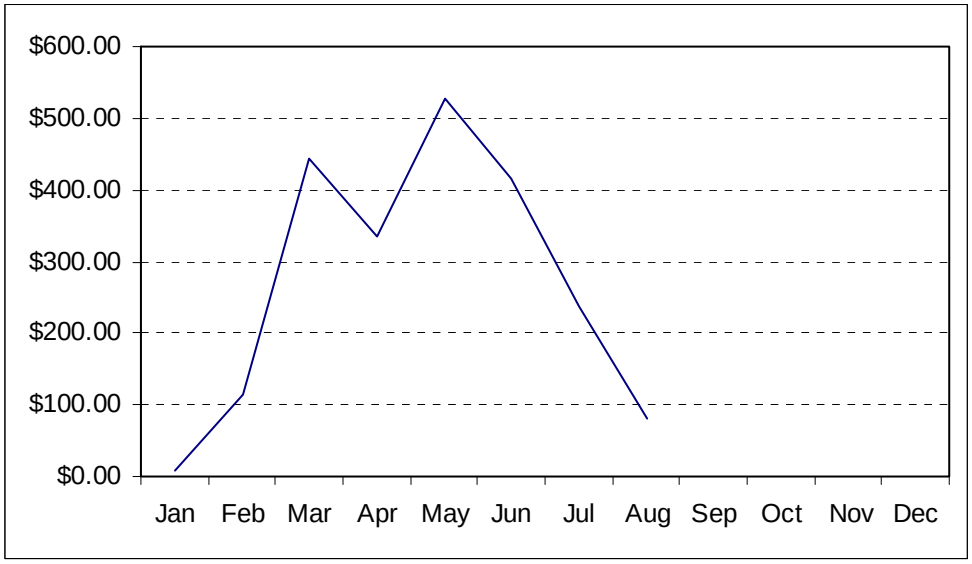
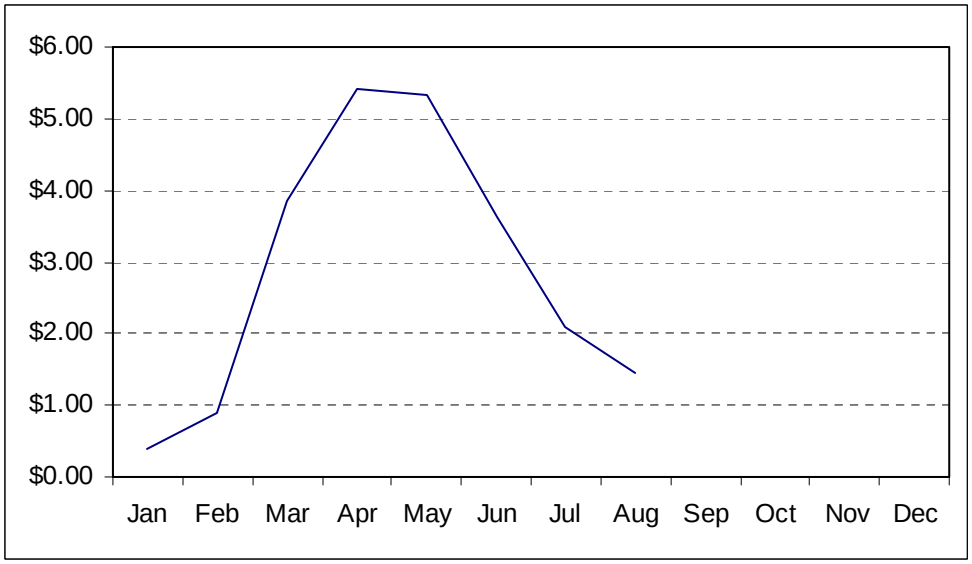


Figure 19. Average Price of Distillery Transactions, 1810.



These trends, and descriptions in the Hampton Day Book, suggest that there was a seasonal production and trade schedule at the Buckland distillery. A few large sales in the spring made the average transaction price increase by a factor of six ($0.89 to $5.41), even though there was less walk-in business. The large sales began in March of 1810, when the Hampton "Corn & Rye" account, a store account representing the distillery, was credited with three major sales: 207 gallons of whiskey on March 10 to an unnamed customer (probably sold outside of town); 209

gallons sold in Alexandria on March 17; and 150 gallons sold in Alexandria on March 24. To help meet the increased demand in export whiskey, John Blythe (either a cooper or in business with a cooper) provided the store with 16 whiskey barrels on April 6, a number that could accommodate 496 gallons of whiskey. On April 10, the Watson & Brooks Store/Tavern purchased 31 gallons and the Hampton Store purchased 20, for sale to local customers. The Corn & Rye account was further credited for 345 gallons ($208.52) on April 18. Finally, in May, Charles Hunton purchased 183 gallons ($114.30) on the 9th and 212.5 gallons ($136.53) – or 7 barrels – on the eighteenth. During the winter and summer, the distillery sold more numerous small containers (pints and quarts of whiskey) to Buckland residents, but during the spring, production and trade shifted towards export, with fewer but larger volumes of whiskey by the gallon and barrel.

Whiskey: Top Account Holders for 1810

Table 16 and Table 17 list the most active account holders during 1810 in total distillery transactions. These tables provide an overview of those who bought or sold the most whiskey or related distillery goods at the Hampton Store by total expense, which was not correlated to number of transactions (r=-0.01), and by total gallons of whiskey. Text in **bold** indicates accounts associated with the store itself. The Hampton Merchandise and Corn & Rye accounts were fittingly among the most active debit account holders for distillery transactions. Among the other top ten debit account holders were store owners Watson & Brooks (#7, 51.5 total gallons purchased) and several turnpike owners who were likely transporting barrels of whiskey to sell in other regional markets. These individuals included Charles Hunton (#2, 651.25 total gallons purchased in only five bulk transactions); William Ball (#3, 65.38 total gallons); Walter A. Smith (#8, purchaser of one of two stills); Dixon Robinson (#9, 26.5 gallons), who clearly bought his whiskey (27 transactions) in one-gallon jugs; and William Hampton (#10, 32 gallons). Isaac Meeks (#6), the owner of the Buckland tannery, a resident of the town, and a stockholder in the turnpike, made a staggering 229 whiskey purchases (33 total gallons) throughout the year 1810, almost all of which were small purchases of pints, bottles, or quarts for domestic consumption. Notes in the Day Book show that Meeks often had his employees, neighbors, or children carry out these purchases, a simple request to fulfill given the proximity of the tannery to the distillery. The remaining top twenty-five whiskey customers represent a cross-section of the local population. Of these men, the most frequent customers were Josiah Watson (#15, 29 purchases), John Love (#23, 15 purchases), and Thomas Paxton (#24, 38 purchases). Other return customers whose purchases were smaller in overall dollar amount included Distiller Ned (18 purchases), Samuel King (30 purchases), Anderson Keeble (15 purchases), and Samuel Tomlin (11 purchases).

Table 16. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Whiskey, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Total Gallons*
Hampton Store Merchandise Acct	15	$294.30	450.88
Hunton, Charles	5	$262.50	651.25
Ball, William	2	$45.10	65.38

Hampton Corn & Rye Acct	4	$44.78	101.75
Meeks, Isaac	229	$35.99	32.98
Watson & Brooks	2	$34.30	51.5
Randolph, Robert	2	$33.97	48
Smith, Walter A.	1	$32.00	
Robinson, Dixon	27	$28.89	26.5
Hampton, William	3	$27.72	32
Parker, Richard	2	$25.72	33
Renoe, William	2	$25.35	0.25
Smith, John O.B.	2	$23.98	34.5
Gunnell, James	2	$22.98	33
Watson, Josiah	29	$20.81	19.38
Blackwell, Lewis	1	$18.98	19
Hunton, James	2	$16.03	22.5
Ming, Charles	2	$13.78	18
Still House	11	$13.07	
Norris, Samuel	6	$10.39	11.63
Brown, Robert	3	$9.99	12.5
Sanders, James Sr.	1	$8.33	10
Love, John	15	$8.10	8.94
Paxton, Thomas	38	$7.18	6.25
Brown, John	2	$6.87	8

Table 17 shows the twelve account holders who had credit accounts for whiskey or distillery equipment with the Hampton Store. These credit accounts illustrate supplies of barrels, equipment, and ingredients, as well as the return of surplus whiskey from customers (likely left over from trips to market). As expected, the Hampton's Corn & Rye account (#1) and Still House (#5) account show high credit account values, recording their gross sales as contributions to the Hampton Store business. John Blythe (#2) provided barrels, Walter A. Smith (#5) provided a still, William Mason, Sr. (#10) made mash tubs for the fermentation of the pre-distillation "beer," and Reuben Strother (#12) provided bulk rye. Joseph Norris (#4), Robert Randolph (#9), and William Brooks (#11) returned bulk whiskey to the store.

Table 17. Credit Accounts for Whiskey, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Total Gallons*
Hampton Corn & Rye Acct	48	$1,431.69	2365
Blythe, John	4	$52.96	N/A - barrels
Norris, Joseph	2	$39.41	66
Smith, Walter A.	1	$32.00	N/A - still
Still House	1	$32.00	N/A - still
Ball, William	1	$20.00	unknown
Parker, Richard	1	$10.00	unknown
Randolph, Robert	1	$7.99	12
Brooks, William	1	$6.76	10

Mason, William Sr.	2	$5.99	N/A - mash tubs
Welch, Sylvester	1	$5.38	7
Strother, Reuben	1	$5.00	48 bushels rye

Raw Materials

Eight principal types of raw materials were sold at the Hampton Store in 1810: grains, metal, cotton, farm/stable produce (such as hay and straw), stone, minerals (such as alum, brimstone, and other chemicals), hides, and wood/lumber (Table 18). Of these, the most commonly sold and most lucrative were grains (24.5% of raw materials; $1,738.39), metal (27.1%; $164.68), and cotton (29.5%; $73.39). The three most important grains were corn, wheat, and rye, and these three items were the highest selling raw materials in the store, bringing high average purchase prices which demonstrate the bulk production and exchange of these grains (Table 19). Corn, wheat, and rye were the basic materials for the mills and distillery and were also important in domestic and farm use. The most important metals were iron/bar iron (together 18.7% of raw materials) and steel (6.8%), but these materials brought lower average prices and were lucrative because of the high demand for their use in blacksmithing, wheel and barrel making, building, and general farm and house applications. Cotton, sold as raw material by the pound and not as cloth by the yard, was clearly an important commodity, in addition to the variety of cotton fabrics sold by the Hamptons (Tables 9 and 10). Minerals made up nearly 12% of the raw materials sold even though they were usually inexpensive. Copperas was the most popular mineral material (7.4% of all raw materials sold; $2.52 total sales). This cheap iron compound had a variety of uses as a dye, water purifier, and wood stain, and therefore could have been used by the distillery, cloth factory, coopers, carpenters, and wheelwrights. Tar, a by-product of timber, was likewise important (2.9% of all raw materials) despite its low cost and was similarly useful in a number of trades.

Table 18. Major Types of Raw Material, 1810.

Material Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
grains	93	$1,738.39	$18.69	24.5%
metal	103	$164.68	$1.60	27.1%
cotton	112	$73.39	$0.66	29.5%
farm/stable	7	$67.00	$9.57	1.8%
stone	1	$11.43	$11.43	0.3%
mineral	45	$5.30	$0.12	11.8%
hide	5	$3.23	$0.65	1.3%
wood	14	$2.25	$0.16	3.7%
TOTAL	380	$2,065.67		

Table 19. Range of Raw Material Transactions, 1810.

Item	*Material Type*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
corn	grains	44	$947.30	$21.53	11.6%
wheat	grains	23	$482.19	$20.96	6.1%
rye	grains	18	$286.01	$15.89	4.7%
iron	metal	46	$106.91	$2.32	12.1%
cotton	cotton	112	$73.39	$0.66	29.5%
hay	farm/stable	7	$67.00	$9.57	1.8%
bar iron	metal	25	$36.04	$1.44	6.6%
oats	grains	7	$22.77	$3.25	1.8%
steel	metal	26	$17.20	$0.66	6.8%
slate	stone	1	$11.43	$11.43	0.3%
tin	metal	2	$2.77	$1.38	0.5%
copperas	mineral	28	$2.52	$0.09	7.4%
lead	metal	3	$1.69	$0.56	0.8%
rabbit skin	hide	1	$1.35	$1.35	0.3%
chalk	mineral	4	$1.31	$0.33	1.1%
tar	wood	11	$1.25	$0.11	2.9%
allum	mineral	8	$1.03	$0.13	2.1%
coon skin	hide	2	$1.00	$0.50	0.5%
wood	wood	3	$1.00	$0.33	0.8%
muskrat skins	hide	1	$0.67	$0.67	0.3%
brimstone	mineral	5	$0.44	$0.09	1.3%
calf skin	hide	1	$0.21	$0.21	0.3%
rice	grains	1	$0.12	$0.12	0.3%
copper	metal	1	$0.08	$0.08	0.3%
TOTAL	8	380	$2,065.67		

Raw Materials: 1810 Trends

Raw materials, like other goods at the Hampton Store, sold the most by dollar in May of 1810, a time of generally high store activity as recorded in the Day Book (Figure 20). This peak in the total value of sales was directly related to a higher number of raw material transactions in the late spring and early summer (Table 20). Raw materials represent items sufficiently distinct from each other in modes of production and consumption that there is no discernible seasonal pattern for the whole category, but for individual items seasonal patterns do emerge. Individual transactions had the highest average values in April and August (Figure 21). The April peak was due to several bulk purchases of corn: 10 barrels ($34.13) bought by the Hamptons from Presley Morehead and 10 barrels ($33.30) bought from Robert Randolph on the 11th; another 18 barrels ($61.44) from an unknown source on the 11th; and 100 bushels ($66.60) from Robert Randolph and 50 bushels ($33.30) from an unknown source on the eighteenth. A bulk sale of 50 bushels ($41.63) of rye by Reuben Strother to the Hamptons on the 28th and a purchase of 14.5 lbs ($19.99) of iron by John Love on the 6th also contributed to the high average transaction price in April. The August peak in average prices was due to several bulk purchases of wheat, demonstrating the seasonal availability and demand of wheat as opposed to corn: 47 bushels

($70.26) sold to the Hamptons by Benjamin Rust on the 7th; 41 bushels ($61.44) sold to them by William Settle on the 9th; 41 bushels ($61.50) sold to them by Samuel Porter on the 11th; and 31.5 bushels ($31.47) of "dirty wheat" sold to them by James Hunton on the 11th. Notably, the Still House provided 76 bushels ($14.00) of wheat to the Hampton Merchandise account on the 6th of August, the lower price of this bulk transaction possibly due to surplus wheat from the distillery being older and thus of lower quality than wheat sold directly by area farmers.

Figure 20. Total Value of Raw Material Transactions, 1810.

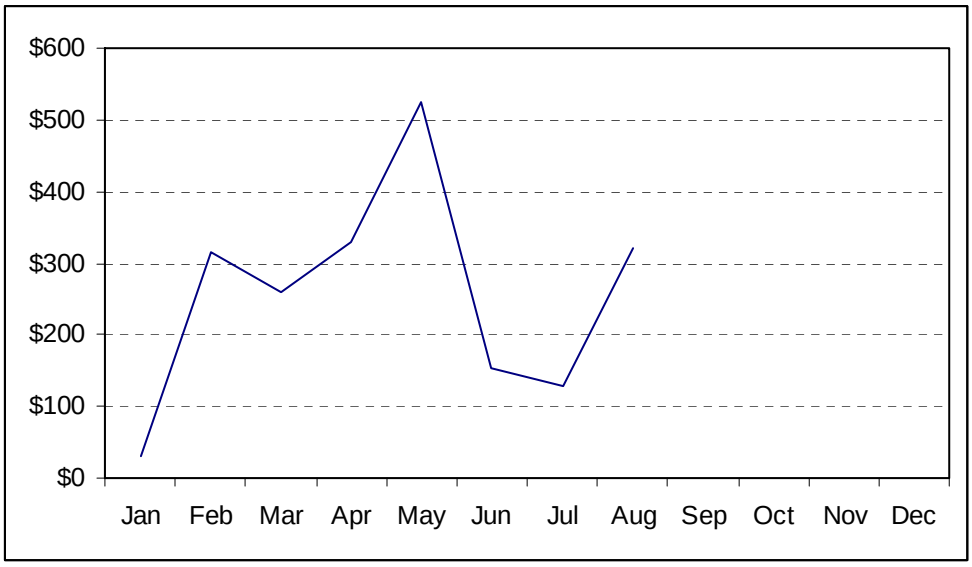
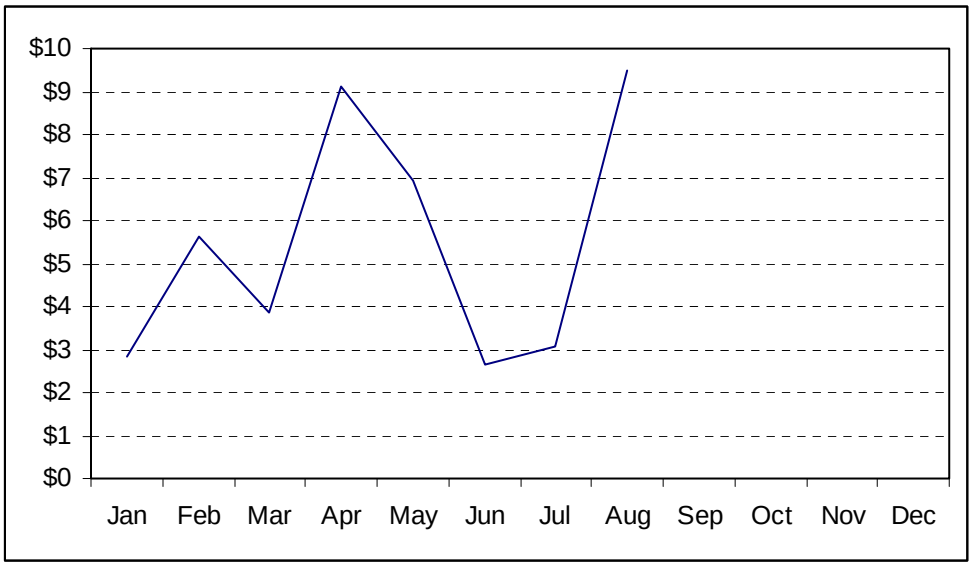


Table 20. Value of Raw Material Transactions, 1810.

1810 materials	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$31.13	11	$2.83
Feb	$315.42	56	$5.63
Mar	$259.68	67	$3.88
Apr	$328.17	36	$9.12
May	$525.73	76	$6.92
Jun	$154.59	58	$2.67
Jul	$128.66	42	$3.06
Aug	$322.29	34	$9.48
Sep	-	-	-
Oct	-	-	-
Nov	-	-	-
Dec	-	-	-
df	6		
Pearson r	0.645		
r^2	0.416		

Figure 21. Average Price of Raw Material Transactions, 1810.



Raw Materials: Top Account Holders for 1810

Table 21 and Table 22 list the most active account holders during 1810 in total raw material transactions. These tables provide an overview of those who bought or sold the most raw materials at the Hampton Store by total expense. Text in **bold** indicates accounts associated with the store itself. Various Hampton store accounts were among the most active purchasers of raw materials (Table 21 – Debit Accounts). The association of the Hampton Store with the Buckland distillery is easily visible in the number and size of corn, rye, and wheat purchases by the Hampton Corn & Rye Account (#1), Wheat Account (#2), Corn Account (#3), and Meadze (Merchandise) Account (#5). Other top debit account holders purchased a range of goods. Presley Morehead (#4) purchased corn and steel, John Love (#6) purchased iron, steel, tar, and brimstone, and Walter A. Smith (#7) purchased iron and steel. William Hampton (#8), James Hunton (#9), and Eppa Hunton (#10) all bought an assortment of raw materials. The Hampton Waggon Account (#12) and Still House Account (#21) both bought iron and steel for equipment. The rest of the Debit Account list provides suggestive clues as to which individuals were active in certain trades, especially metal working trades like blacksmithing, cooperage, and wheelwright work. Isaac Meeks (#22), for instance, documented as owning and operating the Buckland tanyard, purchase hides and copperas, both of which were used for tanning.

The list of Credit Accounts (Table 22) for raw materials, unlike the list of Debit Accounts, reveals that while the Hampton Store sold a variety of materials, the company purchased mostly grains, likely for use in the distillery. The major sources for corn were Robert Randolph (#1), William Hampton (#2), Presley Morehead (#5), John Welch (#13), John McGeorge (#15), William Tomlin, Sr. (#16), and Libby (no first name - #18). The major sources for wheat were William Hampton (#2), the Hampton Wheat Account (#4), Benjamin Rust (#6), Samuel Porter (#7), William Settle (#8), George Chapman (#9), and James Hunton (#10). The major sources

for rye were William Hampton (#2), Reuben Strother (#3), William Tomlin (#22), Washington & White (#23), and William Renoe (#24). The diverse list of names includes area farmers, mill owners, and traders.

Table 21. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Raw Material, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Hampton Corn & Rye Acct	32	$704.00	corn and rye
Hampton Wheat Account	16	$336.91	wheat
Hampton Corn Account	11	$332.39	corn
Morehead, Presley	2	$34.77	corn and steel
Hampton Meadze (Merchandise)	4	$27.12	tin, corn, and wheat
Love, John	15	$26.69	metals, tar, and brimstone
Smith, Walter A.	3	$22.75	iron and steel
Hampton, William	12	$20.77	full range of materials
Hunton, James	15	$16.76	metals, minerals, corn and cotton
Hunton, Eppa	5	$16.30	cotton, hay, and oats
unknown account	1	$11.43	slate
Hampton Waggon Account	8	$11.18	iron and steel
Horton, Craven	18	$10.02	metals, minerals, tar, and cotton
Hunton, William	2	$9.07	oats and chalk
Brown, Robert	3	$7.53	allum, copperas, and corn
Settle, James	6	$7.24	cotton, iron, and minerals
Thomas, Owen	3	$6.93	iron, steel, and cotton
Dawson, Thomas	3	$6.53	cotton and iron
Rust, Benjamin	5	$6.49	cotton
Green, Frances	8	$5.07	cotton, iron, and copperas
Still House Account	3	$4.88	corn, iron, and steel
Meeks, Isaac	8	$4.87	cotton, hide, oats, and copperas
Settle, William	4	$4.58	iron and cotton
Weaver, John	6	$4.41	metal and copperas
Watson, Josiah	8	$4.41	iron, steel, and lead

Table 22. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Raw Material, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Randolph, Robert	8	$175.49	wood and corn
Hampton, William	7	$93.78	oats, corn, wheat, and rye
Strother, Reuben	2	$83.25	rye
Hampton Wheat Account	1	$81.00	Lawler wheat
Morehead, Presley	3	$78.26	corn and hay
Rust, Benjamin	1	$70.26	wheat

Porter, Samuel	1	$61.50	wheat
Settle, William	1	$61.44	wheat
Chapman, George	2	$35.83	wheat and dirty wheat
Hunton, James	1	$31.47	dirty wheat
Rixey, Richard	1	$29.30	hay
Norris, Samuel	1	$21.29	wheat
Welch, John	2	$18.73	corn and short corn
Still House	2	$18.40	wheat
McGeorge, John	1	$16.77	corn
Tomlin, William Sr.	1	$14.24	corn
McKinney, Thomas	1	$13.78	wheat
Libby	1	$10.35	corn
Gunnell, James	1	$10.11	hay
Watson, Josiah	1	$8.60	hay
Campbell, John	1	$8.33	wheat
Tomlin, William	1	$8.24	rye
Washington & White	1	$4.50	rye
Renoe, William	1	$4.35	rye
Horton, Craven	1	$4.25	oats

Milling: Products and Services in 1810

The sale of mill products was neither frequent nor lucrative at the Hampton Store, which specialized in cloth, whiskey, and dry goods. However, it is worth describing the mill transactions for a broader understanding of manufacturing in the town in 1810, especially because there are few contemporary documents or business records for the two mills (Buckland and Kinsley) themselves. Six types of mill products and four types of mill services were documented in the Hampton Day Book (Table 23). The most important commodity was flour, comprising 37.5% of the mill transactions and $202.34 in sales, with high average transaction prices indicating bulk purchases. Next in importance were screenings and shipstuff, by-products of wheat grain separation, together making up 29% of the mill transactions and $68.97 in sales. All other mill products and services were of comparable low value and frequency at the store, but significantly these included inspection and cooperage, services necessary for the bulk transport of grains and whiskey. Mill transactions, like other types of business at the Hampton Store, peaked in total and average value in May 1810 (Figure 22 and Table 24).

Table 23. Range of Mill Transactions, 1810.

Item	*Goods/Services*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
flour	goods	9	$202.34	$22.48	37.5%
screenings	goods	5	$61.23	$12.25	20.8%
shipstuff	goods	2	$7.74	$3.87	8.3%
grind stone	goods	1	$1.95	$1.95	4.2%
bran	goods	1	$0.50	$0.50	4.2%
plaister	goods	1	$0.50	$0.50	4.2%

inspection & cooperage	services	1	$0.30	$0.30	4.2%
inspection	services	1	$0.29	$0.29	4.2%
cooperage	services	2	$0.21	$0.10	8.3%
sawfile work	services	1	$0.15	$0.15	4.2%
TOTAL		24	$275.21		

Figure 22. Total Value of Mill Transactions, 1810.

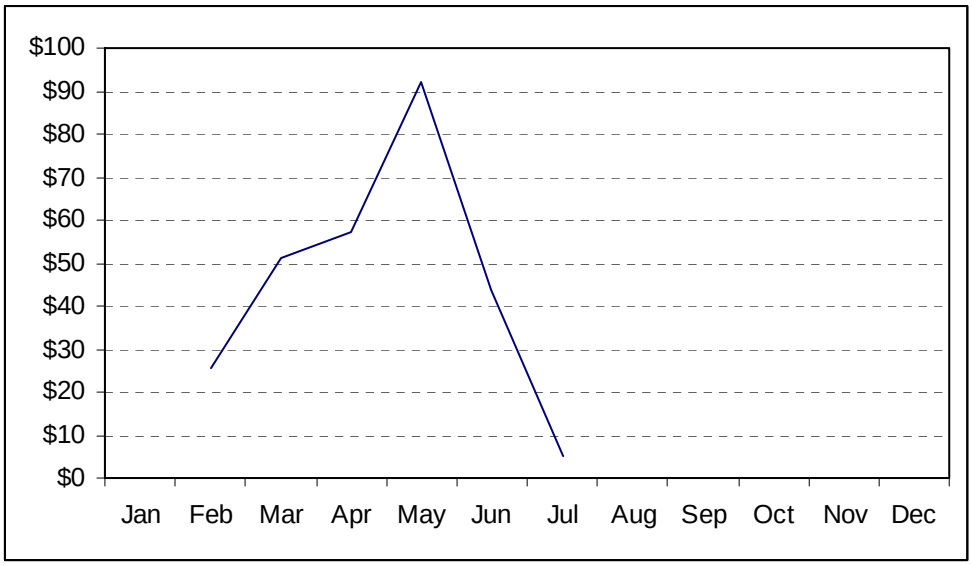


Table 24. Value of Mill Transactions, 1810.

1810 milling	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	-	-	-
Feb	$25.70	4	$6.43
Mar	$51.12	6	$8.52
Apr	$57.28	4	$14.32
May	$92.00	5	$18.40
Jun	$43.83	3	$14.61
Jul	$5.28	2	$2.64
Aug	-	-	-
Sep	-	-	-
Oct	-	-	-
Nov	-	-	-
Dec	-	-	-
df	5		

Pearson r	0.671
r^2	0.450

Milling: Top Account Holders in 1810

Table 25 and Table 26 list the most active account holders during 1810 in total mill transactions. These tables provide an overview of those who bought or sold the most mill products and services at the Hampton Store by total expense. Text in **bold** indicates accounts associated with the store itself. Due to the small sample size, there were only eight debit account holders for milling at the Hampton Store. Charles Hunton (#1) bought two large quantities of flour, making his account the most valuable along with the Hampton Corn & Rye Account (#2) and William Hampton (#3), who also purchased milled grains. The smaller transactions represent ancillary mill services, like inspection, cooperage, sawing, and plaster. The top credit accounts, for those providing mill goods to the store, were the Hampton Wheat Account (#1), Watson & Brooks (#2), and John P. Smith (#3). As with the debit accounts, the mill services were secondary to milled grains.

Table 25. Debit Accounts for Mill Transactions, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Hunton, Charles	2	$87.95	flour
Hampton Corn & Rye Acct	5	$61.23	screenings
Hampton, William	6	$55.35	bran, flour, shipstuff, and grind stone
Hampton Wheat Acct	2	$0.59	inspection and cooperage
Brooks, William	1	$0.50	flour
Hunton, Eppa	1	$0.50	plaister
Meeks, Isaac	1	$0.15	sawfile work
Hunton, William	1	$0.08	cooperage

Table 26. Credit Accounts for Mill Transactions, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Hampton Wheat Acct	6	$194.85	flour
Watson & Brooks	2	$35.21	screenings
Smith, John P.	1	$20.02	screenings
Tyler, George G.	2	$3.87	cooperage and shipstuff
King, Samuel	1	$3.66	flour
Hampton, William	1	$0.50	plaister
Hunton, Charles	1	$0.30	inspection and cooperage
Hampton Cooperage Acct	1	$0.08	cooperage

Finance and Investments: Payments, Loans, and Expenses in 1810

Cash/finance transactions, or exchanges of credit, money, stocks, bonds, and contracts, were not only valuable for the Hampton Store but were also diverse (Table 27). Unspecified cash exchanges were by far the most valuable ($3,308.63), because these transactions represent balance payments, advances, and stock supplies and are likely related to every other type of transaction defined by this study (e.g. a general cash exchange may have been a payment for one or more types of manufactured or non-manufactured goods). Other important cash/finance transactions were cash borrowed and lent (together 16.5% of the transactions and $485); bills and notes (together 14.7% and $1,015.50); and postage (15.3% of the transactions but only $17.51 in total). Grouping the finance transactions reveals that payments and credit/loans dominated cash exchanges, while business expenses were common but inexpensive (Table 28).

Table 27. Range of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.

Item	*Type*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
cash	payments	34	$3,308.63	$97.31	20.0%
bill	credit/loan	11	$647.38	$58.85	6.5%
cash borrowed	credit/loan	4	$428.07	$107.02	2.4%
note	credit/loan	14	$368.12	$26.29	8.2%
account	payments	7	$135.04	$19.29	4.1%
bond	obligation	2	$87.89	$43.94	1.2%
cash lent	credit/loan	24	$57.03	$2.38	14.1%
request	credit/loan	6	$45.03	$7.51	3.5%
loan	credit/loan	5	$39.43	$7.89	2.9%
guardianship	obligation	3	$34.00	$11.33	1.8%
order	credit/loan	5	$33.66	$6.73	2.9%
error	payments	8	$25.16	$3.14	4.7%
court	expenses	7	$21.83	$3.12	4.1%
interest	credit/loan	2	$20.82	$10.41	1.2%
postage	expenses	26	$17.51	$0.67	15.3%
estate balance	obligation	1	$10.41	$10.41	0.6%
expenses	expenses	1	$10.00	$10.00	0.6%
meeting	expenses	1	$2.25	$2.25	0.6%
stock	payments	2	$1.50	$0.75	1.2%
difference	payments	3	$1.21	$0.40	1.8%
returns	payments	1	$1.04	$1.04	0.6%
firm	expenses	1	$1.00	$1.00	0.6%
credit	credit/loan	1	$0.54	$0.54	0.6%
non payment	payments	1	$0.50	$0.50	0.6%
TOTAL		170	$5,298.02		

Table 28. Types of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.

Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
payments	56	$3,473.07	$62.02	33%
credit/loan	72	$1,640.08	$22.78	42%
obligation	6	$132.29	$22.05	4%
expenses	36	$52.58	$1.46	21%
TOTAL	170	$5,298.02		

Finance and Investments: Trends in 1810

As with other types of business at the Hampton Store, cash/finance transactions were most valuable in May 1810 (Figure 23 and Table 29). Unlike other types of transactions, cash/finance exchanges maintained a high frequency at the store throughout the late spring and summer months (Figure 24). This stable peak, marked by relatively sparse transactions in the winter and late summer, may suggest a seasonal summer schedule of payments and loans at the Hampton Store. However, the Hampton Day Book ends in mid August and the lack of data for the fall months makes firm conclusions difficult.

Figure 23. Total Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.

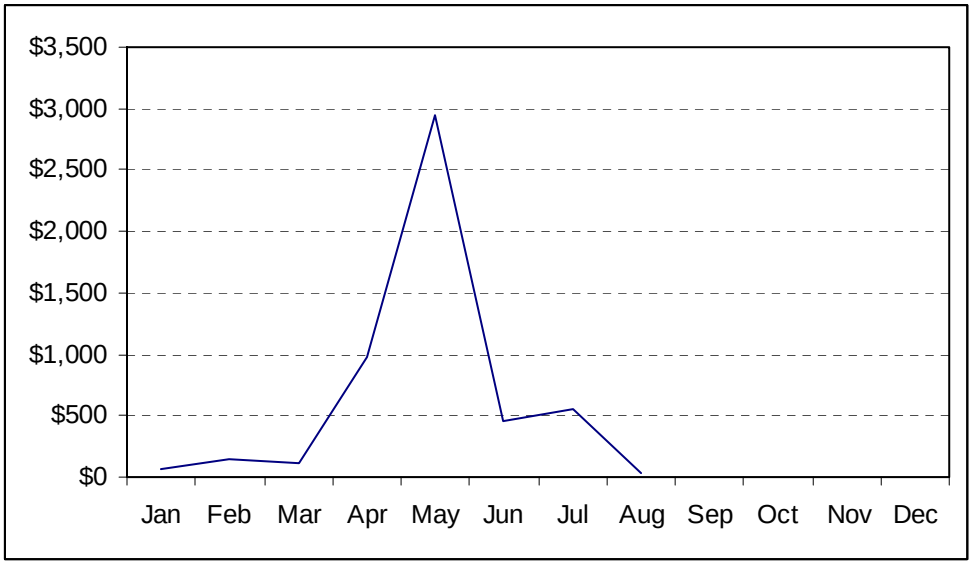
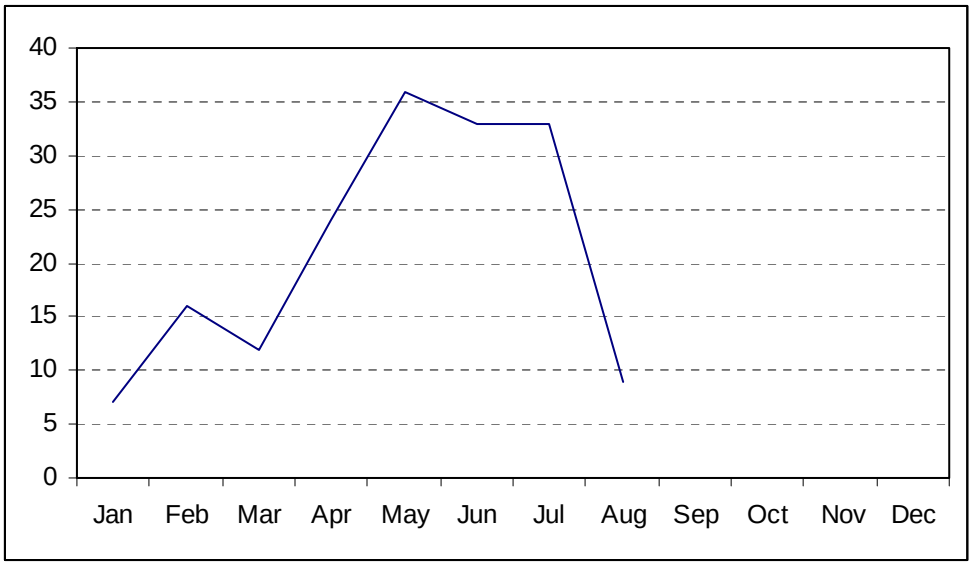


Table 29. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.

1810 finance	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$64.75	7	$9.25
Feb	$153.15	16	$9.57
Mar	$119.93	12	$9.99
Apr	$979.33	24	$40.81
May	$2,948.12	36	$81.89
Jun	$452.10	33	$13.70
Jul	$554.74	33	$16.81
Aug	$25.91	9	$2.88
Sep	-	-	-
Oct	-	-	-
Nov	-	-	-
Dec	-	-	-
df	6		
Pearson r	0.681		
r^2	0.464		

Figure 24. Number of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1810.



Finance and Investments: Top Account Holders in 1810

Debit accounts for cash, loans, and other financial exchanges show those with the most financial obligation to the store and also the nature of their obligation (Table 30). The Hampton Merchandise Account (#1) owed payments of cash, outstanding store bills, and coverage of

expenses. Individuals like Traverse Nash (#2), John Hampton (#4), William Hunton (#5), George Page (#6), Griffin Matthews (#7), and Samuel King (#9) owed money on orders, notes, and postage. The debit accounts portray a cross-section of residents, businesses, estates, and even the Prince William County government, who owed guardianship payments to some of the individuals doing business at the Hampton Store, such as Ben Ellis and Frances Owens.

Credit accounts for cash/finance transactions show those individuals and companies who fulfilled their payments and obligations to the Hampton Store (Table 31). There are some names that appear in both lists, but the credit account list is most important in identifying the other stores and companies with whom John and Henry Hampton were conducting business, particularly in raising capital and buying their stock of non-local dry goods and selling their stock of Buckland manufactured goods. Several companies and businessmen were not local to the area immediately surrounding Buckland: Thomas Janney & Co. (#2), John Lloyd (#3), Anthony Charles Cazenove (#4), Sangster & Jennings (#5), and Libby & Carne (#7). Others were from Buckland and its vicinity: Charles Hunton (#1), William H. Hampton (#6), and Hugh Smith (#8).

Table 30. Top 25 Debit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Hampton Meadze (Merchandise) Acct	35	$3,594.32	cash; bills; expenses
Nash, Traverse	2	$69.01	postage; bond
Hampton, William	3	$65.67	account; meeting
Hampton, John	4	$59.59	postage; order; cash
Hunton, William	5	$51.07	estate; order; cash lent
Page, George	1	$50.00	note
Matthews, Griffin	1	$35.00	note
Prince William County	3	$34.00	guardianship
King, Samuel	2	$30.30	check; cash lent
unknown	1	$29.97	note
Hampton, Henry	4	$28.97	cash; court
Brooks, William	2	$28.42	cash borrowed; request
Waddle, John	1	$25.00	loan
Hunton, James	6	$22.99	postage; checks; cash lent
Ellgin, William	1	$19.76	note
Janney, Thomas & Co.	1	$16.65	error
Hunton, Eppa	4	$13.00	request; cash lent; order
Renoe, William	2	$12.54	bills
Hunton's Administrators	1	$12.25	order
Rust, Benjamin	2	$12.15	cash lent
Hudson, Samuel	3	$10.37	cash lent at court
Brown, John	1	$10.11	account
Ewell, Charles	1	$9.99	cash lent

Porter, Samuel	1	$8.66	account
Moxley, Gilbert J.	1	$8.57	note

Table 31. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1810.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Credited*
Hunton, Charles	12	$793.08	cash and bills
Janney, Thomas & Co.	2	$751.22	cash and bill
Lloyd, John	1	$615.16	cash
Cazenove, Anthony Charles	2	$525.28	cash and bill
Sangster & Jennings	1	$401.68	cash
Hampton, William H.	1	$382.95	cash borrowed
Libby & Carne	7	$375.45	cash and bill
Smith, Hugh	3	$193.98	cash
Withers, John	1	$94.18	cash
Settle, William	1	$68.89	bond
Horton, Nathaniel	1	$50.00	note
Renoe, William	1	$50.00	note
Harper, William Jr.	1	$47.35	cash
Hampton Meadze (Merchandise) Acct	1	$45.52	account
Hunton, William	2	$42.66	cash borrowed
Blackwell, Lewis	1	$35.00	note
Dawson, Thomas	1	$34.70	account
Hampton, Henry	4	$34.17	account
Watson, Josiah	1	$31.37	note
Steel, Samuel	1	$28.31	note
Florence, William	1	$25.97	request
Warder, Philip	1	$25.00	note
Mount	1	$23.38	cash
Reid	1	$20.65	cash
Hunton, Eppa	2	$20.04	returns and bond

III. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1813

Sample Summary

The Britton Store Ledger documents transactions at the George Britton Store (and with the Fauquier & Alexandria Turnpike Company) from 7 January 1813 through 22 November 1818, The goods and services recorded in the ledger include cloth, whiskey, milled grains, along with small manufactures, dry/household goods, labor, transportation, and finance/credit exchanges. An overview of the 1813 sample (Figure 25) shows a greater number of recorded transactions during the second half of the year, especially from September through December. This pattern may reflect a vagary of the sample or a seasonal increase in transactions between George Britton and area residents at the end of the year. The rise in transactions is not matched by any similar contemporary peak in the monetary value of transactions (Figure 26). In contrast, the total cash value of transactions was highest in February, during which month most of the business was related to transportation and finance. A single transaction on February 16th ($1,134.39, "Invoice Book," credited to George Britton and drawn to the Turnpike Company account) accounts for the high overall value of February transactions and represents payments of Britton to the Turnpike Company account that he managed – so much so that even a graph of average monthly prices displays a peak in February (Figure 27). The peaks in May and October-November (Figure 26) are also due to high-value turnpike-related transactions, such as Enos McKay's payment of $176.70 to the Turnpike Company on June 5th; Hampton & Love's payment of $159.84 to the Turnpike Company on November 8th; and John Hampton's purchase of $452.88 of road stock on October 6th and $319.68 on November 24th (in both cases, the stock was bought for others).

Figure 25. Transactions per Month, 1813.

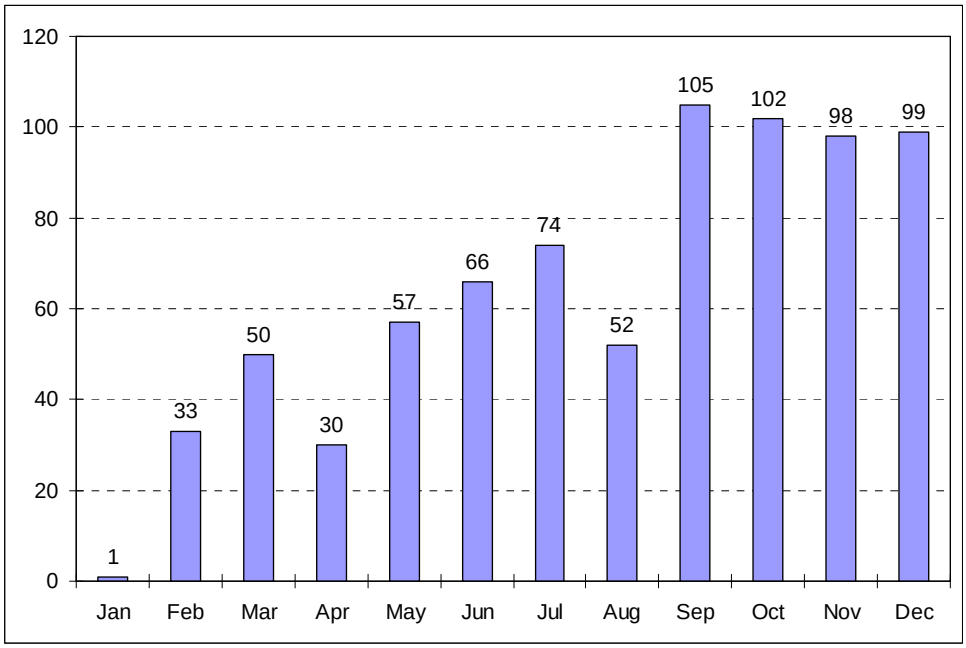


Figure 26. Value of Transactions in all Categories, 1813.

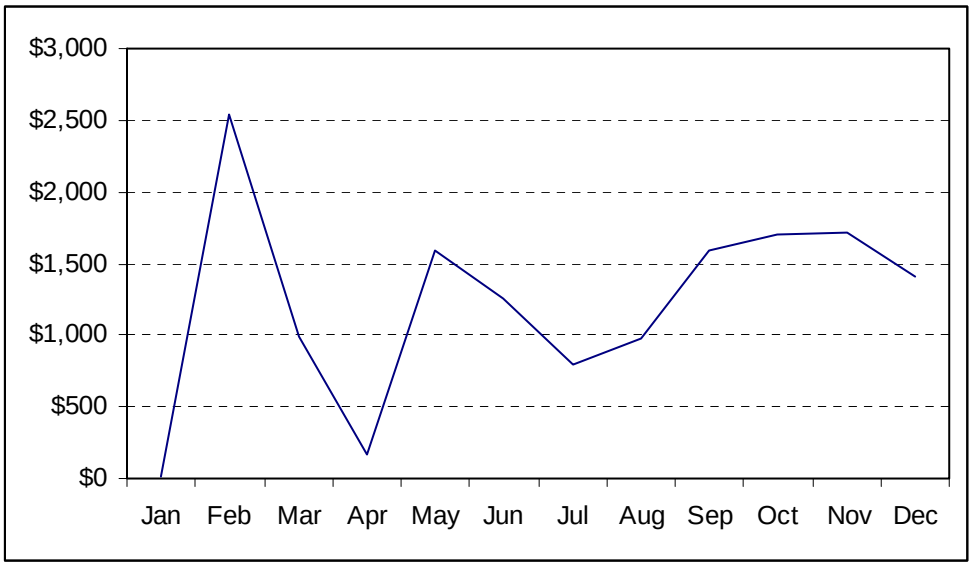
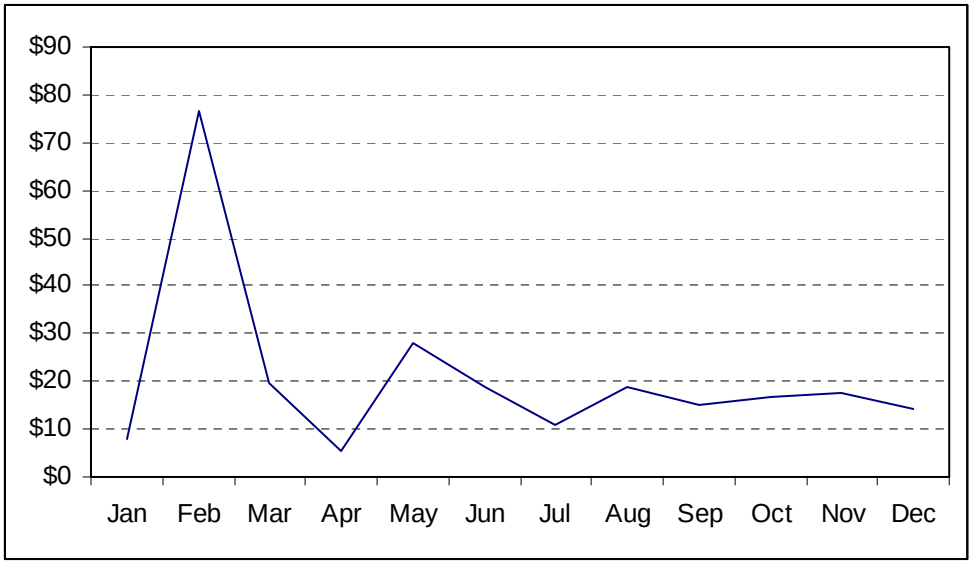


Figure 27. Average Value of Transactions, 1813.



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Labor, Raw Materials, Milling, and Finance/Investments at the Britton Store and Turnpike Company, 1813

Table 32 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 28 shows that over the course of 1813, the most frequently recorded transactions in the Britton Store were for general labor (n=229), almost twice as common as transactions in any other category. Next in importance were non-manufacturing (n=119) and cash/finance (n=112) transactions. While the Hampton Store specialized in the sale of goods (many manufactured in Buckland), the Britton Store's primary business was the exchange of services and finance/credit (Figure 24), although the same range of goods were sold at both stores. The Britton Store sold raw materials (n=90), milled grains (n=74), and whiskey (n=58), as well as small manufactures (n=46) and cloth (n=10).

Figure 29, outlining the total dollar value of each category in 1813, shows that the most valuable categories were cash/finance, labor, and raw materials. Although labor exchanges were twice as frequent as cash/finance transactions, the latter, at $8,081.38, accounted for approximately four times the total cash amount and made up nearly 15% of all transactions. The average dollar value for a cash transaction (an expense, investment, or loan) – $72.16 – was at least three times as large as the average dollar value for any other type of transaction. Raw materials and transport brought high average prices – $21.61 and $15.49 – emphasizing the Britton store's affiliation with the turnpike and bulk shipping. Cloth and whiskey, specialties at the Hampton Store, were not as important at the Britton Store and brought relatively low average prices, below $5.00 per transaction. Milled grains, associated with shipping and transport and generally abundant in the town, were moderately valued and were an important type of business, making up 10% of all transactions.

Figure 30 depicts the median dollar value and comparative spread for transactions in each category for 1813 (boxes inscribe 50% of all transactions for a given category). This box plot reaffirms the importance of finance, labor, raw materials, and transport in the Britton account book. All of these categories had high average values and central ranges (meaning that 50% of transactions in each category were also of high cash value) for 1813. The wide price ranges for milled grains and whiskey suggest that despite the lower price of these items at the Britton Store, the transport of these goods on the turnpike was an important source of revenue, the price depending on the size of each shipment. The frequency, values, and ranges of transactions together indicate that the success of the Britton Store in 1813 depended on labor, raw materials, milling, and finance, particularly stock.

Table 32. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1813.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	10	$45.34	$4.53	1.3%
distillery	58	$166.69	$2.87	7.6%
mill	74	$566.81	$7.66	9.6%
tannery	2	$15.98	$7.99	0.3%
small manufactures	46	$327.75	$7.13	6.0%
raw material	90	$1,944.54	$21.61	11.7%
transport	27	$418.27	$15.49	3.5%
labor unspecified	229	$2,121.82	$9.27	29.9%
non-manufacturing	119	$1,050.83	$8.83	15.5%
cash/finance	112	$8,081.38	$72.16	14.6%
TOTAL	767	$14,739.42		

Figure 28. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1813.

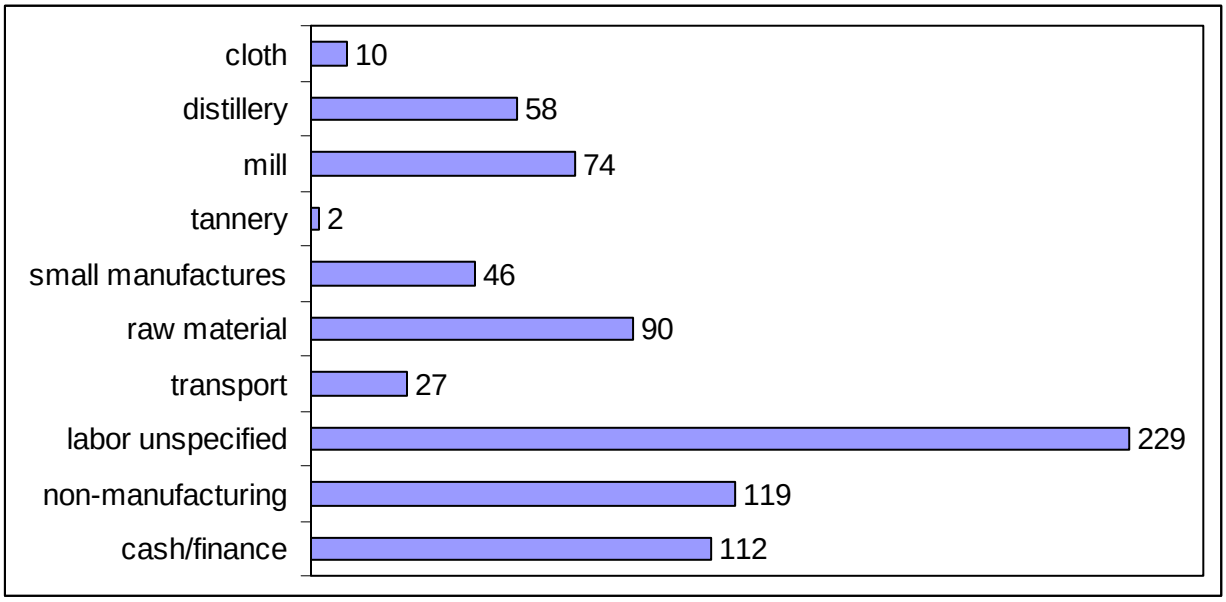


Figure 29. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1813.

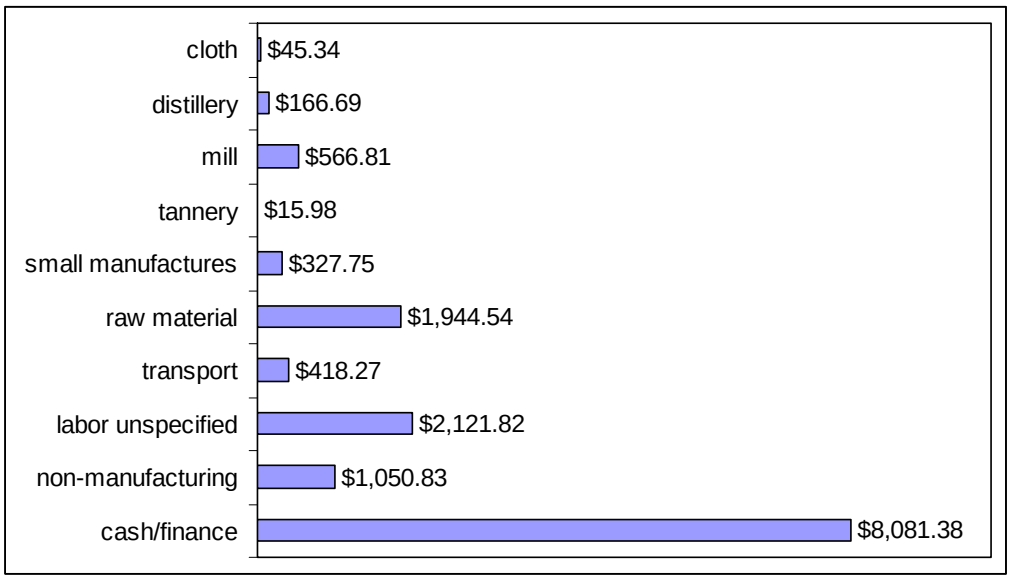
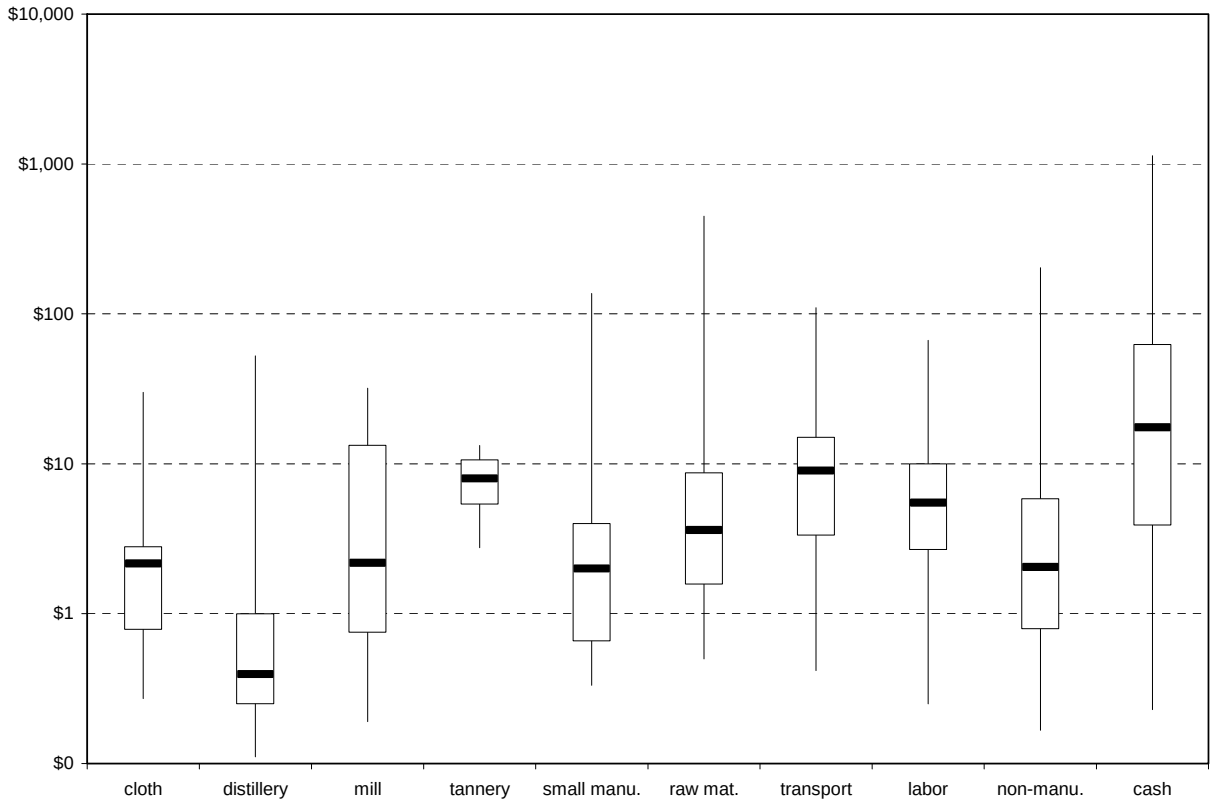


Figure 30. Averages and Distributions of Transaction Dollar Value in Each Category, 1813.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Britton Store (and Buckland) in 1813

Labor: Hired Hands, Carts, and Horses

Table 33 shows that nearly all (over 93%) of the labor available for hire through the Britton Store in 1813 was general, unspecified work – identified in the store ledger by the notes "work," "laborers," and "hands" and sometimes followed by a description of the number of days worked and the names of the workers. Of secondary importance (3.93% of all labor) was work done with carts and horses, a type of labor that was more expensive due to the use of wagon equipment and presumably the level of effort required. Table 34 lists the names of hired workers (where the names are given in the ledger), the number of work days, the rate of pay, and the account holder credited for the hire. The absence of workers' surnames and the account credits to persons who did not perform the work demonstrate that most of the hired laborers were slaves and the credited account holders their owners. The unnamed entries may represent work performed either by slaves or by the account holders themselves. The labor credits to six members of the Harris family (rather than one individual) may indicate that they were free laborers, paid directly for their own work. Given the nature of Britton's affiliation with the turnpike and the use of carts and horses, the enslaved laborers were most likely working on the road itself either constructing or maintaining it or hauling and packing bulk goods for transport. Work done with carts ($0.76/day) was worth about twice the daily rate of general work ($0.38/day). Each individual hire lasted on average for 10 to 11 days. If even some of the unnamed hires represent free laborers, then work appears to have been valued at the same rate whether done by slave or free person, the significant difference being the recipient of the pay.

Table 33. Range of Labor Transactions, 1813.

Labor	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
building	1	$9.99	$9.99	0.44%
butcher	2	$30.47	$15.23	0.87%
cleaning well	1	$3.00	$3.00	0.44%
getting timber	1	$4.00	$4.00	0.44%
work/laborers	214	$1,950.66	$9.12	93.45%
work with cart/horse	9	$112.47	$12.50	3.93%
services	3	$11.24	$3.75	1.31%
TOTAL	229	$2,121.82		

Table 34. Labor Pay Rates and Names of Laborers, 1813.

Laborer	*Work*	*Days worked*	*Total Payment*	*Daily Rate*	*Account Credited*
Cain		6.5	$2.48	$0.38	Grigsby, Nimrod
Charles	with cart	9	$6.90	$0.77	Lane, Carr W.
Davy		2	$0.76	$0.38	Adams, George
Davy		9	$3.00	$0.33	(Debit) Marshall, Richard
Davy		23.25	$8.97	$0.39	Adams, George
Dick		3	$47.95	$15.98	Ewell, Charles (3 days plus other work)
Harry		7.25	$2.76	$0.38	Marshall, John Sr.
Harry		23.5	$8.59	$0.37	Marshall, John Sr.
Harry		24	$9.23	$0.38	Ball, Spencer
Jesse	with cart	6	$4.58	$0.76	Mitchel, Adam
Prince		2.75	$1.05	$0.38	Lewis, Coleman
Tapley		10.25	$3.91	$0.38	Berkley, Benjamin
Will		6	$2.29	$0.38	Marshall, John Sr.
Will		26	$9.99	$0.38	Marshall, John Sr.
(unnamed)		30	$16.65	$0.56	Gant, Thomas
(unnamed)		30	$16.65	$0.56	Gant, Thomas
(unnamed)		1	$0.38	$0.38	Harris, Elijah
(unnamed)		1	$0.38	$0.38	Harris, Alexander
(unnamed)	with cart	7	$3.50	$0.50	
(unnamed)		1.75	$0.67	$0.38	Harris, Rodham
(unnamed)		1.75	$0.65	$0.37	Marshall, Richard
(unnamed)		2.5	$0.85	$0.34	
(unnamed)		3	$1.14	$0.38	Harris, Edmund
(unnamed)		3	$1.14	$0.38	Windsor, Asa
(unnamed)		4	$3.05	$0.76	Lane, Carr W.
(unnamed)		6	$2.29	$0.38	Lyons, Alexander
(unnamed)		6	$2.29	$0.38	Harris, Jesse
(unnamed)		7	$2.67	$0.38	Harris, Elijah
(unnamed)		7	$2.67	$0.38	Harris, Alexander
(unnamed)		9	$3.43	$0.38	Hambleton, Robert
(unnamed)		10	$2.29	$0.23	Harris, Sandy
(unnamed)		16	$6.10	$0.38	Windsor, Asa
(unnamed)		17.5	$6.68	$0.38	Arnold, Jesse
(unnamed)	with cart	18	$13.74	$0.76	
(unnamed)		23	$8.78	$0.38	Harris, Edmund
(unnamed)		23	$9.77	$0.42	Harris, Jesse
AVERAGE		10.72	$6.06	$0.43	

Labor: Trends in 1813

Labor transactions in 1813 were most valuable in mid-summer and mid-fall (Figure 31), and there was a direct correlation (r=0.931) between the number of hires and this trend (Table 35). Indeed, almost all hires took place during these two seasons. The absence of general labor in the winter and spring is not surprising, as inclement weather and ground moisture would have made road work difficult and unproductive. However, the lull in work during August 1813 is more curious and suggests that there was a short break in road construction and hauling due to some other factor, perhaps high waters in Broad Run or the need for more investments and stock purchases to finance the work. The high average value of labor in June 1813 (Figure 32) was due to six large transactions during that month: $42.74 of cart work done by Carr W. Lane's slave Charles; $23.98 for work done by Vachlan McIntosh's slave Sam; $49.58 for work done by Jesse Harris; $17.71 for work done by Levi Harris; $37.17 for work done by Bennett Ebb; and $66.60 for work done by Thomas Gant. From September through December, the price of labor remained stable.

Figure 31. Total Value of Labor Transactions, 1813.

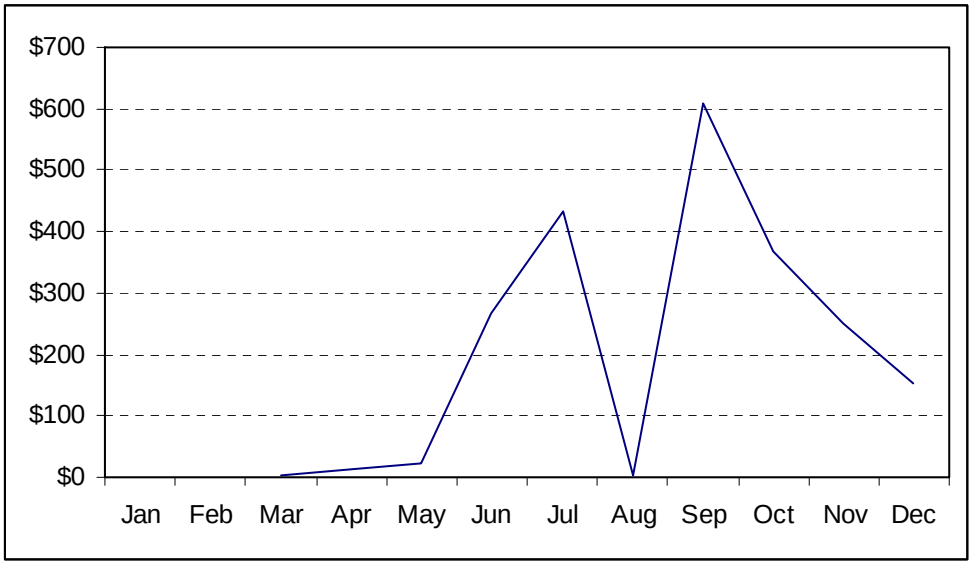
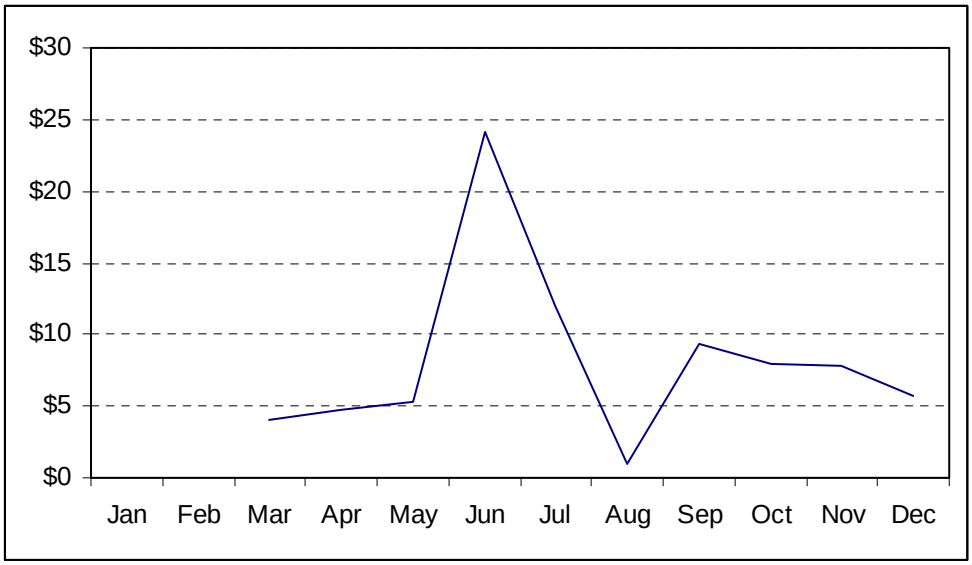


Table 35. Value of Labor Transactions, 1813.

1813 labor	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	-	-	-
Feb	-	-	-
Mar	$4.00	1	$4.00
Apr	$14.15	3	$4.72
May	$21.43	4	$5.36
Jun	$265.74	11	$24.16

Jul	$434.10	36	$12.06
Aug	$3.75	4	$0.94
Sep	$607.81	65	$9.35
Oct	$367.48	46	$7.99
Nov	$249.39	32	$7.79
Dec	$153.98	27	$5.70
df	8		
Pearson r	0.931		
r^2	0.867		
t	7.229		
t crit (0.05)	2.306		

Figure 32. Average Price of Labor Transactions, 1813.



Labor: Top Account Holders in 1813

Debit account for labor show that only a few individuals or companies purchased or hired workers through Britton's store (Table 36). The most active account by number of hires was the Turnpike Company (#2) itself, which spent a total of $21.98 on four hires. Vachlan McIntosh (#1) spent more than any other account holder on labor, while Adam Mitchel (#3), Carr W. Lane (#4), Robert Hamilton (#5), Willis (#6), and Richard Marshall (#7) each spent moderately small amounts on hired labor. Britton recorded far more credit accounts for labor in his ledger, confirming that most of the work was done *for* Britton and the Turnpike Company, and not for other individuals and businesses in the town (Table 37). Six of the top ten credit account holders were documented slave owners from whom Britton hired enslaved workers: Nimrod Grigsby (#1, owner of Cain and Ratet); Benjamin R. Davis (#2, owner of unnamed "sundry slaves"); John Marshall, Sr. (#4, owner of Harry and Will); Carr W. Lane (#5, owner of Charles, a cart worker);

John Read (#6, owner of Charles and Sam); and Vachlan McIntosh (#10, owner of Sam). The Britton Store Cash Account (#8) was credited for providing pay for slave hires, laborers, and professional services. Thomas Gant (#3), Jesse Harris (#7), and Richard Marshall (#9) may or may not have owned slaves, but the ledger does not record them as having or hiring enslaved workers to do their work. Table 38 lists all hired laborers who are identified in the ledger, along with the number of times they were hired, the total value of their work, and the account holder credited for their hire.

Table 36. Debit Accounts for Labor, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*
McIntosh, Vachlan	2	$59.94
Turnpike Company	4	$21.98
Mitchel, Adam	1	$13.74
Lane, Carr W.	1	$9.99
Hamilton, Robert	3	$9.37
Willis	1	$7.99
Marshall, Richard	3	$7.34

Table 37. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Labor, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*
Grigsby, Nimrod	7	$215.90
Davis, Benjamin R.	9	$205.44
Gant, Thomas	8	$166.50
Marshall, John Sr.	11	$136.16
Lane, Carr W.	8	$113.88
Read, John	16	$93.24
Harris, Jesse	8	$90.27
Britton Store Cash Acct	27	$88.64
Marshall, Richard	6	$67.36
McIntosh, Vachlan	7	$59.94
Ball, Spencer	6	$54.50
Ewell, Charles	1	$47.95
Thurman, Robert	4	$47.62
Ebb, Bennett	2	$44.16
Kidwell, Alexander	1	$39.96
Adams, George	6	$39.85
Windsor, Asa	7	$37.02
Lyons, Alexander	7	$36.05
Mitchel, Adam	3	$35.29
Harris, Alexander	6	$26.31
Harris, Sandy	7	$23.45
Harris, Levi	3	$23.44
Suddath, Lewis	3	$22.90
Montgomery, Francis	3	$22.74
Fryer, Elijah	4	$21.31

Table 38. Listed Laborers ordered by Total Value of Hired Work, 1813.

Laborer	*# Transactions*	*Total Pay*	*Account(s) Credited*
Sam	7	$ 59.94	McIntosh, Vachlan
Charles	3	$ 59.63	Lane, Carr W.
Harry	6	$ 54.50	Ball, Spencer
Sam	8	$ 48.29	Read, John
Dick	1	$ 47.95	Ewell, Charles
Charles	8	$ 44.96	Read, John
Davy	7	$ 42.84	Adams, George
Frank	1	$ 39.96	Kidwell, Alexander
Jesse & Daniel	2	$ 26.80	Thurman, Robert
Davy	3	$ 22.74	Montgomery, Francis
Ben & Moore	2	$ 21.08	Barker, Anne
Nat	3	$ 19.76	Harris, Alexander
Harry & Will	1	$ 17.81	Marshall, John Sr.
Tapley	4	$ 17.65	Berkley, Benjamin
Cain & Ratet	1	$ 15.02	Grigsby, Nimrod
Will	2	$ 12.28	Marshall, John Sr.
Harry	2	$ 11.35	Marshall, John Sr.
William	3	$ 9.61	Millon, John
Joe	2	$ 8.75	Johnston, John
Ben	2	$ 6.39	Wilcoxon, Reason
Jesse	1	$ 4.58	Mitchel, Adam
John Smith	1	$ 3.63	Davis, Benjamin R.
Cain	1	$ 2.48	Grigsby, Nimrod
Sam	2	$ 2.38	Hambleton, Robert
Prince	1	$ 1.05	Lewis, Coleman

Raw Materials: Grains and Metal

The most abundant and valuable raw material bought and sold at the Britton Store in 1813 was corn, which made up over 37% of all raw material transactions, $1,152.06 in sales, and, because it was sold in bulk, yielded $34.91 on average per transaction (Table 39). Three other grains – rye, oats, and wheat – together comprised 36% of all raw materials and were also highly valuable, especially wheat and rye, which along with corn were used in the mills and in the distillery at Buckland. Iron and steel together accounted for 20% of all raw materials, and iron in particular was a frequently traded and valuable commodity, bringing $18.95 on average per transaction. Hay, straw, and hides were purchased less regularly at the store but their presence indicates the variety of products available from the local farms.

Table 39. Range of Raw Material Transactions, 1813.

Item	*Material Type*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
corn	grains	33	$1,152.06	$34.91	37.1%
oats	grains	19	$ 127.08	$6.69	21.3%
rye	grains	12	$ 257.99	$21.50	13.5%
wheat	grains	1	$ 34.84	$34.84	1.1%

hay	farm/stable	2	$ 56.61	$28.31	2.2%
straw	farm/stable	1	$ 5.00	$5.00	1.1%
iron	metal	14	$ 265.33	$18.95	15.7%
steel	metal	4	$ 32.22	$8.05	4.5%
beef hide	hide	3	$ 12.49	$4.16	3.4%
TOTAL		89	$1,943.61		

Raw Materials: Trends in 1813

Because raw materials include different types of product, from agricultural produce to metals, and because these items were useful for a variety of trades and industries, there is no discernible pattern in their sales over time in 1813 (Figure 33 and Table 40). Figure 34 shows that the average price per transaction did peak in May and June of 1813, however. This was due to Britton's purchase of $449.55 of corn from Henry Washington on 1 May 1813 and John White's purchase of $389.61 of corn from the store on 2 May 1813, as well as Enos McKay's delivery of $202.96 in cash and rye to the store on 17 June 1813.

Figure 33. Total Number of Raw Material Transactions, 1813.

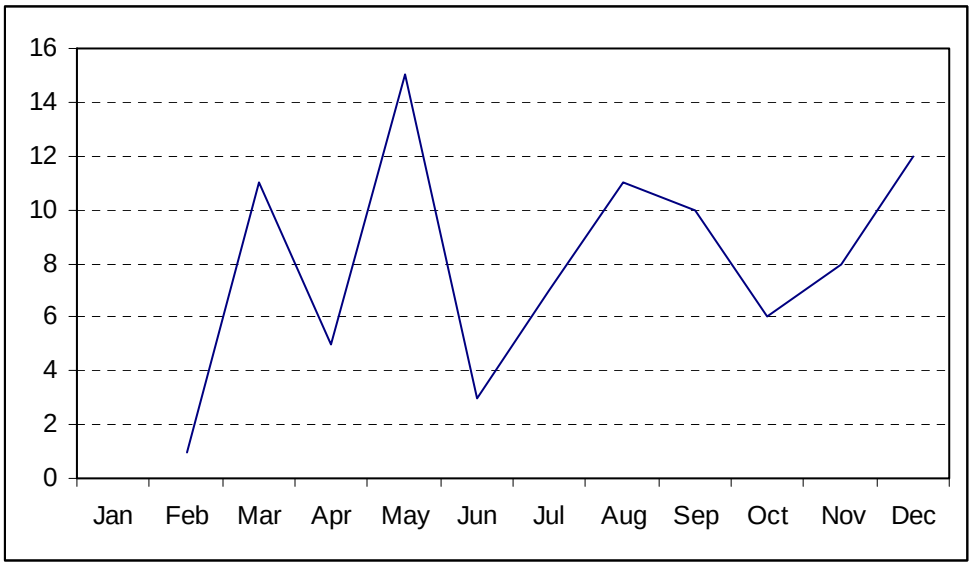
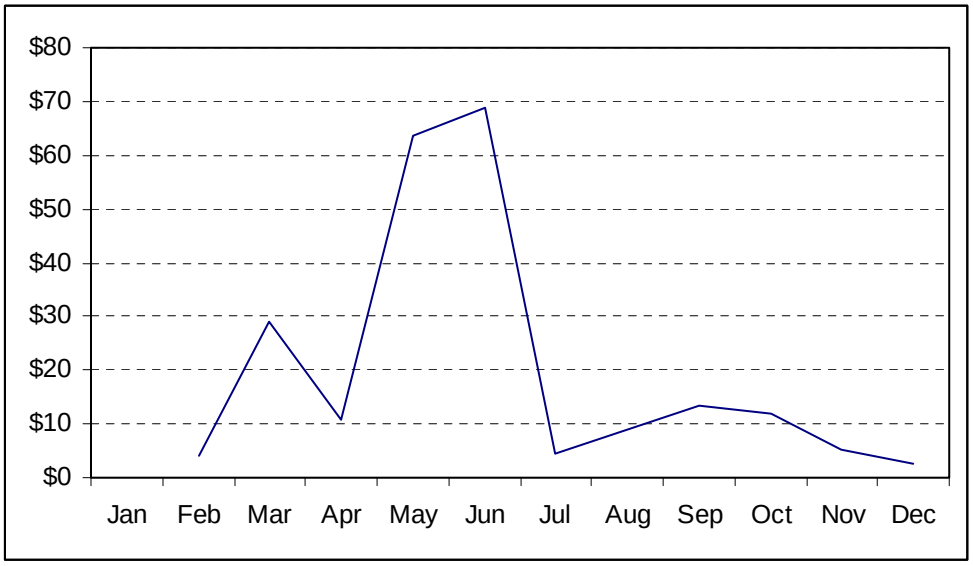


Table 40. Value of Raw Material Transactions, 1813.

1813 raw materials	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan			
Feb	$4.23	1	$4.23
Mar	$320.94	11	$29.18
Apr	$53.93	5	$10.79
May	$953.16	15	$63.54

Jun	$205.96	3	$68.65
Jul	$30.11	7	$4.30
Aug	$99.19	11	$9.02
Sep	$132.35	10	$13.23
Oct	$70.49	6	$11.75
Nov	$41.42	8	$5.18
Dec	$31.84	12	$2.65

Figure 34. Average Price of Raw Material Transactions, 1813.



Raw Materials: Top Account Holders in 1813

The lists of debit and credit account holders for raw materials display many of the same names – Love, White, Buckley, Marshall, and the Britton Store itself (Tables 41 and 42). Most of these men who appear in both lists were the highest buyers *and* sellers of grains, suggesting that grains were a fluid commodity, locally available for a range of purposes and perhaps even serving as a sort of currency for other transactions (such as milling and distilling). Many of these men were also active account holders for cash/finance and labor, and their role as farmers gave them incentive to invest in and trade with the Britton Store and the Turnpike Company. Raw grains could be sold in bulk to larger markets or might be converted into even more valuable flour, meal, and whiskey for longer and more specialized transport. Some debits and credits give clues as to the trade or profession of the account holders, such as leatherworker George Sangster's three purchases of cow hides and Russell Wigginton's two purchases of iron.

Table 41. Debit Accounts for Raw Materials, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
White, John	1	$389.61	corn
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$202.96	rye
Turnpike Company	4	$121.34	iron, steel, oats, and rye
Buckley, John	1	$49.95	oats
Love, John	1	$29.97	corn
Davis, Benjamin R.	1	$29.04	corn
Grigsby, Nimrod	6	$19.29	iron, oats, and corn
Sangster, George	3	$12.49	hide (cow)
Marshall, Richard	3	$11.45	iron and corn
Wigginton, Russel	2	$10.27	iron
Gant, Thomas	4	$8.37	corn and hay
Mathers, Benjamin	2	$7.35	iron
Peake, Humphrey	1	$3.00	iron
Jett, Peter	1	$2.62	rye
Harris, Alexander	1	$1.79	iron
Marshall, John	1	$1.17	oats
King	1	$1.00	corn
Goram, Henson	1	$0.87	oats

Table 42. Credit Accounts for Raw Materials, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Washington, Henry	1	$449.55	corn
McKay, Enos	3	$422.74	iron and rye
White, John	6	$132.03	corn
Britton Store Cash Acct	9	$94.78	all grains and metals
Carter, Wormley	1	$53.28	hay
Foley, Presley	1	$49.95	corn
Buckley, John	4	$48.70	oats and rye
Simpson, Joseph	7	$47.12	wheat, oats, and corn
Lane, Carr W.	6	$31.70	rye, corn, and hay
Love, John	2	$26.62	corn
Hancock, William	13	$21.10	corn, oats, and rye
Jett, Peter	2	$12.61	rye
Harris, Elijah	2	$10.53	corn
King, John	1	$5.99	corn
Britton, George	1	$5.33	rye
Marshall, Richard	1	$2.77	iron
Mitchel, Adam	1	$2.00	rye
Hampton, John	1	$1.37	steel

Milling: Flour, Meal, Bran, and Shipstuff

Flour (ground from wheat) and meal (ground from corn) were the most frequent and most valuable mill products in 1813, together accounting for 77% of all mill transactions and $399.67 in sales (Table 43). The by-products of flour production, bran and shipstuff, were less important, but were still profitable. In particular, shipstuff yielded $7.90 per transaction on average, more than meal, which sold more than any other mill good but yielded on average only $5.28 per transaction. In some cases, flour was sold along with its by-products, especially when marketed as "fine" or "superfine" flour, as in John Love's sale of 1 barrel superfine flour, 1 barrel middlings (from the separated wheat germ), and 15 bushels oats for $16.48 on 3/28 or his sale of a barrel flour and 1,500 pounds shipstuff for $18.73 on 12/8. All mill products were shipped and sold in bulk quantities (Table 44). Flour and meal, the core commodities, were shipped by the barrel, while bran and shipstuff were measured in bushels and pounds, respectively.

Table 43. Range of Mill Transactions, 1813.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
bran	2	$ 1.52	$0.76	2.7%
flour	15	$ 177.89	$11.86	20.3%
meal	42	$ 221.78	$5.28	56.8%
shipstuff	6	$ 47.39	$7.90	8.1%
shipstuff and bran	5	$ 36.56	$7.31	6.8%
flour plus other mill goods	4	$ 81.67	$20.42	5.4%
TOTAL	74	$ 566.81		

Table 44. Average Cost per Unit of Mill Products, 1813.

Item	*Unit*	*Cost Per Unit*
bran	bushel (approx. 1/4 barrel)	$0.12
flour	barrel	$4-$8.24
meal	barrel	$3.75
shipstuff	pounds (lbs)	$0.01

Milling: Trends in 1813

Milled grain sales at the Britton Store were sporadic, displaying no real trend over the course of 1812 (Figure 35 and Table 45) but emphasizing that milled grains were available year-round. However, the average value of mill transactions was highest in May and June, following the same pattern as raw materials and asserting the connection between the sale of raw grains and the sale of milled grains (Figure 36). All sales of milled grains from May to June were credited to John White for meal, and some of these sales were quite large: $23.98 on 5/29; $26.97 on 6/8; $20.98 on 6/19; and $23.98 on 6/26.

Figure 35. Total Number of Mill Transactions per Month, 1813.

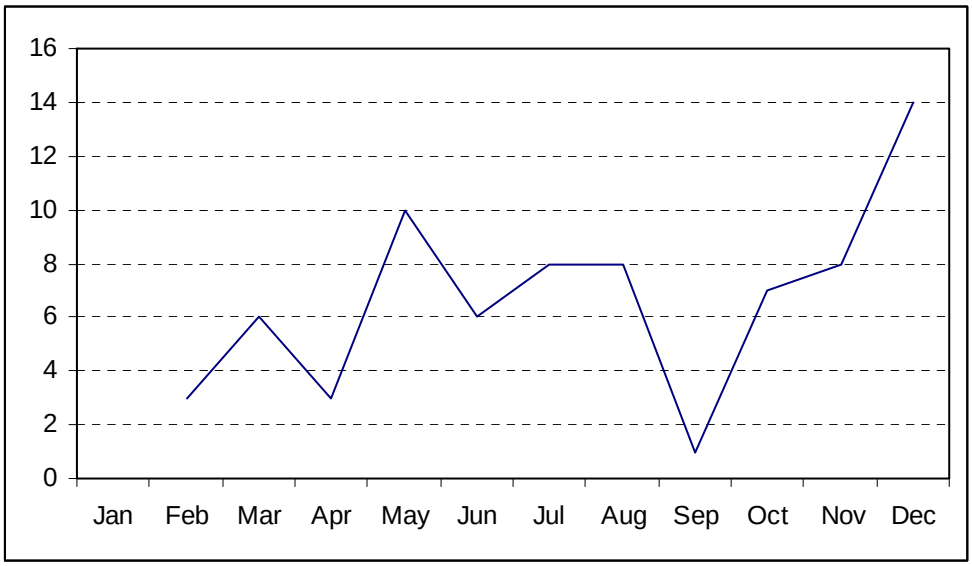
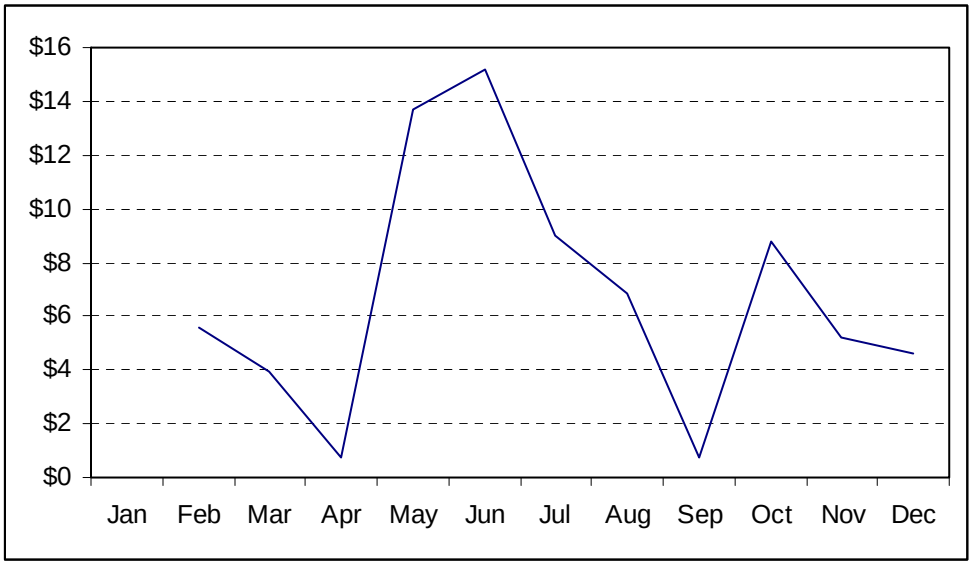


Table 45. Value of Mill Transactions, 1813.

1813 milling	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan			
Feb	$16.82	3	$5.61
Mar	$23.76	6	$3.96
Apr	$2.25	3	$0.75
May	$136.74	10	$13.67
Jun	$91.22	6	$15.20
Jul	$72.30	8	$9.04
Aug	$54.76	8	$6.84
Sep	$0.75	1	$0.75
Oct	$61.42	7	$8.77
Nov	$41.75	8	$5.22
Dec	$65.04	14	$4.65
df	9		
Pearson r	0.675		
r^2	0.455		

Figure 36. Average Price of Mill Transactions, 1813.



Milling: Top Account Holders in 1813

The most active purchasers of milled grains were the Turnpike Company (#1), which bought flour, and Thomas Gant (#2), who bought meal (Table 46). These two account holders may have been buying in bulk quantities for their workers or for transport. The remaining debit account holders include the familiar names of individuals who also had active debit and credit accounts for labor and raw materials. It may be possible that these smaller purchases represent quantities for household use. John Love and John White were by far the most important suppliers of milled grains to the Britton Store in 1813 (Table 47). Both men sold Britton a variety of mill products, with Love's sales including more flour and White's sales including more meal.

Table 46. Debit Accounts for Mill, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Turnpike Company	3	$ 44.21	flour
Gant, Thomas	23	$ 22.17	meal
Hancock, William	2	$ 6.87	meal and flour
Mitchel, Adam	1	$ 4.12	meal
Goram, Henson	4	$ 3.93	meal
Harris, Jesse	1	$ 2.91	flour
Harris, Levi	1	$ 1.40	flour
Marshall, John	1	$ 0.37	meal
Broombough, John	1	$ 0.33	bran

Table 47. Credit Accounts for Mill, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Love, John	18	$255.99	flour, shipstuff, and bran
White, John	18	$231.75	meal, shipstuff, and flour
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$14.99	shipstuff
McKay, Enos	1	$8.24	flour
Carter, Wormley	1	$5.49	flour

Whiskey: Trends in 1813

With the exception of James Wisehart's sale of $7.49 of gin to Britton on 28 October 1813, all sales of spirits that year were for whiskey, the principal product of the Buckland distillery (Table 48). Whiskey sales show no pattern except for a peak in total value and average transaction value in September (Table 49), due to John White's $52.45 purchase on 9/30. Ledger entries for whiskey do not include information on the units of volume sold in each transaction (pints, quarts, gallons, or barrels), but the consistently moderate to low average cost suggests purchases by the quart or gallon.

Table 48. Range of Distillery Transactions, 1813.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
whiskey	57	$159.20	$2.79	98%
making gin	1	$7.49	$7.49	2%
TOTAL	58	$166.69		

Table 49. Value of Whiskey/Spirits Transactions, 1813.

1813 whiskey	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	-	-	-
Feb	-	-	-
Mar	$2.75	5	$0.55
Apr	$1.62	5	$0.32
May	-	-	-
Jun	$34.40	12	$2.87
Jul	$19.98	5	$4.00
Aug	$2.23	8	$0.28
Sep	$61.40	6	$10.23
Oct	$12.43	10	$1.24
Nov	$7.08	1	$7.08
Dec	$16.88	5	$3.38

Whiskey: Top Account Holders in 1813

Whiskey, less important at the Britton Store than at the Hampton Store, did not attract the same number of buyers or transactions, and only a few individuals (Table 50) made significant purchases: John White (#1, $52.45); Adam Mitchel (#2, $25.25); and Thomas Gant (#3, $16.40). The most frequent purchasers bought smaller quantities: Nimrod Grigsby (5 purchases for $6.04); William Hancock (7 purchases for $5.43); Richard Marshall (10 purchases for $4.87); and Jesse Harris (6 purchases for $1.50). These were individuals who were already doing work for and business with Britton and the Turnpike Company (see Labor section). Few conclusions can be drawn from the list of credit account holders, except that the Britton Store Cash Account could only supply whiskey by purchasing it from another source, most likely the Hampton distillery (Table 51).

Table 50. Debit Accounts for Whiskey, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*
White, John	1	$52.45
Mitchel, Adam	5	$25.25
Gant, Thomas	9	$16.40
Turnpike Company	1	$7.93
Grigsby, Nimrod	5	$6.04
Hancock, William	7	$5.43
Marshall, Richard	10	$4.87
Harris, Jesse	6	$1.50
Trickey, Christopher	1	$1.00
Marshall, John	1	$0.75
Garner, Harry	2	$0.50
Goram, Henson	1	$0.37
Harris, Alexander	1	$0.37
Hancock, Samuel	1	$0.25
Harris, Elijah	1	$0.12
Harris, Levi	1	$0.11

Table 51. Credit Accounts for Whiskey, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Mitchel, Adam	2	$24.93	whiskey
Britton Store Cash Acct	3	$23.29	whiskey
Wisehart, James	1	$7.49	making gin
Hancock, William	1	$3.00	whiskey

Finance and Investments: Cash Payments and Turnpike Stock

Cash/finance transactions, the most valuable type of business conducted by George Britton, were dominated by cash payments and turnpike stock sales (Table 52). Expenses for Britton's

services and travel were also important, comprising nearly 9% of all transactions, and one of these, an invoice for $1,134.39 was so large that it is worthwhile to classify it separately. After all, expense transactions were generally inexpensive costs compared to the average stock payment of $95.15 or the average cash payment of $69.00. Balance errors and loans were generally expensive but rare, and all other types of transactions – taxes, contracts, rent, and settlements – were of minimal value and rare occurrence.

Table 52. Range of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1813.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
cash	76	$5,243.89	$69.00	67.9%
road stock	15	$1,427.21	$95.15	13.4%
invoice	1	$1,134.39	$1,134.39	0.9%
error	2	$160.26	$80.13	1.8%
loan	1	$44.96	$44.96	0.9%
expenses	10	$26.07	$2.61	8.9%
note	1	$22.69	$22.69	0.9%
taxes	1	$6.58	$6.58	0.9%
contract	1	$6.08	$6.08	0.9%
lodging/rent	2	$5.49	$2.75	1.8%
settlement	2	$3.77	$1.89	1.8%
TOTAL	112	$8,081.38		

Finance and Investments: Trends in 1813

Ignoring Britton's expensive $1,134.39 invoice to the Turnpike Company in February, cash/finance transactions display a steady increase throughout the year (Figure 37). Because cash payments varied widely in value, this pattern was not correlated to the frequency of cash/finance transactions, and in fact, as many transactions took place between February and May as took place from November to December (Table 53). Transactions were most valuable on average from August to October (Figure 38), due to two large payments by Enos McKay - $483.52 and $699.30 – and John Hampton's purchase of stock for $452.88.

Figure 37. Total Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1813.

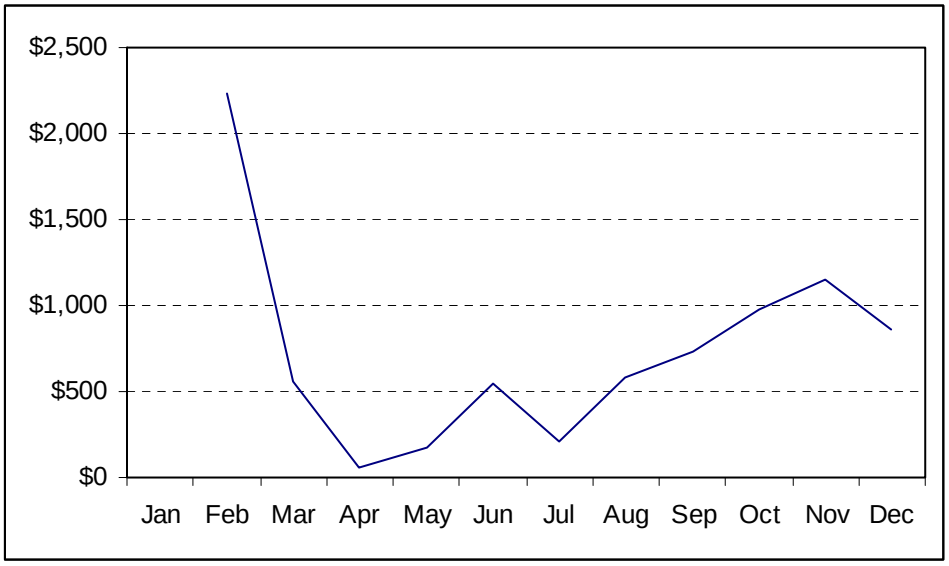
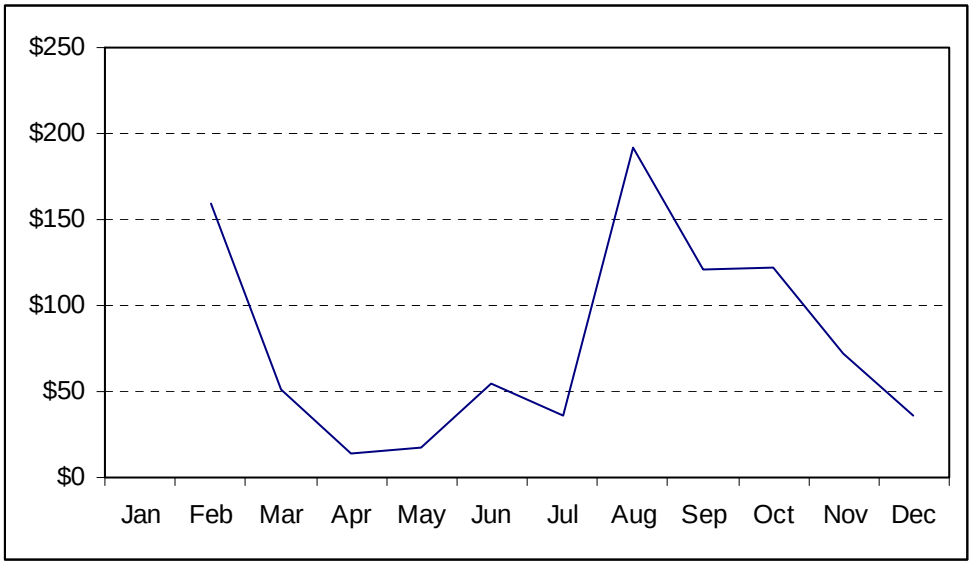


Table 53. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1813.

1813 finance	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	-	-	-
Feb	$2,227.74	14	$159.12
Mar	$560.41	11	$50.95
Apr	$53.82	4	$13.46
May	$169.08	10	$16.91
Jun	$551.60	10	$55.16
Jul	$214.41	6	$35.74
Aug	$576.60	3	$192.20
Sep	$727.20	6	$121.20
Oct	$980.85	8	$122.61
Nov	$1,156.68	16	$72.29
Dec	$862.99	24	$35.96
df	9		
Pearson r	0.463		
r^2	0.214		

Figure 38. Average Price of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1813.



Finance and Investments: Top Account Holders for 1813

Debit accounts for cash, loans, and other financial exchanges show those with the most financial obligation to Britton and also the nature of their obligation (Table 54). Because Britton's ledger recorded the annual business of the Turnpike Company, this account was obviously the most active, encompassing 73 cash/finance transactions worth a total of $6,310.79. Half of the remaining debit accounts represent turnpike investors and their purchases of stock. John Hampton, store owner and whiskey and cloth entrepreneur, purchased the most stock, distributing much of it to other residents in Buckland (as noted in the margins of the ledger). If the other 1813 stockholders were anything like Hampton – men with capital and burgeoning local mercantile enterprises – they must have had more than a superficial incentive to invest in a new road that would bring greater trade in and out of the region. Adam Mitchel's October and November payments for the lodging of road/bridge workers Fryer and Price are interesting reminders of the Britton Store's focus on transportation and labor.

Credit accounts for cash/finance transactions show those individuals and companies who fulfilled their payments and obligations to Britton (Table 55). Aside from George Britton himself, Enos McKay (#1) and John Hampton (#3) provided the most capital to the Britton Store and Turnpike Company, McKay by his delivery of cash and raw materials (namely iron and rye) and Hampton by his payments and collection of stock from area residents. John Love (#6) not only contributed $429.25 on his own behalf but also $159.84 in partnership with Hampton and $5.00 in partnership with Hill. Henry Washington (#5), supplier of wheat, also supplied $449.55 in cash, while the Turnpike Company (#7) account itself, though mostly a generator of expenses (Table 54), proved valuable in providing revenue, too. The remaining cash/finance credit accounts include familiar names from other types of business transactions and highlight the overlap between cash/finance exchanges and commodity exchanges.

Table 54. Debit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Turnpike Company	73	$6,310.79	cash and expenses
Hampton, John	1	$452.88	stock
Lane, William	2	$139.86	stock
Carter, Wormley	2	$106.56	stock
Cundiff, William	2	$99.90	stock
Brooks, William	1	$95.21	stock
Hancock, William	2	$93.24	stock
Ball, Spencer	2	$73.26	stock
King, John	2	$68.27	loan and stock
Adams, George	1	$37.85	cash
Britton, George	2	$10.43	cash
Hamilton, Robert	1	$9.99	cash
Lane, Carr W.	1	$7.49	cash
Sheriff	1	$6.58	taxes
Gant, Thomas	1	$6.08	contract
Mitchel, Adam	2	$5.49	lodging
McKay, Enos	1	$3.66	cash
Hill, John	1	$2.39	cash
Britton Store Expenses	1	$2.00	expenses
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$1.53	settlement

able 55. Credit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1813.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
McKay, Enos	11	$2,377.39	cash
Britton, George	10	$1,472.28	cash
Hampton, John	14	$1,425.12	stock and cash
Britton Store Cash Acct	26	$465.71	expenses and stock
Washington, Henry	2	$449.55	cash
Love, John	10	$429.25	cash
Turnpike Company	5	$181.42	cash
Hampton and Love	2	$159.84	cash
Neale, Christopher	2	$89.74	cash
Hutchinson and Bennett	1	$49.95	cash
Hunton, James	1	$26.97	cash
Cundiff, William	1	$22.98	cash
Marshall, Richard	1	$22.69	note
Brooks, William	5	$13.61	cash
Hancock, John O.	2	$10.95	cash
Wisehart	1	$9.99	cash
Sangster, George	1	$5.99	cash
Carter, Wormley	1	$5.49	cash
Love and Hill	1	$5.00	cash
Buckley, John	1	$2.25	settlement
Harris, Elijah	1	$1.53	settlement
Peake, Humphrey	1	$1.25	cash
Hooe, Bernard	1	$0.42	error
Richardson, H.W.	1	$0.23	cash

IV. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1814

Sample Summary

An overview of the 1814 Britton Store Ledger sample shows a relatively even distribution, with the greatest numbers of recorded transactions occurring at the very beginning and end of the year, in January and December (Figure 39). This pattern may reflect winter or end-of-year account balance payments and loans. The rise in transactions is matched by similar peaks in the monetary value of transactions in January and December, although there was also a rise in the monetary value of transactions in June and October (Figure 40). A graph of average monthly transaction prices shows the same trends, with a pronounced peak in June (Figure 41). Three specific transactions account for the high January 1814 transaction values: two payments made by George Britton to himself for his salary on 1/5 (one for $874.13 and the other for $1,127.21) and Enos McKay's purchase of $599.40 of Turnpike road stock on 1/7. Three transactions also explain the high December 1814 transaction values: John White's loan of $450 on 12/16; John Hampton's collection of $1,332.00 of road stock from investors on the 12/23; and $599.40 for George Britton's salary on 12/29. One transaction accounts for the high June 1814 values: $3,146.02 of road stock given on 6/29 to Walter A. Smith by Thomas Britton to collect from investors.

Figure 39. Transactions per Month, 1814.

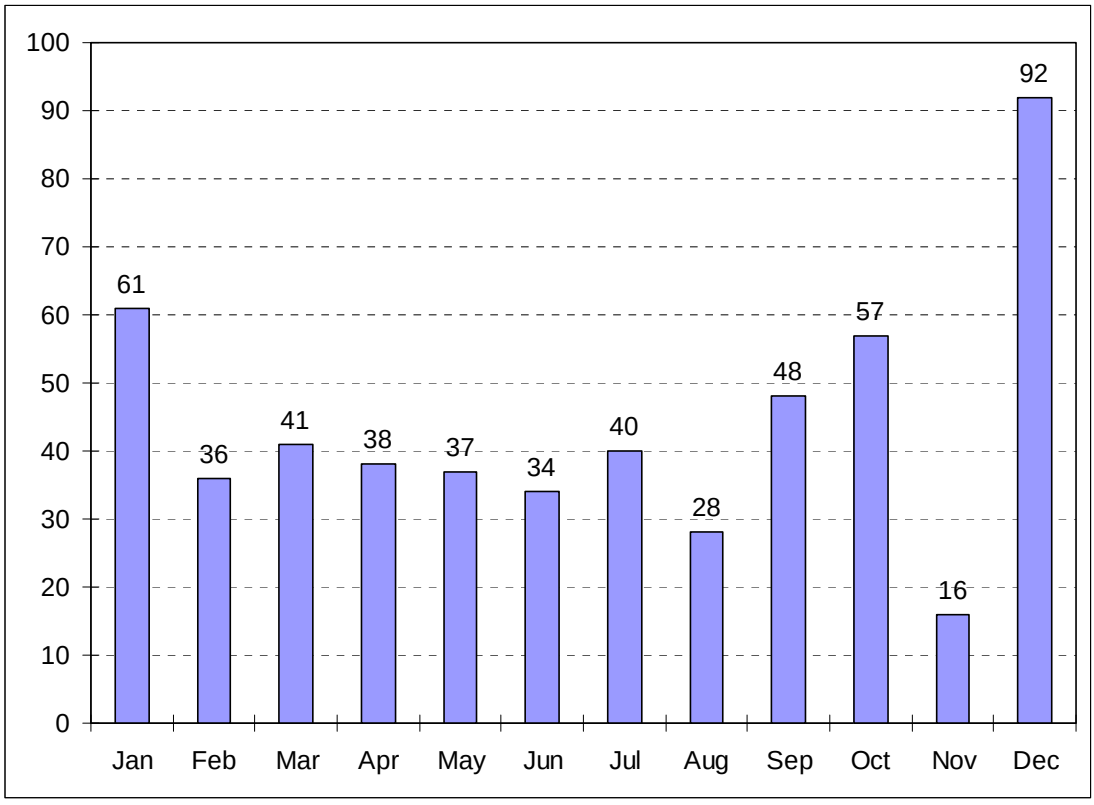


Figure 40. Value of Transactions in all Categories, 1814.

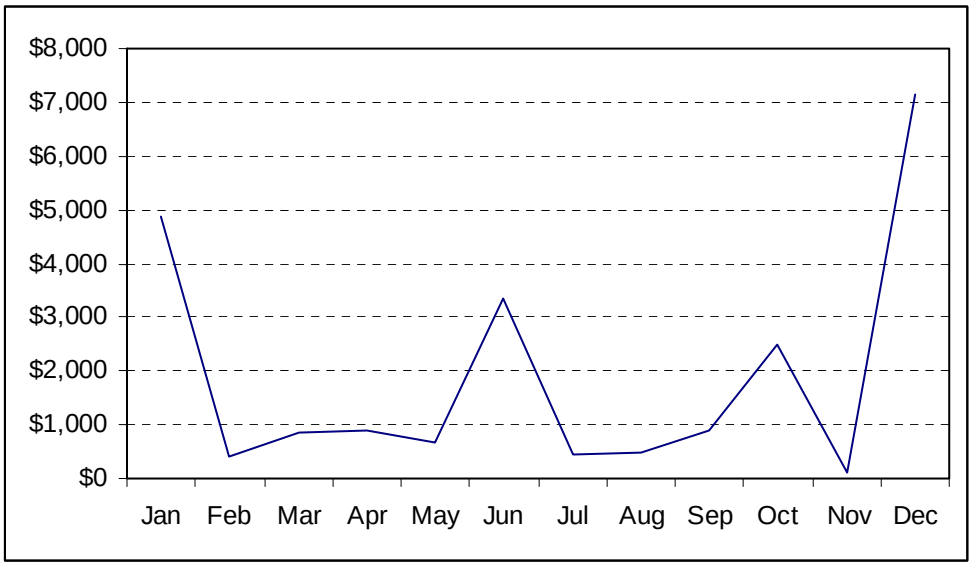
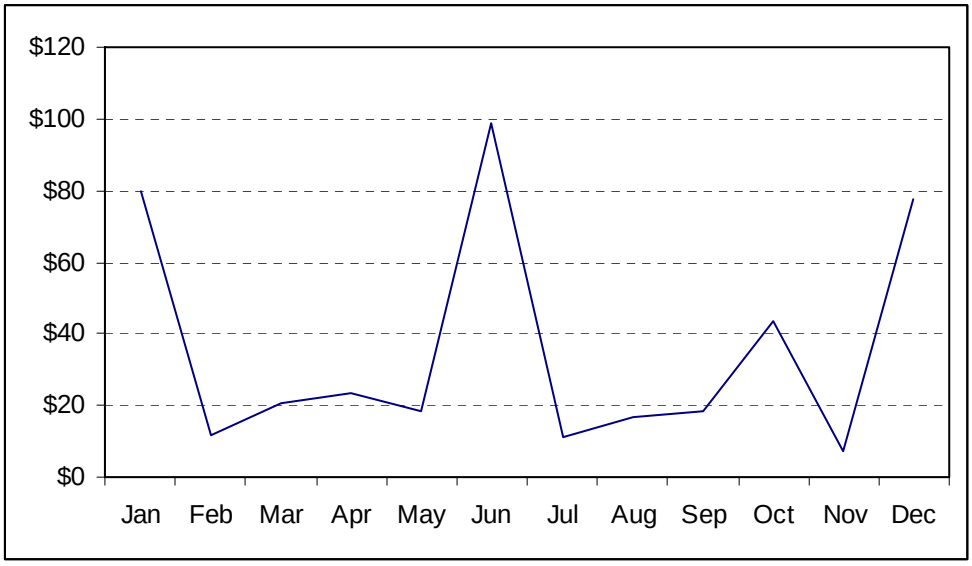


Figure 41. Average Value of Transactions, 1814.



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Labor, Raw Materials, Small Manufactures, and Investments at the Britton Store and Turnpike Company, 1814

Table 56 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 42 shows that over the course of 1814, the most frequently recorded transactions in the Britton Store were for non-manufactured goods (n=145), and small manufactures (n=86). Next in importance were cash/finance (n=82) and raw material

(n=59) transactions. The Britton Store retained its range of goods of services from 1813, with some slight shifts, namely in what would seem to be a decrease in the importance of labor and an increase in small manufactures. However, the monetary value of each transaction category reveals that labor remained integral to business at the Britton Store and Turnpike Company.

Figure 43, outlining the total dollar value of each category in 1814, shows that the most valuable categories were cash/finance, labor, non-manufactured goods, and raw materials. Although labor exchanges comprised only 9% of all transactions in 1814, they accounted for $4,335.40 in total value, nearly 20% of all the money exchanged at the Britton Store that year. Cash/finance transactions were the most valuable at $12,505.65 total, and comprised 15.5% of all 1814 transactions, remarkably similar to the 15% proportion of cash/finance transactions in 1813. As in 1813, labor, raw materials, and transport brought high average prices per transaction – $94.68, $22.76, and $18.91 respectively – again emphasizing the Britton store's affiliation with the turnpike and bulk shipping. Cloth and whiskey, financially unimportant in 1813, were still relatively infrequent but were more valuable in 1814 and brought average prices of $14.76 and $8.68 per transaction, respectively. Milled grains continued to have moderate value in 1814 and made up nearly 7% of all transactions.

Figure 44 depicts the median dollar value and comparative spread for transactions in each category for 1814 (boxes inscribe 50% of all transactions for a given category). This box plot reaffirms the importance of finance, labor, raw materials, and transport in the Britton account book. All of these categories had high average values and central ranges (meaning that 50% of transactions in each category were also of high cash value) for 1814. The wide price ranges for small manufactures and non-manufactured goods suggest that despite the lower price of these items at the Britton Store, the local demand and availability of these goods made them an important source of revenue. The frequency, values, and ranges of transactions together indicate that the success of the Britton Store in 1814 depended on labor, raw materials, small manufactures, and finance. However, because the 1814 sample contains a representative and fairly even assortment of transaction types (Figure 40), it is possible to give some extra consideration to milling and distilling at Buckland after a review of labor, raw materials, and small manufactures.

Table 56. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1814.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	16	$236.13	$14.76	3.0%
distillery	24	$208.35	$8.68	4.5%
mill	36	$220.77	$6.13	6.8%
tannery	12	$145.97	$12.16	2.3%
small manufactures	86	$717.52	$8.34	16.3%
raw material	59	$1,342.70	$22.76	11.2%
transport	22	$416.01	$18.91	4.2%
labor unspecified	46	$4,355.40	$94.68	8.7%
non-manufacturing	145	$2,472.78	$17.05	27.5%
cash/finance	82	$12,505.65	$152.51	15.5%
TOTAL	528	$22,621.28		

Figure 42. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1814.

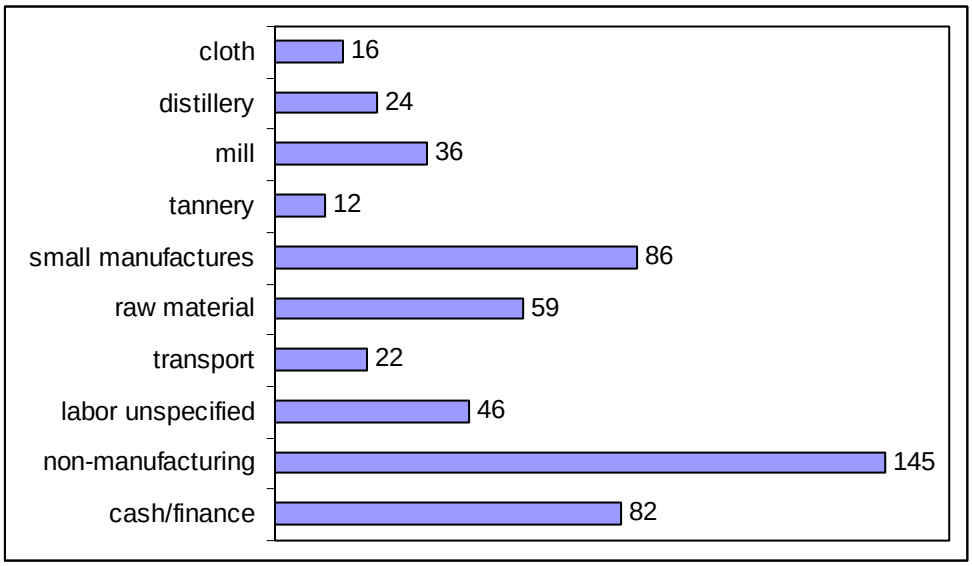


Figure 43. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1814.

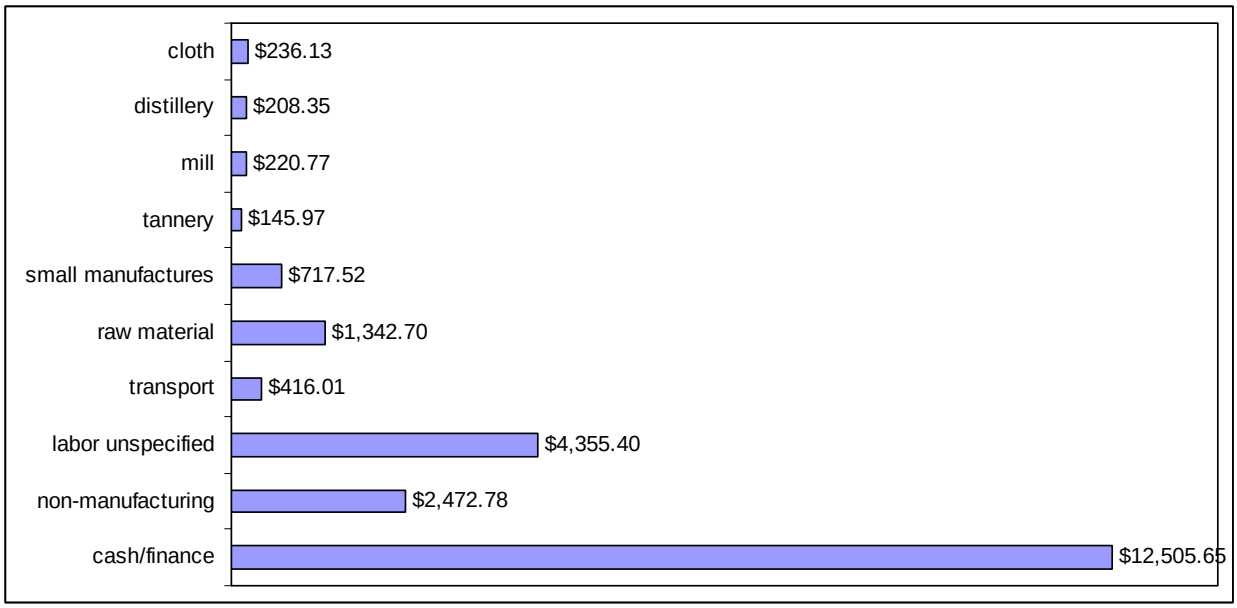
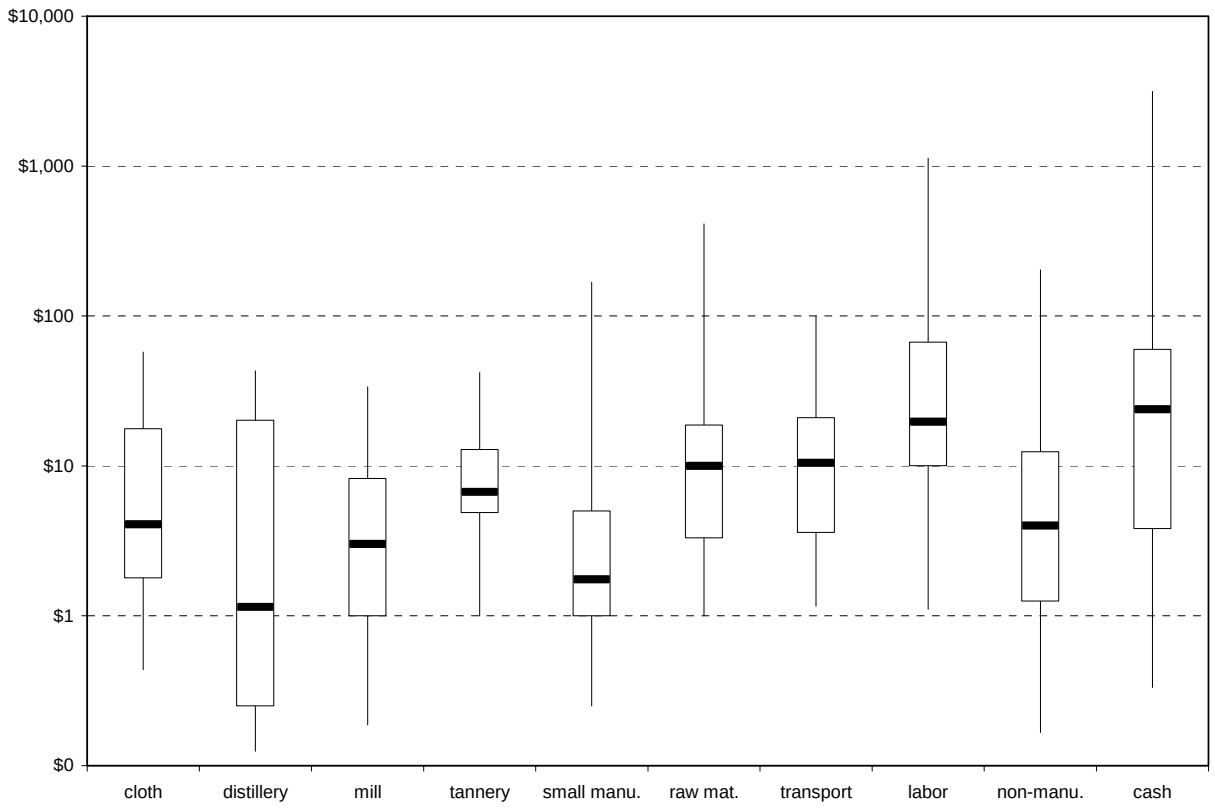


Figure 44. Averages and Distributions of Transaction Dollar Value in Each Category, 1814.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Britton Store (and Buckland) in 1814

Labor: Professional Services and Hired Work

Hired labor continued to be important at the Britton Store in 1814, comprising 63% of all labor transactions, but professional services accounted for considerably higher payments - $3,249.08 total (Table 57). George Britton himself received (or paid himself) the most money for his professional services, which included the management of his and the Turnpike Company's accounts (Table 58). Every other free person who received payments for professional or personal services had their work paid in one transaction, whether for a single job or continuous service throughout the year. Charles Ogdon received $199.80 for collecting tolls throughout the year, Dr. Philip A. Klipstine received $19.98 for "family services," John Love received $11.24 for farm work, and Mr. or Mrs. Read received $9.99 for "schooling," probably having tutored Britton's children that year. Henry W. Richardson and Thomas Gant each received large sums for unspecified services which might have included anything from hauling goods to and from market, providing materials, or raising capital. The slaves who were hired to do general labor for Britton and the Turnpike Company included a different group of individuals (and owners) from the slaves who were hired in 1813, with the exception of Dick, a slave of Charles Ewell, who

was hired both years (Table 59). The high payments and small number of transactions (one or two for each laborer) indicate that the slave owners received their payments in one sum for a year's work, with the exception of Robert Hambleton's (alternately spelled Hamilton) Cain and Anne Barker's Ben and Moore, who were each hired for shorter periods.

Table 57. Range of Labor Transactions, 1814.

Labor	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
services (personal/professional)	15	$3,249.08	$216.61	32.61%
work (hired slave/laborer)	29	$1,085.09	$37.42	63.04%
farm (crop cut and handsaw)	1	$11.24	$11.24	2.17%
schooling	1	$9.99	$9.99	2.17%
TOTAL	46	$4,355.40		

Table 58. Professional and Personal Services, 1814.

Service Provider	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Service*
Britton, George	11	$2,696.30	$245.12	managing store and turnpike accounts
Ogdon, Charles	1	$ 199.80	$199.80	collecting tolls (for one year)
Richardson, Henry W.	1	$ 133.20	$133.20	unspecified
Gant, Thomas	1	$ 199.80	$199.80	unspecified (for one year)
Klipstine, Philip A.	1	$ 19.98	$19.98	"family services" (physician)
Love, John	1	$ 11.24	$11.24	farm (cutting crops and hand sawing)
Read	1	$ 9.99	$9.99	schooling/education

Table 59. Recorded Names of Hired Slaves, 1814.

Laborer	*# Transactions*	*End of Year Pay*	*Account(s) Credited*
Nathan	1	$79.92	Beckwith, William E.
Bob	1	$61.19	Harding, Edward
Dick	2	$60.94	Ewell, Charles
Joe	1	$54.95	Britton, George
John	1	$45.95	Whaley, George
Jim	2	$34.97	Grigsby, Nimrod
Lewis	1	$33.30	Read, Mrs.
Ellis	1	$28.76	Settle, James
Cain	1	$5.16	Hambleton, Robert
Ben & Moore	1	$1.10	Barker, Anne

Labor: Trends in 1814

The steady and minimal number of labor transactions throughout most of 1814, followed by a dramatic peak at the end of the year, reveals that most workers or owners were paid in one sum for a year's work (Figure 45). The number of hires and total value of payments were strongly correlated (r=0.772) for each month, showing that rates of pay were predictable and did not fluctuate widely throughout the year (Table 60).

Figure 45. Total Number of Labor Transactions, 1814.

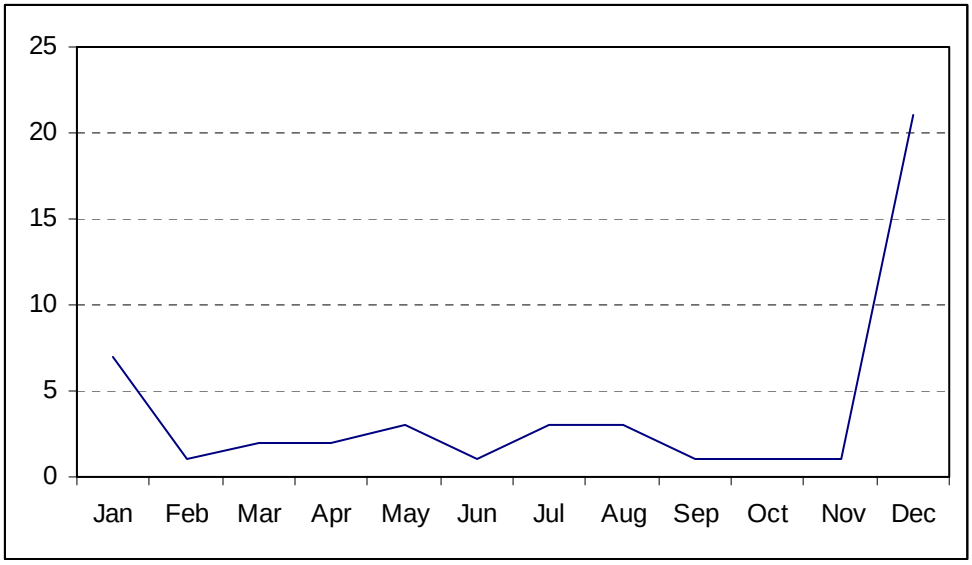


Table 60. Value of Labor Transactions, 1814.

1814 labor	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$2,274.49	7	$324.93
Feb	$12.99	1	$12.99
Mar	$30.97	2	$15.48
Apr	$8.24	2	$4.12
May	$41.38	3	$13.79
Jun	$8.24	1	$8.24
Jul	$34.13	3	$11.38
Aug	$88.90	3	$29.63
Sep	$8.99	1	$8.99
Oct	$5.16	1	$5.16
Nov	$9.99	1	$9.99
Dec	$1,831.92	21	$87.23
df	10		
Pearson r	0.772		
r^2	0.596		

Labor: Top Account Holders in 1814

Debit accounts for labor in 1814 show that the Turnpike Company paid significantly more for labor than any other individual or group recorded in the ledger, paying a total of $1,207.29 for professional services and general hires (Table 61). Most of the other debit payments were for hired slave labor, with the exception of George Britton's hire by the Turnpike Lottery Managers to facilitate a survey of the road for $23.98 on 26 March 1814 and Britton's payment of $9.99 on 13 December 1814 to Mr. or Mrs. Read for the schooling of his children. Credit accounts for labor illustrate once more the frequency of Britton's own services in the ledger, unsurprising as the account book was his personal balance sheet (Table 62). Many of the other credit accounts are the same individuals who appear as professionals or slave owners in Tables 44 and 45, although some are certainly other free laborers, such as Elijah Fryer, who in late 1813 had rented lodgings in the town while he was doing work on the road, his stay paid for by Adam Mitchel.

Table 61. Debit Accounts for Labor, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Services*
Turnpike Company	5	$1,207.29	professional & hired slave labor
Lottery Managers	1	$23.98	professional (George Britton)
Ewell, Charles	1	$12.99	hired slave labor
Mathers, Benjamin	1	$10.27	hired slave labor
Britton, George	1	$9.99	schooling/education
Hamilton, Robert	1	$9.99	hired slave labor
Barbee, Andrew R.	1	$6.99	hired slave labor
Robinson, James	1	$5.00	hired slave labor
Barker, Anne	1	$1.10	hired slave labor

Table 62. Credit Accounts for Labor, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Service*
Britton, George	12	$2,751.25	professional services and hired slave
Gant, Thomas	1	$199.80	services
Ogdon, Charles	1	$199.80	services
Richardson, Henry W.	1	$133.20	services
Martin, James	1	$120.60	hired labor
Hill, John	1	$119.88	hired labor
Montgomery, Francis	1	$109.89	hired labor
Beckwith, William E.	1	$79.92	hired labor
Cundiff, William	1	$71.93	hired cart work
Wiatt, Hannah	1	$66.85	hired labor
Murphy, John	1	$66.60	hired labor

Harding, Edward	1	$61.19	hired labor
Ewell, Charles	1	$47.95	hired labor
Whaley, George	1	$45.95	hired labor
Read	2	$43.29	schooling and hired slave
Borland, William	1	$30.96	hired labor
Britton Store Cash Acct	3	$30.72	hired labor
Settle, James	1	$28.76	hired labor
Hambleton, Robert	1	$24.98	hired labor
Klipstine, Philip A.	1	$19.98	physician
Goram, Henson	1	$13.99	hired labor
Fortune, Alburn	1	$11.28	hired labor
Love, John	1	$11.24	farm work
Wigginton, Russel	1	$10.27	hired labor
Harris, Henry	1	$8.99	hired labor
Fryer, Elijah	1	$6.99	hired labor
Lane, Carr W.	1	$6.99	hired labor
Grigsby, Nimrod	1	$5.16	hired labor

Raw Materials: Grains, Metals, Hay/Straw, and Hides

Grains and metals continued to be the most important raw materials consumed and exchanged at the Britton Store in 1814, with corn and iron being the two most valuable commodities in total sales (Table 63). Oats and straw were also important, yielding high average transaction prices - $28.95 and $25.67, respectively – but these were less frequently purchased. Hides appear to have become more profitable at the Britton Store in 1814 than they had been in 1813 (Table 64), making up nearly 14% of all raw materials and yielding total sales comparable to those of hay and bar iron.

Table 63. Range of Raw Material Transactions, 1814.

Item	*Material Type*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
corn	grains	24	$ 751.19	$31.30	40.7%
oats	grains	4	$ 115.80	$28.95	6.8%
rye	grains	5	$ 55.92	$11.18	8.5%
hay	farm/stable	1	$ 17.98	$17.98	1.7%
straw	farm/stable	4	$ 102.69	$25.67	6.8%
iron	metal	11	$ 225.52	$20.50	18.6%
bar iron	metal	2	$ 36.55	$18.27	3.4%
calf skin	hide	1	$ 2.00	$2.00	1.7%
hide	hide	7	$ 29.35	$4.19	11.9%
TOTAL		59	$1,337.00		

Table 64. Proportion of Each Raw Material Type Sold, 1814.

Material Type	*Percentage of Sample*
grains	55.9%
farm/stable	8.5%
metal	22.0%
hide	13.6%

Raw Materials: Trends in 1814

Most sales of raw materials occurred in the spring and fall, with very few sales in the summer (Figure 46 and Table 65). March and April sales included several large transactions: William Cross' sale of 100.75 bushels of corn to Britton on 3/26 for $60.39; Enos McKay's sale of $91.30 in refuse iron on 3/28; and Henry Washington's sale of 145 barrels of corn on 4/11 for $412.09. September and October sales were not as dramatically large as these, but were instead consistently moderate in price, leading to overall high sales: three sales of corn by Henry Washington between $4.65 and $26.31 in price; two sales of rye by Carr W. Lane between $12 and $13; and two sales of corn by G. and R. Tyler between $14.65 and $16.65.

Figure 46. Total Number of Raw Material Transactions, 1814.

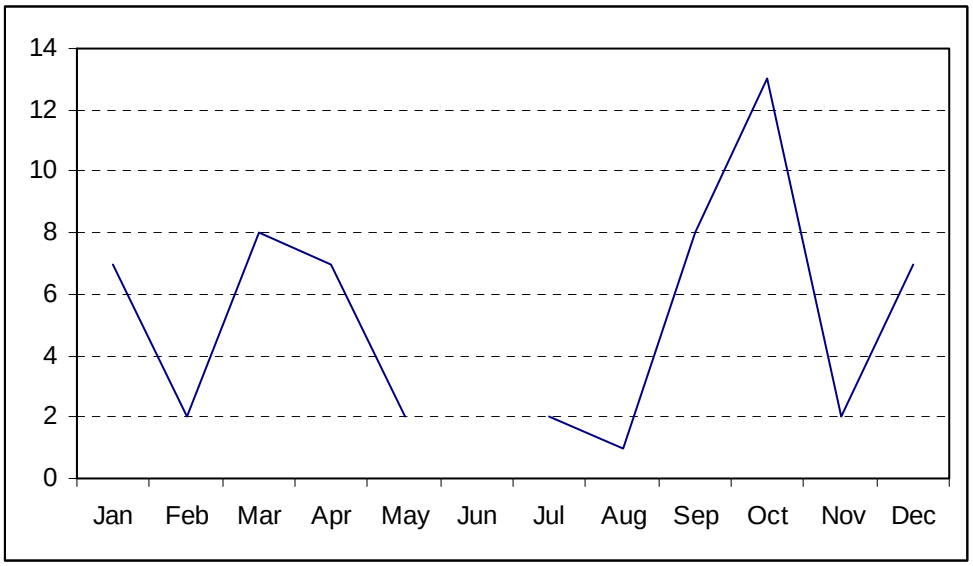


Table 65. Value of Raw Material Transactions, 1814.

1814 materials	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$120.82	7	$17.26
Feb	$9.92	2	$4.96
Mar	$227.01	8	$28.38
Apr	$495.16	7	$70.74
May	$6.66	2	$3.33
Jun	-	-	-
Jul	$36.28	2	$18.14
Aug	$2.96	1	$2.96
Sep	$96.47	8	$12.06
Oct	$127.91	13	$9.84
Nov	$6.20	2	$3.10
Dec	$213.30	7	$30.47
df	10		
Pearson r	0.527		
r^2	0.278		

Raw Materials: Top Account Holders in 1814

Debit accounts show that the Turnpike Company spent the most on raw materials (Table 66), particularly bulk corn and oats from William Cross, James Brewer, and a Mr. Matthews. Purchasers of iron included Walter A. Smith, William Cundiff, William Hancock, Benjamin Mathers, Henry Washington, Benjamin R. Davis, and Henson Goram. Purchasers of corn included William Cundiff, Thomas Gant, Nimrod Grigsby, and John Love. Tanners James Robinson and George Sangster bought hides. Credit accounts show that while John White was the most frequent provider of raw materials (corn and rye), Henry Washington's contributions of corn were by far the most valuable in total sales (Table 67). Eight other account holders provided corn, two others provided rye, three provided oats, three provided straw, and one (William Cundiff) provided hay. Tanner James Robinson was the sole provider of calf skin. Providers of iron included Enos McKay, the Britton Cash Account, John Love, and Russell Wigginton.

Table 66. Debit Accounts for Raw Materials, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Turnpike Company	3	$117.38	corn and oats
Smith, Walter A.	2	$50.80	metal
Cundiff, William	2	$34.69	iron and corn
Hancock, William	1	$33.99	bar iron
Gant, Thomas	4	$26.64	corn
Robinson, James (Tanner)	6	$26.30	hides
Mathers, Benjamin	2	$16.68	iron

Washington, Henry	1	$4.65	iron
Davis, Benjamin R.	1	$3.82	iron
Sangster, George	1	$3.05	hides
Goram, Henson	1	$2.29	iron
Grigsby, Nimrod	1	$1.67	corn
Love, John	1	$1.00	corn

Table 67. Credit Accounts for Raw Materials, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Washington, Henry	4	$453.03	corn
McKay, Enos	2	$120.59	iron
Cundiff, William	3	$92.07	hay and oats
Carter, Wormley	1	$84.35	rye straw
Cross, William	2	$80.37	corn
Matthews	1	$70.35	corn
White, John	9	$65.77	corn and rye
Lane, Carr W.	4	$44.56	rye and corn
Smith, Walter A.	2	$38.63	oats and corn
Tyler, G. & R.	2	$31.30	corn
Brewer, James	1	$27.06	oats
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$19.48	iron
Love, John	2	$13.79	bar iron and cut straw
Gant, Thomas	2	$13.74	corn
Cross, Reid	1	$10.99	corn
Barbee, Andrew R.	1	$10.36	rye
Lewis, Coleman	2	$7.10	straw
Robinson, James	1	$2.00	calf skin
Wigginton, Russell	1	$1.80	iron

Small Manufactures: Wagons, Barrels, Tools, Saddles, and Clothing

Wheelwright and cooper products (wagons, carts, axels, shipping boxes, and barrels) were the two most lucrative trades at the Britton Store in 1814, yielding the highest total sales and average price per transaction (Table 68). Given Britton's emphasis on transportation, the prevalence of wagons and barrels in the ledger accounts makes sense. These were not the most common small manufactures, however. Blacksmith goods made up 29.1% of all small manufactures and were third in overall sales, but these products had relatively low average prices ($4.24). Plough plates, shovels, and blades, however, were highly valuable blacksmith products, accounting for a total of $57.28 in sales (Table 69). Saddles were important goods, making up $33.97 in total sales. Clothes and shoes, like blacksmith products, were more frequent purchases than wagon parts or barrels, but these two were of moderate value, reflecting personal purchases rather than business or freight expenses. The most lucrative tailored items were trousers and shirts.

Table 68. Proportion of Each Small Manufacture Trade, 1814.

Trade	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
wheelwright	11	$301.31	$27.39	12.8%
cooper	4	$170.83	$42.71	4.7%
blacksmith	25	$106.05	$4.24	29.1%
saddler	8	$46.87	$5.86	9.3%
tailor/clothier	13	$40.70	$3.13	15.1%
shoemaker	15	$36.01	$2.40	17.4%
carpenter/builder	6	$9.76	$1.63	7.0%
miscellaneous	3	$5.00	$1.67	3.5%
candle maker	1	$1.00	$1.00	1.2%
TOTAL	86	$717.52		

Table 69. Range of Small Manufactures Transactions, 1814.

Item	*Trade*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*
axe steeling/setting	blacksmith	5	$18.98	$3.80
crowbars/hammers	blacksmith	2	$8.43	$4.21
horse shoeing	blacksmith	3	$2.33	$0.78
miscellaneous blacksmith	blacksmith	4	$12.22	$3.06
nails	blacksmith	4	$6.60	$1.65
plough plate/shovel/blades	blacksmith	7	$57.48	$8.21
candles	candle maker	1	$1.00	$1.00
chisels	carpenter/builder	1	$0.77	$0.77
foot adze	carpenter/builder	1	$1.00	$1.00
plank	carpenter/builder	2	$6.49	$3.25
screw augers	carpenter/builder	1	$0.75	$0.75
window glass	carpenter/builder	1	$0.75	$0.75
barrels	cooper	2	$168.83	$84.42
cooperage	cooper	2	$2.00	$1.00
hardware (locks/watches)	miscellaneous	2	$3.75	$1.87
stretcher	miscellaneous	1	$1.25	$1.25
horse collars	saddler	1	$7.83	$7.83
plow lines	saddler	3	$2.25	$0.75
saddle	saddler	3	$33.97	$11.32
saddle blanket	saddler	1	$2.83	$2.83
mending shoes	shoemaker	4	$9.66	$2.41
shoemaker's tools	shoemaker	1	$1.62	$1.62
shoes	shoemaker	10	$24.73	$2.47
buttons	tailor/clothier	1	$4.00	$4.00
clothes	tailor/clothier	1	$4.50	$4.50
coats	tailor/clothier	1	$5.83	$5.83
hat	tailor/clothier	2	$5.24	$2.62
shirts	tailor/clothier	4	$9.76	$2.44
stockings/socks	tailor/clothier	1	$0.72	$0.72
trousers	tailor/clothier	3	$10.66	$3.55

cart making/repair	wheelwright	3	$49.45	$16.48
pads and gears	wheelwright	1	$5.00	$5.00
wagon wheels/tires	wheelwright	2	$8.10	$4.05
wagon work/making	wheelwright	5	$238.76	$47.75
TOTAL		86	$717.52	

Note that the most valuable small trades – wheelwright, cooper, blacksmith, and saddler – produced tools and goods that are directly necessary for the operation and shipping/transport of more intensive automated manufactures. The blacksmith's metal tools and components were used by wheelwrights, coopers, saddlers and carpenters whose wagons, wheels, planks, horse gear and barrels were essential for the mill and distillery to pack, store, and transport their bulk produce to market. Barrels were indispensable and wagons were particularly valuable in that owning one allowed the entrepreneur to move his or her own goods without hiring the hauling services of others – and furnished the opportunity to provide transport to other businesses for a fee. Clothing and shoes, though less expensive, were basic personal necessities, and appropriately, these trades account for 32.6% of the small manufactures bought at the Britton Store in 1814.

Small Manufactures: Trends in 1814

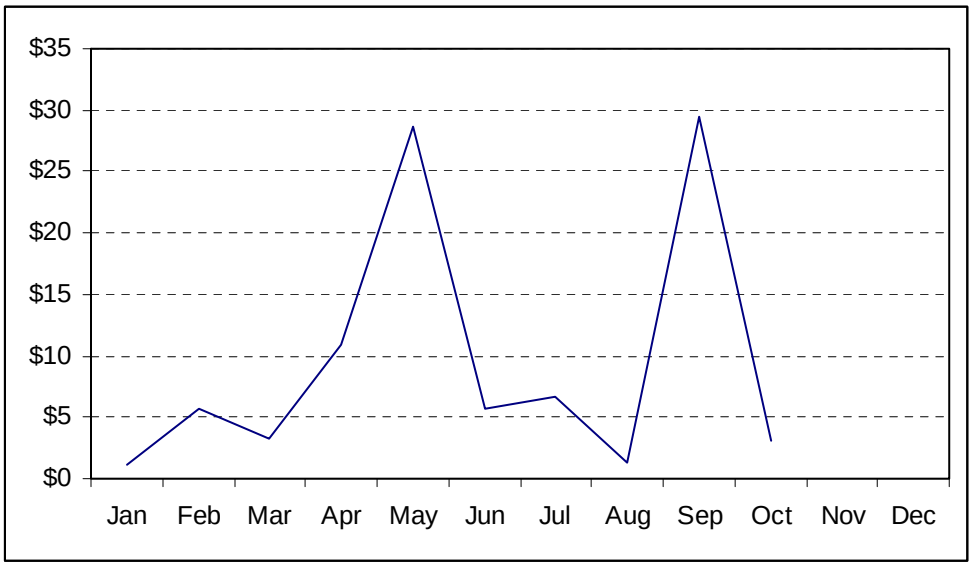
The number and total value of small manufacture transactions per month are poorly correlated (Table 70) and there are few discernible patterns. There are two peaks in the average value of transactions – one in May and one in September (Figure 47). During April and May wheelwright work accounts for the peak in small manufacturing business activity: Benjamin Mathers was credited for "ironing waggon" ($33.30) on 4/2/1814; George Roach was credited for selling John Love one wagon ($32.13) on 4/21/1814; and Adam Mitchel purchased "a new waggon" ($149.85) on 5/17/1814. The September peak is accounted for by one primary transaction, John Hampton's sale of 56 barrels at $3 each ($167.83 total) on 9/27/1814.

Table 70. Value of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1814.

1814	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$11.68	10	$1.17
Feb	$79.81	14	$5.70
Mar	$22.23	7	$3.18
Apr	$75.86	7	$10.84
May	$172.16	6	$28.69
Jun	$39.51	7	$5.64
Jul	$33.24	5	$6.65
Aug	$2.50	2	$1.25
Sep	$177.07	6	$29.51
Oct	$28.14	9	$3.13
Nov	-	-	-
Dec	$75.32	13	$5.79

df	10	
Pearson r	0.041365767	
r^2	0.002	

Figure 47. Average Price of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1814.



Small Manufactures: Top Account Holders in 1814

The three individuals who spent the most on small manufactures – Adam Mitchel, Walter A. Smith, and John Love – all purchased wagons and/or cart equipment (Table 71). George Britton's purchases (like those of the Turnpike Company) included multiple types of small manufactures, namely metal tools, clothing, candles, and saddle equipment. Interestingly, three debit account holders who purchased shoes were also account holders credited for hired labor – William Hancock, Hannah Wiatt, and Benjamin R. Davis – and notes in the ledger next to each transaction reveal that the shoes were for slaves. Credit accounts for small manufactures are useful for identifying the trades of many of the individuals in and around Buckland (Table 72). John Hampton, who had access to barrels at the distillery (and used them to pack and ship whiskey), supplied $168.83 in barrels to the Britton Store. John Love's supplies of carpentry and metal tools were next highest in value. Henson Goram, Benjamin Mathers, and George Roach were all potentially wheelwrights; Elizabeth Shaw, Mr. or Mrs. Revell, and Robert Hambleton were all potentially clothiers; George Smoot, William Brooks, and Warner Shackleford were all potentially shoemakers; and John Trone, Hugh Violet, Francis Montgomery, and James Martin were likely blacksmiths (Trone certainly was a blacksmith).

Table 71. Debit Accounts for Small Manufacture, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Mitchel, Adam	1	$149.85	wagon
Smith, Walter A.	2	$32.63	wagon/cart equipment
Love, John	1	$32.13	wagon
Turnpike Company	9	$26.93	various manufactures
Britton, George	5	$13.76	various manufactures
Cross, William	1	$11.99	saddle equipment
Barbee, Joseph	1	$8.74	shoes
Montgomery, Francis	1	$8.28	metal tools
Hill, John	2	$7.16	clothes
Gant, Thomas	3	$5.24	shoes and metal tools
Toll Gate (Centreville)	1	$5.00	carpentry
Cundiff, William	4	$4.50	metal tools
Hancock, Samuel	2	$3.51	metal tools
Hancock, William	3	$3.29	metal tools and shoes
Wiatt, Hannah	1	$2.25	shoes
Martin, James	1	$1.79	metal tools
Lane, Carr W.	2	$1.75	clothes
Trone, Peter	1	$1.75	shoes
Cash, William	1	$1.50	shoes
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$1.25	various manufactures
Harris, Rodham	1	$1.25	shoes
White, John	1	$0.65	metal tools
Shaw, Mary	1	$0.58	metal tools
Britton, Thomas	1	$0.42	shoes
Davis, Benjamin R.	1	$0.42	shoes

Table 72. Credit Accounts for Small Manufacture, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Hampton, John	2	$168.83	barrels
Love, John	6	$54.74	carpentry and metal tools
Goram, Henson	3	$40.29	wagons/wagon gear
Mathers, Benjamin	1	$33.30	wagons/wagon gear
Roach, George	1	$32.13	wagons/wagon gear
Smith, Walter A.	2	$23.98	saddlery
Shaw, Elizabeth	5	$17.57	clothes
Britton, George	3	$14.74	various manufactures
Smoot, George	2	$13.24	shoes and wagon gear
Trone, John	1	$11.99	metal tools
Brooks, William	4	$11.07	saddles and shoes
Mann, William	1	$9.99	saddlery
Violet, Hugh	2	$8.43	metal tools
Hancock, William	1	$6.10	wagons/wagon gear
Revell	1	$4.50	clothes
Hambleton, Robert	3	$3.49	clothes
Montgomery, Francis	2	$3.00	metal tools

Washington, Henry	1	$3.00	metal tools
Tyler, G. & R.	2	$2.00	metal tools
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$1.00	barrels
Shackleford, Warner	1	$0.75	shoes
Martin, James	1	$0.62	metal tools
Mattock, Widow	1	$0.25	saddlery

Milling: The Importance of Wheat and Flour in 1814

The majority (86%) of mill transactions at the Britton Store in 1814 involved the sale of milled wheat goods, the importance of corn meal having declined from its 1813 prominence in the ledger (Table 73). Flour was the most lucrative milled good and each of its by-products (shipstuff, middlings, and bran) was more valuable than meal. As in 1813, flour and meal were sold by the barrel, bran by the bushel, and shipstuff and middlings by pounds (Table 74). Thomas Gant was the most significant buyer of milled goods, purchasing both flour and meal in 17 separate transactions (Table 75). John Love was the most significant source of milled goods, providing flour, fine flour, shipstuff, middlings, and bran for a total of $96.31 in sales (Table 76). Other suppliers of flour included Enos McKay, John Sinclair, and Landon Carter, while John White provided the store with bran.

Table 73. Range of Mill Transactions, 1814.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
bran	3	$6.06	$2.02	8.6%
flour	22	$134.70	$6.12	62.9%
meal/corn meal	5	$4.41	$0.88	14.3%
shipstuff	3	$23.43	$7.81	8.6%
middlings	1	$15.65	$15.65	2.9%
flour plus other mill goods	1	$18.26	$18.26	2.9%
TOTAL	35	$202.51		

Table 74. Average Cost per Unit of Mill Products, 1814.

Item	*Unit*	*Cost Per Unit*
bran	bushel (approx. 1/4 barrel)	$0.17-$0.96
flour	barrel	$0.25-$5.00
meal	barrel	$0.67-$0.83
shipstuff	pounds (lbs)	$0.01
middlings	pounds (lbs)	$0.01

Table 75. Debit Accounts for Milling, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Gant, Thomas	17	$32.22	flour and corn meal
Turnpike Company	1	$18.26	shipstuff, bran, and flour
Shackleford, Warner	1	$0.75	corn meal

Table 76. Credit Accounts for Milling, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Love, John	11	$96.31	full range of mill products
McKay, Enos	2	$48.70	flour
Sinclair, John	2	$23.98	flour
Carter, Landon	4	$21.98	flour
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$5.49	flour
White, John	1	$0.34	bran

Whiskey: Whiskey, Barrels, and Brandy

The majority (75%) of spirits/distillery sales were for whiskey, which brought a higher average transaction price than brandy or barrels (Table 77). Barrels were of second most importance, making up 17% of all sales and a total of $18.90 in sales. Whiskey was almost always sold by the gallon, but the average purchase quantity of 33 gallons reveals that sales of whiskey at the Britton Store were actually by the barrel, as barrels typically contained between 31 and 32 gallons (Table 78). Carr W. Lane and the Turnpike Company bought bulk quantities of whiskey (Table 79). John Hampton bought barrels for the distillery, while Thomas Gant, Warner Shackleford, and Robert Hamilton each purchased smaller quantities, likely for personal or domestic consumption rather than re-sale or shipping. Not surprisingly, John Hampton was the most significant supplier of whiskey to the store, although John Love (a partner of Hampton), Enos McKay (a frequent importer of raw materials), and Hendrick (details unknown) also supplied bulk whiskey (Table 80). George Britton's acquisition of 13 gallons of brandy reflects his access to imports and exports.

Table 77. Range of Distillery Transactions, 1814.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
whiskey	18	$179.67	$9.98	75%
brandy	2	$9.78	$4.89	8%
barrels	4	$18.90	$4.72	17%
TOTAL	24	$208.35		

Table 78. Sizes (by volume) of whiskey purchases, 1814.

Unit of Volume	*# Transactions*	*$ Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Total Quantity*	*Avg. Quantity*	*Gallons*	*Percentage*
barrels	1	$22.39	$22.39	1	1	32	13.7%
gallons	6	$143.80	$23.97	199.75	33	199.75	85.4%
quarts	6	$1.53	$0.25	6	1	1.5	0.6%
pints	6	$1.75	$0.29	6	1	0.75	0.3%
TOTAL	19	$169.47				234	

Table 79. Debit Accounts for Distillery, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Lane, Carr W.	1	$23.60	31.5 gallons whiskey (1 barrel)
Turnpike Company	1	$19.98	whiskey
Hampton, John	3	$10.91	5 barrels; 8 tight barrels; 2 half barrels
Gant, Thomas	8	$2.28	5 pints & 2 quarts whiskey; 1 pint brandy
Shackleford, Warner	3	$0.75	3 quarts whiskey
Hamilton, Robert	1	$0.25	1 quart whiskey

Table 80. Credit Accounts for Distillery, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Hampton, John	4	$94.19	91.25 gallons and 1 barrel whiskey; 4 barrels
Love, John	1	$25.77	31 gallons whiskey
McKay, Enos	1	$21.98	33 gallons whiskey
Hendrick	1	$19.98	whiskey
Britton, George	1	$8.66	13 gallons brandy

Cloth: The Importance of Linen

In contrast to cloth sales in the preceding years, 1814 cloth transactions were dominated by linen fabrics and cotton cloth yielded a higher average cost per yard (Table 81). Britton and the Turnpike Company were the biggest buyers of cloth and cloth accessories like cards (Table 82). Robert Hamilton's and Mary Shaw's purchases of linen help to confirm their roles as clothiers, especially the note in Hamilton's 17 February 1814 ledger entry: "To 3 yd. linnen & making shirt for Jim." This note suggests that many of the other purchases of linen (such as those made by the Turnpike Company) may have been for the production of laborers' clothes. John Love was the most significant supplier of cloth, particularly specialty linens that he probably acquired

through his partnership with the Hamptons and their store (Table 83). Other fabric suppliers were John O. Hancock, George Britton, William Cundiff, and William Brooks.

Table 81. Range of Cloth Transactions, 1814.

Cloth/Product Type	*Material*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Yards*	*Avg Cost per Yard/Ell*
cards	N/A	1	$50.78	$50.78	-	-
cambric	cotton	2	$8.16	$4.08	7	$1.17
cloth	various	3	$5.27	$1.76	4.25	$1.24
hemp linen	hemp	1	$15.11	$15.11	33	$0.46
linen	linen	7	$73.79	$10.54	88.5	$0.83
Oznabrig	linen	1	$25.50	$25.50	88 ells	$0.29
Ticklenburg	linen	1	$57.53	$57.53	123 ells	$0.47
TOTAL		16	$236.13			

Table 82. Debit Accounts for Cloth, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Britton, George	4	$57.20	cards, cambric, cloth, and linen
Turnpike Company	1	$15.11	33 yards linen
Wrenn, John	1	$3.12	linen
Hill, John	1	$1.87	3 yards linen
Hamilton, Robert	1	$1.52	3 yards linen
Shaw, Mary	1	$1.31	3.5 yards linen

Table 83. Credit Accounts for Cloth, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Love, John	4	$91.18	Ticklenburg, Oznabrig, and cambric
Hancock, John O.	1	$48.98	linen
Britton, George	2	$30.22	linen
Cundiff, William	1	$4.37	cloth
Britton Store Cash Acct	1	$3.12	linen
Brooks, William	2	$0.90	cloth

Finance and Investments: Road Stock, Cash Payments, and Business Expenses

The most frequent and lucrative cash/finance transactions in 1814 were sales of turnpike stock (Table 84). Rent and loans were also valuable but rare, and the other most abundant transactions were cash payments and expenses, making up 26% and 16% of all transactions, respectively. As in previous years, cash/finance transactions varied widely in monetary value (Table 85) and there are few discernible patterns except for a peak at the end of the year when accounts were balanced (Figure 49). The June peak in total transaction values (Figure 48) was due to the transfer of $3,146.02 in turnpike stock to Walter A. Smith by Thomas Britton, George Britton's son, stock that was directed to be sold to area residents. The October peak was due to John Love's purchase of $2,077.92 in road stock for himself and others.

Table 84. Range of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1814.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
road stock	35	$10,897.88	$311.37	43%
rent	4	$544.37	$136.09	5%
loan	1	$449.55	$449.55	1%
cash	21	$288.31	$13.73	26%
account credits	1	$104.53	$104.53	1%
draft	1	$59.94	$59.94	1%
order	1	$56.11	$56.11	1%
note	2	$53.70	$26.85	2%
expenses	13	$38.39	$2.95	16%
tax on suit	1	$6.99	$6.99	1%
merchandise	2	$5.87	$2.93	2%
TOTAL	82	$12,505.65		

Figure 48. Total Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1814.

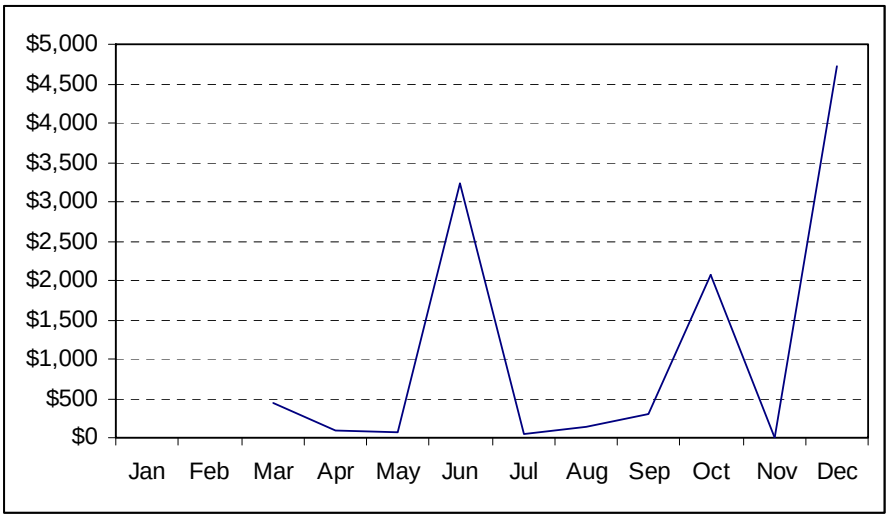
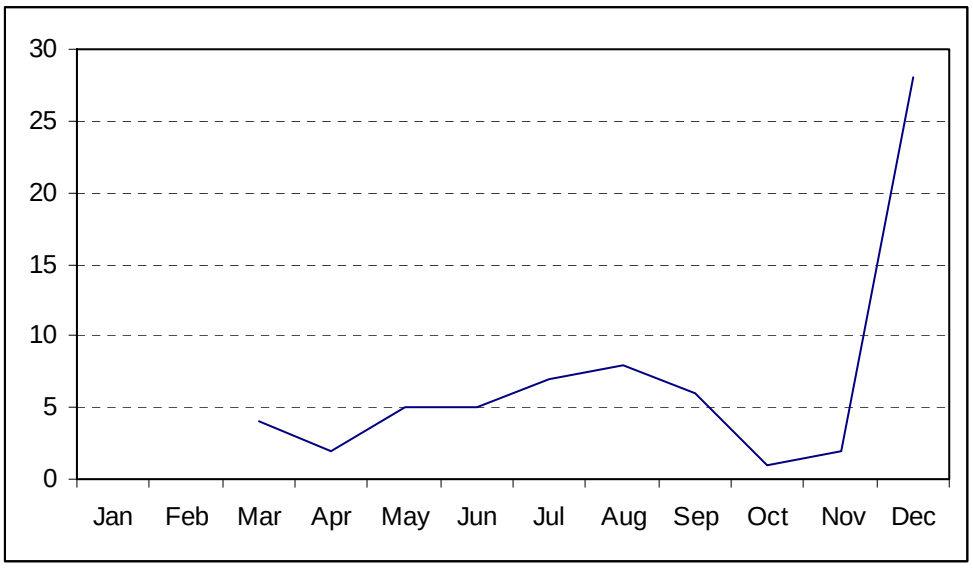


Table 85. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1814.

1814 finance	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Jan	$1,398.44	14	$99.89
Feb			
Mar	$431.28	4	$107.82
Apr	$84.92	2	$42.46
May	$64.02	5	$12.80
Jun	$3,239.40	5	$647.88
Jul	$37.75	7	$5.39
Aug	$136.49	8	$17.06
Sep	$306.82	6	$51.14
Oct	$2,077.92	1	$2,077.92
Nov	$6.70	2	$3.35
Dec	$4,721.91	28	$168.64

Figure 49. Number of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1814.



Finance and Investments: Top Account Holders in 1814

Debit accounts for cash/finance transactions in 1814 show another list of Fauquier & Alexandria Turnpike stockholders, representing residents of Buckland, Prince William County and the other surrounding counties (Table 86). The largest investments were made by Walter A. Smith, John Love, John Hampton, Enos McKay, Francis Montgomery, William Brooks, William Hancock, George Adams, and William Cundiff. Credit accounts for cash/finance transactions show those individuals and companies who fulfilled their payments and obligations to Britton (Table 87). Many of the most invested area businessmen appear in this list, including John Hampton (the

single greatest source of payments), Enos McKay, John White, George Britton, William Cundiff, and James Hunton.

Table 86. Debit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Smith, Walter A.	1	$3,146.02	road stock
Love, John	2	$2,237.76	road stock
Hampton, John	2	$1,710.91	road stock
Turnpike Company	28	$1,341.75	cash; expenses; rent; stock
McKay, Enos	1	$599.40	road stock
Montgomery, Francis	4	$170.50	road stock
Brooks, William	2	$133.20	road stock
Hancock, William	2	$133.20	road stock
Adams, George	1	$106.56	road stock
Cundiff, William	1	$79.92	road stock
Britton, George	6	$79.67	expenses; merchandise; rent
Watson, Josiah	1	$66.60	road stock
Carter, Landon	1	$59.94	draft
White, John	1	$59.94	road stock
Dean	1	$49.95	stock
Lewis, Coleman	1	$49.95	note
Gill, Richard	1	$26.64	road stock
McClanahan, Peter	1	$26.64	road stock
McGeorge, John	1	$26.64	road stock
Tomlin, Samuel	1	$26.64	road stock
Tomlin, William	1	$26.64	road stock
Buckley, Joseph	1	$23.31	road stock
Lane, David	1	$13.32	road stock
Norris, Lucinda	1	$13.32	road stock
Tomlin, John	1	$13.32	road stock
Turner, Alexander	1	$13.32	road stock
Williams, George	1	$13.32	road stock
Ogdon, Charles	1	$9.99	cash
Ball, Spencer	1	$5.00	cash
Davis, Benjamin R.	1	$1.00	cash
Hill, John	1	$1.00	cash

Table 87. Top 25 Credit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1814.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Credited*
Hampton, John	19	$2,089.52	road stock; tax; cash
Britton Store Cash Account	3	$605.39	cash and road stock
McKay, Enos	1	$599.40	road stock
White, John	1	$449.55	loan
Britton, George	2	$373.71	expenses; rent
Cundiff, William	2	$164.47	rent and account credits
Hunton, James	1	$80.59	cash; note
Lane, Carr W.	1	$64.94	rent
Triplet	1	$59.94	draft
Hooe, James H.	1	$56.11	order
Love, John	1	$49.95	stock
Mitchel, A.	1	$49.95	note
Hunton, William	1	$48.49	rent
Brooks, William	1	$40.97	cash
Kidwell	1	$39.96	cash
Horner, William	1	$37.68	stock
Brewer, James	1	$24.98	cash
Buckley, Joshua	1	$9.99	road stock
Ogdon, Charles	1	$4.26	expenses
Sangster, George	1	$3.75	note
Arnold	1	$2.71	cash
Hancock, Mrs.	1	$2.16	cash
Wisehart	1	$2.08	cash
Richardson, Henry W.	1	$0.79	cash

V. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1815-1818

Sample Summary

An overview of the 1815-1818 Britton Store Ledger sample shows a normal distribution, with the greatest numbers of recorded transactions occurring in 1816 and 1817 (Figure 50). This pattern reflects an increase in recorded turnpike toll gate transactions during these two years. In contrast, the monetary value of transactions was highest in 1815 and steadily decreased during the following three years, stabilizing somewhat during 1816 and 1817 due to the abundance of business at the Britton Store during these years (Figure 51). A graph of average monthly transaction prices shows the same decline, with price equilibrium in 1816 and 1817 (Figure 52). All four years witnessed at least one large transaction, making the decline in average transaction price a meaningful trend and not merely an effect of sample skew. On 22 May 1815 Walter A. Smith purchased $1,754.91 of turnpike stock. On 10 February 1816 Toll Gate No. 1 was debited $1,044.25 for collected tolls. On 6 January 1817 the Bull Run Toll Gate was credited $1,581.25, paid by toll collector Brewer (Thomas or Henry). On 9 February 1818 John Hampton was credited $1,332.00 for uncollected stock. Compared to the other three years, 1815 brought consistently larger transactions. These included purchases of turnpike stock (38 individuals shares, each share valued at $99.90) and toll gate revenue, such as ten debits (totaling $820.51) to Captain William Cundiff for paying toll gate collectors.

Figure 50. Transactions per Year, 1815-1818.

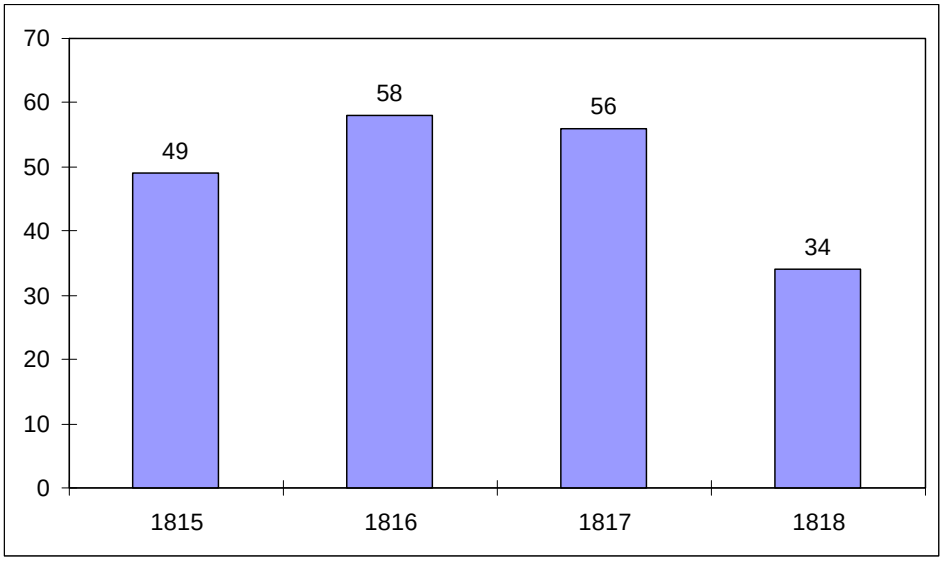


Figure 51. Value of Transactions in all Categories, 1815-1818.

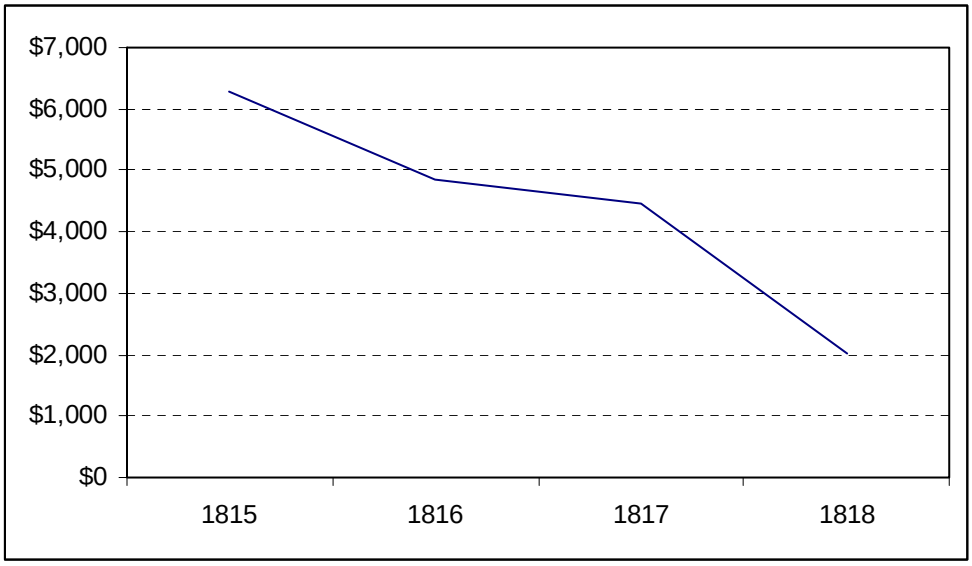
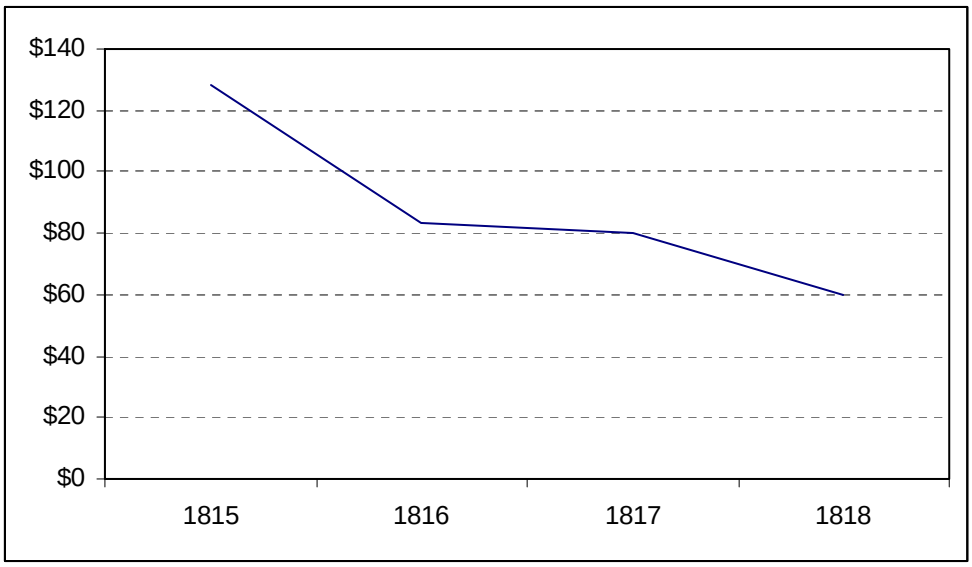


Figure 52. Average Value of Transactions, 1815-1818.



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Transport and Investments at the Britton Store and Turnpike Company, 1815-1818

Table 88 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 53 shows that from 1815 through 1818, the most

frequently recorded transactions in the Britton Store were for transportation business (n=127), and cash/finance (n=50). All other types of business were trivial in comparison to transport and finance, although labor (n=9) remained relatively important, as it had been for the Britton Store in the past. While the store had provided a wider variety of general goods in 1813 and 1814, from 1815 to 1818 its emphasis was clearly on operating and raising capital for the new turnpike.

Figure 54, outlining the total dollar value of each category from 1815 to 1818, shows that transport and finance were not only the most common transactions but also the most valuable. Transport payments and expenses made up 64.5% of all transactions and also accounted for $9,175.22, exceeding the total value of cash/finance transactions, which made up 25.4% of all business and $8,007.55 in total sales. Cash/finance transactions were on average larger, however - $160.15 – while transport exchanges were on average $72.25 per transaction (Table 88). Small manufactures were not abundant at the Britton Store during these years, but the sale of two carts by Henry Richards ($49.95) and a wagon by Walter A. Smith ($100.53) brought the average value of small manufactures to $40.12. Not coincidentally, these wheelwright manufactures were materially central to transportation and shipment on the turnpike. Labor transactions, with an average value of $27.16, included $87.79 total for George Britton's salary and travel expenses as well as the hire of Ann Grigsby's slaves Milley and Hannah ($29.97 on 6 March 1815), John Read's slaves Charles and Sam ($52.74 on 30 December 1815), and Captain William Cundiff's payments to road laborers ($66.93 on 26 March 1816).

Figure 55 depicts the median dollar value and comparative spread for transactions in each category from 1815 through 1818 (boxes inscribe 50% of all transactions for a given category). This box plot reaffirms the primary importance of transport and finance in the Britton account book and also the secondary relevance of small manufactures and labor. The tight central tendencies and wide price ranges for transport and finance display a normal distribution, illustrating that these types of business were not only frequent but were also predictable and reliable sources of trade and income.

Table 88. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1815-1818.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	1	$5.74	$5.74	0.5%
distillery	-	-	-	-
mill	1	$4.58	$4.58	0.5%
tannery	-	-	-	-
small manufactures	4	$160.47	$40.12	2%
raw material	2	$7.07	$3.53	1%
transport	127	$9,175.22	$72.25	64.5%
labor unspecified	9	$244.42	$27.16	4.6%
non-manufacturing	3	$32.87	$10.96	1.5%
cash/finance	50	$8,007.55	$160.15	25.4%
TOTAL	197	$17,637.93		

Figure 53. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1815-1818.

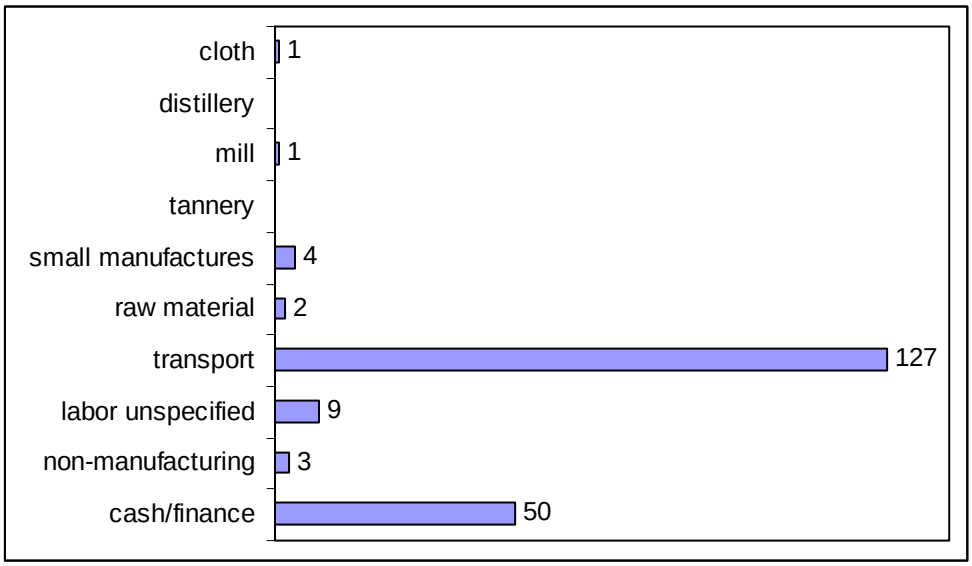


Figure 54. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1815-1818.

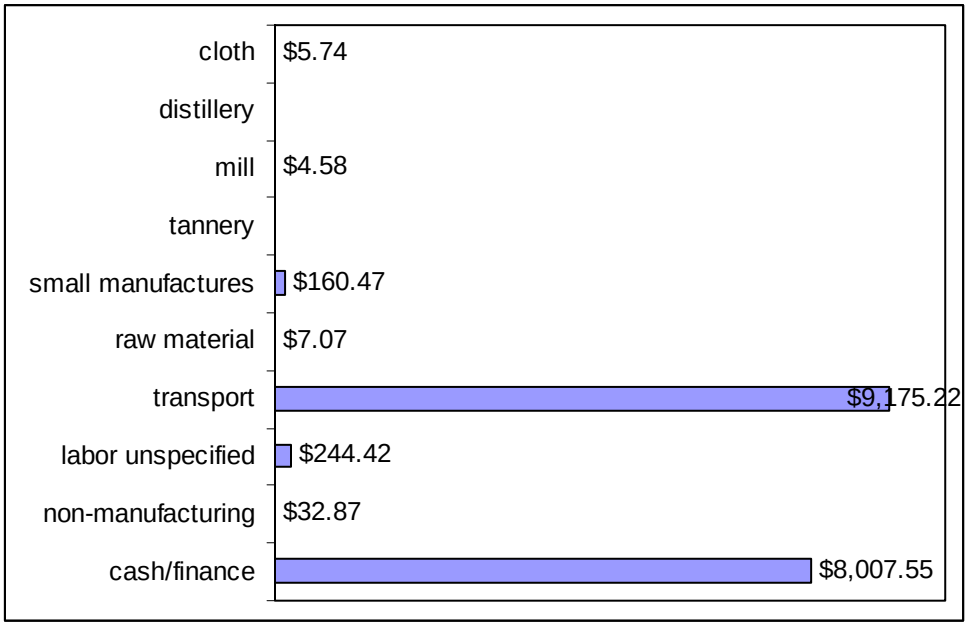
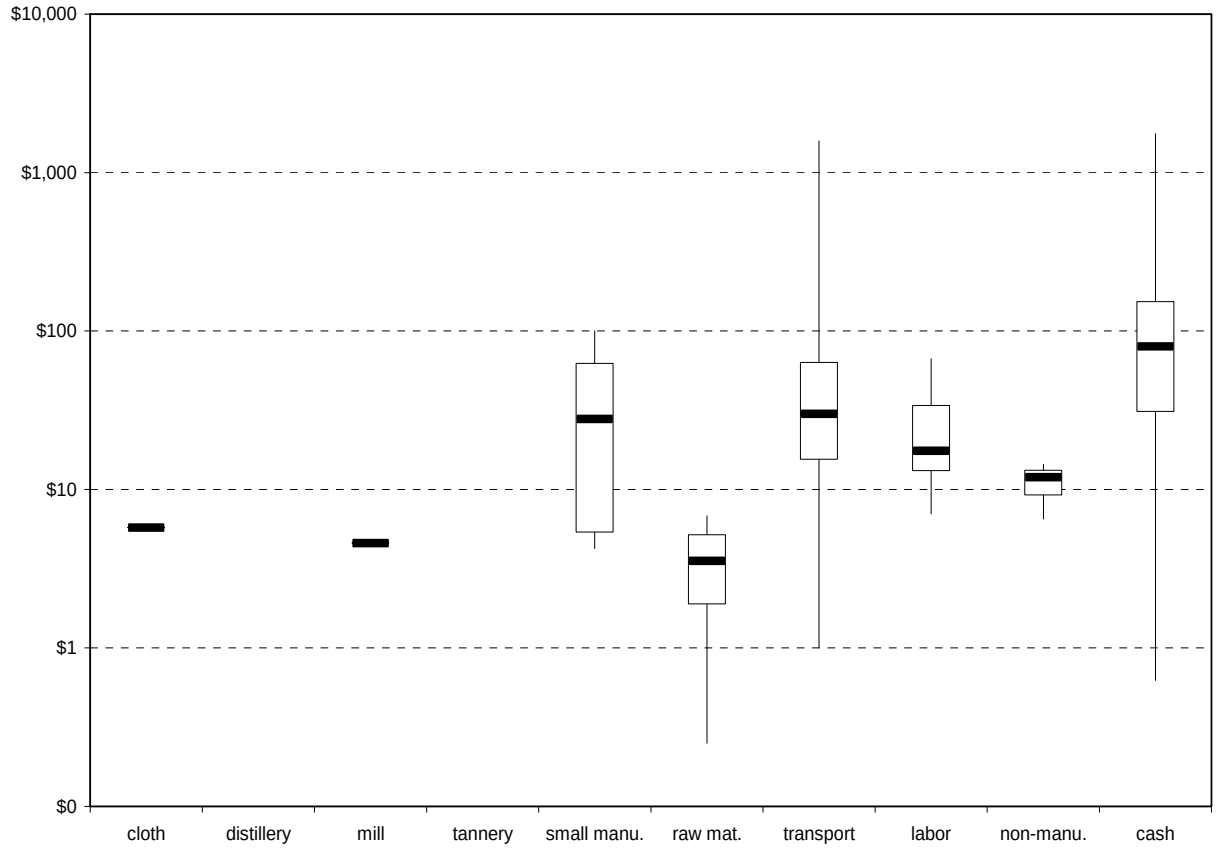


Figure 55. Averages and Distributions of Transaction Dollar Value in Each Category, 1815-1818.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Britton Store (and Buckland) in 1815-1818

Transport: Toll Gates

The majority of transport transactions were toll revenues and collectors' expenses (Table 89). Sales of road stock were still valuable during 1815 through 1818, but they only made up 2% of transportation transactions. Three individuals appear frequently in the ledger entries for the toll gate transactions: Captain William Cundiff, Thomas Brewer, and Henry Brewer. Cundiff was credited on 26 March 1816 for the single road work transaction, valued at $190.64. The total value of transport revenues remained fairly constant during all four years, with a slight rise in 1816 and 1817 (Figure 56). Revenues were closely correlated to the number of transactions recorded for each year, highlighting the stable and relatively high values of transport transactions (Table 90). There were slightly more toll gate transactions recorded in 1817 than in the other three years (Figure 57), including transactions at three toll gates: Gate No. 1 (no location given); Gate No. 2 (Centreville); and the Bull Run Toll Gate.

Table 89. Range of Transport Transactions, 1815-1818.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
toll gates	117	$7,163.73	$61.23	92%
road stock	3	$1,565.10	$521.70	2%
road work	1	$ 190.64	$190.64	1%
horse	2	$ 129.87	$64.94	2%
collecting tolls	4	$ 125.87	$31.47	3%
TOTAL	127	$9,175.22		

Figure 56. Total Value of Transport Transactions, 1815-1818.

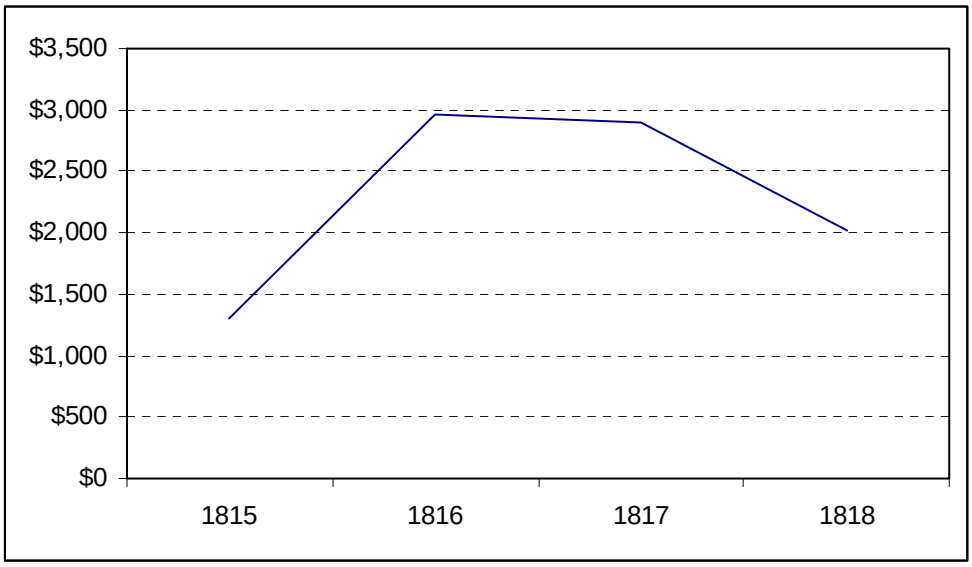
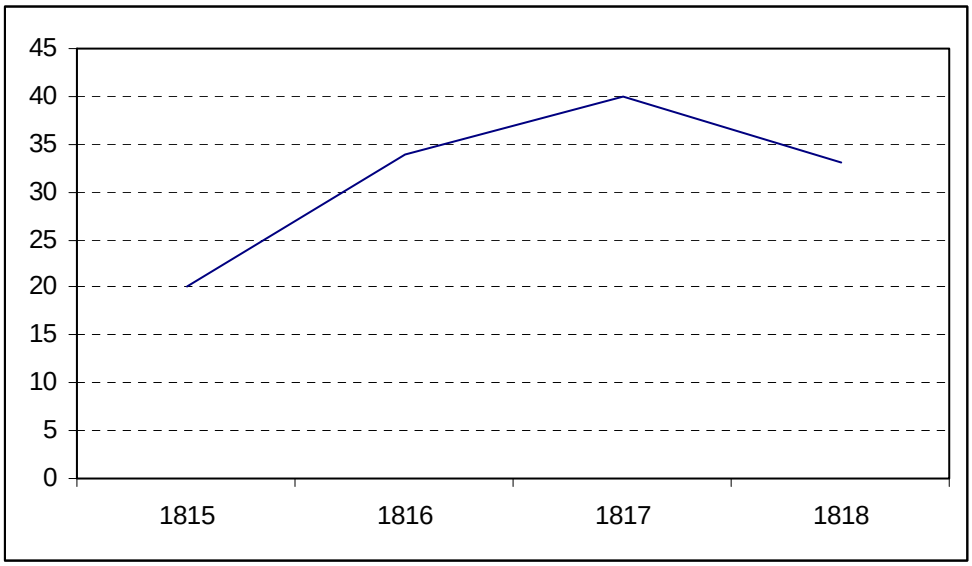


Table 90. Value of Transport Transactions, 1815-1818.

Year	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
1815	$1,296.33	20	$64.82
1816	$2,962.85	34	$87.14
1817	$2,900.76	40	$72.52
1818	$2,015.27	33	$61.07
df	2.00		
Pearson r	0.89		
r^2	0.80		

Figure 57. Number of Transport Transactions, 1815-1818.



Transport: Top Account Holders, 1815-1818

Most debit accounts for transport represent toll gate expenses, including collector's wages for Gate No. 1 and the Bull Run Gate, as well as Captain William Cundiff's disbursements to pay collectors and cover operational expenses (Table 91). This list identifies Thomas Brewer, Henry Brewer, and Charles Ogdon as toll collectors, each of whom rotated to the various toll gates. Credit accounts confirm that the three toll gates successfully provided revenue, especially the Bull Run Gate, which was the most significant credit account (Table 92). John Hampton supplied horses and distributed turnpike stock, while Captain William Cundiff provided management services, road work, and toll wages.

Table 91. Debit Accounts for Transport, 1815-1818.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Debit*
Toll Gate (No. 1)	1	$1,044.25	toll collectors' wages
Cundiff, Capt. William	11	$965.87	toll gate
Smith, Walter A.	1	$133.20	road stock
Forrer, Samuel	1	$99.90	road stock
Peake, Mr.	1	$72.43	toll gate
Toll Gate (Bull Run)	2	$62.94	toll collectors' wages
Brewer, Thomas	1	$49.95	toll collectors' wages
Ogdon, Charles	1	$47.95	toll gate
Britton, George	1	$27.97	toll gate
Ward, Enoch	2	$21.98	toll gate
Charles	1	$14.99	toll gate
Brewer, Henry	1	$12.99	toll collectors' wages
Britton, George Jr.	1	$11.61	toll gate
Davis, Benjamin R.	1	$11.16	toll gate

Love, John	2	$6.60	toll gate
Wheeler	1	$5.99	toll gate

Table 92. Credit Accounts for Transport, 1815-1818.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Credited*
Toll Gate (Bull Run)	73	$4,395.38	toll gate
Hampton, John	3	$1,461.87	horses and road stock
Toll Gate (No. 1)	19	$484.57	toll gate
Cundiff, Capt. William	7	$481.66	road work; toll gates; collecting tolls
Brewer, Thomas	4	$261.24	toll gates
Chapman, George	1	$133.20	road stock
Toll Gate (No. 2 - Centreville)	9	$92.24	toll gate
Brewer, Henry	1	$12.99	collecting tolls

Finance and Investments: Turnpike Stock and Credit

Cash/finance transactions from 1815 to 1818 display a similar distribution to cash/finance transactions in 1814, with road stock comprising the largest proportion of sales and highest monetary value (Table 93). Various forms of credit or promissory payments (notes, orders, and interest) together accounted for 34% of all cash/finance transactions and over $3,500 in total value. Due to the lack of any recorded cash/finance transactions in 1818, it is not possible to produce a meaningful chart of trends, but it is clear that the most valuable transactions took place in 1815, steadily declining in number and size afterwards (Table 94). Most of the debit accounts represent purchasers of turnpike stock (Table 95), and the most invested individuals were Walter A. Smith, John White, Charles Hunton, and Thomas Amiss. Credit accounts (Table 96) include many of the same major contributors of capital from previous years, such as Walter A. Smith, John Hampton, George Britton, and William Cundiff.

Table 93. Range of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1815-1818.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
road stock	11	$3,801.03	$345.55	22%
note	5	$1,499.60	$299.92	10%
order	7	$760.57	$108.65	14%
interest	5	$554.53	$110.91	10%
cash	7	$551.61	$78.80	14%
bank curtale and stock	4	$292.92	$73.23	8%
omission	2	$179.22	$89.61	4%
court	2	$46.95	$23.48	4%
expenses (travel)	1	$33.33	$33.33	2%
loan	1	$18.52	$18.52	2%

account	1	$12.76	$12.76	2%
tax	1	$4.00	$4.00	2%
bill	2	$2.75	$1.37	4%
TOTAL	49	$7,757.80		

Table 94. Value of Cash/Finance Transactions, 1815-1818.

Year	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
1815	$4,826.41	21	$229.83
1816	$1,715.27	15	$114.35
1817	$1,465.87	14	$104.71
1818			

Table 95. Debit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1815-1818.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Debit*
Smith, Walter A.	2	$2,607.36	road stock
White, John	4	$1,085.90	notes; loan; bank stock
Hunton, Charles	1	$719.28	road stock
Britton, George	6	$536.31	cash; bill; order
Amiss, Thomas	4	$411.75	order; note; stock
Ward, Enoch	2	$299.70	order; cash
Hampton, John	1	$266.34	road stock
Horner, William	1	$199.80	road stock
Hunton, William	1	$199.80	road stock
Chapman, George	1	$133.20	road stock
Brown, Coleman	1	$119.88	road stock
McKay, Enos	1	$99.90	road stock
Denney, Edmond	1	$79.92	road stock
Orr, William G.	1	$69.93	loan
Richards, Henry	1	$18.52	loan
Lewis, Coleman	1	$12.76	account
Toll Gate (No. 1)	1	$3.00	cash

Table 96. Credit Accounts for Cash/Finance, 1815-1818.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Credited*
Smith, Walter A.	18	$1,260.72	cash; bank curtale; notes; road stock; court costs
Hampton, John	3	$649.35	orders; cash
Britton, George	2	$511.71	expenses; interest
Cundiff, William	2	$157.84	order; interest
Norris, Thaddeus	1	$134.53	note

Read, John	1	$3.60	interest
Richards, Henry	1	$1.87	interest
Orr, William G.	1	$0.75	interest

VI. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1829-1836

Sample Summary

An overview of the 1829-1836 sample, combining entries from the Moxley and Marsteller account books, shows a bipolar distribution of transactions around 1830 and 1835 (Figure 58). Most of the early transactions come from the Moxley account book while most of the later transactions come from the Marsteller account papers. The earlier circa 1830 transactions were by far the most valuable both in total sales (Figure 59) and average price per transaction (Figure 60). B.G.D. Moxley's import/export business required expensive international shipments that account for this pattern. On 31 January 1830, the schooner *Duroc* purchased $188.15 of bacon and flour from Moxley. On 8 March 1830, the Brig Genl. Pulaski purchased $418.24 of flour, butter, and lard and returned on 4 June 1830 from Port au Prince with 40 barrels of coffee ($673.60). Moxley bought 57 hides ($215.58) from the ship *St. Peter* on 9 June 1831 and on 13 October of that year the St. Peter left with 50 barrels of Buckland flour ($237.50). In contrast, from 1833 onward, most of Moxley's and Marsteller's sales and purchases were for small manufactures, and none of these were valued higher than $9 (the value of sawing planks on 1 April 1835).

Figure 58. Transactions per Year, 1829-1836.

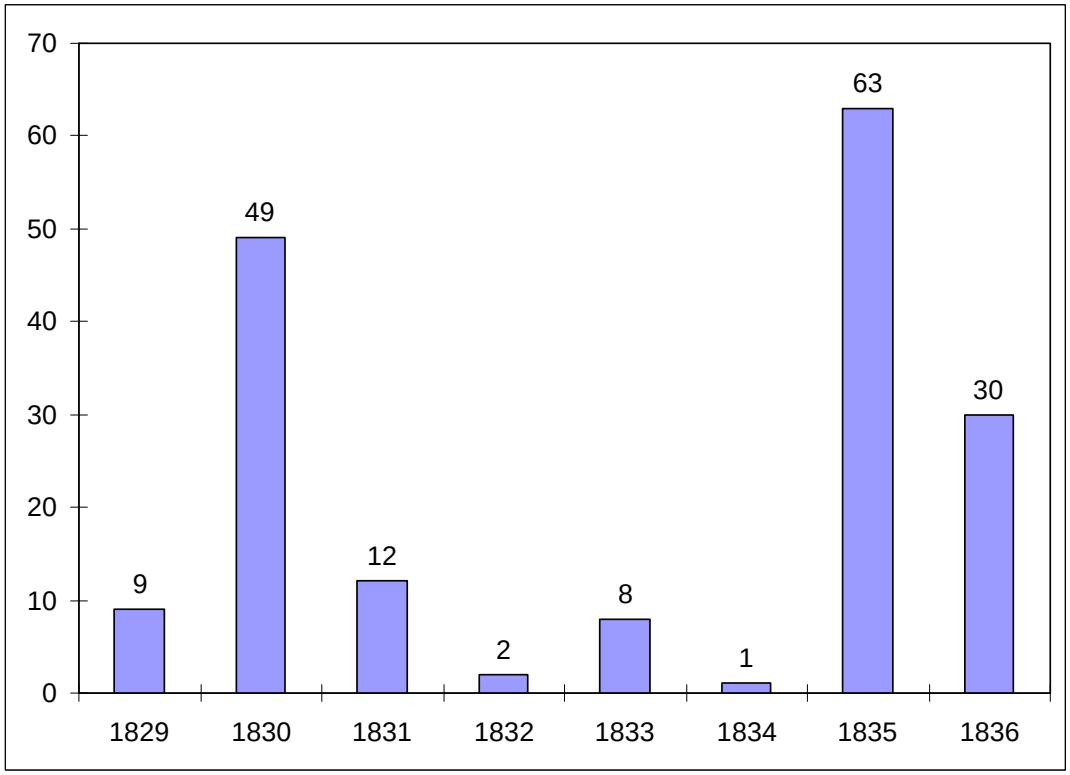


Figure 59. Total Value of Transactions in all Categories, 1829-1836.

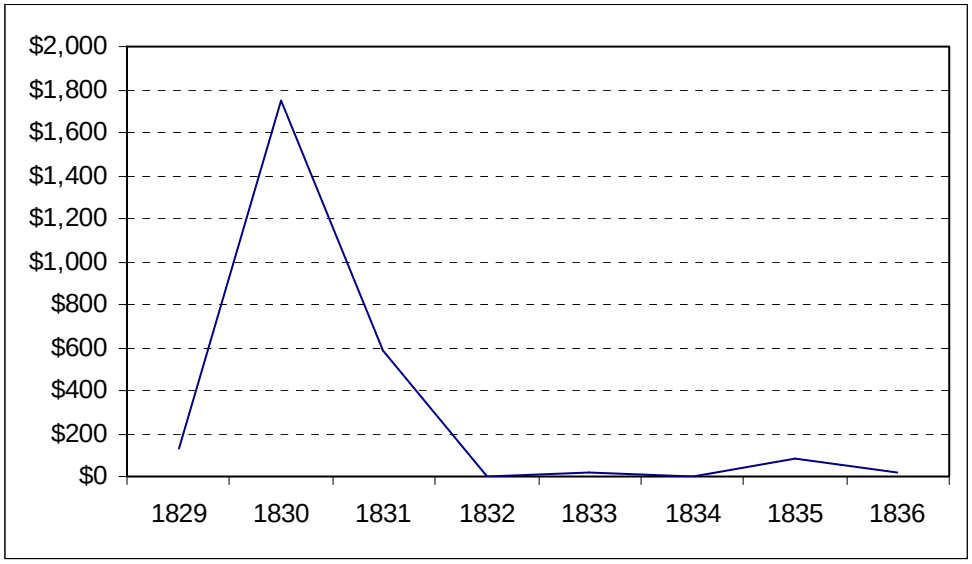
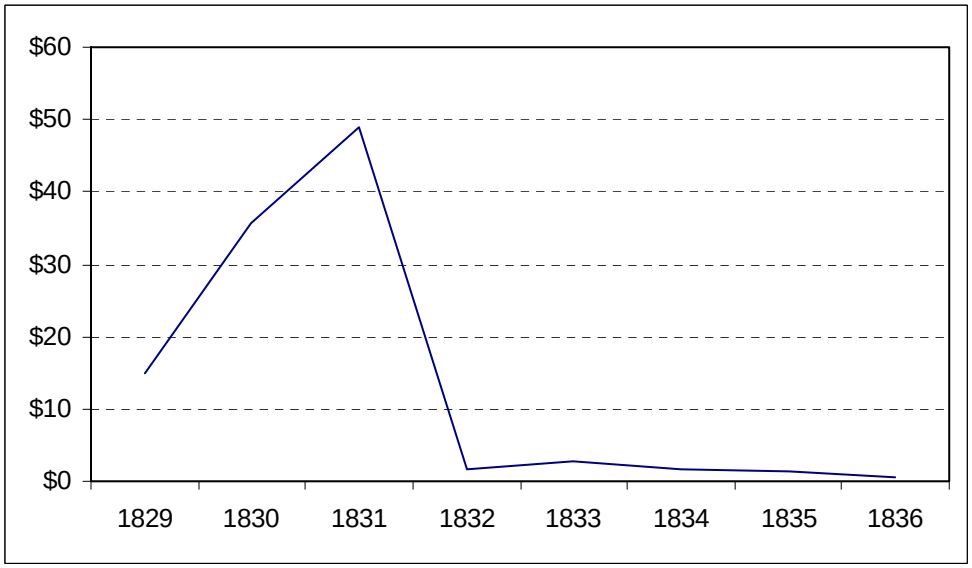


Figure 60. Average Value of Transactions, 1829-1836.



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Small Manufactures, Mill Products, and Miscellaneous Manufactures in the Moxley and Marsteller Companies, 1829-1836

Table 97 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 61 shows that from 1829 through 1836, the most frequently recorded transactions in the Moxley and Marsteller account books were small manufactures (n=108) and the more resource intensive cloth (n=18) and whiskey (n=19)

manufactures. All other types of business were relatively infrequent but are fairly evenly represented in the accounts (between one and eight transactions). The importance of small manufacture, cloth, and whiskey purchases suggests that the Moxley and Marsteller businesses were general merchandise enterprises more similar to the earlier Hampton Store than to the Britton Store, which was primarily a conduit for turnpike investments and bulk transport.

Figure 62, outlining the total dollar value of each category from 1829 to 1836, shows that the most valuable transactions were mill ($846.39) and non-manufacturing ($700.72) exchanges. Each of these types of commodity made up less than 3% of all transactions but brought high average prices (Table 97). Moxley's sales of bulk flour to ships accounts for the high value of mill products during this period while his purchase of coffee from Haiti accounts for the high value of non-manufactured goods. Small manufactures, the most common type of purchase during this period, were of moderately high total value ($432.09) but brought relatively low average prices ($4.00). Raw materials and transport were less common but brought high average prices - $27.53 and $31.26, respectively. Moxley's purchase of hides from the ship *St. Peter* accounts for the high value of raw materials. James Watson's sale of a horse on 25 June 1830 ($110.00), George A. Hackett's purchase of a horse on 17 July 1830 ($50), and Moxley's payment of freight on the coffee from Port au Prince ($26.00) together explain the high value of transport. In contrast to the Hampton Store and Britton Store, Moxley and Marsteller sold most of their whiskey and cloth in small quantities and not in bulk, making the average value of each of these manufactures relatively small from 1829 through 1835. Indeed, the last bulk sale of whiskey, recorded on 31 October 1829, was for Samuel A. Marsteller's purchase of three barrels (100 gallons) of whiskey from Smith & Dean for $28.00. All whiskey sales after this date were credited to Albert B. Florance, who sold the spirit by the gallon and not in barrels. Florance was also credited for all cloth sales during the 1829-1836 period.

Figure 63 depicts the median dollar value and comparative spread for transactions in each category from 1829 through 1836 (boxes inscribe 50% of all transactions for a given category). This box plot displays the high value and skew of milling, transport, and non-manufactured goods and also the broad range and normal distribution of small manufactures, which were the most reliable daily sources of revenue. The tight central tendencies and wide price ranges for cloth and whiskey also possess distributions that are close to normal, illustrating that these types of business were not only frequent but were also predictable in terms of price.

Table 97. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1829-1836.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	18	$49.40	$2.74	10.3%
distillery	19	$114.33	$6.02	10.9%
mill	4	$846.39	$211.60	2.3%
tannery	1	$0.78	$0.78	0.6%
small manufactures	108	$432.09	$4.00	62.1%
raw material	8	$220.20	$27.53	4.6%
transport	7	$218.80	$31.26	4.0%
labor unspecified	4	$7.25	$1.81	2.3%
non-manufacturing	5	$700.72	$140.14	2.9%
TOTAL	174	$2,589.96		

Figure 61. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1829-1836.

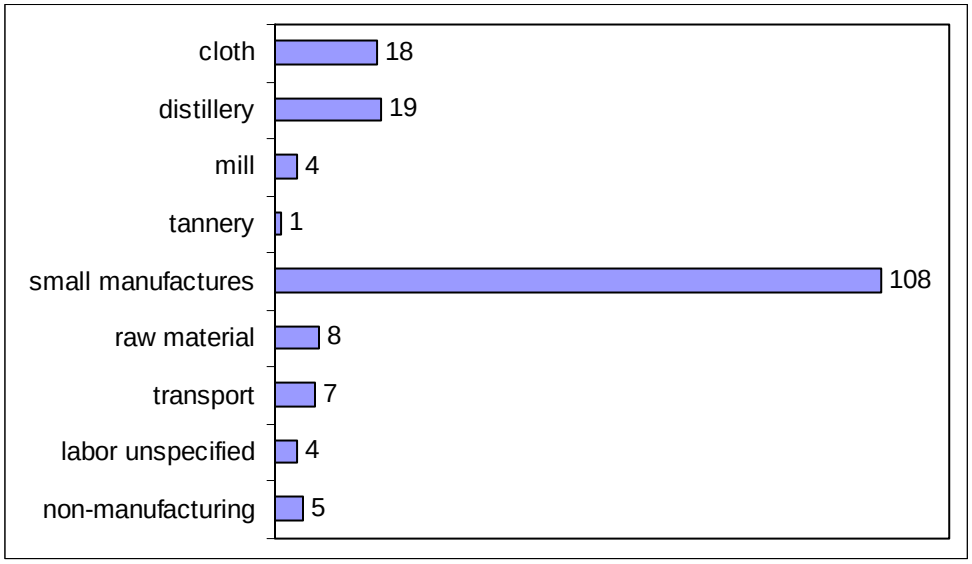


Figure 62. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1829-1836.

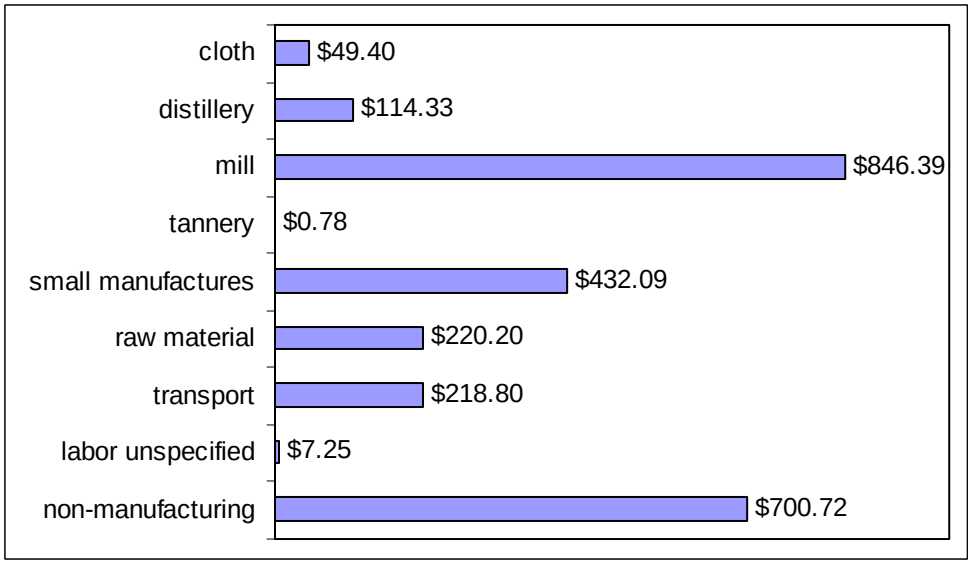
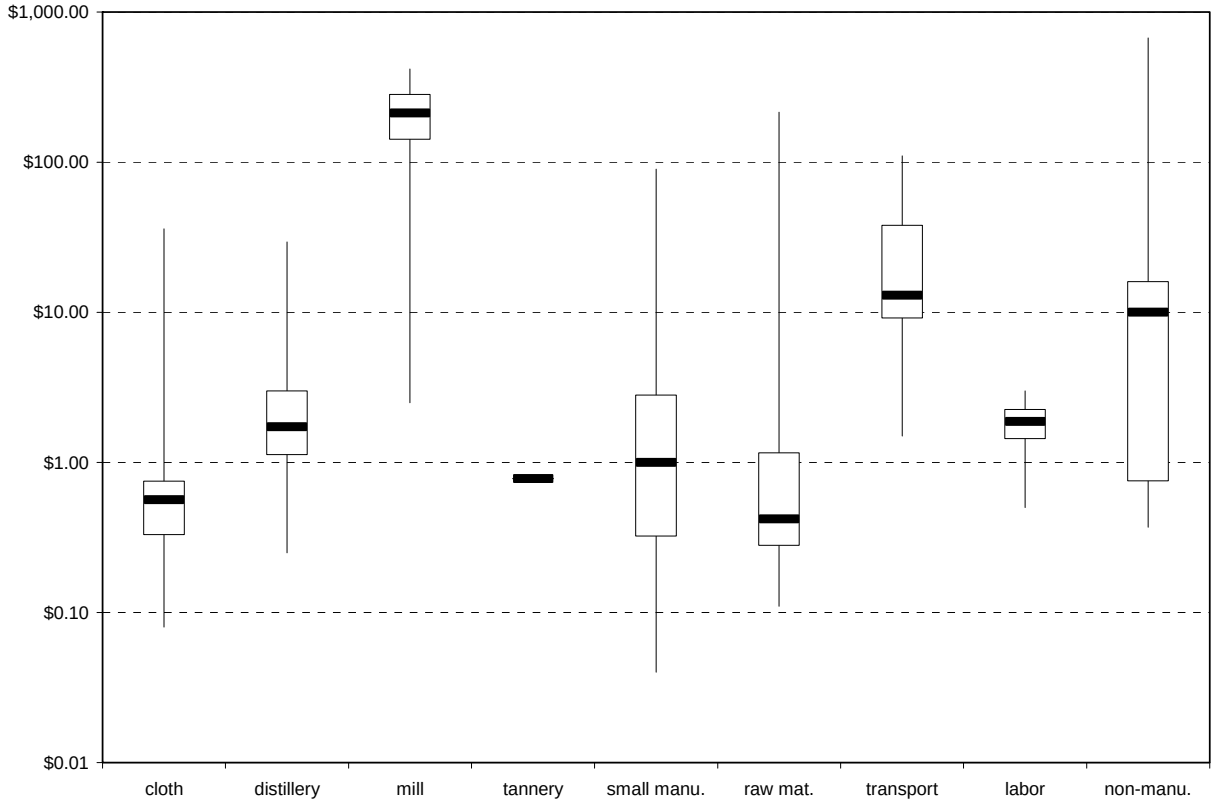


Figure 63. Averages and Distributions of Transaction Dollar Value in Each Category, 1829-1836.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Moxley and Marsteller Companies (and Buckland) in 1829-1836

Small Manufactures: Clothes, Wagons, and Leather

Clothing was the most popular and most valuable commodity in the period 1829-1836 (Table 98). Most clothing purchases took place in 1835 and 1836 and were recorded in the Marsteller papers. The assortment of clothes available for purchase was comprehensive, and the most expensive items were coats, hats, pantaloons, and tailoring work (Table 99). Wheelwright work was the second most valuable small manufacturing category, bringing the highest average transaction value. Almost all wheelwright transactions were sales of axel, carriage, and cart parts and wheel repair by Samuel McMillon in 1830 and 1835. Blacksmith work comprised 28% of all small manufacturing transactions, but yielded low average transaction prices. Table 99 shows that blacksmith work encompassed a variety of inexpensive goods and services, such as horse shoeing (and removal), nails, and tool sharpening. Leatherworking trades such as shoemaking and saddlery were more valuable, though these goods were not as abundant. Saddlery included whips, lines, and saddles, while shoemaking included shoes, boots, and

pumps; the most expensive items were saddles and boots. Notably, barrels, which had been important commodities in the Hampton and Britton Stores in the previous decade, were absent from the Moxley and Marsteller account books.

Table 98. Range of Small Manufacture Trades, 1829-1836.

Trade	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
tailor/clothier	44	$202.96	$4.61	41%
wheelwright	13	$118.84	$9.14	12%
shoemaker	4	$32.35	$8.09	4%
saddler	4	$29.05	$7.26	4%
blacksmith	30	$20.59	$0.69	28%
miscellaneous	4	13.38	$3.35	4%
carpenter/builder	1	$9.00	$9.00	1%
candle maker	7	$5.62	$0.80	7%
TOTAL	107	$431.79		

Table 99. Range of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1829-1836.

Item	*Trade*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*
horse shoeing and removal	blacksmith	11	$4.41	$0.40
candle molds	blacksmith	1	$0.25	$0.25
spurs	blacksmith	2	$2.25	$1.13
nails	blacksmith	5	$4.11	$0.82
sharping ploughs and hoes	blacksmith	4	$0.63	$0.16
hinges and hoops	blacksmith	2	$0.38	$0.19
lock spring	blacksmith	1	$1.40	$1.40
mending	blacksmith	2	$0.29	$0.15
miscellaneous smith work	blacksmith	2	$6.87	$3.44
candles	candle maker	7	$5.62	$0.80
sawing plank	carpenter/builder	1	$9.00	$9.00
watch repair/guard	miscellaneous	3	$3.38	$1.13
gun	miscellaneous	1	$10.00	$10.00
horse whip	saddler	1	$1.38	$1.38
lines	saddler	1	$0.17	$0.17
saddle	saddler	2	$27.50	$13.75
boots	shoemaker	1	$26.35	$26.35
pumps	shoemaker	1	$1.75	$1.75
shoes	shoemaker	2	$4.25	$2.13
blue cloth coat	tailor/clothier	2	$15.50	$7.75
crevat	tailor/clothier	3	$2.12	$0.71
flannel draws	tailor/clothier	1	$2.00	$2.00
flannel jackets	tailor/clothier	2	$7.50	$3.75
frock coat	tailor/clothier	1	$28.00	$28.00
gloves	tailor/clothier	4	$3.63	$0.91
grey surtout	tailor/clothier	1	$4.00	$4.00

handkerchief	tailor/clothier	2	$0.87	$0.44
hank silk	tailor/clothier	5	$0.87	$0.17
hank thread	tailor/clothier	1	$0.07	$0.07
hat	tailor/clothier	3	$14.50	$4.83
hat and gloves	tailor/clothier	2	$2.75	$1.38
jet buttons	tailor/clothier	1	$6.00	$6.00
linen pocket handkerchiefs	tailor/clothier	1	$2.75	$2.75
pantaloons	tailor/clothier	3	$20.13	$6.71
purse	tailor/clothier	1	$1.63	$1.63
shirt collars	tailor/clothier	1	$4.50	$4.50
shoe thread	tailor/clothier	2	$0.52	$0.26
stockings	tailor/clothier	3	$2.13	$0.71
waistcoats	tailor/clothier	2	$6.00	$3.00
tailoring	tailor/clothier	1	$70.50	$70.50
velvet vest	tailor/clothier	1	$5.50	$5.50
watch garb	tailor/clothier	1	$1.50	$1.50
axel trees	wheelwright	3	$8.00	$2.67
carriage	wheelwright	1	$90.00	$90.00
cart tongue/forehound	wheelwright	2	$3.00	$1.50
coupling pole	wheelwright	1	$1.00	$1.00
double tree	wheelwright	1	$0.25	$0.25
wheels and spokes	wheelwright	3	$10.09	$3.36
repairing body bows & sideboards	wheelwright	1	$6.00	$6.00
miscellaneous wheel/wagon work	wheelwright	1	$0.50	$0.50
TOTAL		107	$431.79	

Small Manufactures: Trends, 1829-1836

The value of small manufactures from 1829 to 1836 shows the same bipolar distribution as the sample as a whole, showing the activity of the more valuable Moxley accounts in 1830 and relatively less valuable Marsteller accounts in 1835 (Figure 64 and Table 100). Each year witnessed a fairly equal number of transactions (Figure 65), but the higher value of the 1830 Moxley transactions was due to Moxley's purchase of several articles of clothing from Letitia Douglass on 16 December 1830, George Hackett's purchase of a wagon for $90 on 13 July 1830, and Moxley's purchase of a saddle from Felix Jenkins on 30 November 1830 for $15.50.

Figure 64. Total Value of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1829-1836.

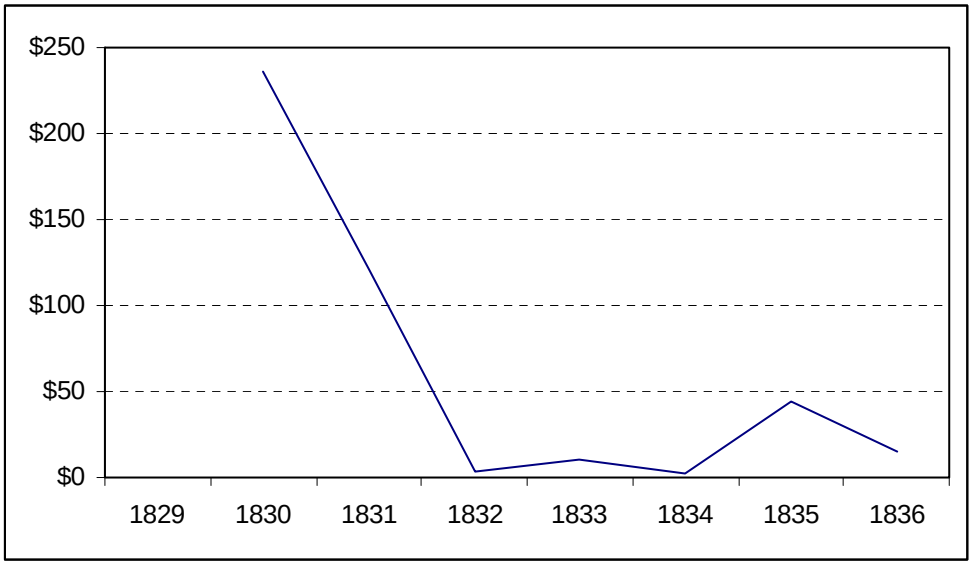
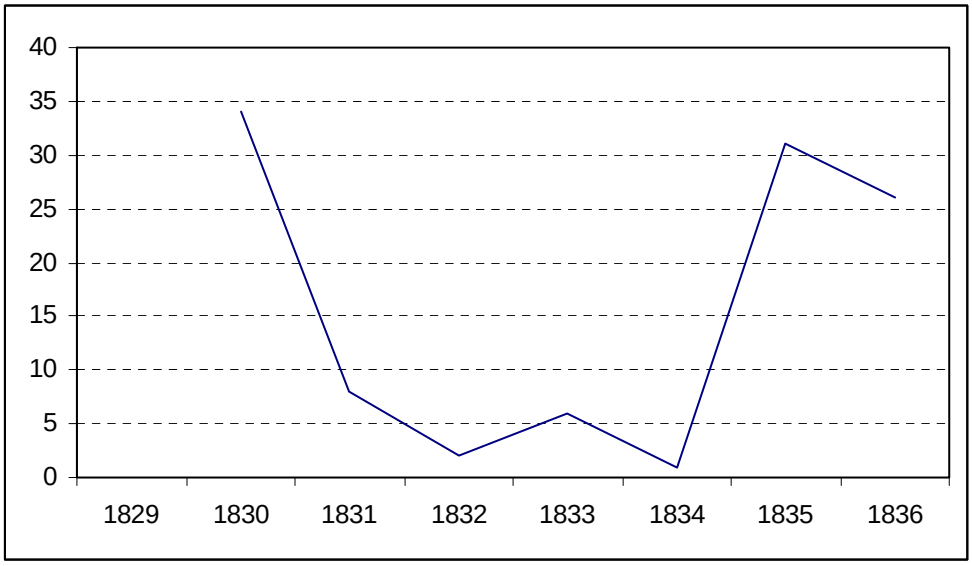


Table 100. Value of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1829-1836.

Year	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
1829			
1830	$236.38	34	$6.95
1831	$120.98	8	$15.12
1832	$3.13	2	$1.57
1833	$10.50	6	$1.75
1834	$1.75	1	$1.75
1835	$44.35	31	$1.43
1836	$15.00	26	$0.58
df	5		
Pearson r	0.554		
r^2	0.306		

Figure 65. Number of Small Manufacture Transactions, 1829-1836.



Small Manufactures: Top Account Holders, 1829-1836

Debit accounts reveal that Moxley and Marsteller were the most significant purchasers of small manufactures in their account books, with the exception of George A. Hackett, whose $90 wagon made him the biggest spender (Table 101). Small manufactures, unlike bulk grains, flour, meal, whiskey, and cloth, were not likely consumed for resale or shipping purposes, so Moxley's and Marsteller's purchases may represent their own personal and household consumption, or business expenses at most. Credit accounts, in contrast, provide clues as to the artisans and producers in the area from whom these entrepreneurs bought such necessities (Table 102). Mr. or Mrs. Hilberg and Letitia G. Douglass were the most valuable sources of small manufactures and they were clearly tailors or clothiers. Wheelwright and gunsmith Samuel McMillon and blacksmith Albert B. Florance were also regular sources of specialty goods and services. The other credit account holders are each listed as having sold only one or two items, but the same inferences may be made about their professions, especially in the case of one individual who was listed in Marsteller's account as "Leonard (shoemaker)."

Table 101. Debit Accounts for Small Manufacture, 1829-1836.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Hackett, George A.	2	$91.25	carriage; hat and gloves
Marsteller, Samuel A.	59	$62.40	full range of trades
Moxley Cash Account	7	$52.25	clothes
Moxley	6	$10.76	clothes and spurs
Moxley Personal Expenses	4	$3.63	gloves, stockings, and shoes

Moxley General Expenses	1	$1.50	hat and gloves
Schooner Duroc	1	$1.00	crevat

Table 102. Credit Accounts for Small Manufacture, 1829-1836.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Hilberg	1	$70.50	tailoring
Douglass, Letitia G.	9	$39.38	coats, trousers, hats, stockings, and handkerchiefs
McMillon, Samuel	13	$38.84	wheelwright work and gun
Aickland	1	$26.35	boots
Florance, Albert B.	46	$23.56	blacksmith work and candles
Jenkins, Felix	1	$15.50	saddlery
Helm, E.	2	$13.38	saddlery
Cobb	1	$9.00	sawing plank
Hunton	2	$3.25	spurs and shoes
Drury	1	$3.20	nails
Leonard (Shoemaker)	1	$2.00	shoemaking

Whiskey: William Dean/Smith & Dean in 1829 and Albert B. Florance in 1835

Sales of whiskey from this period are recorded only in the Marsteller papers and fall into two categories – sales of barrels and whiskey by William Dean & Co. to R.H. Marsteller & Co. in 1829 and sales of whiskey, brandy, and rum by Albert B. Florance to Samuel A. Marsteller in 1835 (Table 105). Dean sold 9 barrels (over three transactions) and 105 gallons of whiskey in May and June of 1829, just two months prior to the Broad Run flood that damaged the distillery, and 3 barrels of whiskey (reincorporated as Smith & Dean) in October 1829, a few months after the flood. The sale of barrels accounted for 16% of all distillery-related transactions during this period, but the total value of the barrels themselves was minimal (Table 103). Florance's sales of spirits over the course of 1835 consisted of 1-4 gallons at a time, mostly whiskey but also rum and brandy, which were less expensive. Sales by the gallon were the most common for the period, suggesting that bulk production and shipping of whiskey by the barrel declined after the 1829 flood (Table 104).

Table 103. Range of Whiskey/Spirits Transactions, 1829-1836.

Item	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percentage of Sample*
whiskey	13	$101.46	$7.80	68%
barrels	3	$9.00	$3.00	16%
rum	2	$2.24	$1.12	11%
brandy	1	$1.63	$1.63	5%
TOTAL	19	$114.33		

Table 104. Whiskey/Spirits by Volume, 1829-1836.

Unit of Volume	*# Transactions*	*$ Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Total Quantity*	*Avg. Quantity*	*Gallons*	*Percentage*
barrels	2	$57.40	$28.70	6	3	205	61%
gallons	13	$47.68	$3.67	129	10	129	39%
bottles	1	$0.25	$0.25	2	2	0.334	0%
TOTAL	16	$105.33				334.334	

Table 105. Value of Whiskey Transactions, 1829-1836.

Year	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
1829	$94.54	6	$15.76
1830	-	-	-
1831	-	-	-
1832	-	-	-
1833	-	-	-
1834	-	-	-
1835	$19.79	13	$1.52
1836	-	-	-

Table 106. Debit Accounts for Whiskey, 1829-1836.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Purchased*
Marsteller, R.H. & Co.	5	$66.54	206 gallons whiskey and 9 barrels from William Dean & Co. in 1829
Marsteller, Samuel A.	14	$47.79	100 gallons whiskey and 1 barrel from Smith & Dean in 1829; 24.5 gallons and 2 bottles whiskey, 3 gallons rum, and 1 gallon brandy from Albert B. Florance in 1835

Table 107. Credit Accounts for Whiskey, 1829-1836.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Dean, William & Co. (1829)	5	$66.54	206 gallons whiskey and 9 barrels
Smith & Dean (1829)	1	$28.00	100 gallons whiskey and 1 barrel
Florance, Albert B. (1835)	13	$19.79	24.5 gallons and 2 bottles whiskey, 3 gallons rum, and 1 gallon brandy

Cloth: The Importance of Cotton

Cotton was the most popular cloth and thread material for purchases recorded in the Moxley and Marsteller account books (Table 108). In particular, cotton yarn and "old cloaths" (of unspecified materials) had the highest average value per transaction, but cotton cambric was also relatively valuable, at least by the yard. Sixteen of the eighteen cloth transactions in this small sample are from 1835 and 1836, purchases by Samuel A. Marsteller from Albert B. Florance. There is one 1829 purchase ($36.00 of cotton yarn) by Samuel A. Marsteller from S.M. and J.H. Janney and one 1830 purchase ($5.00 of "old cloaths") by B.G.D. Moxley from Letitia G. Douglass. Whether Albert B. Florance or the Janneys produced cloth is unknown. They may have been merchants with access to cloth goods. It is clear from the analysis of small manufactures during this period that Letitia G. Douglass was in fact engaged in clothing making (Table 109).

Table 108. Range of Cloth Transactions, 1829-1836.

Cloth/Product Type	*Material*	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Yards*	*Avg. Cost per Yard*
cotton yarn	cotton	1	$36.00	$36.00	-	-
old cloaths	various	1	$5.00	$5.00	-	-
cotton	cotton	8	$3.61	$0.45	24	$0.15
cambric	cotton	4	$2.17	$0.54	5.25	$0.41
calico	cotton	1	$1.17	$1.17	4	$0.29
indigo	indigo	2	$1.00	$0.50	-	-
check	various	1	$0.45	$0.45	2.5	$0.18
TOTAL		18	$49.40			

Table 109. Credit Accounts for Cloth, 1829-1836.

Account Holder	*# of Transactions*	*Total $ of Transactions*	*Provided*
Janney, S.M. & J.H.	1	$36.00	cotton yarn
Florance, Albert B.	16	$8.40	cotton, cambric, calico, and indigo
Douglass, Letitia G.	1	$5.00	old cloaths

Miscellaneous (Mill, Raw Materials, and Transport)

Although there are only four milling transactions in the database for the years 1829-1836, they were mostly high-price sales. The least valuable sale was for 100 lbs of "Buckland Mills" flour, sold to Samuel A. Marsteller by Albourne N. Sanders on 6 October 1829. The other three were sales of flour by B.G.D. Moxley to ships bound for international ports. On 31 January 1830, the schooner *Duroc* purchased $188.15 of bacon and flour. On 8 March 1830, the *Brig Genl. Pulaski* purchased $418.24 of flour, butter, and lard. Finally, on 13 October, the ship *St. Peter* purchased 50 barrels or $237.50 of flour. These ships in turn brought back specialty goods such as coffee and hides for Moxley's trading business.

In addition to the 57 hides purchased from the *St. Peter* by Moxley for $215.58 on 6 September 1831, other raw materials bought and sold from 1829-1836 in Buckland included cotton, corn, hickory, and salt peter. Albourne N. Sanders sold 1 bushel of corn to Samuel A. Marsteller for $0.50 on the same day that he sold Marsteller the Buckland Mills flour – 6 October 1829. Wheelwright Samuel McMillon bought 3 hickory trees for $2.50 from Samuel A. Marsteller on 29 January 1835, most likely for use in wagon construction. Over the course of 1835 and 1836, Albert B. Florance sold $1.49 of cotton (2 balls and 2 pounds) and $0.13 of salt peter (one pound) to Samuel A. Marsteller.

All seven transport transactions represent shipping and travel expenses of B.G.D. Moxley. These include the 25 June 1830 purchase of a horse from James Watson for $110 as well as the purchase or hire of a horse by George A. Hackett on 17 July 1830 for $50. The transport of exports was central to Moxley's business. On 4 May 1830, Moxley paid $26.00 for freight on coffee from Port au Prince. On 15 December 1830, Moxley paid $13.00 for the packing, lining, and shipping of flour barrels to Buenos Aires. Finally, on 1 April 1835 Moxley paid Bragg (no first name given) $5.30 for the hauling of planks. On three occasions in 1830, Moxley hired a worker named Hack for unspecified labor ($6.75 total cost) and on 6 October 1830, he hired Samuel McMillon to cut timber for $0.50, the same day that McMillon was credited for providing one quart of varnish (valued at $0.37), 8 axel trees ($3.50) and 1 gun ($10).

VII. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1841-1842

Sample Summary

An overview of the 1841-1842 sample shows an even but discontinuous distribution of transactions in the Marsteller account papers for a one-year period beginning in September 1841 and ending in September 1842 (Figure 66). All transactions in this sample were purchases by Arel Marsteller from B.S. Menefee for whiskey, small manufactures, and cloth. Due to the small size of this sample and gaps in four of the thirteen months, it is not possible to produce meaningful charts or trends for the value of goods and services over time. However, it is noteworthy that all purchases were inexpensive (Table 110).

Figure 66. Transactions per Month, September 1841 – September 1842.

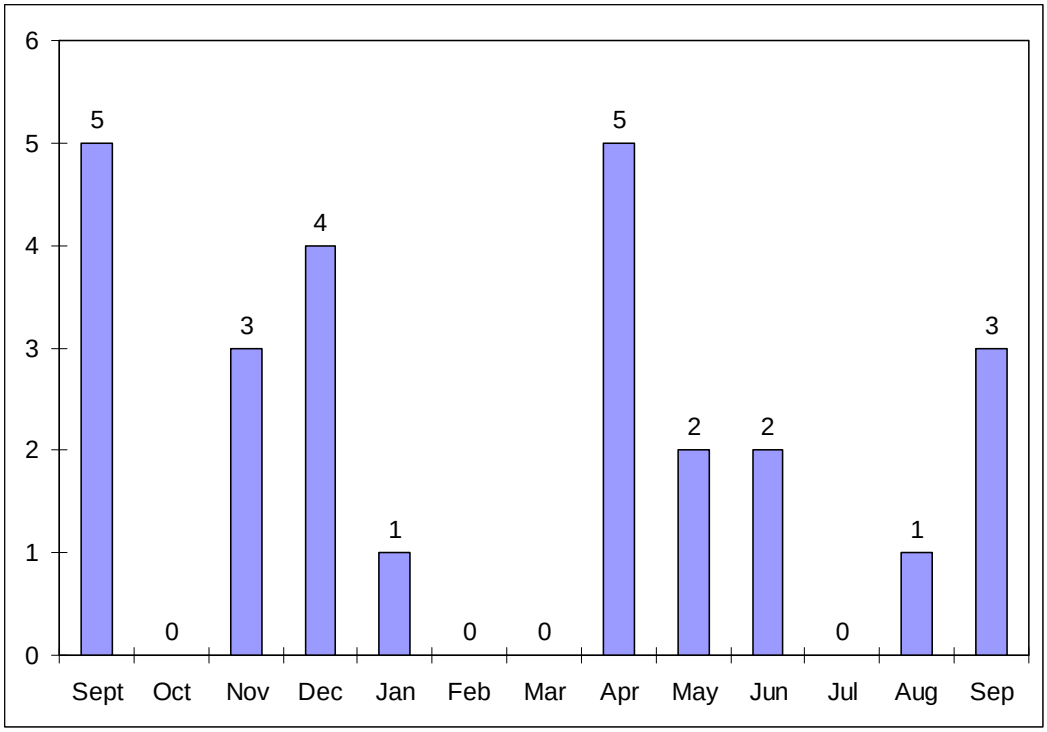


Table 110. Total Value of Transactions, 1841-1842.

Month	*$ Exchanged*	*# Transactions*	*Avg. Transaction*
Sept	$2.99	5	$0.60
Oct	-	-	-
Nov	$1.50	3	$0.50
Dec	$1.59	4	$0.40
Jan	$0.60	1	$0.60
Feb	-	-	-
Mar	-	-	-
Apr	$5.11	5	$1.02
May	$2.23	2	$1.12
Jun	$0.56	2	$0.28
Jul	-	-	-
Aug	$1.50	1	$1.50
Sep	$0.70	3	$0.23

Types of Transactions: The Importance of Whiskey, Small Manufactures, and Cloth in the Marsteller Business Accounts, 1841-1842

Table 111 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 67 shows that in 1841 and 1842, the most frequently recorded transactions between Arel Marsteller and B.S. Menefee were sales of whiskey (n=11), small manufactures (n=10), and cloth (n=4). There is only one other transaction in the sample, the purchase of one sheet of "black wadding" on 28 December 1841 for $0.17, classified here as a non-manufactured good due to the ambiguity of the account entry. Figure 68, outlining the total dollar value of each category in 1841 and 1842, shows a direct relationship between the number of purchases of each type of good and the total value of each type of good, confirming that all items had comparably low prices. Cloth, which made up only 15.4% of the sample, yielded slightly higher average prices per transaction ($1.18), indicating that at least some of the cloth purchases were bulk (more than two yards of fabric).

Table 111. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1841-1842.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	4	$4.73	$1.18	15.4%
distillery	11	$6.77	$0.62	42.3%
mill				
tannery				
small manufactures	10	$5.11	$0.51	38.5%
raw material				
transport				
labor unspecified				
non-manufacturing	1	$0.17	$0.17	3.8%
TOTAL	26	$16.78		

Figure 67. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1841-1842.

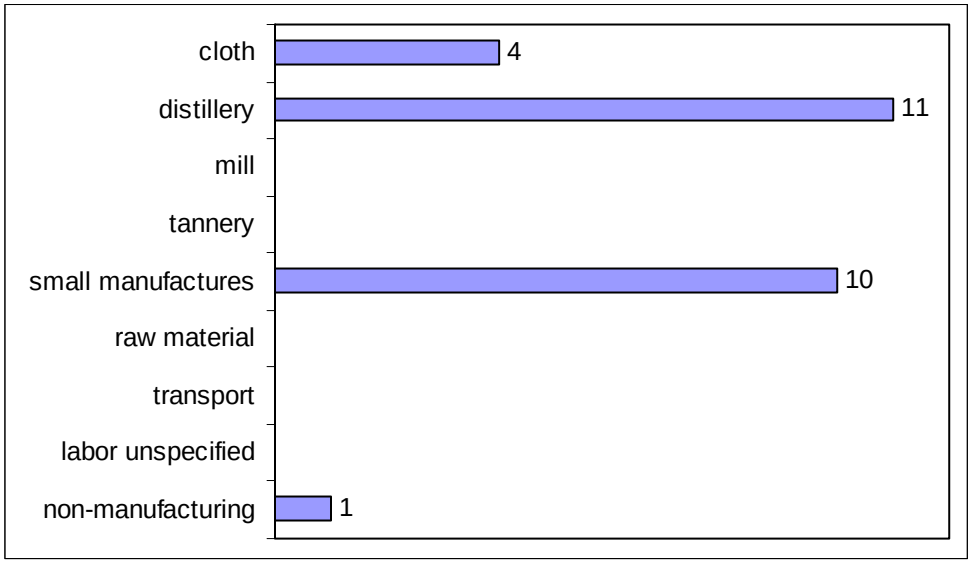
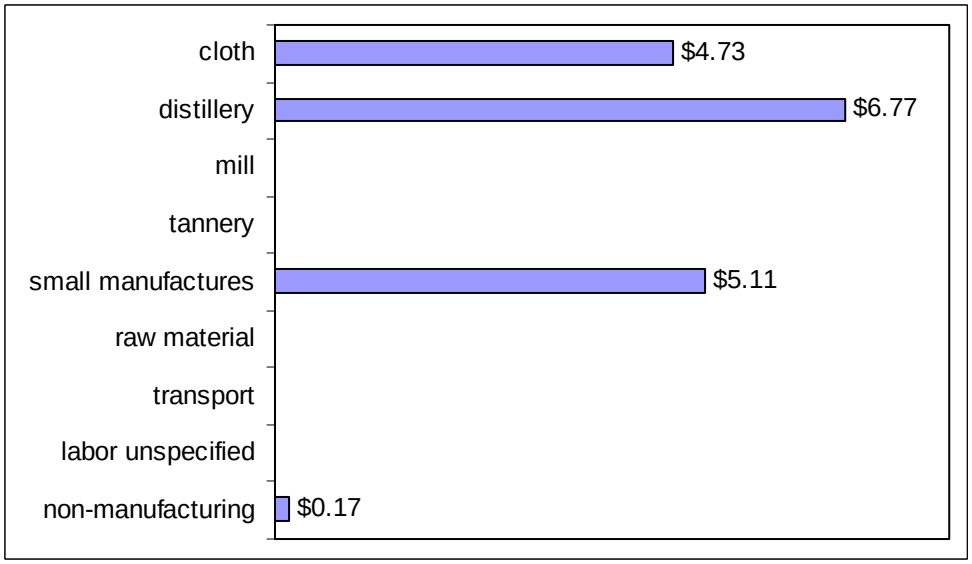


Figure 68. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1841-1842.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Marsteller Company (and Buckland) in 1841-1842

Whiskey

All whiskey transactions in the 1841-1842 are sales of whiskey by B.S. Menefee to Arel Marsteller (Table 112). Of note is the distinction between "whiskey" and "old whiskey," the latter bringing a higher price per gallon ($1.01 instead of $0.64). The most common unit volume of whiskey sold was 0.875 (or 7/8) gallon (eight of the eleven transactions). This small unit and the sale of a single glass of whiskey on 24 September 1842 suggests that Menefee had a storefront, tavern, or other walk-in facility and that he was not selling in bulk, as Hampton and Britton had done earlier in Buckland. This provides further circumstantial evidence that whiskey was no longer being produced at Buckland.

Table 112. Whiskey Transactions, 1841-1842.

Date	*Debit Account*	*Credit Account*	*Item*	*Quantity*	*Unit*	*Price*	*Notes*
1841-08-27	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.63	
1841-09-15	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.56	
1841-09-15	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	old whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.88	p. son
1841-09-16	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	old whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.88	p. son
1841-11-11	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.56	
1841-11-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.56	
1841-12-28	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.56	
1842-04-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	1.5	gallons	$0.91	
1842-05-06	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	1.3125	gallons	$0.73	
1842-09-21	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	0.875	gallons	$0.44	
1842-09-24	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	whiskey	1	glass	$0.06	for Roach

Small Manufactures

Like the whiskey transactions, all small manufacture sales in the 1841-1842 sample were between Arel Marsteller and B.S. Menefee. Only two trades are represented by this sample – blacksmith and tailor/clothier. Most common were blacksmith goods and services, making up a

total of $4.82, 94% of all small manufacturing sales. In particular, Menefee sold a total of forty-four pounds of nails to Marsteller (Table 113).

Table 113. Small Manufacture Transactions, 1841-1842.

Date	*Debit*	*Credit*	*Trade*	*Item*	*Quantity*	*Unit*	*Price*
1841-09-16	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	blacksmith work			$0.04
1841-11-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	pad lock	1		$0.38
1842-01-20	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails	6	lbs	$0.60
1842-04-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails 10d	2	lbs	$0.20
1842-04-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails 8d	4	lbs	$0.40
1842-04-22	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails 6d	15	lbs	$1.50
1842-05-06	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails 6d	15	lbs	$1.50
1842-09-23	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blacksmith	nails 8d	2	lbs	$0.20
1841-12-28	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	tailor/clothier	vest buttons	0.5	dozen	$0.23
1842-06-16	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	tailor/clothier	hank silk	1		$0.06

Cloth

Like whiskey and small manufactures, all cloth transactions in the 1841-1842 sample represent sales by B.S. Menefee to Arel Marsteller. Of the four types of cloth, blue satinett was clearly the most valuable. This was the only type of fabric sold in a quantity of less than four yards (Table 114).

Table 114. Cloth Transactions, 1841-1842.

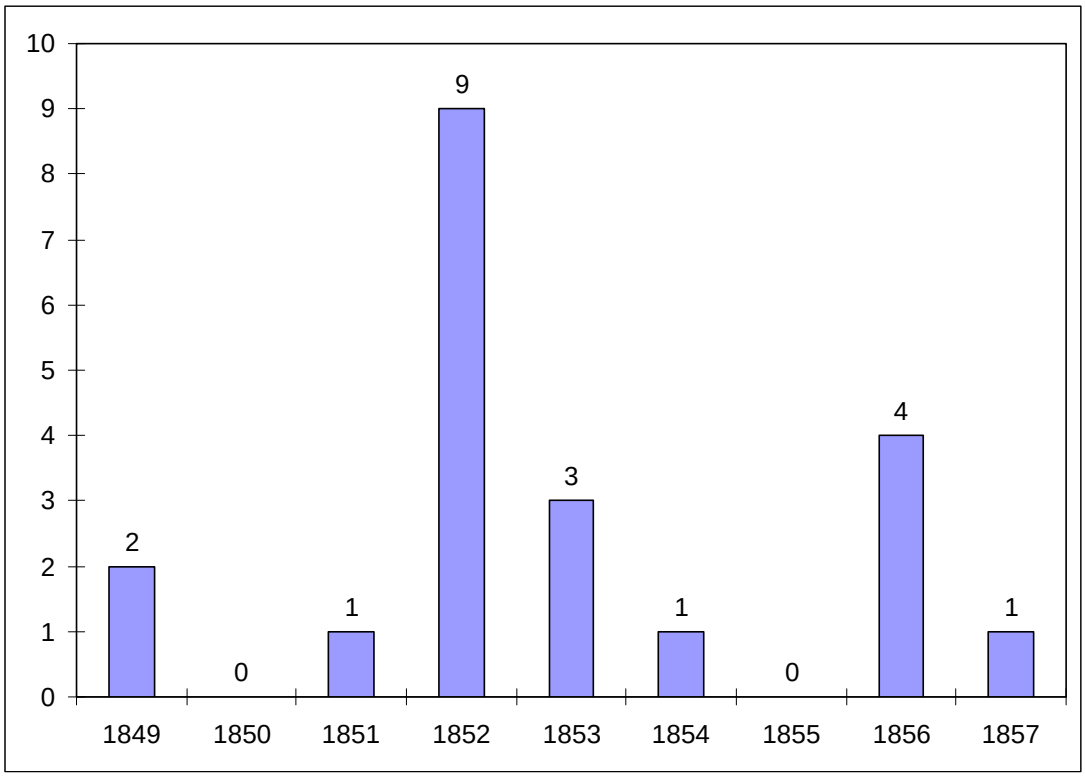
Date	*Debit*	*Credit*	*Item*	*Quantity*	*Unit*	*Price*
1842-06-27	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	mittenet	4	yards	$0.50
1841-12-28	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	blue satinett	0.5	yards	$0.63
1842-04-28	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	bed licking	10	yards	$2.10
1842-08-25	Marsteller, Arel	Menefee, B.S.	fine unbleached cotton	12	yards	$1.50

VIII. ANALYSIS OF BUSINESS AND MANUFACTURING, 1849-1857

Sample Summary

An overview of the 1849-1857 sample shows a peak in 1852 despite an otherwise discontinuous distribution of transactions in the Marsteller account papers (Figure 69). All 1852 transactions were sales of milled flour and meal by Y.H. Delaplane to Samuel A. Marsteller, while most of the remaining transactions were purchases of small manufactures from other area residents. Due to the small size of this sample and gaps in two of the nine years, it is not possible to produce meaningful charts or trends for the value of goods and services over time.

Figure 69. Transactions per Year, 1849-1857.



Types of Transactions: The Importance of Mill Products and Small Manufactures in the Marsteller Business Accounts, 1849-1857

Table 115 lists each transaction category, followed by the total number of transactions and total cash value for each type of transaction. Figure 70 shows that from 1849 through 1857, the most frequently recorded transactions were sales of milled grains (n=11) and small manufactures

(n=6). There was one transaction each for cloth, whiskey, raw materials, and non-manufactured goods. Mill products and small manufactures were also the most valuable in total sales (Figure 71). The single sale of 1.5 gallons of whiskey by James Kincheloe to Samuel A. Marsteller on 3 June 1856 was relatively valuable ($3.37), as was the single non-manufacturing transaction – 15 bushels of offal (assorted butchering by-products) sold by Y.H. Delaplane to Marsteller on 24 March 1852 for $3.00.

Table 115. Transaction Categories: Number and Total Value of Transactions, 1849-1857.

Transaction Type	*Total #*	*Total $*	*Avg. Transaction*	*Percent of Sample*
cloth	1	$0.40	$0.40	4.8%
distillery	1	$3.37	$3.37	4.8%
mill	11	$16.32	$1.48	52.4%
tannery	-	-	-	-
small manufactures	6	$15.00	$2.50	28.6%
raw material	1	$0.25	$0.25	4.8%
transport	-	-	-	-
labor unspecified	-	-	-	-
non-manufacturing	1	$3.00	$3.00	4.8%
TOTAL	21	$38.34		

Figure 70. Number of Transactions in Each Category, 1849-1857.

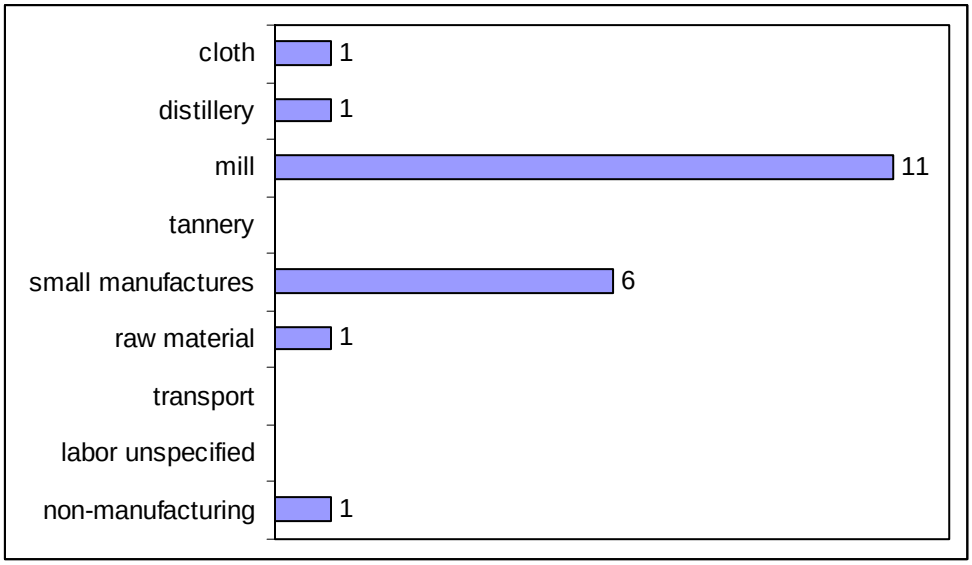
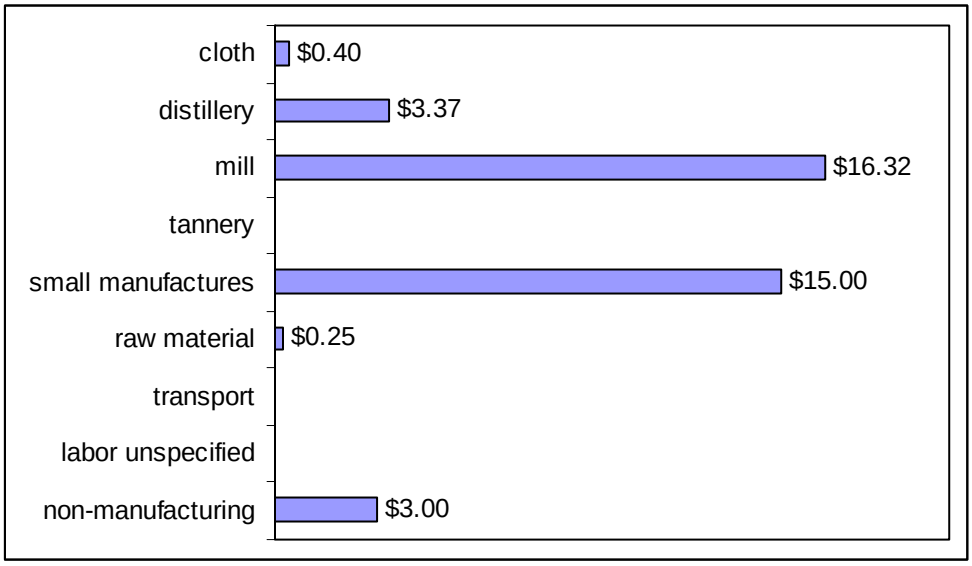


Figure 71. Total Value of Transactions in Each Category, 1849-1857.



The Range of Products and Services Available at the Marsteller Company (and Buckland) in 1849-1857

Mill Products

All mill transactions in the 1849-1857 sample represent sales of flour or meal from the Kinsley Mill by Y.H. Delaplane to Samuel A. Marsteller, and all sales took place between 1851 and 1853. Over the course of those three years, Delaplane sold Marsteller 301 pounds of flour ($7.37 total) and 13.5 bushels of meal ($8.95 total). The sale of flour by the pound rather than the bushel may reflect its higher market value than corn meal during this period (Table 116).

Table 116. Mill Transactions, 1849-1857.

Date	*Debit*	*Credit*	*Item*	*Quantity*	*Unit*	*Price*
1851-10-25	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	31	lbs	$0.62
1852-04-09	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	meal	2.5	bushels	$1.75
1852-09-17	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	meal	3.5	bushels	$2.45
1852-09-18	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	meal	2.5	bushels	$1.75
1852-09-28	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	50	lbs	$1.25
1852-10-04	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	80	lbs	$2.00
1852-10-13	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	50	lbs	$1.25
1852-10-18	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	50	lbs	$1.25
1852-11-04	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	flour	40	lbs	$1.00
1853-02-07	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	meal	2	bushels	$1.20

1853-05-18	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Delaplane, Y.H.	meal	3	bushels	$1.80

Small Manufactures

Although there are only a few small manufacture transactions in the 1849-1857 sample, they are the second most common (and valuable) category of business in the sample and they do reveal important details about trades and artisans in and around Buckland in mid-nineteenth century. Table 117 shows that shoes and boots were the most expensive small manufactures and that James Kincheloe provided these goods to Samuel A. Marsteller. William S. Manuel built a stove chimney at the Blackwell house for $3.00 on 25 October 1854, and wheelwright John W. Stonestreet did $0.50 in wagon and wheel work on 7 July 1849.

Other Goods

Of the remaining goods bought and sold at the Marsteller Store from 1849 to 1857, James Kincheloe sold two: 1.5 gallons of whiskey for $3.37 on 3 June 1856 and 4 yards of cambric for $0.40 for 27 August 1856. Kincheloe's credits for shoes, whiskey, and cloth suggest that he was a trader if not a store owner. Miller Y.H. Delaplane sold Marsteller 15 bushels of offal for $3.00 on 24 March 1852 and 15 pounds of wheat for $0.25 on 18 May 1853.

Table 117. Small Manufacture Transactions, 1849-1857.

Date	*Debit*	*Credit*	*Item*	*Price*	*Notes*
1849-07-07	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Stonestreet, John W.	spoke in hind wheel	$0.25	
1849-07-07	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Stonestreet, John W.	putting box in front wheel	$0.25	
1854-10-25	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Manuel, William S.	building stove chimney	$3.00	at the Blackwell house
1856-05-12	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Kincheloe, James	ladies shoes (1 pair)	$4.50	
1856-09-13	Marsteller, Samuel A.	Kincheloe, James	shoes (1 pair)	$2.50	
1857-08-23	Kincheloe, James	Marsteller, Samuel A.	boots (1 pair)	$4.50	for Waddell