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## Taverns in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774

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**TAVERNS IN TIDEWATER VIRGINIA, 1700-1774**

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**A Thesis**

**Presented to**

**The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia**

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**In Partial Fulfillment**

**Of the Requirements for the Degree of**

**Master of Arts**

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**By**

**Patricia Ann Gibbs**

**1968**

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts

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## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the operations of colonial taverns in tidewater Virginia. Because Williamsburg taverns receive special attention, the study is limited to the years 1700-1774.

Since taverns served the traveling public, the General Assembly and county courts passed laws regulating their number and activities. These laws not only protected the traveler, assuring him of adequate accommodations, but also guarded the tavern keeper from unfair competition and irresponsible customers.

Laws required that all taverns supply travelers with lodging, food, and drink for himself, his horse, and his servant. Though accommodations were seldom elaborate, they were usually adequate.

Larger taverns, found in Williamsburg and along principal travel routes, provided facilities for additional services: club activities, special social events such as balls, dinners, and lectures; political and civic meetings; commercial activities, ranging from public auctions to small business meetings. Tavern keepers often profited from the attention and additional business which these services attracted.

Since Williamsburg was the capital of the colony, the activities of its tavern keepers were largely determined by the fluctuations of seasonal visitation. During Public Times, tavern keepers were busy satisfying the demands of the crowds of visitors. At other times, when there were few customers, Williamsburg tavern keepers often supplemented their incomes by working at trades.

**TAVERNS IN TIDEWATER VIRGINIA, 1700-1774**



## CHAPTER I

### IMPORTANCE OF THE TAVERNS

Increased trade brought about by the continued westward settlement of colonial Virginia created the need for public houses along the established travel routes. The "original intention, and proper Use" of these houses was considered by a mid-eighteenth century Virginian to be "the Reception, Accommodation, and Refreshment of the weary and benighted Traveller."<sup>1</sup> These establishments were referred to in a number of ways -- taverns, inns, ordinaries, public houses, and tippling houses -- but as several eighteenth-century travelers noted there was no real distinction between the terms.<sup>2</sup> In imitation of the English hostelries some innkeepers used the terms taverns and inns to describe the larger, better furnished establishments and the terms ordinaries and tippling

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<sup>1</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 12, 1751, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup>J. F. D. Smyth, "Travels in Virginia, in 1773," Virginia Historical Register, VI (1853), 87. Hereafter cited as Smyth, "Travels".

[Edward Kimber], "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XV (1907), 153.

houses for the smaller, less pretentious ones, but these meanings tended to become as interchangeable during the eighteenth century as do our present-day references to motels, hotels, and inns. For the convenience of the reader the term tavern will be used in this study to refer to all the eighteenth-century public establishments.

The taverns, whose basic service was to provide the public with food, drink, and lodging, usually offered additional services. One function was to supply a social center -- mainly for informal gatherings in the public rooms but also for balls, banquets, and various private gatherings. Commercial activities also centered around the taverns. Auctions were often held on the front steps and business and civic meetings took place inside. The extent of the services available at individual taverns varied somewhat, depending on the location of the tavern, the personality of the innkeeper, and the clientele. This role of serving as a social, political and commercial center was true of both the taverns found in the towns and the country taverns located along the principal travel routes and at crossroads, ferries and county court-houses. It is interesting to note that many places where there were country taverns during the eighteenth century have been developed into towns and cities today.

During the early part of the eighteenth century in the tidewater section of Virginia and for the entire period in the western parts of the colony, taverns and other evidences of civilization were scarce. Travelers often went great distances through the undisturbed forests without meeting a single person. Francis Louis Michel, a Swiss who visited the colony at the beginning of the eighteenth century, described some of the hardships encountered by early travelers:

This day I missed the road, I travelled till noon without food in great heat through the wilderness, but did not meet a single person, the road becoming smaller and smaller, so that I feared something untoward might happen....I was alone and lost in this wild place....Thus I continued my journey with apprehensive thoughts and hungry. I could see few signs that people were living near. (Otherwise it was my habit when I traveled through the country, to inquire about the way and to mark all the roads, which I was to meet, upon a paper. Then I added how far I was away from such roads, in short I noted all the accompanying circumstances and how the right way could be known.)<sup>3</sup>

Loneliness, the fear of becoming lost, and an indifferent road system were not the only drawbacks to

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<sup>3</sup>William J. Hinke, tr. and ed., "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701 - December 1, 1702," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV (1916), 139. Hereafter cited as Michel, "Report."

early travel. Finding a shelter for the night was another. Michel also told of being "compelled to take lodging in remote places where there was but a single house."<sup>4</sup> The Reverend Andrew Burnaby, an English clergyman who traveled in Virginia nearly sixty years after Michel, came upon a discouraging situation after riding in the rain one afternoon:

My accommodations this evening were extremely bad; I had been wet to the skin in the afternoon; and at the miserable plantation in which I had taken shelter, I could get no fire; nothing to eat or drink but pure water; and not even a blanket to cover me. I threw myself down upon my mattress, but suffered so much from cold, and was so infested with insects and vermin, that I could not close my eyes. I rose early in the morning, therefore, and preceeded upon my journey....<sup>5</sup>

Being dependent upon local farmhouses for shelter, one often found communal sleeping accommodations. An interesting contrast to the way two noted Virginians reacted to similar sleeping arrangements is illustrated by their comments. George Washington was only seventeen when he wrote in November of 1749 that he had not

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 140.

<sup>5</sup>Andrew Burnaby, Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760 (Cornell University Press, 1960), pp. 44-45.

"sleep'd above three Nights or four in a bed" during the past month but "after Walking a good deal all the Day lay down before the fire upon a Little Hay Straw Fodder or bairskin which ever is to be had with Man Wife and Children like a Parcel of Dogs or Catts & happy he that gets the Berth nearest the fire."<sup>6</sup> While surveying the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728, the tidewater planter William Byrd II and those accompanying him were forced to spend numerous nights in the open. One evening when they had outridden their baggage the group stopped at a farm where they "found the housekeeping much better than the house." Byrd wrote that they were "obliged to lodge very sociably in the same apartment with the family, where, reckoning women and children, we mustered in all no less than nine persons, who all pigged it lovingly together."<sup>7</sup>

Throughout the eighteenth century travelers commented on the hospitable manner in which planters often treated

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<sup>6</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., George Washington, Colonial Traveller (Indianapolis, 1927), p. 23. Hereafter cited as Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller.

<sup>7</sup> Louis B. Wright, ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover (Cambridge, 1966), p. 318.

strangers as well as friends. Michel, visiting the colony at the beginning of the century when there were few taverns, found that it was "possible to travel through the whole country without money, except when ferrying across a river."<sup>8</sup> This extension of hospitality granted the planter a welcome relief from his usual secluded life. In fact a law passed in 1663 provided that unless a specific agreement had been arranged to pay for accommodations of food and shelter, no guest could be forced to pay however long he might remain under his host's roof.<sup>9</sup> Robert Beverley, another planter, wrote in his history of Virginia that hospitality was also extended when the planters were absent. Orders were left directing "their Principal Servant to entertain all Visitors, with every thing the Plantation affords." Even the "poor Planters who have but one Bed,...very often sit up, or lie upon a Form or Couch all Night, to make room for a weary Traveller, to repose himself after his Journey."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Michel, "Report," 114.

<sup>9</sup>William W. Hening, ed., Statutes at Large... (Richmond, 1810-1823), II, 192.

<sup>10</sup>Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 312.

One might suspect that this generous offer of hospitality caused friction between the planters and tavern keepers. In describing his travels in Virginia during 1773, J. F. D. Smyth, an Englishman, noted:

When a person of more genteel figure than common calls at an ordinary (the name of their inns), for refreshment and lodging for a night, as soon as any of the gentlemen of fortune in the neighbourhood hears of it, he either comes for him himself, or sends him a polite and pressing invitation to his house, where he meets with entertainment and accommodation, infinitely superior, in every respect, to what he could have received at the inn. If he should happen to be fatigued with travelling, he is treated in the most hospitable and genteel manner; and his servants and horses also fare plenteously, for as long a time as he chooses to stay. All this is done with the best grace imaginable, without even a hint being thrown out of a curiosity or wish to know his name.<sup>11</sup>

Another traveler, the English actor John Bernard who spent the summer of 1799 in Virginia, confirmed Smyth's observation. Bernard explained that when visitors were taken from taverns to plantations, the planters appeased the innkeepers with gifts.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Smyth, "Travels," 138-139.

<sup>12</sup>John Bernard, Retrospections of America, 1797-1811, ed. by Mrs. Bayle Bernard (New York, 1887), p. 153.

Most travelers during the colonial period made use of land or water routes or a combination of the two. The network of navigable rivers provided convenient access by water to most of the settled parts of the tidewater area. Water travel was particularly practical in the early colonial period when there were few roads and most of the settlements bordered on the rivers. Later as settlements dispersed and moved beyond the fall line into the piedmont, land travel became necessary. Then, too, land routes were more useful to the traveler going north or south than to one journeying east or west. Yet as a result of the geography of Virginia no traveler could go far on land without having to cross one or more rivers. Weather conditions also determined whether a trip was taken by water or by land. During stormy weather the water routes were avoided; on the other hand, in the spring when certain roads were flooded traveling by water was often advisable.

The scarcity of taverns which was noted by travelers in the early years was offset as more land routes were established. By the mid-eighteenth century, roads



reached out northwest, south, and east from the capital of the colony.<sup>13</sup>

The most traveled route extended northwest from Williamsburg passing Chiswell's Ordinary, then to Ashley's Ordinary and crossing the Pamunkey River at Claiborne's Ferry. Continuing northwest one passed Mill's Ordinary and came to the ordinary at King William Courthouse. There the roads branched and the traveler heading north had several choices.<sup>14</sup> The time of the year and the weather rather than the shortest distance often determined the route taken. George Washington, for instance, in going from Williamsburg to Mt. Vernon often crossed the Potomac to Port Tobacco, Maryland, and then recrossed the river near his plantation. The "Potomac Path" between Fredericksburg and Occoquan, which Washington and other

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<sup>13</sup>The Fry & Jefferson Map of Virginia and Maryland (2nd ed., 1755, which includes John Dalrymple's roads and tables). Hereafter cited as Fry-Jefferson Map.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.; for the route followed by Daniel Fisher when he traveled from Williamsburg to Philadelphia see Daniel Fisher's Journal, 1750-1755, published as "The Fisher History," in Louise P. du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families (Lynchburg, 1907), II, 788-793.

travelers often avoided, was swampy and nearly impassable at certain seasons of the year.<sup>15</sup>

If a traveler wanted the most direct route from Williamsburg to Annapolis he could take the northeastern road from King William Courthouse, crossing the Mattopony River by ferry to Walkerton. Then he continued past Tappahannock, crossing the Rappahannock River at Corbin's Ferry, and traveled north to the Potomac where he boarded a ferry across to Port Tobacco.<sup>16</sup>

The alternate route to Annapolis from Fredericksburg, the "Potomac Path," led north and east from Fredericksburg and crossed the headwaters of a number of estuary creeks. This road passed through the towns of Dumfries and Colchester to Cameron's Ordinary at Belhaven. Then one turned east to Alexandria, crossed the Potomac, and continued northeast to Annapolis.<sup>17</sup>

Most eighteenth-century travelers followed one of these routes; however, as additional public ferries were

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<sup>15</sup>Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, p. 142. See footnote following the entry for April 19, 1760.

<sup>16</sup>Fry-Jefferson Map.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

established, other roads were available to the traveler. At mid-century William Clifton advertised a "most convenient and short Road from Annapolis to Williamsburg." The advantage of this route, though the distance was "greater than the Common Computation," was that the Potomac River was "narrow at this Place and passable in almost all Weather." Besides "a ready Passage over Patomack River," Clifton assured the readers of "good Entertainment for Man and Horse."<sup>18</sup>

A traveler bound west across the Blue Ridge went north from King William Courthouse and crossed the Matapony at Todd's Ordinary, where by 1751 there was a bridge. He then proceeded northwest to Fredericksburg and crossed the Rappahannock River at Falmouth. Continuing in a northwesterly direction, he eventually passed Picket's, Harding's, Nevil's, and Watt's ordinaries before coming to Ashby's Gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains.<sup>19</sup>

There was likewise traffic going south from Williamsburg to Edenton, North Carolina. This route passed from

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<sup>18</sup> Maryland Gazette, August 5, 1746, p. 4, Colonial Williamsburg microfilm, M-1100-1. Hereafter Colonial Williamsburg microfilm will be indicated by the number only.

<sup>19</sup> Fry-Jefferson Map.

Williamsburg to Jamestown, then crossed the James River into Surry County and continued in a southerly direction into North Carolina.<sup>20</sup>

The route east from Williamsburg was the shortest, passing through Yorktown and on to the Half-way House, an ordinary about midway between Williamsburg and Hampton. From there the traveler continued southeast to Hampton and crossed Hampton Roads by boat to Norfolk.<sup>21</sup>

A variety of people using these roads during the eighteenth century stopped at taverns along the way: farmers taking their tobacco to the nearest warehouse or stopping at the local tavern to chat with friends and hear the latest news, friends paying social calls, merchants and planters making business trips, and statesmen going to and from the capital. Though some of the visitors were from the other colonies, more than half of the travelers were foreigners; most were English but others

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

were French, Germans and Swiss. This group included military men, evangelists, men seeking business opportunities, government representatives, scholars, scientists, and tourists.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>The Introduction to Jane Carson, Travelers in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1800 (Williamsburg, 1965), xi and xii, classifies the foreign visitors.

## CHAPTER II

### LAWS GOVERNING TAVERNS

Since taverns served the public, government regulations were necessary to protect both patrons and innkeepers. The traveler needed some assurance of fair prices, adequate food and drink, and clean lodging. In order to provide the services expected innkeepers also needed protection from unfair competition, overextension of credit, and damages from the disorderly conduct of their clients.

Formal regulation became necessary in the first third of the seventeenth century, when a large number of taverns had sprung up in Jamestown and surrounding settlements. As early as 1638 the General Assembly limited the prices that a tavern keeper could charge for a meal or a gallon of beer to six pounds of tobacco or eighteen pence. By the next year, 1639, commissions were being issued by the governor to individual tavern keepers. These commissions specified that no unlawful games or disorders should take

place at the taverns.<sup>1</sup> In 1655 the General Assembly granted the county courts authority to license taverns and ferries. Several years later authority to set maximum prices for drinks was also granted to the county courts.<sup>2</sup>

The act of 1705 was a general restatement with amendments of the seventeenth-century legislation. The provisions required the use of sealed weights and measures; allowed for the sale of bottled liquors; stated the procedure for obtaining a license as well as the penalty for retailing liquors without a license; set up regulations against unlawful gaming and drunkenness; granted to the county courts the right to set annually the maximum prices for liquor, food, lodging, and fodder; and placed limits on the amount of credit which innkeepers could extend. A second comprehensive act which incorporated all earlier provisions was passed in 1748.<sup>3</sup>

Another act passed in 1705 protected the licensed taverns from unfair competition. For instance, no

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<sup>1</sup>Notes from Council and General Court records made by Conway Robinson and printed in Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XIV (1906-1907), 189.

<sup>2</sup>William W. Hening, ed., Statutes at Large... (Richmond, 1810-1823), I, 411 and 521. Hereafter cited Hening, Statutes.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., III, 395-400; VI, 71-76.

innkeeper could be licensed within ten miles of a town, public ferry, or courthouse. Also when a new ferry crossing was established the keeper was given a monopoly for operating a tavern at the ferry.<sup>4</sup> These provisions were necessary to protect the keepers of country taverns whose business was often more that of providing a service than making a living.

When towns such as Williamsburg and Norfolk were incorporated, the Hustings Court received the same authority to issue licenses and regulate taverns that the county courts were given earlier.<sup>5</sup> This legislation, which was passed for Williamsburg in 1723, was evidently disregarded since York County and presumably James City County continued to issue licenses to taverns in the capital. An attempt was made in 1742 to correct this situation when another law was passed which gave the Hustings Court sole power over the taverns in Williamsburg.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., III, 406 and 474.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., IV, 138-139; VI, 263-264.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., V, 207. See York County Wills and Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 29, 64, 589 for ordinary licenses issued in 1732, 1733, and 1739 to Henry Wetherburn and pages 344, 426, 493 for ordinary licenses issued in 1737, 1738, and 1739 to John Parker. (M-1-9)



The most direct means of regulating taverns was by controlling the number of ordinary licenses issued. Petitioning the county courts for a license was the first requirement for opening a tavern. Before granting a license the court considered "the convenience of the place proposed" as well as the petitioner's ability to provide adequate "lodging, and entertainment for travellers, their servants and horses." Since running a tavern necessitated a considerable outlay of capital, the courts granted licenses only to those who could provide "all things necessary for entertainment, and have housing fitting for the same." After approving the petition the court required the innkeeper to post a bond of ten thousand pounds of tobacco or fifty pounds current money. The court also collected a fee of thirty-five shillings current money or fifty pounds of tobacco for each ordinary license which it issued.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Hening, Statutes, III, 396-397; IV, 415; VI, 71.

Evidently a license to sell ale and cakes was separate from an ordinary license. In the 1690's the Surry County Courts granted one George Foster "a Lysence to sell Ale and Cakes" at his house but "not to retail any other Liquor, nor suffer any unlawful Gaming." Surry County Orders (1691-1718), p. 3. (M-117-25)

As an example the petition and ordinary license granted by the York County Court to Edward Ripping in September of 1718 read:

Know all men by these presents that We Edward Ripping Henry Holdcraft & David Cuninghame of the County of York are held & firmly bound unto our Sovereign Lord King George by the Grace of God of Great Britain France & Ireland defender of the faith &c in the Sum of Ten thousand pounds of Tobacco Convenient in the said County of York to which payment well & only to be made to our Sovereign Lord the King his heirs & Successors We bind our Selves & every of us our & every of our heirs Executors & Administrators Jointly & Severally firmly by these presents. Sealed with our Seals & Dated this 15th day of September 1718.

The Condition of this Obligation is such that whereas the above bounded Edward Ripping hath an order this day Granted him for a License to keep an Ordinary at his now dwelling house in Williamsburgh in this County for the year next ensuing if therefore the said Edward Ripping doth Constantly find & provide in his said Ordinary Good wholesome & cleanly lodging & Dyet for Travellers & Stableage fodder & provender or pasturage & provender (as the Season shall require) for their horses from the date of their presents for & during the Term of One year & Shall not Suffer & permitt any unlawfull Gaming in his house nor on the Sabbath day Suffer any person to Tipple & drink more than is necessary Then this Obligation to be void or else to remain in full force & virtue.

At a Court held for York County  
September 15, 1718 <sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 325.  
(M-1-7)

The penalty for operating a tavern without a license was a fine of two thousand pounds of tobacco in 1705 or ten pounds current money in 1748. For failure to pay the fee or present security within six months, the punishment was twenty-one lashes at the public whipping post.<sup>9</sup> Violations of these regulations were evidently frequent, for the governor, the Council, and the treasurer of the colony published notices urging the courts to be more strict in issuing tavern licenses and obtaining the necessary fees. This notice signed by Governor Fauquier appeared in the Virginia Gazette in 1766:

WHEREAS I have received certain and frequent information that I am injured to the amount of a large sum of money annually, by the indulgence shown to the keepers of ordinaries, in not compelling them to renew their licenses, according to law: This is to desire that the Judges on the respective Benches would take care that justice is done to the country as well as myself in this point, by directing that the Clerk of the Court keep a correct register of the dates of the licenses granted, and report to the Court the time of the expiration of each license. And the King's Attornies are hereby required to present, and prosecute, all such offenders against law as shall presume to keep open

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<sup>9</sup>Hening, Statutes, III, 396; VI, 73.

ordinary, and sell liquors, after the expiration of the term for which the last license was granted.<sup>10</sup>

The Governor's notice may have been effective for a short time, but several years later the Council questioned the fact that the population of the colony was growing whereas the fees obtained from ordinary licenses were decreasing. At their December 15, 1769 meeting the Council requested that a notice be placed in the Virginia Gazette ordering the county clerks to collect the fee when the bond for a tavern license was issued. Tavern keepers were reminded that failure to obtain or renew a license or to pay the fee subjected them to prosecution by the king's attorney of their county.<sup>11</sup>

On several occasions during the second half of the eighteenth century a special tax was placed on ordinary licenses. These taxes were levied during times of public emergency and were thought to be "easy to the people and not so burthensome as a poll-tax." For instance, in 1771

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<sup>10</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), November 27, 1766, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup>Benjamin J. Hillman, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1966), VI, 338.

"an Act for the Relief of the Sufferers by the Loss of Tobacco Damaged or Burnt in Several Warehouses" required that a duty of twenty shillings be paid to the county clerk before a tavern license be issued.<sup>12</sup> Evidently the treasurer of the colony, Robert Carter Nicholas, had difficulty collecting these taxes, for several notices were published in the Virginia Gazette between 1766 and 1771 reminding the sheriffs to be more conscientious in collecting various taxes, including those on tavern licenses, which had fallen into arrears.<sup>13</sup>

Besides licensing taverns the county courts had authority to set maximum prices that could be charged. These rates were usually determined at the March meeting of the court and included liquors, diet, lodging, fodder, provender and pasturage. Within a month the innkeeper was expected to obtain a copy of the rates from the county clerk and post the rates in the public room of his tavern. Court action was taken against tavern keepers who failed

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<sup>12</sup>Virginia Gazette (Rind), December 28, 1769, p. 1; Hening, Statutes, VIII, 493-508.

<sup>13</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), July 4, 1766, p. 3; (Rind), December 25, 1766, p. 2; (Purdie & Dixon), April 14, 1768, p. 2; July 18, 1771, p. 1.

to post the current prices or overcharged their customers. The innkeeper was not only fined by the court but was also forced to give ten shillings to the informer.<sup>14</sup>

Even though taverns were considered public places, certain groups such as seamen, servants, and students were restricted in their use of the taverns. These people were not considered responsible since they could not be sued in court for debts or misbehavior. Thus, entertaining seamen and servants without written permission of the ship's commander or master of a servant was forbidden by law. Innkeepers convicted of ignoring this law were subject to having their taverns closed to the public for as long as the justices of the county court saw fit.<sup>15</sup>

Occasionally other groups were excluded from the taverns. In 1701 the General Assembly forbade tavern keepers from entertaining (selling food or drink to) the men who were working on the Capitol. This restraint was imposed "for the better Management to the Workmen and Laborers for their more regular living in Order to the

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<sup>14</sup>Hening, Statutes, III, 395-400; VI, 71-76.

<sup>15</sup>Hening, Statutes, III, 395-400; VI, 25 and 71-76.

better persueing their Works." An innkeeper who transgressed could have his tavern license suspended and be fined according to the law which forbade selling drinks to servants.<sup>16</sup>

A rule passed in 1754 by the president and masters of the College of William and Mary forbade the students from frequenting the taverns in or near Williamsburg except at the request of relatives or close friends.<sup>17</sup> In later years the rules concerning the students' use of the Williamsburg taverns were relaxed, for by the 1760's and 1770's several social-intellectual societies were meeting at the Raleigh and other taverns.<sup>18</sup> Upon graduation in May, 1775, Walker Maury, one of the ushers at the college and a member of the F. H. C. society, gave a party for his friends at one of the taverns. The students failed to get permission to stay out late and remained at

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<sup>16</sup> A copy of this law appears in York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XI (1698-1702), 500-501. (M-1-5)

<sup>17</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., II (1893-1894), 55.

<sup>18</sup> Jane Carson, James Innes and his Brothers of the F. H. C. (Williamsburg, 1965), p. 1. Also the statement of family tradition by Major Innes Randolph that members of the F. H. C. "met in the upper room of the tavern and that their laughter shook the house." William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XXV (1917), 162.

the tavern "till one of them at least was in Liquor, and did not take care to see him quietly lodged in his room so as to prevent his making a midnight disturbance at the College."<sup>19</sup> Since there were few rooms at the college suitable for the use of organized groups these students were allowed to meet at the taverns; on the other hand, individual students were still not permitted to "frequent" the taverns.

After the mid-eighteenth century most of the new laws governing taverns were concerned with gambling. In Virginia gambling was considered a gentleman's privilege, forbidden to members of the working class -- apprentices, craftsmen, laborers, seamen and servants -- since gambling caused them to neglect their work.<sup>20</sup> A law passed in 1740 imposed a ten-pound fine on an innkeeper who permitted play at any game of cards or dice, except backgammon. Four years later an amending act added to the number of games excepted and cut in half the amount of

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<sup>19</sup> Faculty Minutes, May 18, 1775, printed in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIV (1906), 244.

<sup>20</sup> For a discussion of the gambling habits of Virginians see: Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play, (Williamsburg, 1965), pp. 49-55.



the fine. Persons at a tavern, a race track, or any other public place were forbidden from playing games (except billiards, backgammon, and bowls) or betting on the hands of those who played. If convicted they were subject to a fine of five pounds. Likewise a tavern keeper who permitted unlawful gambling at his house, shed, booth, arbor, or stall, upon conviction, was fined five pounds. Also any justice who observed such gaming and failed to issue a warrant was, if convicted, subject to a fine of five pounds. In 1748 another act for preventing excessive and deceitful gaming, set the same fines for players, innkeepers, and justices if convicted; however, to the list of games which were excepted (billiards, backgammon, and bowls) were added chess and draughts. Though laws which attempted to limit gambling in public places continued to be passed, this legislation was less restrictive, the fines were lessened, and the number of games which were considered lawful was enlarged.<sup>21</sup>

Regulations which limited the amount of credit in liquor that an innkeeper could extend were in effect

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<sup>21</sup>Hening, Statutes, V, 102-103, 229-230; VI, 78.

during most of the eighteenth century. These laws, though unpopular with innkeepers, prevented the extension of credit to persons from whom the tavern keeper would be unable to collect and thus helped to protect him from going into debt. Another reason for the limitation was stated in the act of 1705:

...the unlimited credit given...to seamen and others, where they spend not only their ready money, but their wages and other goods, which should be for the support of themselves and families, is found prejudicial, and occasions many persons nearly free, to run away to the neighboring plantations, to the great disadvantage of this country.

The amount of credit which innkeepers could extend annually to responsible Virginians was three hundred pounds of tobacco. Sailors attached to any ship and persons who were not the masters of two servants or who did not have property valued at fifty pounds sterling or more were not allowed any credit.<sup>22</sup>

The 1705 law evidently proved too lenient, for by 1734 the extension of credit had brought "impoverishment and ruin to many poor families" -- presumably to families of innkeepers as well as those who patronized the taverns.

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., III, 400.

As a result the amount of credit for liquor which could be extended annually was reduced to twenty shillings. During Public Times (the time in the spring and fall when the General Court sat) the innkeepers of Williamsburg were exempt from this restriction and allowed to issue credit to anyone.<sup>23</sup>

Between 1744 and 1765 tavern keepers presented a number of petitions to the House of Burgesses protesting the twenty-shilling limitation of credit on liquor. The innkeepers of Williamsburg and Yorktown in 1744 requested a repeal of the 1734 statute stating that "great Inconveniences, as well as manifest Losses in their Way of Business" were caused by the law. Two years later (1746) the innkeepers of Williamsburg requested permission to extend unlimited credit throughout the year and not just during Public Times, since "they are at other times under a necessity of giving Credit to many Persons."<sup>24</sup>

After sending petitions to the General Assembly for nearly twenty years the innkeepers of Yorktown finally

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., IV, 428.

<sup>24</sup>Henry R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1742-1747 (Richmond, 1909), p. 94 and 202. Hereafter cited as McIlwaine, J. H. B.

succeeded in getting part of the limitations on credit removed. As a result of a petition presented in November, 1762, an amending act was passed stipulating that tavern keepers could extend as much credit as they thought proper; however, the usual restriction on extending credit to seamen was included and also residents of the county or town were excluded from the open credit arrangement.<sup>25</sup> This last restriction prevented the local drunks from loitering at the taverns and drinking more than they could pay for.

Two years later tavern keepers were still trying to remove the restriction limiting credit to residents. In May 1765, the "Innholders" of Williamsburg, Norfolk, Hampton, Yorktown, and Gloucester united and presented such a petition, but it was rejected.<sup>26</sup> Thus the limitation of credit for local residents continued through 1774.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., (1761-1765), p. 81; Hening, Statutes, VII, 595-596.

<sup>26</sup> Mc Ilwaine, J. H. B. (1761-1765), p. 330.

<sup>27</sup> Hening, Statutes, X, 145-147.

The General Assembly also passed laws which limited the outside activities of tavern keepers. For instance, an act concerning juries which was passed in 1748 listed innkeepers among those men who could not serve as jurors.<sup>28</sup> Tavern keepers were excluded since their business services were especially needed when the courts were in session. Another law stated that "no inspector of tobacco...be allowed to keep an ordinary, or house of entertainment, at or near the warehouse where he is an inspector."<sup>29</sup>

Laws regulating taverns were not strictly enforced or obeyed during the eighteenth century; however, the paucity of surviving information and the loss of many of the court records makes it impossible to determine the frequency of violations. That tavern legislation continued to be written throughout the century indicates that old laws were broken and new ones were needed. The fact that a tavern keeper was charged with violating a regulation did not necessarily indicate an infraction since

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., V, 523.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., VIII, 325.

with the keen competition among innkeepers false charges were often brought. Examples in the following paragraphs indicate some of the regulations which tavern keepers were accused of violating.

Retailing liquors without a license was one of the more serious offenses. For example, Gabriel Maupin, the first of a family of Williamsburg tavern keepers, was convicted and fined two thousand pounds of tobacco for such a violation. Evidently Maupin paid this fine, for several years later (1714) he was granted a license to open a tavern at his house in Williamsburg.<sup>30</sup>

Occasionally tavern keepers were accused of overcharging. Jean Marot, who operated a popular Williamsburg tavern from 1705 until 1717, was twice found guilty of "Selling Liquors at Higher Rates than is Set." In both 1710 and 1713, after admitting that he was at fault and agreeing to pay the fine, Marot was dismissed. In fact the same court that found Marot guilty of overcharging in 1713 renewed his license for another year.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XIII, (1706-1710), 169; XIV, (1709-1716), 353. (M-1-6)

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., XIV (1709-1716), 17, 237 and 244. (M-1-7)

Selling liquors in false measures was similar to overcharging. The laws required that strong drinks be sold in English sealed measures: gills, half-pints, pints, quarts, pottles (half-gallons), and gallons. In 1717 all of the tavern keepers of Norfolk were charged with using false measures. However, after examining the measures in court, the justices found them to be accurate and the charges were dismissed.<sup>32</sup>

More than one report of liquor being sold to servants in Williamsburg has survived. In 1714 Edward Ripping, whose tavern license was quoted earlier, was accused of entertaining a servant without permission of the master, allowing him to get drunk, and permitting this to happen on Sunday. Since Ripping was found guilty of violating two regulations, he had to pay court costs and was suspended from selling liquors.<sup>33</sup>

A later account of liquor being sold to Negroes was recorded by Daniel Fisher in his journal. Fisher, who came to Williamsburg from London in 1751 and opened a

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<sup>32</sup>Norfolk County Deeds, IX (1710-1717), 189-194. Virginia State Library microfilm, Reel 5.

<sup>33</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 397. (M-1-6)

tavern and later operated a store, quarreled with everyone he met except the lawyer and clerk of the Council, Nathaniel Walthoe. Therefore, Fisher's bias should be considered in reading the account of his being accused by Mayor John Holt of selling rum to Negroes:

I acquainted the Court, that I made not the least objection to the Negro evidence, and if Mr. Holt would produce but one such of a reputable character, as a Negro, who would only say, I had ever let a Negro have any spiritous liquors without the leave or order of the Master or Mistress, or any Person whatever in less quantity than a Pint, I should esteem it a just reason for restraining my selling; that no Negro had ever been served with Rum by my family, I would not presume to say, but I would undertake to affirm that not one merchant in the Town who sold Rum at all was so cautious of letting any Negro be supplied with rum, without a written or Verbal leave as myself. That it was very well known my family had been scrupulous in this matter, and I was ready to prove, if they would give me any leave, by indisputable evidence, that my family had turned away two Negroes in one day, for the want of such authority, who went directly from my house to Mr. Holt's, and was then served without the least scruple whatever. This put the Court in a flame, and I was openly ordered to be silent.



As the case continued Holt admitted that "he had no ground for his information, save Common Fame," and the charge was dropped.<sup>34</sup>

During the same court session John Greenhow, another Williamsburg merchant, requested a year's extension on his lease. Fisher noted that Greenhow was "infamously remarkable for trafficking with Negroes in wine, or any other commodity, Sunday not excepted." Later, according to Fisher's account, Holt stood up

...and in a sanctified speech, informed the Court that he never heard of Mr. Greenhow being guilty of the practice of selling liquor to Negroes--whereupon addressing myself to the bystanders, as well as the Court, I Fisher desired all present to take notice what an arrant strumpet this common Fame was, who had informed that worthy Gentleman Mr. Holt of my being guilty of this vile practice; and of Mr. Greenhow's innocence of the Fact: this put the Court again in a hubbub, and I was again called to order;...Yet all this was done so publicly in the face of the whole town, it was thought proper to allow me the liberty of selling as usual and to refuse Mr. Greenhow. Nevertheless, I was since informed by Mr. Holt's or some greater influence Mr. Greenhow had the liberty granted the next Court Day. This affair happened I think in March 1754.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Daniel Fisher's Journal, 1750-1755, published as "The Fisher History," in Louise P. du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families (Lynchburg, 1907), II, 788.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 779.

Though Fisher's account is one-sided, it indicates that during the mid-eighteenth century liquor was sold illegally to Negroes in Williamsburg.<sup>36</sup>

Unlawful games were frequently played at the taverns. A surviving court case describing an evening of dice-playing in Williamsburg serves as an illustration of cheating. George Holden and John Hughlett, both wealthy citizens, had been playing backgammon in James Shields' tavern. When the Maryland lawyer, George Douglass, joined them, they started to play hazard using a new pair of dice provided by Shields. For some reason the new dice were exchanged for an old pair of dice which someone handed Hughlett through a window. The playing continued until Hughlett won from the other two men a total of thirty-eight pistoles. Hughlett then left with his winnings and dice. Later that evening as Holden and Douglass entered the latter's shop next door, they found Hughlett and several others playing with what appeared to be the same worn dice. James Littlepage, who was observing the game, suspected that the dice were loaded and picked up a die.

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<sup>36</sup>Liquors could be sold by merchants as long as they were not drunk on the premises. See Hening, Statutes, VI, 74.

Hughlett refused to give Littlepage the other die but instead threw it into a corner of the shop. Littlepage, Holden, and Douglass then left with the captured die and afterwards as they examined it were able to pick pieces of lead out of two of the sides. Later in court Holden sued Hughlett for the thirty-eight pistoles and was awarded £ 28/15.<sup>37</sup>

From the early seventeenth century, tavern keepers were admonished to keep orderly establishments--that is, to see that their customers did not become so rowdy as to disturb those living nearby. Controlling clients who got roaring drunk was, no doubt, a problem and on more than one occasion tavern keepers were charged with keeping a "disorderly house." On April 12, 1712, Byrd noted in his diary that several young gentlemen were taken to court for a riot committed the night before "at Su Allen's and A-t-k-s-n's, but came off with paying ten shillings apiece." Several of the rioters became leading men of the colony:

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<sup>37</sup> Case of Holden v. Hughlett, tried June 16, 1746, York County Land Causes, 1746-1769, pp. 1-7 at back of book. (M-1-14a)

Mann Page of Rosewell, John Grymes of Brandon, and James Burwell, the son of Lewis Burwell.<sup>38</sup>

Sometimes tavern brawls ended in tragedy. One evening at Richard Joslin's tavern in Norfolk Samuel Rogers, Nathaniel Newton, James Hustings, Henry Jenkins, and William Finiken engaged in horseplay and jigs while making frequent visits to the punch bowl. During a game of all-fours Rogers won several bowls of sangaree from Finiken. In the friendly tussle that followed, Finiken was thrown backward on the floor. His friends put him to bed and after finding that his pulse was normal, left him to sleep off the effects of the sangaree. The next morning he was found dead.<sup>39</sup>

During the summer of 1766 Colonel John Chiswell of Williamsburg killed a man in a brawl at Ben Mosby's tavern at Cumberland Courthouse. Robert Routledge, a merchant-planter from Prince Edward County, and some of his friends had spent most of the day at Mosby's.

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<sup>38</sup>Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds. The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover (Richmond, 1949), p. 517.

<sup>39</sup>Norfolk County Deeds, IX (1710-1717), 163. Virginia State Library microfilm, Reel 5.

Colonel Chiswell dropped in during the evening (late afternoon) and began talking rather boastfully. Routledge, who by this time was quite drunk, expressed disapproval, whereupon the colonel called the merchant "a fugitive rebel, a villain who came to Virginia to cheat and defraud man of their property, and a Presbyterian fellow." Routledge replied by throwing wine from his glass at Chiswell--"some part of which did touch him." Chiswell reacted to the affront by attempting to throw first a bowl of bumbo, then a candlestick, and finally a pair of fire tongs at Routledge but was restrained by the onlookers. Thoroughly enraged by this time, Chiswell ordered his servant to bring his sword and "swore that he would run any man through the body who should dare to come near him." More heated words were exchanged and Routledge started around the table which separated the two men. Chiswell, reportedly sober but by this time furious, advanced and "with his sword, or hanger, stabbed him through the heart across the table." Someone grabbed Chiswell, but it was too late. Chiswell then ordered a bowl of toddy which he "drank very freely" so that when the justice of the peace arrived "he was somewhat intoxicated." Chiswell was arrested and later released on bail. Since

he died very suddenly before his trial, he was never convicted of the murder.<sup>40</sup>

A number of regulations were violated by Susanna Allen, one of the more colorful Williamsburg tavern keepers in the early part of the eighteenth century. Mention has already been made of the riot at her tavern in the spring of 1712. The following year she was charged with "keeping Disorderly house," but the case was discontinued when the informer failed to appear. At the same court session, however, she was found guilty of "keeping a marryed man Constant Company" and fined five hundred pounds of tobacco.<sup>41</sup> On another occasion Mistress Allen was accused of failing to post a table of the current prices in the common room of her tavern; after weighing the evidence, the jury gave a verdict of not guilty.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), July 18, 1766, p. 2; October 17, 1766, p. 3. For a detailed discussion of this murder see Carl Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766; or, The Importance of the Trivial," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, LXXVI (1964), 1-29.

<sup>41</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 268. (M-1-6) Tradition has suggested that Susanna Allen ran a brothel, but no evidence has been found to support this supposition about any of the taverns in Williamsburg.

<sup>42</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 167. (M-1-6)

Though tavern laws were often violated, the infractions probably never reached the proportions cited by the contemporary observer, "A. B." This clergyman objected to another tavern being licensed in his parish and wrote a letter to the king's attorney in his county which was subsequently printed in the Virginia Gazette. In his opinion, taverns had been perverted from their original intention of providing entertainment and lodging for the traveler and had "become the common Receptacle, and Rendezvous of the very Dreggs of the People...where not only Time and Money are squandered away, but where prohibited and unlawful Games...abound to the greatest Excess." He particularly singled out cards, dice, horse racing, cock fighting, drunkenness, cursing, cheating, lying, and fighting. The clergyman entreated the king's attorney to realize that his accusation was "no Exaggeration but a just Representation of the Case" and called for a "redress of such outrageous Grievances." In conclusion he asked that no more "Nurseries of Vice" be licensed in the part of the county "where the Interest of Religion" resided in his hands.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), April 11, 1751, p. 3.

### CHAPTER III

#### REGULAR TAVERN SERVICES .

Many buildings which became taverns were first used as houses; consequently, these structures generally conformed to architectural designs which were common to eighteenth-century dwellings. Taverns in Williamsburg and along the well-traveled routes were often fairly large buildings with four or more rooms on the first floor-- generally used for dining, drinking, gaming, and lodging-- and three or four bedrooms upstairs. Other taverns were smaller with only a common room on the first floor and one or more bedrooms above. In the later colonial period it was fashionable as well as practical to have a large porch on the front of taverns as did Mrs. Vobe's on Waller Street in Williamsburg by 1765. Descriptions of taverns for sale during the 1770's often include the phrase "a Piassa the length of the House." Behind the taverns were generally found a kitchen, dairy, well, smokehouse,



grain house, lumber house, stable, pastures, gardens, and orchards.<sup>1</sup>

The furnishings varied with the circumstances of the owners. Fisher, who stopped at a tavern in Leeds, found that "the House and Furniture, has as elegant an appearance, as any I have seen in the country. Mr. Finnays or Withbernes in Williamsburg not excepted. The Chairs Tables &c. of the Room I was conducted into was all of Mahogany, and...stuffed with fine large glaized Copper Plate Prints."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The following advertisements give detailed descriptions of taverns: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 21, 1771, p. 3; July 9, 1772, p. 3; (Purdie), October 31, 1777, p. 2.

A letter of Governor Fauquier to the Board of Trade and Plantations, November 3, 1765, mentions a porch on the front of the tavern. Henry R. Mc Ilwaine, Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1761-1765 (Richmond, 1907), p. lxix.

The anonymous French traveler mentioned separate rooms for drinking and gambling at Mrs. Vobe's tavern. "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), 742. Hereafter cited as "French Traveller, 1765."

<sup>2</sup>Daniel Fisher's Journal, 1750-1755, published as "The Fisher History," in Louise P. du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families (Lynchburg, 1907), II, 79. Hereafter cited Fisher, "Journal."

Very different conditions were encountered in the piedmont section of Virginia, where taverns were often located in people's houses. Chastellux described staying at

...one of the worst lodging places in all America. Mrs. Teaze, the mistress of the house, was some time ago bereft by the death of her husband, and I verily believe that she was also bereft of all her furniture, for I have never seen a more badly furnished house. A poor tin vessel was the only 'Bowl' used for the family, our servants, and ourselves; I dare not say what other use it was offered to us when we went to bed. As we were four masters...the hostess and her family were obliged to give up their bed to us.<sup>3</sup>

Most tidewater taverns were better furnished than the one described above, though this was not always true. Fisher passed by Southern's, a tavern in Essex County just south of the Rappahannock River, where he had planned to spend the night. On finding it to be only a "hut, full of rude, mean people," he rode on.<sup>4</sup>

### Employees

The size of a tavern and its location determined the number of people needed to keep it in operation. Some of

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<sup>3</sup> Francois Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, ed. by Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill, 1963; originally published London, 1787), II, 402. Hereafter cited as Chastellux, Travels.

<sup>4</sup> Fisher, "Journal," 790.

the larger taverns required about the same number of slaves and distribution of labor as a large home.<sup>5</sup> For instance, Anthony Hay in January of 1771 owned twenty slaves; among them were "a good Coachman and Carter, some fine Waiting Boys, good Cooks, Waiters, &c."<sup>6</sup>

Country taverns were often owned by a person of influence but operated by a hired keeper. In his journey from Williamsburg to Philadelphia, Fisher stopped at Roan's Tavern before coming to the Rappahannock River:

This Ordinary belongs, it seems, to one Major R<sup>o</sup>a<sup>n</sup> a Person of influence in these Parts who obtains a License at the County Court where of he is himself a Member, and puts into it some Lazy Person or other, at a Salary, or so much per. cent, as is likely to pint off the greatest quantities of Liquors for him. This is a common practice in the country, by which means, tho' the Proprietor (by the Courtesy) avoids the Reproach of being deemed an Ordinary keeper, and the scandal of what is then transacted; yet he reaps the greatest share of the Profits.<sup>7</sup>

Advertisements for tavern keepers support Fisher's statement that the taverns were not always kept by their

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<sup>5</sup>Thad W. Tate, Jr., The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, 1965), p. 63.

<sup>6</sup>York County Wills, Inventories, XXII (1771-1773), 19-24. (M-1-11); Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), January 17, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup>Fisher, "Journal," 789.

owners, but Fisher's implication that the hired keepers were all lazy, rather shifty characters is questionable.<sup>8</sup> Those who advertised often specified that the keeper be "a sober Person, of good Capacity;" that he be "well qualified for keeping a good ordinary" and "recommended as such by persons" who can be depended on; and that he "can write a good hand."<sup>9</sup> Capable tavern keepers were desired by the owners who wanted to be assured of having their tavern licenses renewed each year. Unless an owner lived in a county where the courts were negligent in enforcing the regulations concerning taverns, he had to make certain that his tavern was managed in an orderly manner. One owner advertised that he

WANTED immediately, to succeed John Whitlock in the tavern kept by him, a man bread to that business, to whom good encouragement will be given by the subscriber. None but such as come well recommended, for honesty, sobriety, industry, and complaisance, need to apply. A single man would be acceptable; but should a man who has a careful wife, that will not

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<sup>8</sup>Entries in the diaries of Robert Wormeley Carter indicate that he owned a tavern which was operated first by William Garland and later by his son, Griffin Garland. The Almanac Diaries of Robert Wormeley Carter, 1764 and 1765. Clements Library, typescript Colonial Williamsburg Research Department.

<sup>9</sup>Virginia Gazette (Parks), November 2, 1739, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), December 15, 1768, p. 2; March 30, 1769, p. 4.

think it below her dignity to superintend the affairs of the kitchen, and bedchambers, even if there be a child or two, it will be no unsurmountable objection.<sup>10</sup>

The above advertisement also gives some idea of the role of the tavern keeper's wife. Besides the duties of running her house and raising a family she was often responsible for supervising the cooks and other tavern servants. In an advertisement for his small tavern in Williamsburg, Christopher Ayscough noted that "Mrs. Ayscough very well understands the COOKERY part."<sup>11</sup> He could justly praise his wife's cooking since Anne Ayscough had been Governor Fauquier's cook at the Palace.

Since he was operating a business, the tavern keeper had to be able to keep accurate accounts and have good sources for obtaining supplies of liquor and food. Also since much of his business depended on the popularity of his tavern, the keeper had to be a likeable person, yet have the respect of his clientele so that reasonable order could be maintained.

Then, too, the keeper, unless he owned one of the popular taverns in Williamsburg or in another much

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., (Purdie), February 23, 1776, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), October 6, 1768, p. 2.

frequented location, generally had to hold some other job as well. Tavern keeping by itself was seldom a paying business since the periods of frequent visitation came monthly in the case of taverns located at county court-houses or during Public Times for most tavern keepers in Williamsburg. Often keepers located their taverns on or adjacent to their small farms or plantations.<sup>12</sup> Some of them received money from renting houses and stores which were built near the taverns. An advertisement for the rental of a tavern on the river road between Richmond and Williamsburg suggests that "this Place would suit a tradesman, particularly a Tailor, which is much wanted in the Neighborhood, provided he could keep a good House."<sup>13</sup> Another means of supplementing the income of the tavern keeper was to take in boarders--a practice which has its modern parallel today. The keeper of a tavern at the falls of the Potomac River noted that "The publick house is...very convenient to take in boarders." A Fredericksburg tavern keeper reported that the "gentlemen who now

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., March 21, 1771, p. 3; May 16, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., March 21, 1771, p. 3; August 19, 1773, p. 2.

favour me with their company as boarders pay upwards of £ 200 per annum."<sup>14</sup>

In the smaller establishments the tavern keeper kept the bar but in the larger taverns--such as Campbell's, Pullet's, and Southall's in Williamsburg--separate bar-keepers or drawers were employed. Several advertisements for drawers requested that the applicant "can keep accounts"<sup>15</sup> which was necessary since he was responsible for keeping a record of the drinks dispensed from the bar.

The larger establishments employed hostlers who looked after the horses which belonged to the customers of the taverns. In 1776 a Williamsburg tavern keeper was in need of such a man:

WANTED IMMEDIATELY,  
A GOOD HOSTLER, Such a one coming well recommended,  
for diligence and sobriety, will have good wages from  
ROBERT ANDERSON.<sup>16</sup>

Waiters and cooks who were honest, capable, and of good character were also requested. Since waiters, like

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., November 22, 1770, p. 2 (supplement); (Rind), September 23, 1773, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), November 24, 1774, p. 3; July 18, 1766, p. 4; August 29, 1766, p. 2; March 3, 1768, p. 3; June 18, 1766, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., (Purdie), March 8, 1776, p. 3.

bar-keepers, had to keep account of meals and services, the ability to write was often required. In 1772 a tavern keeper

**WANTED,**

A YOUNG Man capable of waiting in a Tavern; likewise a good COOK, either Man or Woman. Any such, that can come well recommended for their Honesty and Sobriety, may hear of a place by applying to the Printers hereof.<sup>17</sup>

It was not the practice in tidewater Virginia to have barmaids serving in the taverns though at small taverns and at some of the country taverns members of the family helped to serve the food. While traveling in the western part of Virginia Chastellux stayed at Paxton's tavern and noted in his journal that "breakfast...was served by Captain Paxton's daughters."<sup>18</sup>

The slaves who served in Williamsburg taverns were taught many skills: cooking, serving, cleaning, washing, gardening, carting, and stable tending. At larger taverns servants were trained for one job in particular, but at smaller establishments they performed many tasks. Such

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), March 3, 1768, p. 3; May 5, 1774, p. 3; November 19, 1772, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 404.



was probably the case of Betty, "a likely Virginia born Wench" who ran away from her master. She was described as being "stout and well set" and had "been used to attend in a Publick House from her infancy."<sup>19</sup> Dr. Johann Schoepf, a German physician, who visited Williamsburg after the Revolution, commented favourably on the servants:

In the tavern here there is very good, but very dear entertainment. Black cooks, butlers, chamber-maids, make their bows with much dignity and modesty; were neatly and modishly attired, and still spoke with enthusiasm of the politeness and gallantry of the French officers.

Schoepf probably stayed at the Raleigh, the larger of two taverns operating in Williamsburg in 1783. James Southall, who then owned and operated the Raleigh, had nineteen slaves.<sup>20</sup>

Most taverns were smaller than the Raleigh and did less formal entertaining; consequently, a staff of fewer servants was needed. The estate of Thomas Pattison, a mid-eighteenth century keeper listed only six slaves and

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<sup>19</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), May 12, 1774, p. 1.

<sup>20</sup> Johann David Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation from the German of Johann David Schoepf, Tr. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (Philadelphia, 1911), II, 81. Hereafter cited Schoepf, Travels; Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List (1783-1783), p. 5. (M-1-47)

two of them were children. Another Williamsburg tavern keeper, John Burdett, who died several years after Pattison, also had six slaves.<sup>21</sup>

Only one reference to an indentured servant belonging to a tidewater tavern keeper has been located. The inventory of Henry Bowcock (1732) lists "Hector Derry, 2 years to serve" along with five Negro slaves. Unfortunately there are no other references to this servant to indicate the capacity in which he served.<sup>22</sup>

### Tipping

Servants received some tips during the eighteenth century, but the few references that have survived suggest that tipping was not a customary practice. Rather, tips were probably given for special favors or if one wanted to make a good impression. For instance, when George Washington visited Colonel Fairfax at Belvoir, his tips to the servants were fairly large considering that he often stayed only a short time. The cook, housemaid, and laundress usually each received 2s.6d. and the

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<sup>21</sup>York County Wills and Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 177-179; XX (1745-1759), 46-49. (M-1-47)

<sup>22</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XVIII (1729-1732), 57. (M-1-9)

hostler 1s.3d. When Washington was courting Martha Custis he was particularly generous to her servants. On March 16, 1758, Washington tipped "Mrs. Custis's Servants 30/." In June of that year they received 14s.6d.<sup>23</sup>

By contrast, the servants at taverns where Washington stayed did not fare as well. In November, 1768 when Washington settled his account with Mrs. Campbell "for board &c." he paid her £3.18.9 but her servants received only 6s.3p., or approximately seven percent.<sup>24</sup> There are also several references to giving tips to tavern servants in the diary of Robert Carter of Corotoman. "King" Carter usually stayed at Mrs. Sullivan's tavern when he came to Williamsburg in the 1720's--even during the period between July, 1726, and September, 1727, when he served as acting governor of the colony. Carter's accounts show that on two occasions, in August of 1726 and in March of 1727, he tipped her servants about two percent of his total bill.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>George Washington, Ledger A, p. 5, entry for January 1, 1754; Ibid., pp. 38-39, entries for March 16 and June 5, 1758. Library of Congress. (M-89-2)

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 281, entry for November 8, 1768.

<sup>25</sup>Robert Carter of Corotoman, Diary, 1722-1727, entries for August 8, 1726 and March 4, 1727. University of Virginia Library. (M-113)

### Lodgings

As the taverns varied in size so did the quality of the lodgings that were available. Generally the bedrooms were upstairs, though taverns like private homes often had one or more bedrooms on the first floor for the use of older people, private boarders, or members of the innkeeper's family. For instance, architectural studies and the inventory of Henry Wetherburn's tavern indicate that there were two bedrooms on the first floor.<sup>26</sup>

Attitudes toward privacy have changed through the years. In eighteenth-century Virginia few people had private bedrooms in their homes and they certainly did not demand more privacy at taverns. Upstairs rooms usually opened onto each other and only some of them had fireplaces; thus in order to have access to the inner rooms and distribution of heat it was necessary to forego privacy. As in private homes there were generally several beds in each room. Most travelers took the lack of privacy for granted as this comment of Chastellux illustrates:

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<sup>26</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), March 21, 1771, p. 3; York County Wills and Inventories, XXI, (1760-1771) 36-43. (M-1-11)

...they think little of putting three or four persons in the same room; nor do people have any objection to finding themselves thus crowded in, because they experience no need to read and write, and all they want in a house is a bed, a dining room, and a drawing room for company.<sup>27</sup>

Dr. Schoepf did not react so matter-of-factly to the lack of privacy and considered it an "indelicate custom" to have "so many beds together in one room":

Here [at Mr. Formicola's tavern in Richmond], no less than in most of the other public-houses in America, it is expected that rooms are to be used only as places for sleeping, eating and drinking. The whole day long, therefore, one is compelled to be among all sorts of company and at night to sleep in like manner; thus travellers, almost anywhere in America, must renounce the pleasure of withdrawing apart, (for their own convenience or their own affairs), from the noisy, disturbing, or curious crowd, unless it may be, that staying at one place for some time, a private apartment is to be rented.<sup>28</sup>

That strangers shared beds as well as rooms at the taverns was noted by George Grieve, the eighteenth-century translator of Chastellux's journal who had also traveled in

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<sup>27</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), March 21, 1771, p. 3; Schoepf, Travels, II, 64; Michel Guillaume St. Jean de Crevecoeur, Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York (Ann Arbor, 1964), p. 384; Chastellux, Travels, II, 441.

<sup>28</sup>Schoepf, Travels, II, 64.

America in 1782:

Throughout America, in private houses, as well as in the inns, several people are crowded together in the same room; and in the latter it very commonly happens, that after you have been some time in bed, a stranger of any condition (for there is little distinction), comes into the room, pulls off his clothes, and places himself, without ceremony, between your sheets.<sup>29</sup>

Though "a Night's lodging with clean sheets" was included in the ordinary rates of several counties, clean sheets were not found at all taverns. Judging from inventories of the better taverns in Williamsburg clean linen was available at these taverns most of the time. When Anthony Hay was keeper at the Raleigh there were 44 pairs of sheets and 37 pillowcases for his 36 beds. Henry Wetherburn's inventory lists 19 beds with 23 pairs of sheets and 19 pillowcases. There should have been little excuse for finding dirty sheets at Marot's tavern since for the 24 beds he had 53 pillowcases and sheets valued at £25.6.9. The same was not always the case at smaller taverns; for instance, at John Hamilton's tavern in

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<sup>29</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 603: "Notes of pages 439-442," note 11.

Norfolk there were only four pairs of sheets for the 6 beds.<sup>30</sup> One reference to clean sheets was recorded in the late eighteenth century by Alexander Macaulay, a young Scotsman who came to Virginia during the Revolution. When he and his wife stopped at a tavern west of Williamsburg they found "a pretty good bed and clean sheets."<sup>31</sup>

According to most of the surviving travelers' accounts clean sheets were seldom found. Chastellux carried his own sheets and on at least one occasion was very glad to have them in his portmanteau.<sup>32</sup> Unclean lodgings naturally attracted vermin and bed-bugs and these, too, were encountered by eighteenth-century travelers. Mrs. Browne, who was traveling with Braddock's army, left this description of her lodgings at a tavern in what is now Loudoun County: "My Lodgings not being very clean, I had so many close Companions call'd Ticks that deprived me of

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<sup>30</sup>York County Wills and Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 19-24 (M-1-11); XXI (1760-1771), 36-43 (M-1-11); Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 242-246 (M-1-7); Norfolk County Appraisements, I (1755-1783), 2-3. Virginia State Library microfilm, reel 82.

<sup>31</sup>Alexander Macaulay, "Journal, February 1783" in William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XI (1902-1903), 184. Hereafter cited as Macaulay, "Journal."

<sup>32</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 402.

my Night's Rest, but I indulg'd till 7."<sup>33</sup> About twenty years later Philip Fithian, the tutor of the Carter children at Nomini Hall, spent the night at a tavern in Port Tobacco and noted in his journal that "for company all the night in my Room I had Bugs in every part of my Bed--& in the next Room several noisy Fellows playing at Billiards."<sup>34</sup> Sometimes those who occupied a bed were better off than those who slept on straw as did some of the men accompanying Rochambeau in 1782. The Baron Von Closen, a captain whose revolutionary journal covers the years 1780 to 1783, wrote that one night at the tavern at Louisa Courthouse "not one of us could shut an eye throughout the night. The general, who alone could have a bed, was eaten by vermin, and we, who slept on straw, had our ears tickled by rats!"<sup>35</sup>

Though straw was found in some of the poorer taverns, it was only one of several kinds of mattresses in use.

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<sup>33</sup>Charlotte Browne, "With Braddock's Army: Mrs. Browne's Diary in Virginia and Maryland," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXII (1924), 313.

<sup>34</sup>Philip Fithian, Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion, ed. by (Williamsburg, 1943), p. 146. Hereafter cited as Fithian, Journal. Hunter D. Farish

<sup>35</sup>Baron Von Closen, Revolutionary Journal, 1780-1783, tr. and ed. by Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, 1958), p. 181.



Feather beds were available at finer taverns but the flock bed, a mattress stuffed with cotton or woolen tufts, was probably the most common type of mattress. Both feather beds and flock beds were mentioned in the ordinary rates of Spotsylvania County.<sup>36</sup>

Another factor determining the kind of accommodations one found at taverns was the season of the year. Public Times was such an occasion. The anonymous French traveler, who arrived in Williamsburg during Public Times in 1765 noted that he had great difficulty in getting lodgings "but thanks to mr sprowl I got a room at mrs. vaubes's tavern, where all the best people resorted."<sup>37</sup>

Crowded conditions were likewise encountered at certain times, in taverns at the county courthouses. A traveler who arrived at a tavern on a court day, as Chastellux did when he stopped at Cumberland Courthouse, often found the tavern full of people.<sup>38</sup> Some indication of the number of people who gathered for court days is provided in the account of a lightning storm on a Sussex

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<sup>36</sup>Spotsylvania County Order Book (1730-1738), 24. Virginia State Library microfilm, reel 43.

<sup>37</sup>"French Traveller, 1765", 742.

<sup>38</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 416.

court day in 1768. The Virginia Gazette reported that there were around a hundred people at the tavern when lightning struck killing two horses and three hogs.<sup>39</sup>

Cockfights attracted large numbers of people to the county taverns. Chastellux noted that cockfights were so popular that planters often traveled thirty or forty miles to enter their cocks and place bets. Since the tavern keeper was not able to serve so large a group, the individuals usually brought their own provisions and spread their blankets on the floor of the large public room at night.<sup>40</sup>

Travelers who arrived at a tavern after all the beds were taken were forced to sleep on the floor. Nicholas Cresswell, a young Englishman who visited the colony just before the Revolution, met with this situation:

Lodged at the great Meadows at one Lynch's Tavern in company with Colnl. Lee, Colnl. Peyton, Colnl. Clapham, Colnl. Blackburn, Colnl. Mc Donald and Mr. Richard Lee. All of them Commissioners from the Virginia Convention, for settling the accounts of the last Indian War. A set

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<sup>39</sup>Virginia Gazette. (Rind), August 4, 1768, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 386.

of niggardly beings. Great want of beds, but I am well content with the floor and my blanket.<sup>41</sup>

Private lodging houses were available in most towns and many travelers preferred these to taverns--particularly during crowded Public Times in Williamsburg. One of many citizens who advertised his lodgings was Walter Lenox, a Williamsburg perukemaker, who informed

...the PUBLICK in general, and his CUSTOMERS in particular, that he has moved to the house known by the name of the Red Lion...and as he has good accommodations for private lodgers, he will be much obliged to those Gentlemen who may please to favour him with their custom, and they may depend upon the best usage for themselves and horses.<sup>42</sup>

Persons who operated private lodginghouses had an advantage over tavern keepers since they did not offer drinks and thus were not required to obtain an ordinary license.

Some tavern keepers, like Richard Charlton of Williamsburg, offered both private and public lodging to their customers. Charlton advertised accommodations at his tavern, yet often rented a private room to George

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<sup>41</sup>Nicholas Cresswell, The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777 (New York, 1924), p. 124. Hereafter cited as Cresswell, Journal.

<sup>42</sup>Virginia Gazette. (Purdie & Dixon), March 24, 1768, p. 3.

Washington when he visited the capital.<sup>43</sup> During less busy times boarders, who stayed at lodgings and taverns, provided additional income as this notice for the sale of a tavern in Amherst County illustrates:

All the Merchants, Storekeepers, Clerk of the County, their Servants, &. are boarded in the Ordinary, the Profits of which are pretty considerable to me.<sup>44</sup>

In the less populated sections of Virginia travelers often stopped at private houses rather than at taverns. Since the back roads were seldom traveled, few taverns were available even during the latter part of the eighteenth century. Stopping at a private house had an advantage over a tavern as Chastellux noted:

This distinction between a real tavern and private hospitality for which you pay is greatly to the advantage of travelers, for in America, as in England, innkeepers pay heavy taxes and indemnify themselves by their exorbitant charges. Mr. Hunter received us well, and in a very clean house.<sup>45</sup>

Dr. Schoepf was more detailed in his description of "Private Entertainment":

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid, (Purdie & Dixon), June 25, 1767, p. 3; Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, 1733-1775, pp. 311, 329, 360.

<sup>44</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), March 21, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 414.

We spent a night at a plantation where, according to the custom here, travellers are lodged for a price, under the style of 'Private Entertainment,' but no tavern is kept. ...The distinction between Private and Public Entertainment is to the advantage of the people who keep the so-called Private houses they avoiding in this way the tax for permission to dispense rum and other drinks and not being plagued with noisy drinking-parties. Other public houses lacking, travellers are compelled to seek out these and glad to find them. Here, one eats with the family both thick and thin homany (a preparation of Indian corn), drinks water at pleasure, is not free to demand and has no right to expect what he wants, but pays quite as much as elsewhere, in houses where he lives as he pleases, is better served, and not obliged on coming and going to be grateful for the reception. On the other hand, it must be said for these 'private houses' that in them one has to submit to a general interrogation but once, on the part of the family, whereas in the taverns every person coming in must be thoroughly answered, since there is no place apart, where one may avoid curiosity or occupy himself with his own affairs.<sup>46</sup>

This arrangement or private entertainment mentioned by both Chastellux and Schoepf departs somewhat from the free "Virginia hospitality" which travelers received earlier in the century. No doubt the change was due largely to increased numbers of travelers in the period during and immediately following the Revolution.

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<sup>46</sup> Schoepf, Travels, II, 35.

Ladies who seldom traveled except to visit friends and relatives who lived nearby, had little reason to frequent taverns. One time though when the wife of Thomas Jones of Caroline County visited a sister who lived more than a day's journey from the Jones' plantation Mrs. Jones spent the night in a tavern. In a letter to his wife Jones suggested that she

had better stopp at Fornne's where the Horses will be well taken care of and you and your company well provided for. Mrs. Holdcrafts is about four or five miles this side Fornne's but she may think your Company and Horses too great a burthen, and I had rather be at the expense than to trouble anybody.<sup>47</sup>

Ladies, did not stay at the taverns during busy times such as Public Times in Williamsburg. The few who accompanied their husbands stayed with friends or relatives who lived in town or on plantations near the capital. For instance, William Byrd's wife, Lucy, usually stayed with relatives at Green Spring or at Queen's Creek when she visited Williamsburg.<sup>48</sup> On several occasions Mrs. Washington dined and stayed with Mrs. Dawson, who was

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<sup>47</sup>"Jones Papers", Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (1918), 179.

<sup>48</sup>Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds. The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover (Richmond, 1949), pp. 9, 264.

both a good friend and relative. When Washington brought his wife and her children to Williamsburg for business reasons, they stayed at Charlton's tavern.<sup>49</sup> By 1770 there was another place where ladies could stay while in the capital. That year Mary Davis advertised in the Virginia Gazette that she proposed "to accommodate Ladies and Gentlemen with private lodgings...The rooms above are convenient for Gentlemen, those below for Ladies."<sup>50</sup> Rooms such as these were convenient for the few planters who had to bring their families to Williamsburg for business purposes.

Though ladies seldom stayed at taverns in Williamsburg, they did occasionally dine with their husbands at taverns during the less busy times. In November and December of 1769, for example, when Washington and his family visited the capital they dined at Mrs. Campbell's several times. On November 25th Washington dined at Mrs. Campbell's with Mrs. Washington, John Parke Custis, Colonel Bassett,

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<sup>49</sup> John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., George Washington, Colonial Traveller (Indianapolis, 1927), p. 255, 311, 357; Virginia Gazette, (Purdie), August 8, 1777, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), March 22, 1770, p. 4.

Mrs. Bassett, and Betsy Bassett; a week later they "all Eat Oysters at Mrs. Campbell's apt. one oclock" before returning to Eltham.<sup>51</sup>

Balls were held at taverns during Public Times which ladies attended; on the other hand, ladies were not often invited to the public or private dinners which men frequently enjoyed at taverns. Similar social events attracted ladies to taverns outside Williamsburg. An advertisement for a tavern in Newcastle stated that there were "several large and small Rooms for the Entertainment of Ladies and Gentlemen."<sup>52</sup>

#### Accommodations for Servants and Horses

Each tavern was required to provide for the servants and horses of its patrons. Though no traveler described the accommodations offered his servants, it may be assumed that Virginians followed the English custom of housing the servant in the room with the master. There is evidence, however, that separate sleeping space was sometimes provided in stables and other outbuildings. Thomas Craig,

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<sup>51</sup>John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1770, 4 vols., (Boston, 1925), I, 351 and 354. Hereafter cited Washington, Diaries, II, 104.

<sup>52</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), October 21, 1773, p. 2.



who operated the tavern on Market Square in Williamsburg, had "a large and strong smokehouse, at one end of it a place for people to sleep in."<sup>53</sup>

Josiah Chowning, in advertising his tavern, offered the public "the best of entertainment for themselves, servants, and horses and good pasturage." Other advertisements indicate that the stables at many of the Williamsburg taverns were adequate. A description of Craig's tavern mentioned "an exceeding good stable for thirty horses, with large fodder loft." In fact, the ordinary licenses, besides requiring "convenient lodging and diet for travelers," stated that the keeper provide their customers with "pasturage, fodder, provender, and stableage for their horses, as the season shall require,"<sup>54</sup>

Lodginghouse keepers also made arrangements for the servants and horses of their customers. Grissel Hay, the widow of Dr. Peter Hay of Williamsburg, noted that she had "very commodious lodgings to let for a dozen gentlemen,

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<sup>53</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), August 30, 1770, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon) October 10, 1766, p. 3; William W. Hening, Statutes at Large... (Richmond, 1810-1823), III, 396.

and their servants, with stables and provisions for their horses."<sup>55</sup>

### Meals

All taverns were required by law to offer regular meals at a cost of about a shilling. Meals were served at regular hours--probably conforming to the times when most Virginians ate. Thus a traveler had to wait until the next meal was served if he was hungry when he arrived. On one occasion Byrd and a friend went to Marot's for dinner "but could get none there,"<sup>56</sup> probably because they had not made previous arrangements. Later in the century William Davis, who advertised private lodgings across from the Kings Arm's Tavern in Hampton, promised "to furnish Gentlemen Travellers, and others, with private Board, Washing, and Lodging; also that any Gentleman may at any Time have a Relish for one Shilling, and a Bowl of good Punch given him to drink with it."<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), March 3, 1768, p. 4.

<sup>56</sup> Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover (Richmond, 1949), p. 442. Hereafter cited Byrd Diary, 1709-1712.

<sup>57</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), July 30, 1772, p. 3.

Tavern meals generally consisted of hearty dishes made of ingredients that were readily available: pork, chicken, fish, eggs, and bread. The vegetables that were customarily eaten with the meat were rarely mentioned.<sup>58</sup> Generally small beer, which was made locally, was served with the common diet. By the latter part of the century, though, other beverages such as coffee and tea were available at some taverns--particularly at breakfast.<sup>59</sup> The traveler subjected to this diet day after day undoubtedly found it monotonous. After passing from Virginia into Maryland in 1774 Nicholas Cresswell cried out in his journal: "Have had either Bacon or Chickens every meal since I came into the Country. If I still continue in this way shall be grown over with Bristles or Feathers."<sup>60</sup>

Though some travelers complained about the food, their primary concern was getting enough to eat. Alexander

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<sup>58</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 388; Schoepf, Travels, II, 30; Harry Toulmin, The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia, ed. by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies (San Marino, 1948), p. 34. Hereafter cited as Toulmin, Western Country.

<sup>59</sup>Small beer is listed with the diet in the ordinary rates for Lancaster, Middlesex and Richmond Counties; Chastellux, Travels, II, 388; Schoepf, Travels, II, 30; Toulmin, Western Country, p. 34.

<sup>60</sup>Cresswell, Journal, p. 20.

Maucaalay and his wife, who were traveling in the late eighteenth century, stopped at the tavern at New Kent Courthouse and asked for oysters and fish, but finding that neither was available, said they would take anything. Within half an hour roast turkey, wild duck, ham, eggs, and spinach had arrived--much to the couple's satisfaction.<sup>61</sup>

Occasionally tavern keepers were not ready for guests. Chastellux, who arrived late one evening at Colonel Boswell's tavern in the piedmont, found Boswell "ill prepared to receive strangers." Supper was "rather frugal" but "breakfast the next morning was better; we had ham, butter, fresh eggs, and coffee with milk to drink."<sup>62</sup>

The writings of William Byrd II are informative about the food served at Marot's tavern in Williamsburg, but due to Byrd's habit of eating only a single main dish, we know little of the variety of dishes available at a meal. At various times between 1710 and 1712 Byrd chose roast goose, roast beef, fricassee of chicken, mutton, fish, and roast veal for dinner.<sup>63</sup> Generally Byrd dined at Marot's

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<sup>61</sup>Macaulay, "Journal", 184.

<sup>62</sup>Chastellux, Travels, II, 388, 379.

<sup>63</sup>Byrd, Diary, 1709-1712, passim.

with members of the Council or with Burgesses and these groups probably had special dishes prepared and served to them.

The second surviving diary of Byrd gives few references to Williamsburg taverns. While visiting the capital in 1720 and 1721 he occasionally went to Mrs. Sullivan's but only twice mentioned eating there. Once he had boiled beef and the second time he ate broth.<sup>64</sup> However, by the period of the third diary (1739-1741), Byrd was again frequenting a particular tavern-- Wetherburn's--where he dined on weekdays with other members of the Council. At Wetherburn's he chose turkey, veal, chicken, fowl, calf's head, chicken and asparagus, lamb, tongue, pork, Scotch collops, fish, venison, beef, mutton, or bacon. On a Saturday April 25, 1741 Byrd "dined at Wetherburn's because nobody invited us and ate fish." During that particular week Byrd had fish three times within four days. By the fourth day the entry reads

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<sup>64</sup>Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings (New York, 1958), pp. 486, 521.

"fish again."<sup>65</sup> At other times, Wetherburn seems to have offered greater variety.

Diary entries and personal accounts of George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Page, and Robert Wormley Carter suggest that dinners served to them were different from the regular diet required by law.<sup>66</sup> At some taverns the groups met in private rooms and appear to have ordered special dinners;<sup>67</sup> though these references are brief and do not give the type of food that was served. An entry in Thomas Lewis's journal suggests that these private dinners were not confined to Williamsburg taverns. On Sunday, February 8, 1746, Lewis and others in the surveying party "Rode Down to Richmond Church where we heard the Revernd mr Stith preach. The Gentlemen of the Town Treated use to a hand Some Diner &c at mr Coules Ordinary."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Maude H. Woodfin and Marion Tinling, eds., Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741 (Richmond, 1942), passim and p. 74, 153-154. Hereafter cited as Byrd, Diary, 1739-1741.

<sup>66</sup>Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play (Williamsburg, 1965), pp. 265-270.

<sup>67</sup>Washington, Diaries, II, 104.

<sup>68</sup>John W. Wayland, The Fairfax Line: Thomas Lewis's Journal of 1746 (New Market, 1925), p. 83.

Accounts of special dinners held at Virginia taverns were often printed in the Virginia Gazette. The repeal of the Stamp Act was the occasion of at least two celebrations. At Newtown in Princess Anne County the leading gentlemen gathered at the "Rising Sun tavern, where an elegant entertainment was provided." In Hampton at the "Bunch of Grapes" tavern the gentlemen enjoyed "elegant entertainment" while they combined their celebrations of the repeal of the Stamp Tax with their annual celebration of the King's birthday.<sup>69</sup>

A number of special events took place at Williamsburg taverns. An entry from the diary of John Blair describes how Governor Dinwiddie was entertained at Wetherburn's on November 21, 1751 (the day he arrived at the capital):

At the entrance of the town he was complimented by the mayor and aldermen, who (with the gentlemen) were got together to welcome him, and invited him and the council to a dinner they had prepared at Wetherburn's, where we all dined.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), July 4, 1766, p. 2; June 13, 1766, p. 2.

<sup>70</sup> "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., VIII (1899), 15.

In October, 1768, Lord Montagu, the Governor of South Carolina, visited Williamsburg and was entertained by the President and members of the Council with a dinner at the Raleigh Tavern. Later the same month when Lord Botetourt arrived at the capital, part of the celebrations included a dinner at the Raleigh with the members of the Council and many other gentlemen. The Raleigh was likewise chosen by Peyton Randolph in October, 1769, when he "gave a genteel dinner...to the electors of this city, after which many loyal and patriotic toasts were drank and the afternoon spent with cheeffulness and decorum."<sup>71</sup> Several years after this, the tables were turned and after being re-elected as Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Peyton Randolph was conducted by the freeholders to the Raleigh.

The Virginia Gazette noted that this practice:

...has too long prevailed of the electors receiving entertainments from those who represent them, and at the same time from a tender regard for their speaker, claimed by his many essential services towards this country, conducted him to the Raleigh, where almost every inhabitant had met, a general invitation having been given by the generous electors, whose conduct throughout on the occasion will be long remembered as a

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<sup>71</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), October 13, 1768, p. 2; October 27, 1768, p. 3; (Rind), October 5, 1769, p. 2.



laudable and meritorious precedent, and highly worthy of every county in this colony to adopt. Notwithstanding the festivity, and the pleasing, social intercourse, which here prevailed, harmony, decency, and decorum, were maintained. After partaking of a most splendid dinner, and the afternoon entirely spent, they reconducted the speaker to his own house, where they gave three cheers, and then departed, wishing him long to live to enjoy those honours which have been so justly conferred upon him by his countrymen.<sup>72</sup>

#### Equipment for Cooking and Serving

Inventories of cooking and serving equipment in several Williamsburg taverns indicate that the keepers could provide extensive and elaborate meals. Henry Wetherburn had eight wine decanters; glasses for serving syllabub, jelly, sweetmeat, wine, and cider; sets of china in blue and white, red and white, flowered, and enameled patterns, besides a parcel of odd china, and over a hundred pewter dishes. He had around twenty table cloths and twenty-eight napkins. Silver items included one tea kettle, two pots, one milk pot, one coffee pot, two salvers, four salts, four candlesticks, sixteen tablespoons, eleven dessert spoons, nineteen teaspoons, two punch ladles, and

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<sup>72</sup>Ibid., July 14, 1774, p. 3.

ten knives and forks. In the kitchen were an additional thirty-four knives and thirty-two forks, and one carving knife and fork. Cooking utensils included stew pans, dripping pans, frying pans, pattypanns, large and small kettles, a fish kettle, a large Dutch oven, and even cheese toasters.<sup>73</sup>

Anthony Hay had one hundred twenty-two plates, twenty-nine cups, fifty-eight saucers, fifteen coffee cups, and twenty-five bowls in addition to a large collection of Queen's china, white stoneware, and one hundred twenty-five pewter plates and twenty-six pewter dishes. The description of glassware was not very specific: thirty wine glasses and "412 pieces of glassware for pyramids, etc." The supply of linen in Hay's inventory is greater than Wetherburn's: thirty-six table cloths and sixteen napkins as well as a new cloth and ten napkins which had not been made up. Hay had fewer pieces of silver than Wetherburn: six punch ladles, four salts, two punch strainers, one pair of sugar tongs, twenty-eight teaspoons, and twenty-two tablespoons. In addition he had sixty-three white handled

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<sup>73</sup>York County Wills and Inventories, XXI (1760-1771), 36-43. (M-1-11).

knives, fifty-nine white handled forks, and one carving knife. Among the kitchen items were sixty-seven tin tart molds, ten butter pots, ten brass chafing dishes, eleven stone tart pans, tin Dutch ovens, tin pans and tin dish covers as well as copper utensils consisting of one coffee pot, one chocolate pot, two boilers, five large tea kettles, two fish kettles, and two Dutch ovens.<sup>74</sup>

Items from the 1729 inventory of Giles Moody, who ran a modest tavern at Capitol Landing, provide a contrast to the finer equipment listed in Hay and Wetherburn's inventories. Dishes included one china bowl, two small bowls, cups and saucers, a parcel of glassware, and plate valued at about five pounds. The kitchen items consisted of cutlery, iron pots, a broiler, a dripping pan, a frying pan, and unspecified earthenware, wooden ware, old brass, and pewter.<sup>75</sup> The dishes and cooking utensils were sufficient to provide the required diet to a limited number of travelers but probably few special dishes were offered at Moody's tavern.

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<sup>74</sup>Ibid., XXII (1771-1783), 19-24. (M-1-11)

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 35-36. (M-1-9)

Tavern keepers depended on local farmers and merchants for many of their food supplies. For most of the century one family--the Burwells of Carter's Grove--furnished produce and staples to Williamsburg taverns. Elizabeth Bowcock, Christianna Campbell, Richard Charlton, John Doncastle, Alexander Finnie, Joseph Gilliam, John Parker, Thomas Pattison, Thomas Penman, James Shields, Anne Sullivant, and Henry Wetherburn had accounts with the Burwells for beef, lamb, mutton, pork, veal, butter, onions, corn, wheat, tea, apple cider, hay, and wood.<sup>76</sup> An account book of William Lightfoot for the years 1754 to 1755 indicates that Campbell, Doncastle and Finnie also purchased beef, mutton, pork, and veal from this planter.<sup>77</sup>

In addition to produce and staples purchased from planters, the tavern keepers grew some food in gardens and orchards near their taverns. Probably most of the herbs, vegetables, and fruit used in the taverns were grown on "well paled in" lots on which many of the taverns were

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<sup>76</sup>Account books of James Bray and his estate, 1736-1746, pp. 1-56; Carter Burwell, 1738-1756, passim; Daybook of Nathaniel Burwell (1773-1779), passim. Burwell Papers. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives. (M-96-1)

<sup>77</sup>William Lightfoot Account Book, pp. 86, 130. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives. (M-1093)

built. These lots, however, seldom provided the amounts of wood that were used at the taverns. Wetherburn, as one of the Burwell accounts shows, purchased wood for his tavern. Later in the century when John Lewis advertised his country tavern which was located west of Williamsburg he noted that he "would suffer Fire Wood to be taken from" his plantation nearby "to supply the Ordinary."<sup>78</sup>

### Drinks

During the eighteenth century Virginians considered drinking alcoholic beverages as wholesome, refreshing, and beneficial. The "morning draught" was believed to offer protection from the bad air and water of the marshes as well as to provide soothing relief from the indulgences of the previous evening.<sup>79</sup>

At taverns drinks were purchased separately as well as with meals. The variety and quality of the beverages differed at public houses as William Byrd noted:

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<sup>78</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), November 24, 1774, p. 3.

<sup>79</sup>Lord George Rankin Askwith, British Taverns, Their History and Laws (London, 1928), p. 212; Philip Alexander Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1896), II, 216.

...we reached Caroline courthouse, where Colonel Armistead and Colonel Will Beverley have each of 'em erected an ordinary well supplied with wine and other polite liquors for the worshipful bench. Besides these, there is a rum ordinary for persons of more vulgar taste.<sup>80</sup>

In the larger taverns drinks were dispensed in a separate room on the first floor called the bar. The anonymous French traveler, in speaking of taverns in Williamsburg in 1765, reported "at night; Carousing and Drinking In one Chamber and box and Dice in another."<sup>81</sup> Advertisements from the Virginia Gazette indicate that there were bar-rooms at the Raleigh, Wetherburn's, Pullet's, and Mrs. Campbell's on Waller Street.<sup>82</sup> At smaller taverns one room was used for both eating and drinking.

Generally the larger taverns provided their customers with a variety of beverages. Inventories show what beverages were available at some of the taverns<sup>and</sup> reflect the tastes of the customers. Marot's inventory (1717) contains

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<sup>80</sup>Louis B. Wright, ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover (Cambridge, 1966), p. 374.

<sup>81</sup>"French Traveller, 1765", 742.

<sup>82</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), November 3, 1774, p. 4; February 28, 1771, p. 3; July 18, 1766, p. 4; November 24, 1774, p. 3.

the greatest variety of wines and liquors found in inventories of Williamsburg tavern keepers: Madeira, Canary, red port, Rhenish, white Lisbon, and sour wines; brandy (probably made locally) and French brandy; English and Bristol beer, aniseed water, and cider. Henry Bowcock's inventory for a slightly later period (1729) shows some differences in the types of beverages from the ones listed in Marot's: claret, Rhenish, Madeira, red, and French white wines; hock, shrub, arrack, brandy, cherry and raspberry brandy, citron water, rum, cherry rum, Welsh ale, Bristol beer, and cask beer. In 1746 when an inventory was taken of John Burdett's belongings, the following were listed in his cellar: rum, Madeira, a cask of wine, English cider, strong beer, Yorkshire ale, and arrack. Under the listing of liquor in Henry Wetherburn's inventory (1760) were arrack, bottles of port, Madeira, and claret wine, porter, beer, rum, and cordial. The inventory of the Raleigh (1771) taken after Anthony Hay's death included Scots ale, porter, arrack, rum, and Madeira.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 242-246. (M-1-7); XVII (1729-1732), 55-57. (M-1-8); Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 46 ff. (M-1-10); XXI (1760-1771), 36-43. (M-1-11); XXII (1771-1783), 19-24. (M-1-11).

These inventories suggest what drinks were most popular; of the wines, Madeira, claret, and port appear most often; imported ales, beers, and cider from Great Britain were also popular; and rum, arrack, and brandy were consumed in large quantities--especially as punch.

Beer, ale, wines, brandy, and cider which were made locally were included in the ordinary rates and along with rum made up the stock of many of the smaller taverns. Innkeepers purchased these beverages from various sources--often from planters living nearby. An entry in one of Byrd's diaries mentions that Susanna Allen went to Queen's Creek to buy cider from Byrd's sister-in-law, Frances Parke Custis.<sup>84</sup> Also the Burwell Ledger of 1736 notes that Henry Wetherburn purchased apple cider from this planter.<sup>85</sup> Some of the tavern keepers probably brewed or distilled their own spirits. Marot's inventory, for instance, lists two stills valued at £ 21.11.0.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Byrd, Diary, 1709-1712, p. 488.

<sup>85</sup> Account book of James Bray and his estate, 1736-1746, p. 7, Burwell Papers. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives. (M-96-1)

<sup>86</sup> York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 242-246. (M-1-7)



In addition to the beers and ales brewed in homes or on plantations, by the mid-1760's some of these beverages could be obtained at John Mercer's brewery at Marlborough, Mercer's plantation several miles northeast of Fredericksburg. He advertised "STRONG BEER and PORTER at 18d. and ALE at 1s. the gallon, Virginia currency, in cask, equal in goodness to any that can be imported from any part of the world." Mercer's brewery was probably set up as a result of the additional taxes which the British government had imposed on the colonies. Mercer noted that "the severe treatment we have lately received from our Mother Country" was "sufficient to recommend my undertaking (though I should not be able to come up to the English standard, which I do not question constantly to do)."<sup>87</sup> Before this period, since strong beer, porter, and ale could be readily imported from England, there was little demand for a large brewery in Virginia.

Mercer mentioned that casks could be bought at the brewery but promised "if they are returned in good order, and sweet...the price of them shall be returned." He also

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<sup>87</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Purdie & Dixon), April 18, 1766, p. 3.

stated that "any person who sends bottles and corks may have them carefully filled and corked with beer or porter."<sup>88</sup> Many of the inventories show that the tavern keepers often had a supply of casks, bottles, and corks which were used for locally bottled drinks. There is evidence that tavern keepers imported wines and liquors in pipes and casks and thus bottled some of their own drinks. Hay's inventory lists 7 empty casks, 3 bottle cases, 10 carboys, 3 brass cocks, and "a parcel of empty casks." Marot left several casks, 2 cocks, and a supply of bottles. Included in Richard Singleton's inventory (1774) were 18 gross corks and 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  gross empty bottles.<sup>89</sup>

Imported beverages<sup>were</sup> purchased from local merchants who ordered supplies from Great Britain. Records of several purchases made by a Williamsburg tavern keeper have survived. In February of 1773 James Southall ordered "a pipe of good old wine and a barrel of old rum" from Neal Jamieson, a Norfolk merchant. In April Southall

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> York County Wills, Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 19-24. (M-1-11); Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 242-246. (M-1-7); Wills, Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 221 et seq. (M-1-11)

again wrote Jamieson, this time to say that he was "in want of some porter." Several months later Southall replied that he was "disappointed in a pipe of wine... being such as I cant posable use this court" as it was too new. Instead Southall asked Jamieson to send "a pipe that you think will sute me."<sup>90</sup> From these letters it is evident that Southall was particular about the quality of drinks that he served to his customers at the Raleigh Tavern. There is also evidence of this attention to quality in the fact that two years before, Southall had purchased "a pipe of madeira wine of the best quality" from Robert Carter, of Nomini Hall.<sup>91</sup>

Several eighteenth-century writers commented on the beverages that were commonly drunk in the colony. Robert Beverly in his history published in 1705 noted that the Virginians' small drink "is either Wine and Water, Beer, Milk and Water, or Water alone." He stated that Madeira

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<sup>90</sup> Neil Jamieson Papers, v. 17-18. Library of Congress. (M-57-9)

<sup>91</sup> Robert Carter Account Books, 1759-1775, entry for February 23, 1771. Library of Congress. (M-21)

wine, punch made from rum or brandy, French brandy, wine and English beer were popular strong drinks.<sup>92</sup>

Hugh Jones, an English clergyman who taught at the college for several years, also commented on what Virginians drank:

Some planters, etc. make good small drink with cakes of parsimmons a kind of plumbs, which grow there in great plenty; but the common small beer is made of molassus, which makes extraordinary brisk good tasted liquor at a cheap rate, with little trouble in brewing; so that they have it fresh...and they want it in winter and summer.

. . . .  
Some raise barley and make malt there, and others have malt from England, with which those that understand it, brew as good beer as in England, at proper seasons of the year; but the common strong malt-drink mostly used, is Bristol beer; of which is consumed vast quantities there yearly; which being well brewed and improved by crossing the sea, as wine, rack [arrack], brandy, and rum, punch, with drams of rum or brandy for the common sort, when they drink in a hurry.

The common wine comes from Madera or Phial, which moderately drank is fittest to cheer the fainting spirits in the heat of summer and to warm the chilled blood in the bitter colds of winter, and seems most peculiarly adopted for this climate:

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<sup>92</sup>Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, ed. by Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 293.

besides this, are plentifully drank with the better sort, in late years, all kinds of French, and other European wine, especially claret and port.<sup>93</sup>

In the Natural History of Virginia which was probably written from notes made by William Byrd are the following remarks about drinks:

One may obtain splendid wine from Madeira (a Canary island), which is very delicious, and also strong, and far better and more healthful than all our European wines, not only because of its agreeable sweetness but because of its soothing quality, as I myself have found out.

One finds here excellent apple juice and pear juice, which in the Summer are much more pleasant, much sweeter and more healthful than wine. For [this] reason everyone drinks it.

One has also beer of many sorts in this country which is made from different things. For example, a very good sort is made from Indian corn stalks, which one simply cuts and boils thoroughly until it has sufficient substance and strength. Good beer can be brewed also as in Europe, from barley and hops, which grow wild here.

Finally one receives all sorts of excellent beer from England, among which there is some which is as strong as the strongest wine. There is also made a very good, pleasant, and healthful drink, called punch, which is produced in the following way, namely: one takes two or three bottles of water--according to whether the

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<sup>93</sup> Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. by Richard Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), p. 86.

drink is desired strong or weak--a bottle of brandy, the juice of six to twelve lemons, which are strained through a clean cloth or a piece of linen, and a pound more or less of sugar--according to the sweetness desired. All this is mixed together. Finally a little nutmeg is scraped into it, after which one has a very pleasant drink.<sup>94</sup>

Several accounts of Williamsburg tavern keepers give an indication of the popular beverages during the early eighteenth century. The account of James Morris (1716-1717) with Graves Packe is one. The entry for March 1, 1716 reads:

Mar 1	To 5 bottles of wine and a dish with	
	<u>/Illegible/</u>	_. 5. 6
	To a hole of lemonade for your wife	_. 1. 0

Evidently Morris's wife accompanied him on this day and was served a bowl of lemonade. This account also indicates the beverages that Morris drank, Rum was his favorite, and usually listed as a "pint of Rum," but he also drank cherry rum, punch, flip, cider, gin, and wine (once specified as "medara").<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Richmond Beatty and William Mulloy, eds., Natural History of Virginia (Richmond, 1940), pp. 89-92.

<sup>95</sup> Papers of the Jones Family of Northumberland County, Virginia, 1649-1889. Library of Congress. (M-22-1) Hereafter cited as Jones Family Papers.

Another early account has survived--that of Richard King for Thomas Crease, of Williamsburg. This brief account for May and June of 1725 records that King had two bowls of punch, a quart of rum, and club services in punch at Crease's tavern.<sup>96</sup>

Other surviving tavern accounts are for the years between 1764 and 1774, when records are available for some of the men who frequented the taverns kept by James Southall. Between 1764 and 1771 John Page of Rosewell was served punch, sangaree, arrack punch, wine, toddy, and claret as well as being charged for meals for himself and a "Boy", oats, tickets to balls, and club expenses.<sup>97</sup> In May of 1768 another customer, Samuel Middleton had several julips, punch, and a toddy to drink and was charged for meals and club expenses as well.<sup>98</sup> In addition to the popular punch, wine, and sangaree which others drank, Henry Morse, owner of the forge at Rocky Ridge, bought bumbo, grog, and port.

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<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>Caroline County Appeals and Land Causes, 1777-1807, part 1, pp. 221-222. (M-1127)

<sup>98</sup>James Southall Accounts, 1768-1776. Originals in Brock Collection at Huntington Library. Oversize photostats, #78, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

He was also charged for lodging, dining, and club expenses.<sup>99</sup> These accounts show that a variety of drinks were available at Southall's but that certain customers preferred particular beverages.

By combining the evidence from inventories of some of the tavern keepers, newspaper advertisements, diaries and journals, account books, and contemporary books one should get some idea of what the most popular beverages were for eighteenth-century Virginians: Madeira, claret, and port were popular wines; quantities of beer were consumed, including both the strong beers imported from England, such as Bristol beer, and the small beers produced locally; cider and rum were served in all of the taverns; imported brandy and that made of local fruits such as peaches and apples were drunk; and punch made from rum, arrack, or brandy was served in most of the taverns.

#### Drinking Utensils

Beverages were served in a variety of vessels, generally made from earthenware, stoneware, glass, pewter,

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<sup>99</sup>Webb-Prentis Papers, 1757-1780. Library of Congress. (M-116)



or silver. Mugs and tankards often appear in inventories, but one also finds numerous pots and occasional cans; apparently these terms were used interchangeably.<sup>100</sup>

Large numbers of metal and earthenware drinking vessels seldom appear in the inventories of tavern keepers; instead there are many references to parcels of earthenware, stoneware, and old pewter. With the heavy use these vessels received, the earthenware undoubtedly became chipped and cracked and the pewter worn. In some inventories the pewter is listed by weight as in Henry Bowcock's inventory which appraised "27 lbs. hard pewter at 12, 168½ lbs pewter at 8½ and 18½ lbs old pewter at 6."<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Even the definitions are vague: a mug was "usually cylindrical, with or without a handle;" a tankard was a "tall one-handled jug or mug, usually of pewter, sometimes with a lid; used chiefly for drink<sup>in</sup> beer;" a pot was a "vessel of cylindrical or other rounded form, and rather deep than broad, commonly made of earthenware or metal... used to contain wine, beer, or any other drink;" and cans were "vessels of various materials, shapes, and sizes, including drinking vessels." James A. H. Murray, et al eds., Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford, 1933), VI, 745; XI, 76; VII, 1180; II, 57.

<sup>101</sup> York County  
Ibid., Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 55-57.  
(M-1-9)

Further evidence of the kind of drinking vessels used in colonial taverns is provided by archeological excavations in Williamsburg and Yorktown. Blue and grey stoneware tankards from the Rhineland, English brown stoneware, and local stoneware mugs were common.<sup>102</sup>

Fragments of pint mugs decorated with a sprig-molded swan ornament were found near the Swan Tavern in Yorktown.

Since it was not uncommon in England for tavern mugs to be decorated in some manner that could be identified with the name of the tavern, it is unlikely that the keeper of the Swan Tavern sent to England for mugs that could be supplied by a local potter. Both documentary and archeological evidence suggest that the local potter was William Rogers of Yorktown, who was also a brewer, merchant, and gentleman.<sup>103</sup>

Perhaps William Rogers sold pottery to Williamsburg tavern keepers; when his stock was appraised there were

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<sup>102</sup>Ivor Noel Hume, Here Lies Virginia (New York, 1963), p. 157. Hereafter cited as Noel Hume, Here Lies.

<sup>103</sup>C. Malcolm Watkins and Ivor Noel Hume, The "Poor Potter" of Yorktown (Contributions from the Museum of History and Technology, U. S. National Museum Bulletin 249, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1967), 91, 80-83. Hereafter cited as Watkins and Noel Hume, Potter.

twenty-six dozen quart mugs and sixty dozen pint mugs on hand.<sup>104</sup>

Large amounts of glassware were also included in the tavern inventories though the exact use was often disguised by vague inventory references to glass rummers, tumblers, and drinking glasses. Some inventories, though, listed glasses according to specific uses: wine glasses, beer glasses, cider glasses, jelly glasses, and syllabub glasses.

The capacity of these drinking vessels varied considerably. Several inventories list pots with the capacity of a gallon or a pottle (two quarts), but quart, pint, half pint, and gill (one quarter pint) containers were most common. Some of the early tavern accounts list the type and capacity of the containers in which the drinks were served. The account of James Morris with Graves Packe in 1716 shows that lemonade and punch were served in bowls, but flip and cider were served in mugs. Rum was served to Morris by the half-pint, pint, and quart. Gin and cider were also served by the quart. Wine was generally purchased

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<sup>104</sup>York County Orders, Wills and Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 555 ff. (M-1-9)

by the bottle but one entry reads: "Novr 14 To a Pint of wine with cheese wth Groom 1/3."<sup>105</sup>

### Amusements

Facilities for gambling were provided at all taverns; cards and board games were played indoors and ninepins, cockfights, and horse races took place outside. The anonymous French traveler's remark that "there is not a publick house in Virginia but have their tables all bated with the boxes" suggests the popularity of gambling at taverns.<sup>106</sup>

Inventories show cards, dice, and game tables for cards, backgammon, and billiards. John Burdett's inventory listed "11 pr. dice", "2 pair backgammon tables", and "1 billiard table with sticks, balls, etc." The inventory of Anthony Hay indicates that there were four mahogany card tables, one walnut card table, and a billiard table at the Raleigh. Among the belongings of Mary Hunter, a Yorktown tavern keeper, were ninepins, cards, and a gaming table.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Jones Family Papers. (M-22-1)

<sup>106</sup>"French Traveller, 1765", 741.

<sup>107</sup>York County Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 46-49. (M-1-10); XXII (1771-1783), 19-24. (M1-11); XVIII (1732-1740), 57. (M-1-9)

Though cards are not listed in the inventories of Williamsburg tavern keepers, transactions noting the purchase of cards are listed in the Virginia Gazette Day Book. In April of 1751 Anne Shields bought "4 Packs of Cards" and in March of the following year Alexander Finnie purchased "2 Packs Cards."<sup>108</sup> By 1764 and 1765 the printing office was offering two kinds of cards for sale: on February 23, 1764 Mrs. Vobe obtained "6 doz. best Harry Cards" for £4.2.6; a month later William Trebell bought "1 Doz. Packs Cards" for 15s. and on May 22, 1765 he bought "3 Doz. best Harry Cards" and was charged £2.1.3.<sup>109</sup>

An entry in one of Robert Wormeley Carter's diaries notes that "Beverley paid Todd for the Cards" on the day that he and Beverley played "a few Games of Cribbage at Todd's Ordinary at Hobbshole."<sup>110</sup>

Dice appear in the inventory of only one Williamsburg tavern keeper--John Burdett had eleven pairs of dice--but

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<sup>108</sup>Virginia Gazette Day Book 1750-1752, p. 31. University of Virginia Library. Photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

<sup>109</sup>Virginia Gazette Day Book 1764-1766, pp. 98, 24, 168. University of Virginia Library. Photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

<sup>110</sup>Almanac Diary of Robert Wormeley Carter, 1765, entry for December 16. Clements Library, typescript Colonial Williamsburg Research Department.

many tavern keepers undoubtedly had them. From a surviving York County Court record we know that one evening in 1745 James Shields or his wife supplied an "almost new" pair of dice to some men who were playing hazard at their tavern. Later, though, one of the players replaced the new dice for ones "very much worn on the Corners" and this pair was subsequently found to be loaded.<sup>111</sup>

In the inventory of a Norfolk tavern keeper one finds "One Mississippi Table and Balls" listed along with the more common "Billiard Table, Candlesticks Balls & Sticks." Skittles were also listed in Hamilton's inventory.<sup>112</sup>

Skittles or ninepins was a popular game played in alleys which were usually located in the tavern yards. Daniel Fisher observed "a number of Planters at Nine Pins" at both Ashley's and Mill's taverns.<sup>113</sup> No reference to alleys for playing ninepins has been located in connection

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<sup>111</sup>York County Land Causes, 1746-1769, pp. 1-7 at back of book. (M-1-14a)

<sup>112</sup>Norfolk County Appraisements I (1755-1783), 2-3. Virginia State Library Microfilm, reel 82.

<sup>113</sup>Fisher, "Journal", 788.

with Williamsburg taverns during the eighteenth century, but there was an alley at the Raleigh in the nineteenth century. There students and others bowled much to the pleasure of the neighborhood boys who were paid for setting up the pins.<sup>114</sup>

Since the tavern keeper charged for the use of his facilities, he encouraged the gambling tendencies of his customers. An account of Richard King with Richard Packe from 1725 to 1727 shows that King bought several packs of cards and played billiards and card games of whisk, ombre, and all-fours at Packe's tavern in Williamsburg.<sup>115</sup>

Cockfights and horse races were often held near the taverns during the eighteenth century. There is, for instance, a notice of a "Match of Cocks" to be fought "at the George and Dragon, in Williamsburg" in the February 14, 1751 issue of the Virginia Gazette. Generally though, the cockfights and the horse races took place at the country taverns. A cockfight was advertised for Whitsuntide Monday in May of 1774 at Hardyman Dancy's tavern between

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<sup>114</sup>John Charles, MS Recollections, 1861, p. 47. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

<sup>115</sup>Jones Family Papers. (M-22-1)

the gentlemen of the upper and lower ends of Charles City County. Twenty cocks were to be shown for three pounds a battle and, in addition, there was to be a fifteen pound grand prize. These events generally lasted for the whole day and were followed by a ball.<sup>116</sup> Chastellux happened upon a cockfight while traveling through the piedmont. He was particularly impressed with the popularity of cock-fights, which he noted were "much in fashion in Virginia" and attracted gentlemen "from thirty to forty miles around."<sup>117</sup>

Horse races also drew large numbers of people.

Following the description of a sweepstake race at Richmond County Court House on July 28, 1768 is this comment:

"There was a very genteel and numerous company, and a good ordinary at Garland's. The goodness of the ground, with other conveniences, makes this spot as proper a place for sport as any in the colony." The "brothers of the bridle, and lovers of the turf" were invited to begin a new subscription which would do "favour to a young housekeeper,

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<sup>116</sup> Virginia Gazette, (Hunter), February 14, 1751, p. 4; (Rind), May 12, 1774, p. 3.

<sup>117</sup> Chastellux, Travels, II, 386.



whose diligent study will be to please and oblige."<sup>118</sup>  
 By encouraging that a new subscription be started while the gentlemen's interest was aroused, Garland could hope to have another race near his tavern. Garland, like other keepers of country taverns, was always anxious to attract large numbers of customers to his otherwise seldom frequented tavern.

The tavern keepers did more for horse races than to provide a place for socializing. On many occasions it was the tavern keepers who collected the subscription money as did Anthony Hay for the race which was announced for October of 1768. The local tavern keeper generally cared for the horses which were to be raced the following day. A notice in the Virginia Gazette for races to be held in Stafford County in September of 1773 mentions that "those Gentlemen who intend to start horses for either of the above purses are desired, to enter them the day before the race with Charles Tyler, who keeps the tavern lately kept by Mr. Yelverton Peyton."<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>Virginia Gazette, (Rind), August 4, 1768, p. 2.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., February 19, 1767, p. 2; July 22, 1773, p. 2 supplement.

CHAPTER IV  
ADDITIONAL SERVICES

Besides the usual services--lodging, food, drink, and amusements--many tavern keepers offered club facilities, sponsored balls and lectures, promoted commercial activities, or provided meeting places for political and civic affairs. The special services not only attracted new customers but helped to satisfy the needs of regular patrons.

Club Facilities

It can be assumed that groups of gentlemen with common interests gathered at certain taverns for their social activities. The diaries of William Byrd which include useful information about social life during the first half of the eighteenth century contain only one reference to a club: after attending the council on May 5, 1720, at about four o'clock Byrd and several friends went "to dine at the club."<sup>1</sup> His many references to activities at the

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<sup>1</sup>William Byrd, The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (New York, 1958), p. 403.

coffeehouse where he often sat and talked, drank, gambled, and played practical jokes probably correspond to what later diarists termed club activities.

On the other hand, George Washington used the club facilities of many taverns. He patronized the Raleigh at various times between 1754 and 1774, paying club fees to Finnie (1754-1763), Trebell (1763-1766), Hay (1767-1770) and Southall (1771-1774). In 1762 he began using Mrs. Campbell's facilities and he was still patronizing her tavern as late as 1774, after she had moved to Waller Street. He often went to Mrs. Vobe's between 1763, when she was at the tavern on Waller Street, and 1774, when she moved to the King's Arms. Other club facilities used by Washington were Pullet's (1766), Charlton's (1767-1768), and Anderson's (1771-1774). Washington's references to these club activities are generally vague, mentioning "Supper and club" or "By Club as Finnies 6/," but following the organization of the Non-Importation Association his ledger entry reads: "By Anthony Hays Acct. 32/9d. and Club at Do. arising from the Assn. meetg. there 20/."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>George Washington Ledger A, p. 290. Library of Congress. (M-89-2) Hereafter cited Ledger A.

Several years later he "dined and Spent the Evening in the Club Room at Mrs. Campbell's."<sup>3</sup>

Jefferson also frequented clubs when he was in Williamsburg. At times during 1768 and 1769 he paid a club fee of seven and one-half pence at a "Coffee house," perhaps Mrs. Vobe's tavern on Waller Street. On other occasions he stopped at Ayscough's, where on October 23, 1769 he paid five shillings, nine pence for dinner and club. Several years later he "Pd club in arrack 1/3."<sup>4</sup>

At small taverns where there was only one public room groups of men probably reserved a table for their club activities. Larger taverns had separate rooms which were made available for private groups. Washington mentioned the club room at Mrs. Campbell's tavern but other taverns such as the Raleigh, Wetherburn's, and the King's Arms also had rooms for private entertaining. These rooms served gentlemen who did not have town houses--providing a place where they could dine, talk, smoke, and play cards during the evenings.

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<sup>3</sup>John C. Fitzpatrick, ed. The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1770, 4 vols. (Boston, 1925), II, 104.

<sup>4</sup>Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play (Charlottesville, 1965), p. 267.

The rooms where the clubs met were probably reserved in advance and the tavern keepers served all the gentlemen as a unit. The fees were not the equivalent of the club dues of today, but each individual paid his share of the total bill for the food, drink, and use of the room for a given evening. The sharing of expenses accounts for the variation in the club fees from one evening to the next as recorded by Washington and others in their diaries and ledgers.

One eighteenth-century reference which clearly indicates that "club" meant the sharing of expenses occurs in the day book of the Greenbriar Store which was located in the western part of Virginia. Entries for January 2, 1773 serve as an example:

James Freeland	Dr.
To 1 Egnog	0.2.0
To Club in Egnog	0.1.0
. . .	
Wm Heponstall	
To Club in Egnog	0.1.0 <sup>5</sup>

Thus when Freeland ordered an egnog for himself he was charged two shillings but later that day when he shared egnog with Heponstall the cost was divided and each was charged separately.

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<sup>5</sup>Greenbriar Store (Sampson & George Mathews) Day Book April 8, 1771 - June 1773. Virginia State Library.

References in early tavern accounts indicate that informal club arrangements existed in Williamsburg taverns from the early eighteenth century. The first known reference to a club is in the account of James Morris for 1716. On April 8 he was indebted to Graves Packe "To your Club with Cutingham and Blanch 1/0" and on July 5 "To your Club with Finigan 4/2."<sup>6</sup> Another early reference to clubs states that on May 11, 1725 Richard King was charged ls. 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. by Thomas Crease for "Your Club in Punch."<sup>7</sup>

Only one description of an eighteenth-century Williamsburg club has survived--that of Robert Hunter, a young Englishman who visited the former capital on February 25, 1786 and stayed at Gabriel Maupin's tavern:

We put up at Maupin's and afterwards called and delivered our letter to Colonel Samuel Griffin, a very genteel man, brother to Dr. Griffin of York. He politely asked us to stay dinner, and upon our refusing, invited us to a club tonight to be held at the inn where we stay. Our next visit was to Mr. Carter and then we returned to dinner. In the afternoon we dressed ourselves and went

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<sup>6</sup>Miscellaneous papers relating to the estate of Richard King, Papers of the Jones Family of Northumberland County, Virginia, 1649-1889. Library of Congress. (M-22-1) Hereafter cited Jones Family Papers.

<sup>7</sup>Miscellaneous papers relating to James Morris, Jones Family Papers.

to drink tea with Mr. and Mrs. Carter--the daughter is a sweet, accomplished young girl and the son a genteel young man. At eight we left them to go to the club we were invited to. Here we were introduced to General Gates, Mr. Beverley Dixon, Dr. Maddison, etc., Colonel Finney, etc., etc. We played at whist till ten, when we all sat down to supper, and spent the evening very agreeably. At eleven the gentlemen went away and we retired to our bed. Several of them pressed us to stay very much, that we might have the opportunity of dining at their houses. Hadfield and I, according to custom, slept in the same room. I was joked a little about the dear mademoiselle.<sup>8</sup>

Though this reference is for a later period we can assume that the club activities which Hunter described had not changed appreciably during the years.

Tavern clubs in colonial Virginia had little resemblance to the formal clubs in London or their counterparts in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Rather, Williamsburg taverns served as meeting places for the councillors, burgesses, lawyers, merchants, ship captains, planters, frontiersmen, and others who frequented the capital. These clubs were of an informal nature and provided a place where the men could talk, smoke, gamble, drink, and obtain light refreshments.

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<sup>8</sup>Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds. Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786. Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London (San Marino, 1943), p. 232.

If Williamsburg had been a city, perhaps its tavern clubs might have become more like those in the northern colonies which Alexander Hamilton, an Annapolis physician, visited on a journey in 1744. His colorful account of club activities at taverns provided a contrast to the informal clubs found in Virginia. As was customary of travelers at that time, Hamilton took letters of introduction to prominent gentlemen in the other colonies. It was these men who introduced Hamilton to clubs in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Newport.<sup>9</sup>

In Philadelphia he was introduced to the Governor's Club: "a society of gentlemen that met at a tavern every night and converse on various subjects." This group discussed foreign poets and writers and occasionally toasts were drunk to certain ladies.<sup>10</sup>

Hamilton was invited to sup with the Hungarian Club in New York, which met every night at a tavern kept by a man named Todd. He noted that "two or three toapers in the company seemed to be of opinion that a man could not have

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<sup>9</sup>Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744 (Chapel Hill, 1948), passim.

<sup>10</sup>ibid., p. 21.



a more sociable quality or enduement than to be able to pour down seas of liquor and remain unconquered while others sunk beneath the table."<sup>11</sup>

In Boston Hamilton attended several clubs--among<sup>2</sup> them the Physicall Club which met at the Sun Tavern. Being a physician, Hamilton shared common interests with this group who "drink punch, smoaked tobacco, and talked of sundry matters." Hamilton also visited one of the clubs which met at Withered's Tavern. The number of clubs which met at this tavern is suggested by Hamilton's experience after he got up to speak to the innkeeper: "I heedlessly every time went into a room where there was a strange company as I returned and twice sat down in the midst of them, nor did I discover I was in the wrong box till I found them all staring att me."<sup>12</sup>

Hamilton found the conversation boring at the Philosophical Club which met in Newport. He soon tired of talk of privateering and building vessels and retired to his lodgings.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 42-45.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 115 and 144.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 151-152.

The tavern clubs which Hamilton visited had certain characteristics in common. The members usually met every evening or weekly in special rooms at the taverns. They often had supper and then drank punch, smoked, and talked on various subjects. At some clubs most of the conversation was related to a particular subject as at the "Physical Club" in Boston, but at others the topics varied considerably: discussions of news items and politics or criticism of books and literary topics. Frequently the club activities were interrupted by toasts to various guests, public officials, and at times to certain ladies. Some club members were heavy drinkers and, as Hamilton suggested, enjoyed making their guests drunk. The tavern clubs which Hamilton visited were organized affairs, some even had officers who presided over the meetings. The principal function of these clubs, however, was to provide companionship and entertainment for the members in the evenings.

Hamilton's contact with northern clubs and former association with a club in Scotland, probably prompted the founding, on May 14, 1745, of "The Ancient and Honourable Tuesday Club." This group which met weekly at the homes of its members in Annapolis was "designed for humor and... a sort of farcical Drama of Mock Majesty." Officers

included a president, a combination poet laureate and P.P.P.P. (Poet, printer, punster, purveyor, and punchmaker), and Hamilton as secretary and historiographer, otherwise known as Loquacious Scribble, Esq. One rule stated that if a member brought up the subject of Maryland politics "no answer shall be given thereto, but...the society shall laugh at the Member offending in order to divert the discourse." One dish, generally a gammon of bacon, was served at each meeting but no fresh liquor was prepared after eleven. The ritual accorded the first toast to "the Ladies," then "the King's Majesty," and last, "the Deluge." The club lasted for nine years, but with the death of Hamilton on May 11, 1756, the Tuesday Club ceased to meet.<sup>14</sup>

#### Balls and Special Entertainments

The tavern keepers who were always anxious to attract new customers sponsored balls, exhibits, and lectures. In Williamsburg balls were given during Public Times and were held at taverns as well as at the Capitol, Palace and Courthouse. Ann Shields, whose tavern was probably not large enough for a ball, arranged to have a ball at the

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., Introduction, p. xvi-xxii.

Courthouse on April 23, 1751 for the "Entertainment of Gentlemen and Ladies." Mrs. Shields had 200 tickets printed for this ball and advertised that tickets could be had "at her House...at Half a Pistole each."<sup>15</sup> The same spring Finnie sponsored at least one ball as he was charged twice "for advertising your Ball."<sup>16</sup> By the following year both Finnie and Wetherburn were having balls during the "sitting of the General Assembly and Court." The balls at Wetherburn's were planned for each Tuesday evening. Half a <sup>pistole</sup> shilling was the usual price for a ticket.<sup>17</sup> These balls held in 1752 were the only advertised balls but others undoubtedly took place. Accounts of John Page, Jr., and Henry Morse with James Southall show that these men purchased ball tickets from the tavern keeper in 1768, 1770 and 1773.<sup>18</sup> During the two earlier

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<sup>15</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 11, 1751, p. 4; Virginia Gazette Day Book 1750-1752, p. 31. University of Virginia Library. Photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 32 and 34.

<sup>17</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), February 27, 1752, p. 4; March 5, 1752, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup>Account of John Page, Jr., with James Southall recorded in Caroline County Appeals and Land Causes, 1777-1801, part 1, pp. 221-222 (M-1127); fragmentary account of Henry Morse with James Southall, June 5, 1770, Webb-Prentis Papers, 1757-1780. Library of Congress. (M-116)

years Southall was keeper of what had been Wetherburn's Tavern, but by 1773 Southall was operating the Raleigh.

Like other rooms at the large taverns the ballrooms could be rented for private parties. Jefferson mentioned "dancing with Belinda in the Apollo" in a letter to John Page;<sup>19</sup> however, since Jefferson's accounts do not include either subscriptions or tickets, this was probably a private ball at the Raleigh.

Special entertainments at taverns were usually part of the celebrations of the King's birthday. On June 6, 1766, Governor Fauquier and some of the principal gentlemen of Williamsburg met at Pullet's tavern and "spent the evening in honour of his Majesty."<sup>20</sup>

Other towns also celebrated that summer. In Hampton gentlemen combined their observance of the King's birthday with the repeal of the Stamp Act. In the morning the firing of guns and other demonstrations of joy took place. At noon after the royal salute was given the men "repaired to the Bunch of Grapes Tavern where an elegant entertainment was provided," numerous healths were drunk, and

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<sup>19</sup>Julian P. Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, 1950 to date), I, 11.

<sup>20</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), June 6, 1766, p. 2.

cannons were discharged. The Virginia Gazette also noted that

A plentiful dinner was provided for the other inhabitants at some distance whence every acclamation was cheerfully repeated. In the evening there was a ball and supper at the King's Arms tavern, which the Ladies graced with their company; during which the populace concluded their rejoicing, by a repetition of the healths round a large bonfire. The whole day passed with the greatest joy, decency, and unanimity.<sup>21</sup>

The celebration at Newtown in Princess Anne County was less elaborate. On June 26th the principal gentlemen celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act at the Rising Sun Tavern where there was "elegant entertainment" and numerous toasts were drunk. There was a ball in the evening where "a numerous company of Ladies and Gentlemen;.. made a genteel appearance."<sup>22</sup>

Notices in the Virginia Gazette mention a lecture and exhibit of paintings that were held at Williamsburg taverns. On two evenings in January of 1767 the celebrated Lecture on Heads was delivered "in the Great Room of the Rawleigh tavern." Several years later Mr. Pratt, a portrait painter

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid., June 13, 1766, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., July 4, 1766, p. 2.

from England and Ireland, exhibited paintings at Mrs. Vobe's tavern, The King's Arms. The paintings and a choice selection of prints, after being exhibited for a week, were to be sold on March 13, 1773.<sup>23</sup>

### Political Events

Tavern keepers, whose facilities were a natural center for informal political discussions, encouraged political gatherings. After all, few men could be expected to meet at the taverns for political purposes without needing some refreshment. Washington's ledger entry for May 17, 1769, the day of the organization of the Non-Importation Association shows that his share of the club expenses at the Raleigh "arising from the Assn. meetg. there" was twenty shillings.<sup>24</sup>

The aroused feelings of many citizens during the period before the repeal of the Stamp Act caused much discussion at taverns. The anonymous French traveler who had been in Williamsburg and heard Patrick Henry speak out against the Stamp Duty found that favorable sentiments extended beyond the capital. One evening he lodged at the

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., January 8, 1767, p. 3; March 4, 1773, p. 3.

<sup>24</sup>Ledger A, p. 290.

tavern in Newcastle kept by Colonel Johnson and was held over for a day by the rain. The Frenchman remarked that "we had nothing talked of but the Stamp Dutys. the major [a brother of the innkeeper] says he'l sooner die than pay a farthing, and is sure that all his countrymen will do the Same."<sup>25</sup> In March of 1766 some colonists were still inflamed lest the Stamp Act be enforced and on the 29th about thirty prominent men of Norfolk spent the night at one of the taverns where they discussed and planned further measures. Within two days the Sons of Liberty had met and voted "that the Parliament imposing taxes on America is unconstitutional and illegal; and therefore determined, in case the Stamp Act is to be enforced, that they will stand by each other in order to oppose it with all their might."<sup>26</sup>

During the period leading to the Revolution tempers flared and intense loyalties produced some heated moments at taverns. One not in sympathy with the prevailing view was better off not to show his feelings as Nicholas

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<sup>25</sup> "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), 747. Hereafter cited "French Traveller, 1765."

<sup>26</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XXI (1912-1913), 165.



Cresswell noted in his journal for November 1, 1774:

This evening went to the Tavern [In Alexandria] to hear the Resolves of the Continental Congress. Read a Petition to the Throne and a address to the people of Great Britain. Both of them full of duplicity and false representation. I look upon them as insults to the understanding and dignity of the British Sovereign and people. Am in hopes their petitions will never be granted. I am sorry to see them so well received by the people and the sentiments so universally adopted. It is a plain proof that the seeds of rebellion are already sown and have taken very deep root, but am in hopes they will be eradicated next summer. I am obliged to act the hypocrite and extol these proceedings as the wisest productions of any assembly on Earth, but in my heart I despise them and look upon them with contempt.<sup>27</sup>

Cresswell was wise enough to hold his tongue and not express his true sentiments on such an occasion but others were not. Samuel Shepard of Buckingham County returned to Virginia in 1776 after spending six years in England. One evening he met some old friends at the tavern and their talk turned to the rebellion. At first Shepard said nothing and looked on in amazement, but one of his friends, Mr. Cabell, noticed his silence and asked if he disagreed.

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<sup>27</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777 (New York, 1924), p. 45.

Shepard answered that he did,

acknowledging the great sins of the British to the colonies but expressing a belief that there was enough spirit of agreement between the contestants to discover a way to peace...I opened the subject, stating both sides as well as I could without ill temper or prejudice....But suddenly moved by the indignant amazement of some of the men at another table, I paused, and came to an end, without passion....We proceeded with the wine when, shortly, Mr. P. returned with Mr. Jones and another officer and I was told I was arrested for treasonable acts and speech...

Shepard found the jail to be cold but was able to bribe the jailor into starting a fire. Later the jailor entertained him with news of the area and warned him about entering into talks about the current inflammatory issues. Shepard noted that the jailor advised about thinking aloud, saying that

we are going to have a hard time, and we can't have treasonable talk to weaken our cause. He said, you are most fortunate in not having old man Pat Henry here at the tavern, he would have addressed the people and you would have been treated badly....The following day I was permitted to leave the jail.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., XV (1935), 411-412.

The Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg was frequently used for political meetings in the years before the American Revolution. The most important of the early meetings was held on May 17, 1769. After Lord Botetourt dissolved the General Assembly the "late representatives of the people" reassembled at the Raleigh, elected Peyton Randolph moderator, and proceeded with the business of forming an association. On the following day a "great number of the principal Gentlemen of the Colony" signed the "Association," a non-importation agreement, and then proceeded to drink toasts to "The KING. \_\_\_ The QUEEN and ROYAL FAMILY. \_\_\_ His Excellency Lord BOTETOURT, and prosperity to VIRGINIA. \_\_\_ A speedy and lasting union between GREAT BRITAIN and her COLONIES..."<sup>29</sup>

Not all of the meetings held at the Raleigh consisted of large groups. One evening in the spring of 1773<sup>30</sup> Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis L. Lee, Dabney Carr and Thomas Jefferson met in a private room of the Raleigh to consult on matters which they felt the older,

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<sup>29</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 18, 1769, p. 2.

<sup>30</sup>It has been assumed that the meeting was held between March 4, when Dunmore called the Assembly, and March 12, the date Richard Bland reported the resolutions to the Committee of the Whole.

leading members lacked the zeal to express. This private group was convinced of the need for united colonial action and proposed that committees of correspondence be established in each colony.<sup>31</sup>

On May 26, 1774 the Burgesses were again dissolved, this time by Lord Dunmore. The following day the "late representatives" met in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh and adopted another "Association." This agreement protested the closing of the port of Boston, and the additional taxes on tea and other items, and it also recommended that delegates from the colonies assemble in a general congress to discuss the measures affecting their united interests.<sup>32</sup>

Though much interest had been aroused by these political meetings, particularly those which were held at the Raleigh, one must remember that these meetings occurred only during the last few years of colonial rule. For most of the colonial period politics was just one of many topics discussed at the taverns.

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<sup>31</sup>Thomas Jefferson, "Autobiography" in The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, ed. by Paul Leicester Ford (New York, 1892-1899) I, 7-9.

<sup>32</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 26, 1774, pp. 2-3.

### Commercial Activities

Besides serving the communities as social and political centers, the taverns were also centers for commercial activities. Tavern keepers encouraged these activities since they attracted more business to their bars and dinner tables. Auctions were held outside the taverns and in the rooms private business dealings were discussed. At times various kinds of goods as well as tickets to certain functions were sold at taverns. Then too, groups of business men and others often chose to hold their meetings at taverns.

In front of the Raleigh--the favored location in the capital for holding an auction--land and slaves were most frequently sold though a wide assortment of other goods were also auctioned off through the years. One finds many advertisements in the Virginia Gazette like the following:

To be SOLD, on Thursday the 30th of April next, before the door of the Raleigh tavern, in Williamsburg.

EIGHT hundred acres of good level LAND in King William county, about three miles above Claiborne's ferry; and five hundred acres of low grounds, opposite the same, in New Kent county. There are good

buildings on the first mentioned tract of land, and it has the advantage of a fine fishery....<sup>33</sup>

To be SOLD by auction, on Friday the 12th of December next, before Mr. Trebell's door,

A VERY Handsome and Convenient STOREHOUSE, on the main street in Williamsburg, with every advantage from its situation either for a merchant or tradesman, and is in exceeding good repair, having been built but a short time. The credit will be agreed on at the day of sale, the purchaser giving bond and security to

JOHN THOMPSON, & CO.<sup>34</sup>

To be SOLD before the Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg, on Wednesday the 9th of March for ready Money,

Fourteen or fifteen likely Virginia born NEGROES, consisting of Men, Women, Boys, and Girls.

N. B. The above Negroes will positively be sold at the Time and Place above mentioned.<sup>35</sup>

To be SOLD before the Raleigh, on Friday the 5th of November, in the Afternoon,

A VALUABLE MULATTO BOY, about eighteen Years old, and has been used to wait on a Gentleman, also a COOK WENCH, belonging to the Estate of the Reverend Josiah Johnson, deceased. Credit will be allowed till the 25th of April, Bond and Security being given to

JOHN CAMM, } Executors<sup>36</sup>  
JAMES CARTER, }

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<sup>33</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 5, 1767, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup>ibid., December 4, 1766, p. 3.

<sup>35</sup>ibid., February 17, 1774, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup>ibid., October 7, 1773, p. 2.

To be SOLD to the highest Bidders, some Time next Week, before the Raleigh Tavern, in Williamsburg,

THE beautiful Horse RANTHER, a genteel FAMILY COACH, with Harness for six Horses, also several Pieces of FASHIONABLE PLATE, yet remaining of the Estate of the late John Mercer, Esquire, deceased. Credit will be allowed until the 25th of April next, the Purchasers giving Bond and Security, with Interest from the Sale, but if the Money is paid when due, the Interest will be abated.

...

Williamsburg, October 24. JAMES MERCER.

N.B. The Plate is lodged with Mr. Craig,<sup>37</sup> and may be seen by any inclinable to purchase.

SUNDRY damaged Goods, consisting of LINENS and IRON WARE, imported in the Unity, Captain Goosley, from London, to be sold at the Raleigh Door, for ready Money, on Monday the 22d Instant, at five o'clock in the Afternoon, for the Benefit of the Ensurers.

ROBERT PRENTIS.<sup>38</sup>

Holding auctions in front of taverns was not confined to Williamsburg, for there were auctions at country taverns and in small towns on court days. "SUNDRY WOOLENS, consisting of Dutch and other blankets, rugs and Negro cottons &c." were to be sold at a public auction "before the Long Ordinary door, in Fredericksburg, on Thursday the 15th instant, being Spotsylvania court day." In

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., October 24, 1771, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., March 18, 1773, p. 3.

1767 "TWENTY valuable Virginia born SLAVES" were to be sold at Captain Nevil's Ordinary in Fauquier County "on the Second Tuesday in March next, if fair, if not, the next fair Day."<sup>39</sup> This last advertisement not only serves as an example of auctions at the country taverns but illustrates the influence of weather conditions on these sales. Because of the poor roads few people attended the auctions if the weather was bad. Some sales were cancelled as this advertisement shows: "THE Badness of the Weather preventing the sale of my Land advertised some Time ago, I now propose to sell it by auction, before the Raleigh Door in Williamsburg."<sup>40</sup>

Little evidence has survived recounting the private business affairs which were arranged at the taverns, but undoubtedly business agreements were reached in taverns where men often gathered to talk and discuss their affairs. A reference to one of these business talks survived in the published papers of John Norton & Sons. One Samuel

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<sup>39</sup>Virginia Gazette (Rind), November 8, 1770, p. 1; February 19, 1767, p. 3.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), March 18, 1773, p. 3.



Shields wrote John Norton in 1784 and asked him to recall "when I applied to you in the Time of War (& I beg you to recollect that it was in the Portico of the Raleigh Tavern) I desired you to let me know what you w.d allow for Tobo. in Discharge of this Debt...."<sup>41</sup>

Tavern keepers often sold tickets and subscriptions for lotteries, theatrical events, balls, and horse races. In Williamsburg lotteries were frequently drawn at the Raleigh while Anthony Hay was keeper.<sup>42</sup> These lotteries, generally set up for the disposing of property, were popular throughout the colony. For instance, the drawing for Peter Warren's lottery in 1766 was announced to take place on January 1st at Bage's ordinary in Petersburg.<sup>43</sup> In 1751 money for subscriptions to the playhouse were sent to "Mr. Finnie's at the Raleigh, where Tickets may be had." That fall Alexander Finnie also sold tickets for a ball.

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<sup>41</sup>Frances Norton Mason, ed. John Norton & Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1937), p. 465.

<sup>42</sup>Advertisements in the following issues of the Virginia Gazette announced lotteries to be drawn at the Raleigh: (Purdie & Dixon), June 20, 1766, p. 2; (Rind), December 24, 1767, p. 4; (Purdie & Dixon), April 13, 1769, p. 3.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), December 11, 1766, p. 3.

at the Courthouse which was sponsored by Richard Coventon, a dancing master.<sup>44</sup> An advertisement shows that the playhouse had other uses besides theatrical ones. In 1755 "that elaborate and celebrated Piece of Mechanism, call'd the MICROCOSM, OR THE WORLD IN MINIATURE" was featured there. Tickets were available only at the Raleigh Tavern and the printing office, and it was "humbly hoped no Person will take it amiss if not admitted without a Ticket."<sup>45</sup> Several years later subscriptions for a sweepstake race in October, 1768, were sent to Anthony Hay.<sup>46</sup>

There is also evidence that some tavern keepers sold merchandise. In October, 1752 Samuel Rockwell advertised that he "MAKES, cleans and mends all Sorts of Clocks and Watches" and that at present he had two good clocks for sale at Mr. Finnie's in Williamsburg.<sup>47</sup> Though the location is unknown it has been assumed that James Southall was keeping a tavern in 1766 when it was advertised that

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), August 29, 1751, p. 3; Ibid., October 24, 1751, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., October 3, 1755, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., (Rind), February 19, 1767, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), October 27, 1752, p. 1.

"POOLE's best Scotch SNUFF" was available in Norfolk and at Mr. James Southall's in Williamsburg." Jewellery was sold at a tavern in 1766, for James Geddy, a Williamsburg silversmith, advertised that he had left "a neat assortment of JEWELLERY, with GOLD and SILVER WORK...at Mr. Bennett White's who keeps a publick house of good entertainment in Newcastle."<sup>48</sup>

Many eighteenth-century tavern keepers were also in the transportation business since they usually offered horses, chairs and carts for hire. One innkeeper, Joseph Gilliam, advertised that "THE Subscriber in Williamsburg, has a very good travelling Chair and Horses, to hire to any Part of the County: Also a Cart and Horses." John

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), August 1, 1766, p. 3; Ibid.

One generally associates peddlers with the commercial activities of taverns but this evidently was not true of colonial Virginia. The peddlers that came to the colony usually dealt in skins, cattle and horses but their activities were curtailed by laws passed in the General Assembly between 1738 and 1762. It was necessary for peddlers to obtain licenses and the cost and trouble involved in procuring one as well as the penalty for trading without a license increased considerably after 1738. These restrictions made peddling sufficiently difficult and thus discouraged most peddlers from operating in the colony. William W. Hening, Statutes at Large... (Richmond, 1810-1823), V, 54-57, 355-357; VII, 283-288, 405-406, 585-587.

Carter noted in the advertisement of his Williamsburg tavern that he had "a good travelling Chair, with a Top to it in case of Rain, to hire."<sup>49</sup> In 1771 when Mrs. Vobe advertised the sale of her furniture it included "Riding Chairs, both double and single, with Harness new and complete, a small Tumbrel, two Carts, nine very good Cart Horses, with Harness, several Mens Saddles and Bridles."<sup>50</sup> Inventories of tavern keepers likewise give evidence of these items: Marot had one coach, one cart and ten horses; Bowcock had a large and a small tumbrel, one old wagon, and nine horses; Shields had two chairs, one cart, one wagon and eight horses; Wetherburn had seven horses, one chair and harness, one wagon and harness; and Hay had five horses, one phaeton and harness, one single chair and harness. Hay's slaves included "a good Coachman and Carter."<sup>51</sup>

Hiring of horses and carts is mentioned in two tavern accounts. The account of John Page, Esquire, with James

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), April 18, 1745, p. 4; Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), July 25, 1771, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 242-246 (M-1-7); Ibid., XVII (1729-1732), 55-57 (M-1-8); Ibid., Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 198 ff. (M-1-10); Ibid., XXI (1760-1771), 36-43 (M-1-11); Ibid., XXII (1771-1783), 19-24 (M-1-11); Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), January 17, 1771, p. 3.

Southall shows charges on two dates for horse hire--one time he was charged 5d. and on another date 3s. 9d. Another time he was charged for "Cart here 3/9."<sup>52</sup> The following year John Prentis was charged by Robert Anderson for cartage: 7s. 6d. on one date and 3s. 9d. on another.<sup>53</sup> Also there is mention of hiring a chair in the journal of the anonymous French traveler. In the company of a Mr. Cristy from Baltimore the two "hired a Chair and took a ride to Jameses City."<sup>54</sup>

Notices of meetings to be held at the taverns frequently appeared in the Virginia Gazette. In the spring of 1752 Wetherburn's was the meeting place for members of the Cape Company and the Ohio Company. Later that year members of the Mississippi Company were called to a meeting at the Raleigh.<sup>55</sup> Meetings of creditors to particular estates were also held at the taverns. For instance, the creditors

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<sup>52</sup>Account of John Page with James Southall for 1771, Caroline County Appeals and Land Causes, 1777-1807, Part 1, p. 213. (M-1127)

<sup>53</sup>Account of John Prentis with Robert Anderson, 1772, Webb-Prentis Papers, University of Virginia Library. (M-116)

<sup>54</sup>"French Traveller, 1765," 741.

<sup>55</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 24, 1752, p. 2; April 10, 1752, p. 3; November 17, 1752, p. 2.

to James Heart's trustees were desired to meet at Mr. Trebell's (Raleigh Tavern) on December 11, 1766. In some cases executors who were attempting to collect payments remained at the taverns for several days:

THIS is to give NOTICE, that the executors of Col. CHARLES CARTER, deceased will attend at Mr. ANTHONY HAY's in Williamsburg, from the first until the 6th day of May next, to receive the payments them due upon bond, ...<sup>56</sup>

Meetings of a civic nature were frequently held at taverns. In April, 1757 "THE Gentlemen appointed by the Common Hall of the City of Williamsburg" were asked to meet at Henry Wetherburn's to agree with a carpenter on the building of a market house in the city. Later in April, 1769, a similar group of men met with an undertaker at the Raleigh concerning the building of a brick courthouse. The Virginia Gazette noted that the plans for the courthouse could be seen at Mr. Hay's. The Raleigh was likewise the meeting place several years later for the committee concerned with the building of the hospital. Workmen were urged to inspect the plans and prepare proposals to be presented at the meeting. In June, 1769, a general meeting

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), November 20, 1766, p. 2; (Rind), March 31, 1768, p. 3.

of the merchants and traders of the colony was held at the Raleigh.<sup>57</sup> This was the beginning of a series of meetings of men concerned with commerce in the years before the Revolution.

Besides serving as a meeting place for groups, the taverns were used as a place where people could be contacted. In 1752 Le Chevalier de Peyronny, a teacher of fencing, dancing, and French announced that he lodged with Mr. Finnie. Later that year Simon Fraser, who proposed to teach military discipline, advertised that he was staying at Mr. Finnie's. Twenty years later another teacher of French, "that polite and agreeable Language so universally courted in the most genteel Companies," had settled in Williamsburg. Those interested in becoming his pupils were asked to "leave a Line with, MR. Gabriel Maupin and they shall be punctually answered." In 1745 a Glasgow wig maker used the Raleigh as a place to receive orders. — Gentlemen interested in ordering wigs could "lodge a Memorandum... at the Rawleigh Tavern in Williamsburg, several Copies of the same will be forwarded to him by different

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), April 22, 1757, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), March 23, 1769, p. 3; (Rind), September 13, 1770, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), June 29, 1769, p. 3.

Opportunities, and he will immediately, upon Receipt thereof, have the Wigs wrought up agreeable of the Directions, and sent to Virginia by the first Ship that offers, directed to the same house, where they may be called for."<sup>58</sup>

Orders for items such as the above mentioned wigs were placed in letter boxes at the taverns and taken by ship captains to England. The Virginia Gazette for November 26, 1772 carried a notice:

the letter box placed by Capt. Robert Necks (commander of the ship Lunn & Lloyd, bound to London) at the Raleigh tavern, for the convenience of the merchants, now in this city, to receive their letters for Great Britain, was stole from the said tavern by some wicked disposed persons, last Sunday night, and several of the letters were found open in the street the next day, and bills of exchange and invoice that were therein taken out and destroyed.

James Southall, the keeper of the Raleigh, offered a twenty pound reward for knowledge of those who committed the crime.<sup>59</sup>

Letters addressed to people within the colony were often left at taverns to be delivered by someone traveling

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), March 20, 1752, p. 1; July 1, 1752, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), March 25, 1773, p. 3; (Hunter), June 6, 1745, p. 4.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., (Rind), November 26, 1772, p. 2.



in the direction of the addressee. The postscript of a letter dated June 30, 1743, from James Hume to his brother George mentioned that if he had an opportunity to write a letter it should be directed to the Lieutenant of his majesty's ship "Hastings" and left at the Swan Tavern in Yorktown.<sup>60</sup> With this rather haphazard method of delivering mail it is understandable that in many cases letters never reached their destination. On entering a room at Chiswell's Ordinary in 1755 Daniel Fisher noticed that a "letter directed to John Palmer Esqr, at Williamsburg lay upon a Table, which several Persons who were going thither viewed, but neither of them took the trouble of conveying it as directed." Fisher remarked that this was "a common neglect, it seems, unless it happens to be an acquaintance, or the Person has a mind to see the Inside of the Letter, a practice often Complained on."<sup>61</sup>

An advertisement in the Virginia Gazette for 1769 refers to a different kind of letter being left at a tavern:

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<sup>60</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XX(1914), 383.

<sup>61</sup>Daniel Fisher, Journal, 1750-1755, published as "The Fisher History," in Louise P. de Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families (Lynchburg, 1907), II, 788.

WHEREAS A. B. next door to Bank's ordinary, King William, being 21 years of age, well made, about 6 feet high, black hair, bright eyes, and a long nose, is in want of a fair young lady, of a good family, these are to give notice that if any such has a mind to dispose of herself in marriage to a person of the above description, she may be provided with a husband, by a letter being left at Banks's ordinary, and directed to A. B. His reason for this is that he dreads the thoughts of courting, he being very bashful.<sup>62</sup>

One might question whether other taverns in Virginia provided among their services a marriage bureau but it provokes the thought as to whether A. B. was successful in using this means for locating a wife.

Though not exactly a commercial activity, another service of the taverns was to serve as a lost and found department. Quite often advertisements appeared in the Virginia Gazette that were similar to the following:

LOST

ON the evening of the 8th instant, somewhere nigh Mr. Robert Nicholson's in this city, a small silver WATCH, with an enamelled dial plate, maker's name Droghda, No. 129. Whoever brings it to Mr. Anthony Hay shall have ten shillings reward.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 16, 1769, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., (Rind), December 22, 1768, p. 1.

In some cases the notices specified that the lost items be turned in to the bar at a certain tavern. If the finder of the silver watch which was lost in the garden at Mrs. Vobe's in May of 1773 brought the "said Watch to the Bar of the said Mrs. Vobe" he could expect to be "handsomely rewarded."<sup>64</sup> Items lost outside of the capital were usually advertised to be turned in at the ordinary nearest where they were lost. Thus the finder of the bundle of women's apparel that was lost somewhere between Williamsburg and Forneau's Ordinary in March of 1753 could have turned it in at Forneau's and received a half pistole reward.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), May 6, 1773, p. 3.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., March 2, 1753, p. 4.

## CHAPTER V

## WILLIAMSBURG TAVERN KEEPERS

The fluctuations in the transient population of Williamsburg presented an enticing, yet entrapping situation to the tavern keeper. At Public Times operating a tavern was highly profitable, but during the rest of the year the number of customers was substantially reduced. As a result tavern keeping in the capital was a competitive and risky business.

Moving the capital to Williamsburg greatly increased the need for taverns. One of the speeches delivered by students of the college in May of 1699 to Governor Nicholson and members of the General Assembly stated that the town already had "a Church, an ordinary, several stores, two Mills, a smith's shop, a Grammar School, and above all the Colledge."<sup>1</sup> The growth of the town by 1702 was noted

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<sup>1</sup>The tavern may have been operated by one John Bentley who received a license from the York County Court to operate a tavern at the house of Captain Matthew Page at Middle Plantation in November of 1697. William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., X (1930), 332.

by the Swiss traveler, Francis Louis Michel, who reported that there were eight taverns and that new dwellings were being built continuously.<sup>2</sup> After the initial increase the number of taverns open at this time generally fluctuated between fifteen and twenty-five while Williamsburg remained the capital. This number dropped significantly, though, when the capital moved to Richmond. The Williamsburg tax list taken in 1783 taxed only two tavern keepers, James Southall and Jane Vobe, with ordinary licenses.<sup>3</sup>

Since only during Public Times was there enough business for all the Williamsburg innkeepers, they were constantly attempting to attract new patrons as well as satisfy their regular customers. For instance, Thomas Craig, who operated the Market Square Tavern in the late 1760's, gave notice that he hoped "to give satisfaction" to his "former customers, as well as to all who may please to employ me."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>William J. Hinke, ed. and tr., "Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701--December 1, 1702," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXIV (1916), 26.

<sup>3</sup>Williamsburg City Personal Property Tax List, 1783. (M-1-47).

<sup>4</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 12, 1767, p. 3.

Christianna Campbell, too, endeavored to please all her customers:

I BEG Leave to acquaint the Publick that I have opened TAVERN in the House, behind the Capitol, lately occupied by Mrs. Vobe; where those Gentlemen who please to favour me with their Custom may depend upon genteel Accomodations, and the very best Entertainment. \_\_\_ -I shall reserve Rooms for the Gentlemen who formerly lodged with me.<sup>5</sup>

Tavern keepers frequently moved to new locations in an attempt to improve their business. For instance, in 1769 Robert Anderson "opened a PUBLICK HOUSE near the College" and less than two years later, when James Southall moved from Wetherburn's to the Raleigh, Anderson announced that he had "taken the House lately occupied by Mr. Southall." In the same issue of the Virginia Gazette, Cuthbert Hubbard announced that he had "taken the House lately occupied by Mr. Robert Anderson."<sup>6</sup> Hubbard continued at this location for several years, since in 1774 he gave notice "that he still continues to keep TAVERN a little below the College...and can entertain ten or twelve

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., October 3, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), November 2, 1769, p. 4; March 7, 1771, p. 3; March 7, 1771, p. 3.

Gentlemen genteelly."<sup>7</sup> Anderson's move was not only to a better location, closer to the Capitol, but also to a larger building, for Wetherburn's tavern had eight bedrooms.<sup>8</sup> Size was probably a reason why Christianna Campbell moved from the "COFFEE - HOUSE in the main Street, next the Capitol" to the tavern behind the Capitol on Waller Street.<sup>9</sup>

Even with the frequent shifting of innkeepers from one place to another, buildings which were well located tended to remain in use as taverns while Williamsburg was the capital. The Raleigh and Wetherburn's are excellent examples, but the same was true of Marot's, The Red Lion, Christianna Campbell's, the King's Arms and the Market Square Tavern. Soon after a tavern keeper died or vacated the property, there was generally another keeper willing to take his place.

The competition between Williamsburg tavern keepers probably encouraged business practices such as underselling

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., April 28, 1774, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup>Inventory of Henry Wetherburn: York County Wills and Inventories, XXI (1760-1771), 36-43.

<sup>9</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 16, 1771, p. 3.

and extending large amounts of credit. No accounts of the above quoted John Carter have survived but his offer of "cheap Entertainment" may have indicated that his rates for food and drink were less than the maximum prices set by the Williamsburg Hustings Court. In comparing the rates charged Henry Morse, owner of the forge at Rocky Ridge in Chesterfield County in the late 1760's, by several Williamsburg tavern keepers one finds that the prices for lodging varied. James Vaughan charged Morse 1s. 3d. for breakfast and 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for lodging during the early 1770's. In the same years Mrs. Davis, who operated the Brick House Tavern, charged Morse a like amount for a single breakfast but her charges for lodging were generally 1s. 3d. per night. As other tavern keepers usually charged 1s. 3d. for lodging at this time Vaughan may have been undercharging--perhaps in order to attract more customers. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine whether the quality of the lodgings at Vaughan's differed from the other taverns.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Account of Henry Morse with James Vaughan: Webb-Prentis Papers, 1757-1780. University of Virginia Library (M-116); Account of Henry Morse with Mrs. Davis: Ibid.



At times the law allowing Williamsburg tavern keepers to extend unlimited credit during Public Times proved to be a detriment, as an experience of James Southall illustrates. Between 1771 and 1774 he allowed John Page credit to the amount of £ 162. Since Page did not pay the bill, Southall in 1793 sued Elizabeth Page, the widow and administrator of Page's estate, for the debt incurred by her husband.<sup>11</sup>

Only the larger taverns such as the Raleigh, Wetherburn's and Christianna Campbell's were busy enough to warrant the year-round employment of an innkeeper. A number of men, therefore, continued with a trade while operating a tavern.<sup>12</sup> Often advertisements similar to the following indicated dual jobs:

Just Imported by the Subscriber in Williamsburg,  
 A CHOICE Assortment of very fine Hairs, and  
 other Materials, from London, for making all  
 Kinds of Wigs, viz. Tie Wigs, Brigadier Wigs,  
 Bag Wigs, Bags, Albemarle Wigs with Roses,  
 Que Wigs, with Ribbon, Bobs, Scratches, Cuts,  
 &c. &c. Gentlemen may depend on being

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<sup>11</sup>Hening, Statutes, IV, 428; Account of John Page with James Southall, Caroline County Appeals and Land Causes, 1777-1807, Part 1, pp. 212-214. (M-1127)

<sup>12</sup>For example: Richard Charlton, wigmaker; John Coke, silversmith; Thomas Craig, tailor; David Cunningham, wigmaker; Cuthbert Hubbard, wigmaker; and Gabriel Maupin, harnessmaker.

expeditiously served, after the neatest  
Manner, and good Allowance made for ready  
Money, by

Their humble Servant,

Robert Lyon.

N.B. ...I now keep Tavern at the Sign of  
the Edinburgh Castle, near the Capitol;  
where Gentlemen may depend on very good  
Pasturage and Stablage for Horses; also  
the best Accommodations in my Power.

Robert Lyon.<sup>13</sup>

AS I have purchased the House in the Market  
Square lately occupied by Mr. Thomas Craig,  
to which I am making considerable Additions  
and Improvements, for the purpose of KEEPING  
TAVERN, this is to acquaint my Friends, and  
the Publick in general that the House will be  
ready for their Reception by the Beginning of  
the ensuing General Court, where they may  
depend upon meeting with the best Entertain-  
ment and Accommodations from

Their humble Servant,

GABRIEL MAUPIN.

..My Shop will likewise be moving to the above  
Place, where the SADDLERY and HARNESS MAKING  
Business will be carried on in all its Branches.  
Those who please to employ me may be assured  
of being furnished with neat and substantial  
Work, at short Notice, and on reasonable Terms.<sup>14</sup>

Opening a tavern required too large an outlay of  
capital—considering the amount required for posting a  
bond of ten thousand pounds of tobacco or fifty pounds  
current money, acquiring and furnishing a suitable

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<sup>13</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), August 1, 1755, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), September 26, 1771, p. 3.

building and obtaining the necessary supplies of liquor and food--to encourage any but those who were fairly prosperous. For this reason, most people either first were successful in a trade and then turned to innkeeping or continued with their trade while operating a tavern. Alexander Finnie, who was first a wigmaker, and Anthony Hay, who began as a cabinetmaker, are good examples of craftsmen who later turned to tavern keeping.

Surviving evidence indicates that some Williamsburg tavern keepers prospered but a number of them went into debt. It is not very surprising that Daniel Fisher, who quarreled with everyone he met except Nathaniel Walthoe, did not succeed as a tavern keeper. He announced the opening of his tavern in October, 1751, but four months later he explained that "several Difficulties and Impediments in the Business I so lately undertook, subjecting me to the Necessity of giving it over; I thought it incumbent on me to give this Notice thereof."<sup>15</sup>

Most tavern keepers stayed in business for a longer period. Christopher Ayscough kept tavern just south of

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., (Hunter), October 3, 1715, p. 3; February 20, 1752, p. 3.

the Capitol for two years, 1768-1770. He announced in the fall of 1770 that he intended "to leave off tavern keeping" and offered to sell his house and the adjoining store, the household furnishings, nine Negro slaves, "about 60 dozen of good old MADEIRA WINE, and large quantity of COAL, five HORSES, a CART and HARNESS." That Ayscough was in financial difficulties is indicated by the notice that "Those to whom I am indebted, upon coming to the sale, may purchase to the amount of their demands. As soon as it is ended I shall make over the bonds to my creditors." Those indebted to Ayscough were given a month to "either pay or give bond and security for what they owe. No longer indulgence will be given."<sup>16</sup> Ayscough may have extended too much credit or in some other way mismanaged his business affairs, but there is also evidence that he was bibulous. For several years before 1771 Ayscough served as tipstaff and door keeper to the Council, but in May of that year he was deprived of both offices "on Account of his Drunkenness."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), September 20, 1770, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> Benjamin J. Hillman, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1966), VI, 409.

At mid-century Robert Lyon, who was a wigmaker as well as a tavern keeper, had difficulty paying his debts. The summer of 1755 Lyon gave notice that he intended to settle his affairs by October and desired the men indebted to him to "make immediate Payment" to enable him to fulfill his "Promises to the Gentlemen" he was indebted to. The announcement ended with the statement that "those Gentlemen that fail to pay or send their respective Ballances to me before that Time, may depend on being immediately sued, let their Pretenses to the contrary be what they will."<sup>18</sup>

Ill health was a contributing factor to the early business failure of Joseph Pullet. In May, 1766, his tavern had been in operation for less than a year when he was "obliged to pay some very considerable sums of money next June court of Oyer and Terminer" and therefore desired everyone who owed him money to settle their accounts with him and "support the credit of a young beginner." By December Pullet had been sick for several months and unable to make any profits from tavern keeping; since his creditors

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<sup>18</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), August 1, 1755, p. 3.

were making urgent demands, Pullet again requested payment. When Pullet died early in 1767 his goods had to be sold to pay his debts.<sup>19</sup>

Keepers of the larger Williamsburg taverns were not immune to business failures. Anthony Hay, who died of a lingering illness in December, 1770, left a large family and many debts. In settling the estate the executors found that there was "a considerable Deficiency" and all creditors were requested to meet at the Raleigh in November, 1771, where the executors planned to "lay before them a State of their Administration, and have some Proposals to make which they hope will be agreeable to the Whole."<sup>20</sup>

Tavern keeping was not solely a man's occupation, for a number of women operated taverns--notably Susanna Allen, Christianna Campbell, Anne Shields, and Jane Vobe. Widows continued to operate the taverns which their husbands had kept. For instance, Mary Bowcock, whose husband, Henry Bowcock, died early in 1730, received an ordinary

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), May 9, 1766, p. 3; (Rind), December 11, 1766, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), June 25, 1767, p. 3.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), December 13, 1770, p. 2; October 24, 1771, p. 3.

license in July, 1730. In 1767 Sarah Coke, widow of John Coke, gave notice to the "Gentlemen who were so kind as to favour her deceased husband with their custom that they may depend on receiving the same entertainment as formerly."<sup>21</sup>

One couple, Richard and Mary Davis, jointly operated a tavern. Their business began in 1770 when Mary Davis advertised that she intended "to accommodate Ladies and Gentlemen with private lodgings." Sometime before October, 1772, they were operating a tavern at the Brick House; however, by January of the following year they had moved.<sup>22</sup>

Widows of tavern keepers, like other women of property during the eighteenth century, frequently remarried. Within three years after the death of Jean Marot, his widow Anne married Timothy Sullivant, who was also a tavern keeper. Another early example is Mary Crease, wife of tavern keeper Thomas Crease, who was the widow of Gabriel Maupin. Henry Wetherburn twice married the widows of tavern keepers: first, Mary Bowcock; then ten days after

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<sup>21</sup> York County Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 77; (M-1-9); Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), January 31, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 22, 1770, p. 4; (Rind), January 7, 1773, p. 3.

her death Wetherburn married Ann Shields, widow of tavern keeper James Shields.<sup>23</sup>

Regardless of its seasonal aspect tavern keeping in Williamsburg had much in common with tavern business elsewhere in the colony. Travelers, rather than local citizens, were the principal customers. These patrons were mainly concerned with getting enough food, reasonably clean lodging, and provisions for their servants and horses. But Williamsburg taverns, like others in the colony, served also as centers for commercial and social activities: auctions, business and civic meetings, balls, dinners, and games.

The following list includes brief sketches of known tavern keepers and lodginghouse keepers who were in business in Williamsburg from 1700 to 1774. The dates after the keeper's name indicate the years when he is known to have served the public.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 251. (M-1-7); York County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 440-441. (M-1-13); York County Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 77 and 184. (M-1-9); "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., VII (1898-1899), 151.

<sup>24</sup>House histories, research reports prepared in the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg, were used as bibliographical aids. Since the house histories are a collection of sources about the buildings and the people who occupied them, material included in the house histories is listed as such in the following sketches. Additional material is footnoted separately.



Allen, Susanna. Tavern keeper, 1710-1719. Susanna

Allen was living in Williamsburg in 1710 when she received a license to operate a tavern. She is believed to have been a daughter of William Allen and Mary Hunt of Charles City County. In 1712 she purchased the lot where the Alexander Craig House has been reconstructed and continued to live there until her death about 1720. She was issued ordinary licenses through 1719. An entry in Byrd's diary, (April 19, 1712) mentions that the previous night several young men had been involved in a riot "at Su Allen's."<sup>25</sup>

Anderson, Robert. Tavern keeper, 1769-1779. A Robert

Anderson, son of the wigmaker Andrew Anderson, was born in 1743.<sup>26</sup> In October, 1769, Robert Anderson advertised that he had "opened a PUBLICK HOUSE near the College where Gentlemen may expect to be genteely accommodated."

Anderson moved into Wetherburn's Tavern in March, 1771.

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<sup>25</sup>Mary Stephenson, Alexander Craig House History, pp. 1-15. Sources: geneological note in Tyler's Quarterly Historical Magazine, II (1921), 113; York County Deeds and Bonds, III (1701-1713), 412-413; Ibid., Orders and Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 40, 122, 234, 311, XV (1716-1720), 94, 114, 427; Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover (Richmond, 1949), p. 517; York County Orders & Wills, XV (1716-1720), pp. 562-563.

<sup>26</sup>Mary Frances Goodwin, ed., The Record of Bruton Parish Church (Richmond, 1941), p. 146. Hereafter cited Goodwin, Bruton.

when its keeper, James Southall, bought the Raleigh. Anderson continued to rent and operate Wetherburn's Tavern through the summer of 1799. Advertisements indicate that on several occasions he was in need of a bar-keeper, a drawer and an hostler.<sup>27</sup> That Anderson operated a popular tavern is shown by the clientele: George Washington often ate and spent evenings there between 1771 and 1774; Robert Wormeley Carter supped there twice in 1774; the English traveler, Nicholas Cresswell, "Lodged at Anderson's Tavern" in April, 1774; ~~Thomas Jefferson commented favorably in 1775 on the elegant entertainments at Anderson's;~~ the New York bookseller, Ebenezer Hazard, also lodged at Anderson's in 1779 and found it to be "A good house"; local citizens such as, <sup>George Gilmer,</sup> Colonel John Prentis, and Colonel Thomas Jones also frequented Anderson's in the 1770's.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), November 2, 1769, p. 4. March 7, 1771, p. 3; (Dixon & Nicolson), September 25, 1779, pp. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), March 7, 1771, p. 3; January 20, 1774, p. 3; (Purdie), March 8, 1776, p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Mary Stephenson, Mr. Wetherburn's Tavern House History, pp. 35-40. Sources: John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., George Washington, Colonial Traveller (Indianapolis, 1927), passim; Almanac Diary of Robert Wormeley Carter, 1774, American Antiquarian Society, typescript Colonial Williamsburg; Journal of Nicholas Cresswell 1774-1777 (New York, 1924), pp. 206-207; "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, LXII (1964), 406; Account of John Prentis with Robert Anderson, Webb-Prentis Papers, University of Virginia Library; Account of Thomas Jones with Robert Anderson, Jones Papers, Library of Congress. (M-22-1)

<sup>28</sup>Boyd, Julian, ed., Papers of Thomas Jefferson, I, 237. George Gilmer to Thomas Jefferson [26 or 27 July 1775];

Anderson, who became Captain of the Williamsburg Militia in 1775, took an active part in the American Revolution. He died sometime after 1784.<sup>29</sup>

Ayscough, Christopher. Tavern keeper, 1768-1770.

The first mention of Christopher Ayscough being in Williamsburg is in 1759 when his daughter was baptised.<sup>30</sup> That fall he advertised that garden seeds could be purchased from "the Subscriber, living at the Palace." His wife, Anne, who cooked for Governor Fauquier was bequeathed £250 in recompence of her great fidelity and attention to the Governor. This money was probably used to purchase the house and lot (on which the Ayscough Shop has been restored) where they opened a tavern on the south side of the Capitol in 1768. Ayscough noted that he was "provided with the Best in LIQUORS, and Mrs. Ayscough very well understands the COOKERY part."<sup>31</sup> Thomas

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<sup>29</sup>Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter), September 16, 1775, p. 3; Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (Nicolson & Prentis), May 29, 1784.

<sup>30</sup>Goodwin, Bruton, p. 149.

<sup>31</sup>Mary Stephenson, The Ayscough House History, p. 1-3. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Hunter), November 30, 1759, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), October 6, 1768, p. 2; will of Governor Fauquier: York County Wills & Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 95-99.

Jefferson dined and spent evenings at Ayscough's on several occasions.<sup>32</sup> Ayscough gave up tavern keeping in September, 1770, and offered the house and the adjoining store for sale. Those to whom he was indebted could purchase "the amount of their demands."<sup>33</sup> During part of the time that Ayscough kept the tavern he also served as door keeper and tipstaff to the Council. In June, 1770, he was paid £20 for his service but on May 7, 1771, he was discharged for drunkenness.<sup>34</sup> By October, 1771, Ayscough and his wife had moved and by the following October they were both dead.<sup>35</sup>

Baxter, Daniel. Lodginghouse keeper, 1774. During the early 1770's Daniel Baxter frequently advertised

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<sup>32</sup>Thomas Jefferson, MS Notebook, 1769, pp. 22 and 33. University of Virginia Library.

<sup>33</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), September 20, 1770, p. 3.

<sup>34</sup>John Fendleton Kennedy, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1770-1772 (Richmond, 1906), p. 101; Benjamin Hillman, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1956), VI, 409.

<sup>35</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 15, 1772, p. 3.

merchandise for sale at his house. In December, 1774, he announced that he had two or three rooms to let to young gentlemen. Baxter's death was announced in June, 1775.<sup>36</sup>

Blaikley, Catherine. Lodginghouse keeper, c. 1750.

Catherine Blaikley, widow of William Blaikley, probably lived on lot 350, where the Blaikley-Durfey Shop has been reconstructed.<sup>37</sup> In 1750 John Mercer lodged with Mrs. Blaikley during one of the court sessions.<sup>38</sup> The notice of her death, in October of 1771, states that she had been a midwife.<sup>39</sup>

Bowcock, Henry, Tavern keeper, 1716-1730. The

ordinary license granted to Henry Bowcock in 1717 is the first reference to his being in Williamsburg. He was

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., (Purdie & Dixon), June 27, 1771, p. 3; (Rind), April 8, 1773, p. 3; (Pinkney), December 22, 1774, p. 3; (Purdie), June 16, 1775, p. 2.

<sup>37</sup>Blaikley-Durfey House History, p. 1. Source: York County Wills and Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 207.

<sup>38</sup>John Mercer Ledger (1741-1750), Book I, 148. Bucks County Historical Society. (M-164)

<sup>39</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 24, 1771, p. 2.

regularly issued licenses through 1729.<sup>40</sup> An account of Richard King with Bowcock indicates that he was still operating a tavern as late as December 24, 1729.<sup>41</sup> The location of his tavern is uncertain but it may have been on lot 54, where the Raleigh Tavern has been reconstructed. Evidence in the Jones Family Papers shows a close relationship between Bowcock and Thomas Jones, who purchased lot 54 in 1716, and indicates that Bowcock may have operated a tavern for Jones. The only land that Bowcock owned in Williamsburg was lot 53, directly west of the Raleigh Tavern which he purchased in 1724. Apparently Bowcock's widow, Mary, continued to operate the tavern after her husband's death as she was granted an ordinary license in 1730. Bowcock died early in 1730.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>York County Orders & Wills, XV (1716-1720), 96, <sup>217, 427, 584,</sup> 271, 613 (M-1-7); XVI (1720-1729), 48, 356, 405. (M-1-8)

<sup>41</sup>Account of Richard King with Henry Bowcock, 1722-1729. Papers of the Jones Family of Northumberland County, Virginia, 1649-1889. Library of Congress. (M-22-1) Hereafter cited Jones Family Papers.

<sup>42</sup>Research query: Edward M. Riley to Ivor Noel Hume. August 2, 1966. Report on the Wetherburn site prepared by Raymond R. Townsend. Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Research Department. References cited include Jones Family Papers (M-22-1); York County Deeds & Bonds, III (1713-1729), 421 (M-1-13); Ibid., Orders & Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 77, 42. (M-1-8)

Bowcock, Mary. Tavern keeper, 1730-1731. Mary.

widow of Henry Bowcock, received an ordinary license in July, 1730, and probably continued to operate the tavern after her husband's death. She married Henry Wetherburn sometime between May 31 and June 21, 1731.<sup>43</sup> She died in July, 1751.<sup>44</sup>

Brooke, John. Tavern keeper, 1714-1716<sup>9</sup> (possibly to

1729). In 1712 John Brooke of York County purchased lot 51 where the Prentis House has been reconstructed. In 1714<sup>5</sup> he was granted an ordinary license which was renewed in 1715<sup>6</sup> and 1717, and 1719.<sup>7</sup> and 1719. and 1716. He died in 1729.<sup>45</sup>

Bruce, Jacob. Lodginghouse keeper, 1773. Jacob Bruce,

master of Mathew Whaley school from 1766 to 1768,<sup>46</sup> held various public offices: clerk of the relief fund for clergymen's widows and orphans, clerk of the directors for

<sup>43</sup>York County Orders & Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 77, 184. (M-1-8)

<sup>44</sup>"Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterley, 1st ser., VII (1898-1899), 151.

<sup>45</sup>Mary Stephenson, Prentis House History, pp. 1-4. Sources: York County Deeds, Bonds, II (1701-1713), 416; Orders & Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 379; 472, <sup>384</sup>XVII<sup>384</sup> (1729-1732), 6.

<sup>46</sup>William and Mary Quarterley, 1st ser., VI (1897-1898), 79; Ibid., X (1901-1902), 282.

the insane hospital, clerk of the board of visitors of the college, and auditor of public accounts. When he took over Ayscough's store, south of the Capitol, in 1773 he advertised lodging rooms for gentlemen and later sold seeds. Bruce died in April, 1778.<sup>47</sup>

Burdett, John. Tavern keeper, c. 1739-1746. John Burdett was mentioned in the will of Francis Sharp as living on the western part of lot 58, Sharp's lot on the south side of Duke of Gloucester Street next to Capitol Square. In 1743 he was sued by the owner of lot 57 for encroaching on his lot. Burdett continued to live on lot 58 until his death in 1746. Burdett identified himself as an "innholder" when he wrote his will, and the inventory of his estate included a large amount of rum, wine, English cider, strong beer, Yorkshire ale and arrack.<sup>48</sup>

Campbell, Christianna. Tavern keeper, c. 1760-c. 1776.  
Christianna Burdett, daughter of tavern keeper John Burdett,

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<sup>47</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 4, 1766, p. 3; (Rind), August 2, 1770, p. 2; (Dixon), December 5, 1777, p. 2; (Purdie & Dixon), February 11, 1773, p. 2; March 17, 1774, p. 2; (Purdie), May 1, 1778, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup>Mary Stephenson, Burdett's Ordinary House History, pp. 3-14. Sources: Surry County Deed & Will Book (1738-1754), p. 115; York County Wills & Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 204-205; XX (1745-1759), 37-38, 46-49.



married Dr. Ebenezer Campbell and went to live in Fredericksburg, where he practiced as an apothecary until his death sometime before August 14, 1752.<sup>49</sup> Mrs. Campbell soon returned to Williamsburg where the "Widow Campbell" had slaves baptized in 1753.<sup>50</sup> A deed for lot 18, where the James Anderson House has been reconstructed, mentions that in 1760 the lot was in the tenure and occupation of Christianna Campbell. She may have kept a tavern before that date and was well established by November, 1762, when George Washington paid her for tavern expenses. Washington's diaries and ledgers show that he often frequented Mrs. Campbell's between 1762 and 1774. In May, 1771, Mrs. Campbell was living at "the COFFEE-HOUSE in the main Street, next the Capitol";<sup>51</sup> however, by October she had moved behind the Capitol to the tavern which had been run by Mrs.

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<sup>49</sup>Mary Stephenson, *Christianna Campbell's Tavern House History*, pp. 12-20. Sources: *York County Wills & Inventories*, XX (1745-1759), 37; inscription on tombstone in *Masonic Cemetary, Fredericksburg; Virginia Gazette (Hunter)*, August 14, 1752, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup>Goodwin, *Bruton*, p. 155.

<sup>51</sup>Mary Stephenson, *James Anderson House History*, pp. 2-4. Sources: *York County Deeds*, VI (1755-1763), 168; Fitzpatrick, *Colonial Traveller*, p. 161, *passim*; *Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon)*, May 16, 1771, p. 3.

Vobe. Mrs. Campbell purchased the house and two lots in January, 1774. She was still operating a tavern in 1776, when the Masons planned to have a ball there, but by 1783 had gone out of business when Alexander Macaulay and his bride stopped there. She died in Fredericksburg in March, 1792, at the age of seventy.<sup>52</sup>

Carter, John. Tavern keeper, 1745-c. 1752. In 1745 John Carter (probably a son of the John Carter who had been keeper of the public jail) announced that he had obtained an ordinary license and offered cheap entertainment, good pasturage and lodging, and a good traveling chair at his tavern near the Capitol.<sup>53</sup> Evidently Carter was still keeping his tavern in 1752, when he signed his name, "John Carter - Ordinary Keeper" on a deed.<sup>54</sup> This John Carter was a different person from the merchant who operated the brick store next to the Raleigh during the 1770's.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Stephenson, *Campbell's Tavern*, pp. 12-20. Sources: York County Deeds, VIII (1732-1740), 385-386; Minutes of the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, December 3, 1776. Photostat, Research Department; "Journal of Alexander Macaulay, February 1783," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 1st ser., XI (1902-1903), 187; inscription on her tombstone in Masonic Cemetery, Fredericksburg.

<sup>53</sup>York County Wills & Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 174. (M-1-10); *Virginia Gazette* (Parks), April 18, 1745, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup>York County Deeds, V (1741-1745), 466. (M-1-14)

<sup>55</sup>*Virginia Gazette* (Purdie & Dixon), October 29, 1772, p. 2.

Charlton, Richard. Tavern keeper, 1767- c. 1777.

Richard Charlton, brother of Edward Charlton, wigmaker who came to Williamsburg from London c. 1752, was in town by 1766, when his daughter was baptized. In June, 1767, Charlton announced that "THE Coffee-House in this city being now opened by the subscriber as a TAVERN," gentlemen travelers and others could expect the "best entertainment and other accommodations."<sup>56</sup> George Washington frequented Charlton's tavern between 1767 and 1774. It may have been the building on lot 58, on the north side of Duke of Gloucester Street next to Capitol Square, which was identified as a coffee house at various times between 1769 and 1777. Earlier in the 1750's the building where Marot's has been reconstructed was known as the "English Coffee-House." Charlton may have had his tavern at either of these locations or somewhere else. If his tavern was first located on lot 58, he would have had to move before May,

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<sup>56</sup> Thomas Bullock and Maurice Tonkin, *Wigmaking in Colonial America*, pp. 69-74. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 30, 1752, p. 3; Goodwin, Bruton, p. 151; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), June 25, 1767.

1771, when Christianna Campbell was living there.<sup>57</sup>

Between January, 1775, and October, 1777, Charlton lived along "the back Street" in Williamsburg. Sometime before October, 1777, he had evidently given up tavern keeping since Robert Bilbert, a shoemaker, offered "SEVEN neat rooms, in the house, occupied by Mr. Richard Charlton" to gentlemen who desired private accommodations. During part of the time that Charlton kept a tavern he also made wigs and was in partnership with James Nichols before April, 1776. Charlton died several days before October 2, 1779, when his death was announced.<sup>58</sup>

Chermeson, Joseph. Tavern keeper, 1708-c. 1712.

Joseph Chermeson was one of the Hugénots who came to Virginia before 1703 when "Mr. Joseph Chermeson at Mr. Fouaces Plantation" received a sum of money for the "late minister at Manican Town." In April, 1705, Chermeson

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<sup>57</sup>Mary Stephenson, Burdett's House History, p. 23.  
Sources: Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, passim.; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 13, 1774, p. 3; April 31, 1772, p. 1; May 16, 1771, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup>Mary Stephenson, Charlton House History, pp. 6-10.  
Sources: Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter), January 7, 1775, p. 1; (Purdie), October 10, 1777, p. 3; York County Wills and Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 462.

petitioned the Council and the House of Burgesses for naturalization.<sup>59</sup> He received a license in 1708 to keep a tavern at his dwelling house opposite the Capitol on lots 279 and 280 where the Coke-Garrett House has been restored. He was living at his plantation in York County when he died in 1712.<sup>60</sup>

Chowning, Josiah. Tavern keeper, c. 1765-1768.

Josiah Chowning lived in James City County in the 1750's and early 1760's. The first reference linking him with tavern keeping appears in the Virginia Gazette Day Book in March, 1765, when he was charged "for advertising tavern." When he announced the opening of his tavern the following year, he noted that it was at the house where he "formerly lived, and lately possessed by Mr. John Jeggitts." This building, called the "red Lyon" by an earlier tavern keeper, has been reconstructed near Market Square. Chowning did not remain in the tavern business since William Elliot gave

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<sup>59</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1927), II, 339; H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Journals of the House of Burgesses, 1702/3-1705 (Richmond, 1912), 89.

<sup>60</sup>Mary Stephenson, Coke-Garrett House History, pp. 1-7. Sources: York County Deeds and Bonds, II (1701-1713), 296; Wills, Orders and Deeds, XIII (1706-1710), 212; Orders and Wills, XIX (1740-1746), 173-176.

notice in April, 1768, that he had "opened TAVERN in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Chowning." Chowning died sometime before April, 1772.<sup>61</sup>

Cobbs, Samuel, Tavern keeper, 1719. Samuel Cobbs of York County, who married Edith Marot, a daughter of tavern keeper Jean Marot, was licensed to keep a tavern in Williamsburg in 1719. Though Cobbs owned property at this time, the location of his tavern is unknown.<sup>62</sup> In 1726 Cobbs was appointed by the Council to be armorer and keeper of the magazine.<sup>63</sup> He was still living in Williamsburg in 1728, when he identified himself on a deed as a merchant.<sup>64</sup> Before 1737 Cobbs moved to Amelia County and

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<sup>61</sup>Mary Stephenson, Red Lion House History, pp. 18-19. Sources: MS Account Book of Alexander Craig (1750-1757), p. 71-110. Galt Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; MS Virginia Gazette Day Book (1764-1766), p. 151. University of Virginia Library; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 10, 1766, p. 3; April 7, 1768, p. 3; (Rind), April 23, 1772, p. 4.

<sup>62</sup>William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIX (1910-1911), 54; York County Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 282 (M-1-7); Deeds, III (1713-1729), 268. (M-1-13)

<sup>63</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1930), IV (October, 25 1721-October 28, 1739), 117.

<sup>64</sup>York County Deeds, III (1713-1729), 512. (M-1-13)

later served as a burgess, 1742-1749. He died in Amelia County sometime before July 28, 1757.<sup>65</sup>

Coke, John. Tavern keeper, c. 1750-1767. John Coke, born in England in 1704, emigrated to Williamsburg in 1724 and married Sarah Hoge. By April, 1739, he was in business as a silversmith, and during the 1740's he continued to be known as a silversmith. In September, 1740, Coke purchased lots 361, 281 and 282 where the Coke-Garrett House has been restored. Archaeological excavations show that Coke kept both his shop and tavern at this location. The date when Coke began tavern keeping is unknown, but in 1755 he identified himself as a tavern keeper. He may have been keeping a tavern as early as April, 1750, when the Reverend Robert Rose "lodged at Mr. Cokes the Silver Smith." In 1759 Coke provided the punch and wine for the funeral of Thomas Penman. He evidently kept the tavern:

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<sup>65</sup> H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1742-1747, 1748-1749 (Richmond, 1909), p. vii, ix; William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIX (1910-1911), 54.

until his death since his wife continued to carry on his business after he died in 1767.<sup>66</sup>

Coke, Sarah. Tavern keeper, 1767-1769. Sarah Coke, widow of John Coke, announced on October 15, 1767, that those who had frequented her husband's tavern could depend on receiving the same entertainment as formerly. In February, 1769, Richard Singleton gave notice that he intended to "open TAVERN in the house lately occupied by Mrs. Sarah Coke." The date of her death is unknown.<sup>67</sup>

Coulthard, Rebecca. Lodginghouse keeper, 1754.

Rebecca Coulthard, wife of the sadler John Coulthard, had a daughter baptised in 1739. By 1751 the Coulthards were

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<sup>66</sup>Mary Stephenson, Coke-Garrett House History, pp. 14-24. Sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., VII (1898-1899), 128; Virginia Gazette (Parks), April 13, 1739, p. 3; York County Deeds, IV (1729-1740), 610-611; VI (1755-1763), 15; Reverend Robert Rose MS Diary, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; York County Wills and Inventories, XXII (1771-1783), 36; XXI (1760-1771), 366-367; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 15, 1767, p. 2.

<sup>67</sup>Mary Stephenson, Coke-Garrett House History, p. 24. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), October 15, 1767, p. 2; February 9, 1769, p. 3.



living on Francis Street. A reference in George Washington's ledger for 1754 lists "By board ar Mrs. Coulthards Bl.7.6." The date of her death is unknown.<sup>68</sup>

Craig, Catherine. Tavern keeper, 1722. Catherine, widow of tavern keeper William Craig, obtained an ordinary license in 1722. She probably continued to keep a tavern after her husband's death, though no additional information is known about her.<sup>69</sup>

Craig, Thomas. Lodginghouse keeper, c. 1761-1767;  
Tavern keeper, 1767-1770. Thomas Craig, was living in Williamsburg as early as 1759, when he and Anne had a son baptized.<sup>70</sup> Craig identified himself as a tailor in November, 1761, when he purchased the property where the Market Square Tavern has been restored. Evidently Craig supplemented his income during the following years by taking in lodgers--one of whom was Thomas Jefferson, who lodged at Craig's while studying law. Additional lodgers stayed at Craig's during Public Times. In February, 1767,

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<sup>68</sup>Goodwin, Bruton, p. 146; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 25, 1751, p. 3; Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, p. 63.

<sup>69</sup>York County Orders and Wills, XVI (1720-1729), 188. (M-1-8)

<sup>70</sup>Goodwin, Bruton, 159.

Craig announced that he had "taken out a license for publick house keeping" but would continue to carry on his business as a tailor. Several years later, in August, 1770, Craig announced that he resolved "immediately to discontinue tavern keeping, and to have my affairs settled." His house and personal belongings were sold at public auction. Gabriel Maupin purchased the property and opened a tavern there the following year.<sup>71</sup>

Craig, William, Tavern keeper, 1712-1720. William Craig was in Williamsburg as early as 1705 since he witnessed the fire at the college. In 1712 he purchased two lots, one of them opposite the college, where he probably had his tavern. He received ordinary licenses regularly between 1712 and 1719. In 1714 Craig was appointed door keeper of the Council and in 1716 he was chosen to be

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<sup>71</sup>Mary Stephenson, Market Square Tavern House History, pp. 4-8. Sources: York County Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 382-384; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 12, 1767, p. 3; Letter from Ann Craig to Thomas Jefferson, March 20, 1809, original Massachusetts Historical Society, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), August 30, 1770, p. 3; September 22, 1771, p. 3.

porter at the college. He died sometime before June 20, 1720.<sup>72</sup>

Crawley, Nathaniel. Tavern keeper, c. 1752-1769.

Nathaniel Crawley, son of John Crawley of York County, identified himself as a tavern keeper in 1752. An account of expenses of a treaty with the Indians in 1756 lists "To Nathaniel Crawley for maintaining some of them here £39. 17. 0."<sup>73</sup> Evidently Crawley remained in the tavern business until his death since his wife, Sarah, continued to operate her husband's tavern. Crawley died before September 20, 1769. When his dwelling house and goods were advertised for sale in December, 1769, the location was given as near the college.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., VIII (1928), 231; York County Deeds, Bonds, II (1701-1713), 424 (M-1-13); Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 200, 365 (M-1-6); XV (1716-1720), 45, 168, 313, 507, 639 (M-1-7); H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1928), III (May 1, 1705-October 23, 1721), 375; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, IV (1896-1897), 169.

<sup>73</sup>York County Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 418 (M-1-15); Orders and Wills, XX (1745-1759), 107 (M-1-10); H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1752-1755, 1756-1758 (Richmond, 1909), 524.

<sup>74</sup>Virginia Gazette (Rind), September 21, 1769, p. 3; December 7, 1769, p. 3.

Crawley, Sarah. Tavern keeper, 1769. Sarah Crawley announced in September, 1769, that she continued "to keep PUBLIC - HOUSE in the same manner as in her late husband's life-time." Since the house and personal estate of Nathaniel Crawley were offered for sale several months later, she only kept a tavern for a short time.<sup>75</sup>

Crease, Thomas. Tavern keeper, c. 1725. Thomas Crease, whose wife was the widow of Gabriel Maupin, identified himself on a deed as a gardener in 1724.<sup>76</sup> By the following year he was evidently keeping a tavern since Richard King had an account with him.<sup>77</sup> Other references list Crease as a gardener at the Palace and later as a gardener at the college. He died sometime before January, 1757.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>York County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 440-441. (M-1-13)

<sup>77</sup>Miscellaneous papers relating to the estate of Richard King, in Jones Papers, Library of Congress. (M-22-1)

<sup>78</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1930), IV (October 25, 1721-October 28, 1739), 118; Virginia Gazette (Parks), January 13, 1738, p. 4; York County Wills and Inventories, XX (1746-1759), 430. (M-1-10)

Cummings /Cumins/, Edward. Lodginghouse keeper, 1752.

Edward Cummings worked for publishers of the Virginia Gazette from the 1750's through the 1770's.<sup>79</sup> In 1752 Robert Miller, a tailor from London, announced that he lodged "at Mr. Edward Cumins's in Francis Street, near the Capitol." Cummings advertised books for sale in 1774. The next year a "Mr. Cumings, the bookbinder" was connected with the print shop in Norfolk. The last reference to Edward Cummings is his notice about a stolen cloak in 1780.<sup>80</sup>

Cunningham, David. Tavern keeper, 1713-c. 1717.

David Cunningham, a barber, was living in Williamsburg as early as 1712. In May of that year he purchased lots 279 and 280 opposite the Capitol. The tavern which Cunningham kept from 1713 to about 1717 and his shop were probably located on these lots, where the Coke-Garrett House has been restored. In June, 1713, he was appointed constable. His

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<sup>79</sup>C. Clement Samford and John Hemphill II, Bookbinding in Colonial Virginia (Williamsburg, 1966), p. 34.

<sup>80</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), December 8, 1752, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), August 25, 1774, p. 3; (Dixon & Hunter), October 7, 1775, p. 3; (Clarkson & Davis), February 19, 1780, p. 4.

will indicates that Cunningham remained a barber but probably gave up tavern keeping several years before his death. Cunningham, whose wife had died earlier, ordered that his children be educated and maintained by his "loving friend," the tavern keeper Susanna Allen. He died early in 1720.<sup>81</sup>

Davis, Mary. Lodginghouse keeper, 1770; tavern keeper 1770-1772. In March, 1770, Mary Davis announced that she had come from Lester's ferry at Jamestown and had "rented Dr. Carter's large brick house on the main street" (reconstructed as the Brick House Tavern) where she proposed to "accommodate Ladies and Gentlemen with private lodgings." The advertisement described "12 or 14 very good lodging rooms with fire places in most of them, which will hold two or three beds in each."<sup>82</sup> Factors of William Cuninghame and Company, a large Scottish tobacco firm, planned

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<sup>81</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, *Wigmaking*, pp. 75-77. Sources: York County Orders and Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 169, 217, 257, 325 (M-1-6); Deeds and Bonds, II (1701-1713), 418 (M-1-13); Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 562 (M-1-7). Most of these references also appear in Mary Stephenson, *Coke-Garrett House History*.

<sup>82</sup>Mary Stephenson, *Brick House Tavern House History*, p. 10. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 22, 1771, p. 4.

to lodge there and use the house behind the tavern for conducting their business.<sup>83</sup> Another advertisement in May states that she intended to keep "a table for 10 or 12 Burgesses, during the sessions of Assembly" and furnish them with breakfast, dinner and lodgings. By December, 1772, the tavern was for rent and within two months Richard Singleton had moved in.<sup>84</sup>

Davis, Richard. Tavern keeper, 1770-1772. Richard Davis is first mentioned in connection with his wife's business in June, 1770, when he leased the brick house where they were living. They may have begun operating a tavern at that time as advertisements in 1771 and 1772 were signed by Richard Davis. By October, 1772, their business was evidently poor since Davis reminded the public that his tavern was still open. Rind noted in an October issue of the Virginia Gazette that he had received a letter from Richard Davis to his creditors but was unable to insert

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<sup>83</sup>James Robinson to William Henderson, April 17, 1770, Letterbook of William Cunningham & Company, I, National Library of Scotland, (M-52)

<sup>84</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 8, 1770, p. 3; December 17, 1772, p. 3; (Rind), January 14, 1773, p. 3.

the letter in such busy times. By December the tavern was advertised for rent.<sup>85</sup>

Doncastle, John. Tavern keeper, 1753-1755. John Doncastle, who had earlier operated taverns in Fredericksburg (c. 1745) and at King William Court House (1745-1753), moved to Williamsburg in 1753 and rented a house from Henry Wetherburn.<sup>86</sup> Doncastle's location is unknown but it is unlikely that Wetherburn moved out of his tavern on lots 21 and 22 so that Doncastle could move into the building.<sup>87</sup> Doncastle's tavern was a popular place where auctions for land and slaves were frequently held. In 1754 and 1755 Doncastle bought large quantities of mutton,

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<sup>85</sup>Mary Stephenson, *Brick House Tavern House History*, pp. 10-14. Sources: York County Deeds, VIII (1769-1777), 95-96. Virginia Gazette (Rind), May 2, 1771, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), June 20, 1771, p. 2; October 29, 1772, p. 2; (Rind), October 22, 1772, p. 2; (Purdie & Dixon), December 17, 1772, p. 3.

<sup>86</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), September 12, 1745, p. 4; July 3, 1746, p. 4; November 3, 1752, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup>Research query: Edward M. Riley to Ivor Noel Hume. August 2, 1966. Report on the Wetherburn site prepared by Raymond R. Townsend. Copy in Colonial Williamsburg Research Department.



pork, and beef which were probably used at his tavern.<sup>88</sup> He gave notice in August, 1755, that his house could be rented in October and that his furniture and liquor would be sold, but since a sale was advertised before his door in December he probably did not move out. An entry in Washington's ledger for March 30, 1756, showing expenses at Doncastle's and at Wetherburn's indicates that Doncastle was still keeping a tavern on that date.<sup>89</sup>

Drinkard, William. Tavern keeper, 1771-c. 1776.

William Drinkard probably learned the business of tavern keeping from James Southall while he was employed by Southall as a waiter in 1765. Drinkard announced in 1771 that he was opening a tavern "nearly opposite the Post Office."<sup>90</sup> He may have continued to operate his tavern through 1776 since an account of the Virginia state troops

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<sup>88</sup>Mary Stephenson, Mr. Wetherburn's Tavern House History, pp. 16-17. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Hunter), October 17, 1755, p. 3; MS Account Book of William Lightfoot, p. 83. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

<sup>89</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), August 15, 1755, p. 3; December 5, 1755, p. 3; Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, p. 97.

<sup>90</sup>Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1764-1766, p. 205; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 28, 1771, p. 3.

notes that William Drinkard was to be paid three pounds "for Express Hire."<sup>91</sup> Between 1772 and 1775 Drinkard served as doorkeeper for the Burgesses.<sup>92</sup>

Dunn, Mary. Tavern keeper, 1719-1722. Mary Dunn received licenses to keep a tavern at her dwelling in Williamsburg in 1719 and 1721.<sup>93</sup>

Dunn, William. Tavern keeper, c. 1752. William Dunn was living in or near Williamsburg in 1743. In 1752 one of his daughters was baptized. Dunn operated "the Crown Tavern, opposite to the Printing-Office" before March, 1752, when he gave notice that he offered "good Entertainment" in spite of the false rumors of "some ill-dispos'd Persons." There was evidently a shop attached to Dunn's tavern since William Peake, a barber, kept his shop there in the spring of 1752.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (1918), 399.

<sup>92</sup>John P. Kennedy, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1770-1772 (Richmond, 1906), p. 32; Ibid., 1773-1776 (Richmond, 1905), pp. 8, 75, 176.

<sup>93</sup>York County Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 454 (M-1-7); XVI (1720-1729), 67. (M-1-8)

<sup>94</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VII (1900), 99; Goodwin, Bruton, p. 148; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), March 12, 1752, p. 3; February 20, 1752, p. 4.

Elliot, William, Tavern Keeper, 1768. In April, 1768, Elliot "opened TAVERN in the house formerly occupied by Mr. Chowning" (reconstructed as the Red Lion). According to the James City County tax lists for 1769 a William Elliott had two tithes.<sup>95</sup>

Finnie, Alexander, Tavern Keeper, 1749-c. 1755. Alexander Finnie, a wigmaker, was living in Williamsburg by 1744. A letter dated December 14, 1754, shows that Finnie was still making wigs at that time.<sup>96</sup> In June, 1749, Finnie purchased the Raleigh Tavern and two years later bought twenty acres for stabling and pasturage.<sup>97</sup> In July, 1752, he announced his plans to go to Great Britain and requested those indebted to him to settle their accounts.

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<sup>95</sup>Mary Stephenson, Red Lion House History, pp. 19-20. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), April 7, 1768, p. 3; James City County Tax Lists.

<sup>96</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, Wigmaking, p. 82-85. Sources: York County Wills and Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 314; "Letter Book of Francis Jerdone," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIV (1905-1906), 143.

<sup>97</sup>Mary McWilliams, Raleigh Tavern House History, pp. 4-7. Sources: York County Deeds, V (1741-1754), 461, 493.

The Raleigh, which he offered for sale, was purchased by Col. John Chiswell and George Gilmer in August, 1752. In November Finnie gave notice that he had quit the Raleigh and intended to leave the Colony but subsequent references suggest that Finnie may have continued as keeper of the Raleigh.<sup>98</sup> In the fall of 1754 Washington paid 5s. 3d. for "Dinner and Club at Finnies" and 6s. for club there in the spring of 1763.<sup>99</sup> In April, 1755, when Finnie announced that he intended to go to the Ohio country, he noted that his "House will be kept in my Absence, as usual, by my Wife."<sup>100</sup> During these years Finnie was having financial trouble which may explain his announcements to leave the Colony. A letter of Francis Jerdone's, a Yorktown merchant, stated that he might have to take a mortgage of Finnie's stock and household furniture since he feared that bringing a suit would "entirely break him up." In March, 1769, Finnie announced his determination

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<sup>98</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, *Wigmaking*, pp. 82-85. Sources: York County Deeds, V (1751-1754), 495; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), November 17, 1752, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup>Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, pp. 62, 163.

<sup>100</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 25, 1755, p. 2.

to sell all his estate, including Porto Bello, his plantation on Queen's Creek, but he continued to live there until his death in May, 1769.<sup>101</sup>

Finnie, Peter. Tavern keeper, c. 1706. Peter Finnie received a license to keep a tavern in Williamsburg in 1706.<sup>102</sup>

Fisher, Daniel. Tavern keeper, October, 1751--February, 1752. Daniel Fisher arrived in Williamsburg in the fall of 1750 and moved into a house in the western end of the city where he kept a store. By October, 1751, Fisher had opened a tavern at the building owned by Henry Wetherburn where Marot's Ordinary has been reconstructed. Four months later Fisher closed his tavern, divided the building into apartments, and reopened his store. In 1755 he went to Philadelphia in search of business opportunities but returned that fall.<sup>103</sup> Fisher continued to live in Williamsburg for a short time and in April, 1756,

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<sup>101</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, *Wigmaking*, pp. 82-85. Sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIV (1906), 143; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), December 24, 1767, p. 3; (Rind), May 4, 1769, p. 3.

<sup>102</sup>York County Deeds, Orders and Wills, XII (1702-1706), 424. (M-1-5)

<sup>103</sup>Mary Goodwin, *Marot's Ordinary House History*, pp. 23-37. Sources: "The Fisher History," Louise P. du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families (Lynchburg, 1907), II, 752-812; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), October 3, 1751, p. 3; February 20, 1752, p. 4.

addressed a letter to Benjamin Waller "containing very opprobrious Reflections on this House, and a most scandalous and defamatory Libel" against Waller. Waller presented the letter to the House of Burgesses and Fisher was found guilty of a breach of the privileges of the house and ordered to come and answer for his offence.<sup>104</sup> Fisher may have left Williamsburg following this incident since no further record of him has been located.

Gill, Henry. Tavern keeper, 1708-c. 1714. In 1707, Henry Gill obtained lots 49 and 50 where the Waters-Coleman House has been reconstructed. Between 1708 and 1714 he received licenses to keep a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg. County records list Gill as a tanner and a shoemaker. He died in 1721.<sup>105</sup>

Gilliam, Joseph. Tavern keeper, c. 1745. By the fall of 1745 Joseph Gilliam had moved into the house now reconstructed as the Red Lion and offered "very good private

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<sup>104</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1752-1755, 1756-1758 (Richmond, 1909), 373.

<sup>105</sup>Hunter D. Farish, Waters-Coleman House History, pp. 1-2. Sources: York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XIII (1706-1710), 288, 207, 271; Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 89, 162, 349; XVI (1720-1729), 53.

Lodgings" to gentlemen "either in Public Times or private." He also gave notice that he had a good traveling chair, horses and a driver for hire. Richard Caulton, an upholster from London, had lodgings "at Mr. Joseph Gilliam's" in November. Gilliam had either moved or given up tavern keeping by June, 1746, since John Taylor was operating a tavern on this lot.<sup>106</sup> Evidently Gilliam fought in the French and Indian War since he was listed among the disabled and discharged soldiers who petitioned the House of Burgesses in 1755.<sup>107</sup>

Hadley, Dionisia. Tavern keeper, c. 1705. In 1695 Dionisia Ravencroft, a widow, married Thomas Hadley, who superintended the building of the college. She received a license in 1705 to operate a tavern at her dwelling. In September, 1714 it was reported that Mrs. Hadley had died without making a will.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Stephenson, Red Lion, pp. 5-8. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Parks), September 26, 1745, p. 3; November 28, 1745, pp. 4; MS Lease of property to John Blair from directors of city of Williamsburg, June 2, 1746, miscellaneous manuscripts, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

<sup>107</sup> H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1752-1755, 1756-1758 (Richmond, 1909), p. 273 and 274.

<sup>108</sup> William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XVIII (1909-1910), 214; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XII (1702-1706), 332. (M-1-5); Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 355. (M-1-6)

Hay, Anthony. Tavern keeper, 1767-1770. Anthony Hay came to Williamsburg around 1750 and married first, Elizabeth Penman, and second, Elizabeth Davenport. He was probably in business as a cabinetmaker and chair maker as early as 1751, when he advertised for journeymen. In 1756 Hay purchased lots 263 and 264 (on which the Hay Cabinet Shop has been reconstructed) where he lived until his death. He remained in the cabinetmaking business until 1767, when he purchased the Raleigh Tavern from William Trebell. During Hay's ownership the Raleigh was the scene of many social events, public auctions, civic and business meetings, and political gatherings. He kept the tavern until his death in December 1770.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Mary Stephenson, Hay Cabinet Shop House History, pp. 7-12. Sources: Tyler's Virginia Biography, I, 255; MS Day Book of the Virginia Gazette, p. 78, University of Virginia Library, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Department; York County Deeds VI (1755-1763), 65-66; VII (1763-1769), 216; Virginia Gazette (Purdies & Dixon), December 13, 1770, p. 2. Some of the same references appear in Mary McWilliams, "Raleigh Tavern."



Hay, Grissell. Lodginghouse keeper, 1768-1773.

Mrs. Grissell Hay, widow of Dr. Peter Hay who died in 1764, lived on the north side of Nicholson Street (where the Archibald Blair House has been restored). In 1768 she advertised "very commodious lodgings to let for a dozen gentlemen." In a letter to the Norfolk merchant, Neil Jamieson, one James Blassford remarked that he had "left Southalls Lodgings [the Raleigh Tavern] for Mrs. Hays which tho' it is rather out of the way is far more agreeable this hot Weather." She died in May, 1778.<sup>110</sup>

Hill, Jeremiah. Tavern keeper, 1719. Jeremiah Hill received a license to keep a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg in 1719.<sup>111</sup>

Hubbard, Cuthbert. Tavern keeper, 1771-c. 1776.

In 1771 Cuthbert Hubbard announced that he had moved to the house lately occupied by Robert Anderson "where Gentlemen may be accommodated in the best Manner." He also noted

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<sup>110</sup>York County Deeds, VIII (1769-1777), 214 (M-1-16); Virginia Gazette (Rind), March 3, 1768, p. 4; Letter of James Glassford to Neil Jamieson, August 3, 1773, Jamieson Papers, Library of Congress (M-57-9); Virginia Gazette (Dixon), May 8, 1778, p. 7.

<sup>111</sup>York County Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 468. (M-1-7)

that he continued his "Business of Peruke making, Shaving, and Hair dressing." Hubbard frequently advertised his lodgings near the college between 1771 and 1774.<sup>112</sup>

During 1775 and 1776 he was paid by the state for dieting troops, for his service as an hostler, for renting a house for public use, and for furnishing fodder. He died in 1790.<sup>113</sup>

Kidd, Joseph. Lodginghouse keeper, 1770-1772.

Joseph Kidd, who lived in Williamsburg in the 1760's and 1770's, did various jobs: upholsterer, appraiser, auctioneer, painter, and lead manufacturer. In October, 1770, when he was living at the Custis house, he offered very good lodgings for gentlemen. He continued to advertise for lodgers in 1772, when he moved to the house near the Capitol previously occupied by George Davenport.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 7, 1771, p. 3; January 14, 1773, p. 3; April 28, 1774, p. 3.

<sup>113</sup>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (1918), 67 and 400; XXVIII (1920), 252; XXXI (1923), 327; York County Wills and Inventories, XXIII (1783-1811), 195. (M-1-12)

<sup>114</sup>Mary Stephenson, Custis Square House History, pp. 26-27. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), December 28, 1769, p. 3; (Rind), October 4, 1770, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), June 21, 1771, p. 3; January 23, 1772, p. 3.

Kidd's quarrel with the Reverend Samuel Henley, rector of Bruton Parish Church, in the spring of 1775 received a great deal of coverage in Pinkney's Virginia Gazette.

Laughton, Robert. Tavern keeper, 1718-c. 1730.

In 1718, 1720 and 1721 Robert Laughton received licenses to keep a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg. In 1730, when he sold some land, Laughton identified himself as a tavern keeper.<sup>115</sup>

Lenox, Walter. Lodginghouse keeper, 1768. Walter

Lenox was a wigmaker in Williamsburg during the 1760's and 1770's. In 1768 when he moved to the Red Lion (one of the reconstructed taverns) he advertised accommodations for private lodgers. Lenox was one of several Presbyterians who signed a document in the York County Court in 1765.<sup>116</sup>

Levingston, William. Tavern keeper, 1720-1721.

William Levingston emigrated to Virginia from Scotland before 1716. He operated a dancing school in Williamsburg

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<sup>115</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 412, 566. (M-1-7); XVI (1720-1729), 115. (M-1-8)

<sup>116</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, Wigmaking, pp. 95-99. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 24, 1768, p. ; "Presbyterians in York County," Tyler's Quarterly, V (1924), 66-67; Williamsburg City Personal Property Tax List, 1783 (M-1-47)

and along with Charles and Mary Stagg built and ran the first theater. Levingston's theater, house and outbuildings, garden and bowling green faced on Palace Green. In 1720 and 1721 Levingston received licenses to operate a tavern at his house. By 1721 he was having financial difficulties and was forced to mortgage his property to Archibald Blair. Two years later Levingston defaulted and was evicted from his house. He probably left Williamsburg then and moved to Spotsylvania County, where he died around 1729.<sup>117</sup>

Lockley, John. Lodginghouse keeper, 1774-1779.

John Lockley, who came to Virginia from England in the early 1770's, advertised as a portrait painter and kept the bar at Mrs. Vobe's. There are several references to his keeping lodgers in 1774 and again in 1779.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Hugh Rankin, The Colonial Theatre, Its History and Operation, pp. 22-30. Sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XXII (1913), 68-69; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, IV (1896-1897), 196; York County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 204; Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 612; XVI (1720-1729), 42, 692; William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser. XXII (1913), 68, 69. Similar references appear in Mary Stephenson, The First Theatre.

<sup>118</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 18, 1773, p. 3; November 24, 1774, p. 3; (Dixon & Hunter), August 14, 1779, p. 3.

Luke, Mary. Tavern keeper, 1720. Mary Luke, wife of George Luke, who had been collector of customs in the lower district of the James River in 1705, received a license to keep a tavern in 1720. She died in 1727.<sup>119</sup>

Lyon, Robert. Tavern keeper, 1755. Robert Lyon was in Williamsburg as early as 1749, when he was mentioned in a court case. In the early 1750's he frequently advertised his wigs and requested the men indebted to him to settle their accounts. An advertisement in the summer of 1755 ended with this notice: "I now keep Tavern at the Sign of the Edinburgh Castle, near the Capitol." By November, 1759, Lyon advertised merchandise "at his STORE in the MARKET - PLACE." He was identified as a merchant in May, 1760, when he leased the lot (where the Market Square Tavern has been restored) for his store. The last reference to his being in Williamsburg is in 1771 when he was attempting to collect a debt.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1928), III, 47; York County Orders, Wills, XVI (1720-1729), 33 (M-1-8); Goodwin, Bruton, p. 160.

<sup>120</sup>Bullock and Tonkin, Wigmaking, pp. 100-102. Sources: York County Judgments, Orders, (1746-1752), 229; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 24, 1752, p. 3; August 1, 1755, p. 3; York County Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 265; Judgments, Orders, II (1770-1772), 365. References to Lyon also appear in Mary Stephenson, Burdett's Ordinary and Market Square Tavern.

Mann, Isabella, Tavern keeper, 1701-c. 1704. Isabella Mann, wife of Joseph Mann, who was paid by the Council in 1700 for his services against the pirates, received a license to keep a tavern at her house in 1701. The tavern was used one evening in 1704 when members of the clergy gathered there and presented a ballad defending Governor Francis Nicholson in his dispute with Commissary James Blair. Her husband died in 1704.<sup>121</sup>

Marot, Jean. Tavern keeper, 1707-1717. Jean Marot, a Huguenot who came to Virginia in 1700, worked for William Byrd I at Westover before coming to Williamsburg. In 1705 he was paid by the Council for boarding and lodging prisoners at his house. From 1707 to 1716 Marot received licenses to operate a tavern which after 1708 was located on lot 25 (where Marot's Ordinary has been reconstructed). His tavern was well-furnished and frequented by the leading gentlemen of the colony--including William Byrd II, who often mentioned the tavern in his early diary. Marot served as constable of Williamsburg from 1708 to 1710.

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<sup>121</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1927), 84; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XI (1698-1702), 561 (M-1-5); William Stephens Perry, ed. Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church (Hartford, 1870), I (Virginia), 179-180; Goodwin, Bruton, p. 164.

Marot died sometime before November 18, 1717.<sup>122</sup> Francis Sharpe was accused of murdering Marot but was never convicted.

Martin, James. Lodginghouse keeper, 1765. Before December, 1760, James Martin, a barber and perukemaker, was a tenant of Henry Wetherburn. In October, 1765, Martin advertised lodgings; that year Robert Wormeley Carter stayed with him and paid £1.2.9 for "Lodging Breakfast & Dressing my Hair." Martin died in July, 1766.<sup>123</sup>

Maupin, Gabriel. Tavern keeper, 1714-1718. Gabriel Maupin, a Hugénot, petitioned the Council for naturalization in 1705. He was named constable in 1711. Maupin received

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<sup>122</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, Appendix i-xii. Sources: Virginia Historical Collections, V, p. 24; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXV (1927), 239; H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, (Richmond, 1928), III, 61-62; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XIII (1706-1710), 110, 192, 269; XIV (1709-1716), 139, 244, 319, 409, 498; XV (1716-1720), 91; Deeds, II (1701-1713), 262-264; Byrd, Diary, 1709-1712, passim.; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XIII (1706-1710), 114; Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 5; XV (1716-1720), 169, 171-174.

<sup>123</sup>Stephenson, Wetherburn's Tavern, pp. 27-28. Sources: York County Judgments, Orders, III (1772-1772), 216; MS Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1764-1766, p. 205, MS Diaries R. W. Carter, p. 22, Clements Library, typescript Colonial Williamsburg Research Department; York County Wills, Inventories, XXI (1760-1771), 303-304.

licenses to operate a tavern in 1714 and 1718. He probably died in 1718 or 1719 since his wife, Mary, received an ordinary license in 1719.<sup>124</sup>

Maupin, Gabriel. Tavern keeper, 1767-c. 1775.

Gabriel Maupin may have been the grandson of Gabriel and Mary Maupin, who had kept a tavern earlier in the century. He was apprenticed to the saddler Alexander Craig in 1750 and became established as a saddle and harness maker in the 1760's<sup>125</sup>. Maupin became an innkeeper in 1767, when he took over the tavern which Mary Page had operated.<sup>126</sup> In 1771 when Maupin purchased the property (where the Market Square Tavern has been restored) on Market Square, he identified himself as a tavern keeper and in the advertisement for the tavern he noted that his saddle and harness making shop would be moved to the tavern. Maupin was an active member in the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons

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<sup>124</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1908), II, 411; York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 83, 353 (M-1-6); XV (1716-1720), 384, 550. (M-1-7)

<sup>125</sup>Alexander Craig Account Book, 1749-1756, Galt Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives. (M-55-1)

<sup>126</sup>Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), September 24, 1767, p. 3.



and the members met at his tavern on several occasions.<sup>127</sup>  
 In 1775 Maupin was appointed keeper of the magazine and served as captain of Virginia troops during the Revolution.<sup>128</sup>

Maupin, Mary. Tavern keeper, 1719-1723. Mary Maupin, wife of Gabriel Maupin, probably continued to operate her husband's tavern after his death since she received licenses in 1719, 1722 and 1723. Sometime before January 18, 1724, she married Thomas Crease, who was keeping a tavern in 1725. Mary Maupin Crease died in 1748.<sup>129</sup>

May, Thomas. Tavern keeper, 1716. In 1716 Thomas May received a license to operate a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg.<sup>130</sup>

Nicolson, Robert. Lodginghouse keeper, 1766-1777.  
 Robert Nicolson was a tailor as early as 1751 and later

<sup>127</sup>Stephenson, Market Square Tavern, pp. 8-9.  
 Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), September 26, 1771, p. 3; MS Treasurer's Book Botetourt Lodge of Masons, photostat, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

<sup>128</sup>Virginia Gazette (Dixon & Hunter), May 13, 1775, p. 2; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-1895), 247.

<sup>129</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 550 (M-1-7); XVI (1720-1729), 137, 195 (M-1-8); Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 440-441 (M-1-13); Goodwin, Bruton, p. 168.

<sup>130</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 70. (M-1-7)

became a merchant. He kept a lodginghouse in Williamsburg from 1766 until 1777. In the 1780's he moved his store to Richmond and died there in 1797.<sup>131</sup>

Packe, Richard. Tavern keeper, 1725-1727. A tavern account of Richard King with Richard Packe from 1725-1727 is the first mention of Packe's being in Williamsburg.<sup>132</sup> When he purchased lot 47 (where the Pitt-Dixon House has been reconstructed) in January, 1728/9, he identified himself as a watchmaker. Packe died sometime before May 17, 1739, when his daughter was apprenticed.<sup>133</sup>

Packe, Sarah. Lodginghouse keeper, 1737-1746. Sarah Packe, widow of <sup>Richard</sup> ~~Graves~~ Packe, of ~~Capitol~~ <sup>Capitol</sup> Landing,<sup>134</sup> was keeping a lodginghouse in Williamsburg by June, 1737. The

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<sup>131</sup>Ibid., Deeds, V (1741-1754), p. 70 (M-1-14); Virginia Gazette (Pinkney), January 26, 1775, p. 3; (Hunter), September 12, 1766, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), July 23, 1772, p. 3; inscription on tombstone, St. John's Church, Richmond.

<sup>132</sup>Account of Richard King with Richard Packe, 1725-1727, Jones Papers, Library of Congress. (M-22-1)

<sup>133</sup>Mary Stephenson, Pitt-Dixon House History, pp. 13-15. Sources: York County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 501; Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 167.

<sup>134</sup>See will of Graves Packe. Probated 14 August 1731, London. ~~William and Mary Quarterly~~, 1st ser., III (1895), 269. Principal Probate Registry, Will-Register Books 215 ISHAM. Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives (Va. Col. Rec. Proj., S.R. 4889)

lawyer, John Mercer, lodged with her several times in 1737 and 1738. In 1738 she was running a store where she advertised mourning goods. The last reference to her keeping a lodging house is in 1746, when the lawyer, Edmund Pendleton, gave notice that he planned to stay "at Mrs. Packé's next Door to the Printing - Office." She married William Green, a Williamsburg merchant, sometime before March 27, 1755. By June, 1759, a Sarah Green of York County was dead.<sup>135</sup>

Page, Mary. Tavern keeper, c. 1767. Mary Page purchased items from the printing office on several occasions during the 1760's. Gabriel Maupin announced in September, 1767, that "those Gentlemen who used to frequent the house of Mrs. MARY PAGE, deceased" could depend on him for accommodations and entertainment.<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> Stephenson, Pitt-Dixon House History, pp. 17-22. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Parks), June 17, 1737, p. 4; March 1, 1738, p. 3; July 14, 1738, p. 4; March 27, 1746, p. 4; (Hunter), March 28, 1755, p. 3; York County Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 512-513.

<sup>136</sup>MS Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1764-1766, p. 12 and passim. University of Virginia Library, photostat. Colonial Williamsburg Research Department; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), September 24, 1767, p. 3.

Page, William. Lodginghouse keeper, 1768. In March, 1768, William Page announced that he had good lodgings for gentlemen "at his house, fronting the play house" (probably where the Blue Bell has been reconstructed). The men indebted to him were requested to settle their accounts immediately; however, the nature of his previous business is unknown.<sup>137</sup> In the 1770's a William Page advertised merchandise at the store "below the Capitol...formerly occupied by Mr. Robert Nicolson." An account book for Virginia troops in the Revolution lists cash paid in 1775 to a William Page for public express and for the loss of a horse.<sup>138</sup>

Parker, John. Tavern keeper, 1737-1745. John Parker received licenses to operate a tavern at the "red Lyon" in 1737, 1738 and 1739. He rented the tavern on lot 44 (where the Red Lion has been reconstructed) from John Blair. Parker died <sup>before April</sup> ~~by February~~, 1745, and several months later

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<sup>137</sup>Mary McWilliams, Blue Bell House History, p. 5.  
Sources: Virginia Gazette (Rind), March 17, 1768, p. 3.

<sup>138</sup>Virginia Gazette (Dixon), February 4, 1775, p. 3;  
Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI (1918), 63, 186, 188, 294, 295.

William Wyatt gave notice that he was keeping the tavern  
"lately kept by Mr. John Parker."<sup>139</sup>

Pattison, Thomas. Tavern keeper, 1741-1742. Thomas  
Pattison purchased lot 58 adjoining Capitol Square before  
1742. John Burdette rented the tavern on the west portion  
of the lot as early as 1739 and continued to rent the  
tavern through 1743 when Pattison died. Since Pattison  
identified himself as an ordinary keeper in his will, and  
since his inventory lists many items connected with tavern  
keeping, there may have been a tavern on the eastern side  
of the lot also. If "The sign of Edinburgh Castle with  
the irons etc" was a tavern sign, this was Pattison's  
tavern.<sup>140</sup> Pattison bought mutton, veal, and corn in  
1741 from Burwell.<sup>141</sup> Pattison died before February 21,  
1742/3.

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<sup>139</sup>Stephenson, Red Lion, pp. 4-5. Sources: York County  
Wills, Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 344, 426, 493; Virginia  
Gazette (Parks), April 18, 1745, p. 4.

<sup>140</sup>Stephenson, Burdett's Ordinary, pp. 5-9. Sources:  
York County Deeds, V (1741-1754), 39-41; Surry County Deed  
and Will Book (1738-1754), p. 115; York County Wills,  
Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 169, 177-179.

<sup>141</sup>James Bray Account Book (1736-1746), p. 22,  
Burwell Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.  
(M-96-1)

Pullet, Joseph. Tavern keeper, 1765-1766. Purchases made at the printing office in 1765 for playing cards and ball tickets suggest that Joseph Pullet was keeping a tavern.<sup>142</sup> By 1766 his tavern (probably at the Ludwell-Paradise House) was a popular one. George Washington visited Pullet's in May, and the King's birthday was celebrated there in June by the Governor and principal men of the city. The following month Pullet advertised for a bar-keeper. Evidently Pullet had difficulty collecting his debts since he requested on several occasions that gentlemen indebted to him settle their accounts. Pullet died sometime before June 25, 1767.<sup>143</sup>

Redwood, John. Tavern keeper, c. 1706-c. 1710.

John Redwood was appointed custodian of the Capitol and keeper of the public jail in 1703 and held the positions

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<sup>142</sup>MS Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1764-1766, passim., University of Virginia Library, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Department.

<sup>143</sup>Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, p. 193; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), June 6, 1766, p. 2; July 4, 1766, p. 3; May 9, 1766, p. 3; (Rind), December 11, 1766, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), June 25, 1767, p. 3.

until 1710, when he resigned.<sup>144</sup> He was evidently keeping a tavern before 1707 since his license was renewed that year. The tavern was probably located on lots 61 and 62 "on the North east side of Capitol Square" (where the Blue Bell has been reconstructed). He may have given up tavern keeping by May, 1708, when he sold his lots to Philip Ludwell.<sup>145</sup>

Ripping, Edward. Tavern keeper, 1713-1734. Edward Ripping kept a tavern from 1713 until his death. In 1717 he was appointed constable of Williamsburg. He died before August 19, 1734.<sup>146</sup>

Serjanton, Mrs. Tavern keeper, c. 1712. William Byrd mentions dining with Mrs. Serjanton on January 26, 1712:

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<sup>144</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1702/3-1705, 1705-1706, 1710-1712 (Richmond, 1912), 30, 175, 182, 261; Ibid., ed. Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1927), II (August 3, 1699-April 27, 1705), 367; Ibid., (Richmond, 1928) III (May 1, 1705-October 23, 1721), 205.

<sup>145</sup>Mary McWilliams, Blue Bell, pp. 1-2. Sources: York County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 286; Deeds, Orders, Wills, XIII (1706-1710), 110; Deeds, Bonds, II (1701-1713), 305.

<sup>146</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 283, 354, 377, 444 (M-1-6); XV (1716-1720), 179, 318, 482 (M-1-7); XVI (1720-1729), 74, 386 (M-1-8); Wills, Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 138. (M-1-9)

"I ate roast chicken for dinner but we were forced to dine in the kitchen but however it was very good and we made a shift to be very merry and contented." She may have been the wife of John Serjanton, who owned land in York County in 1704 and who once owned lot 54 (where the Raleigh has been reconstructed).<sup>147</sup>

Sharpe, Francis. Tavern keeper, 1718-1719. In 1717 Francis Sharpe was granted lots 57 and 58 adjoining Capitol Square. The following year he received a license to keep a tavern at his dwelling, which was probably located on one of these two lots. Sharpe's petition for an ordinary license in 1717 was rejected, but in 1719 his license was renewed. He was accused of murdering Jean Marot in 1717 but was never convicted. Sharpe's will, written in August, 1739, mentions that John Burdett was living on lot 58. Sharpe was living in Surry County when he died in 1739.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>Byrd, Diary, 1709-1712, p. 475; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXI (1917), 70; York County Deeds, Bonds, II (1701-1713), 412-413, (M-1-13)

<sup>148</sup>Stephenson, Burdett's Ordinary, pp. 3-5. Sources: County Deeds, Bonds, III (1713-1729), 168-169; Wills, Orders, XV (1716-1720), 230, 169; Surry County Wills (1738-1754), p. 115-116. Similar references appear in Stephenson, John Crump House History, pp. 3-4.



Shields, Ann. Tavern Keeper, 1750-1751. Mrs. Shields, daughter of Jean Marot and widow of James Ingles and James Shields II, continued to operate the tavern on lot 25 (where Marot's Ordinary has been reconstructed) after the death of her second husband. The Reverend Robert Rose dined at Mrs. Shield's on April 17 and she sponsored a ball at the Courthouse on April 23, 1751. In July of that year, ten days after Mrs. Mary Bowcock Wetherburn died, Ann Shields married Henry Wetherburn. That August, Wetherburn advertised Shields's tavern for rent and by October Daniel Fisher was operating a tavern there.<sup>149</sup>

Shields, James. Tavern Keeper, 1707-c. 1715.

James Shields, a tailor, was granted a license to keep a tavern at his house in 1707. He probably moved into the James City County part of Williamsburg since he was described as being "of the County of James City Taylor" the next year. Thereafter he probably obtained ordinary licenses from the James City County Court. Shields was

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<sup>149</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, pp. 16-22. Sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XIX (1910), 54; Rev. Robert Rose, Diary, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), April 11, 1751, p. 3; "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., VII (1898-1899), 151; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), August 8, 1751, p. ; October 3, 1751, p. 3.

evidently still keeping a tavern in 17<sup>51</sup>, since he was paid for dieting and accommodating three interpreters for the Indians. The same year he was appointed messenger of the House of Burgesses. In 1720 he became keeper of the public jail and continued as keeper until his death in July, 1727.<sup>150</sup>

Shields, James II. Tavern keeper, c. 1745-1750.

James Shields II, the son of James Shields, married first, Elizabeth Cobbs who died in 1737, and second, Mrs. Ann Marot Ingles, daughter of Jean Marot. He was appointed surveyor of York County in 1741. Shields was identified as an ordinary keeper in May, 1745, when he and his wife were living on lot 25 (where Marot's Ordinary has been reconstructed). He died before December 17, 1750. His widow continued to operate the tavern until she remarried.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>150</sup>Mary Stephenson, King's Arms Tavern House History, Illustration #3. Sources: York County Orders, Wills, VIII (1687-1691), 37; Deeds, II (1701-1713), 262-264; H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1712-1712, 1715, 1718, 1720-1722, 1723-1726 (Richmond, 1912) pp. 161-162, 136; Ibid., ed. Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia (Richmond, 1918), II, 643; York County Orders, Wills, XVI (1720-1729), 472.

<sup>151</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, appendix, p. xxxiii-xxxv. Sources: William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., V (1896), 117-119; York County Deeds, V (1741-1754), 132; Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 195.

Singleton, Richard Hunt. Tavern keeper, 1769-1774.

In 1769 Richard Singleton announced that he was taking the "TAVERN in the house lately occupied by Mrs. Sarah Coke, opposite the north side of the Capitol" (where the Coke-Garrett House has been restored). He noted that he would board "young Gentlemen, by the year." Singleton was probably forced to move when this property was sold (after January 31, 1771). By March 7, 1771, Singleton had taken the house of Colonel Johnson (restored as Bassett Hall) where he continued to live through 1772. In January, 1773, Singleton advertised that he had taken "the BRICK HOUSE TAVERN on the Main Street." Singleton died before March 17, 1774.<sup>152</sup>

Smith, William. Tavern keeper, 1710. William Smith received a license to keep a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg in 1710.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup>Stephenson, Coke-Garrett, p. 26. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 9, 1769, p. 3; Mary Stephenson, Bassett Hall House History, pp. 6-9. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), March 7, 1771, p. 3; Stephenson, Brick House Tavern, pp. 13-14. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Rind), January 7, 1773, p. 3; (Purdie & Dixon), March 17, 1774, p. 3.

<sup>153</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 42.  
(M-1-6)

Southall, James Barrett. Tavern keeper, c. 1763-  
c. 1787. James Southall, son of Dasey and Edith Southall of Charles City County, was born in 1726. A reference in George Washington's Ledger A for May 17, 1757 "By Supper and Club at Southalls 2/6, Expenses ditto 1/o" indicates that there was a tavern operated by a Mr. Southall in or near Williamsburg by that date. James Barrett Southall was operating a tavern in Williamsburg in 1763, but the location is unknown.<sup>154</sup> Sometime before June, 1767, Southall was keeping Wetherburn's Tavern. Southall's was a popular tavern frequented by the local citizens and gentlemen of the colony. George Washington visited the tavern on several occasions and accounts of Samuel Middleton and John Page show that a variety of drinks and services were available at Southall's. In March, 1771<sup>155</sup>, Southall gave notice that he had taken over the operation of the Raleigh Tavern and on December 24, 1771, he purchased the tavern

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<sup>154</sup>William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XII (1903-1904), 29-30; Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, pp. 109-173.

<sup>155</sup>Stephenson, Wetherburn's Tavern, pp. 28-32.  
 Sources: Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, passim.; James Southall Accounts (1768-1776), Huntington Library, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; Caroline County Appeals and Land Causes (1777-1807), p. 221-222; Virginia Gazette (Rind), March 7, 1771, p. 3.

from the executors of Anthony Hay.<sup>156</sup> The Raleigh continued as a popular location for auctions and meetings during the 1770's and Southall became a leading citizen--serving as a member of the Lodge of Masons and on various committees during the Revolution.<sup>157</sup> Southall, who had a daughter, Frances (born in 1770), and a son, James (born in 1764), died before June, 1787. The marriage announcement of Frances to William Daingerfield identifies her as a "daughter of the late Colonel James Southall, of Williamsburg." James Southall, presumably the son of Colonel James Southall, witnessed the marriage license. It was probably this son who continued to own the Raleigh Tavern and advertised it for rent several times during the 1790's.<sup>158</sup>

Sullivant, Anne Marot. Tavern keeper, 1720-1738.

Anne Marot Sullivant, widow of tavern keeper Jean Marot,

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<sup>156</sup>McWilliams, Raleigh Tavern, p. 14. Sources: York County Deeds, VIII (1769-1777), 222.

<sup>157</sup>"Williamsburg Lodge of Masons," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XXV (1917), 156; Calendar of Virginia State Papers, VIII, 150.

<sup>158</sup>Tyler's Quarterly, VIII (1927), 69; William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., I (1892-1893), 56; Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser (Davis), January 17, 1793; September 20, 1797.

married Timothy Sullivant in 1718. In 1720 she took over the tavern which, first Jean Marot, and later Timothy Sullivant, had kept.<sup>159</sup> William Byrd occasionally stopped at Mrs. Sullivant's to play cards or visit with friends, and Robert Carter of Corotoman generally stayed with her when he was in Williamsburg between 1723 and 1727.<sup>160</sup> She continued to operate the tavern until 1738, when she moved to the country. She died in Amelia County before November 19, 1742.<sup>161</sup>

Sullivant, Timothy. Tavern keeper, 1718-1721.

Several months after Jean Marot's death, Timothy Sullivant married the widow, Anne Marot. On March 17, 1718, the Sullivants filed a bond to administer Jean Marot's estate, and on the same day Sullivant received a license to keep a tavern at his dwelling (where Marot's Ordinary has been reconstructed).<sup>6</sup> Since his wife, Anne, received licenses

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<sup>159</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, pp. 12-14. Sources: York County Orders and Wills, XV (1716-1720), 220; XVI (1720-1729), 75, 238, 306.

<sup>160</sup>Byrd, Diary, 1717-1721, passim.; Robert Carter of Corotoman, Diary, 1722, 1727, University of Virginia Library. (M-113)

<sup>161</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, pp. 12-14. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Parke), September 1, 1738, p. 4; Amelia county Will Book I, p. 19.

to operate a tavern at her dwelling in 1721 and thereafter, Timothy Sullivant must have preferred another occupation-- perhaps stonecutting since his inventory lists "ten Chissells for cutting Stone." Sullivant died without leaving a will sometime before May 18, 1730.<sup>162</sup>

Taylor, John. Tavern keeper, 1728<sup>3</sup>-1746. John Taylor, announced in September, 1728<sup>3</sup>, that he carried on "Publick Business" in the house where Mrs. Sullivant had kept her tavern.<sup>163</sup> In 1743 he identified himself as an ordinary keeper on a mortgage, but probably moved from lot 25 because James Shields and his wife, Anne Marot Shields, were occupying the property in May, 1745. In October of that year slaves were offered for sale at John Taylor's. By June of 1746 Taylor's tavern was located on lot 44 (where the Red Lion has been reconstructed).<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, pp. 12-14. Sources: York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 220, 217; XVI (1720-1729), 75 XVII (1729-1732), 67, 201.

<sup>163</sup>Goodwin, Marot's Ordinary, p. 15. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Parks), September 1, 1738, p. 4; York County Deeds, V (1741-1754), 130-133.

<sup>164</sup>Stevenson, Red Lion, p. 11. Sources: York County Deeds, V (1741-1754), 87; Virginia Gazette (Parks), October 24, 1745, p. 4; MS Lease to John Blair from directors of the city of Williamsburg, June 2, 1746, miscellaneous manuscripts Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

Timberlake, John. Tavern keeper, 1714. John

Timberlake rented property from Susanna Allen where he kept a tavern for less than a year. He received a tavern license in June, 1714, but had died by October of that year.<sup>165</sup>

Thomson, Daniel. Tavern keeper, 1719. Daniel Thomson

received a license to operate a tavern at his dwelling in Williamsburg in 1719.<sup>166</sup>

Trebell, William. Tavern keeper, 1761-1767. In 1755

William Trebell offered Barbados rum for sale "at the Shop late Doctor Jameson's." He was evidently keeping a tavern in Williamsburg by June, 1761, since George Washington stopped there.<sup>167</sup> Trebell, who purchased the Raleigh on May 2, 1763, either began operating the tavern on that day or was keeping another tavern since Washington paid "Club at Trebell's" on May 2nd and 3rd. Washington continued to frequent Trebell's through December, 1766. The Raleigh

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<sup>165</sup>Stevenson, Alexander Craig House, pp. 8-12.

Sources: York County Orders, Wills, XIV (1709-1716), 250, 260, 335, 376.

<sup>166</sup>York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 442.  
(M-1-7)

<sup>167</sup>Virginia Gazette (Hunter), October 3, 1755, p. 3;  
Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, passim.



remained a popular place for auctions and meetings while Trebell was its keeper. On January 1, 1767, William Trebell sold the Raleigh to Anthony Hay.<sup>168</sup> Trebell remained in Williamsburg, frequently acting as executor of estates and participating in activities of the Lodge of Masons. By March, 1784, he was living in James City County. His death was announced on October 15, 1789.<sup>169</sup>

Vaughan, James. Tavern keeper, c. 1770-c. 1774.

There are many references to a James Vaughan who kept a tavern in Richmond in the late 1760's and 1770's, but there is some evidence that there was also a tavern keeper in Williamsburg with the same name. In August, 1770, Henry Morse of Williamsburg settled his account covering several days with James Vaughan for wine, lodging, meals for himself and a man, and oats; however, Vaughan's address does not appear on the account. The other reference to James Vaughan, which may be for Williamsburg, occurs in

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<sup>168</sup>McWilliams, Raleigh Tavern, pp. 7-9. Sources: York County Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 506-507; VII (1763-1769), 216.

<sup>169</sup>Williamsburg Lodge of Masons, "William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., I (1892), 28; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), May 16, 1771, p. 3; York County Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 207 (M-1-15); Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, II (1894-1895), 284.

notes made by John Page of Rosewell in a 1774 almanac. Page listed accounts with other Williamsburg residents and included a charge of 10s. by "Vaughan the Tavern Keeper."<sup>170</sup>

Vobe, Jane. Tavern keeper, c. 1752-1785. Jane Vobe was probably the wife of Thomas Vobe, for whom there are several references in the 1740's. Mrs. Vobe may have operated a tavern as early as 1752 when she sold tickets for a theater performance.<sup>171</sup> In May, 1757, George Washington paid "Expenses at Mrs. Vobes 13/9," and he continued to patronize her tavern until 1774. By 1765, when the anonymous French traveller stayed at "mrs. vaube's tavern, where all the best people resorted," her tavern was on Waller Street east of the Capitol (where Christianna Campbell's has been reconstructed). Not only was her tavern popular--burgesses, councillors, the governor, and local citizens frequented Mrs. Vobe's--

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<sup>170</sup>Virginia Gazette (Rind), October 18, 1770, p. 2; Account of Henry Morse with James Vaughan, Webb-Prentis Papers (1757-1780). (M-116); Notes of John Page in Virginia Almanac, 1774, Colonial Williamsburg Library.

<sup>171</sup>Virginia Gazette (Parks), March 28, 1745, p. 4; (Hunter), April 17, 1752, p. 3; Fitzpatrick, Colonial Traveller, passim.

but it was well-furnished.<sup>172</sup> The reason she sold her furniture and announced her intention to leave the colony in 1771 is unknown, but by February, 1772, she had opened the King's Arms Tavern opposite the Raleigh. Her tavern was one of two operating in Williamsburg in 1783 but after the Revolution the name was changed to the Eagle Tavern. In 1785 she advertised her tavern for rent or sale. She died before June, 1789.<sup>173</sup>

Wells, George. Lodginghouse keeper, c. 1751.

George Wells came to Virginia as an indentured shoemaker in 1738. In 1751 he also sold toys and prints as his house near the Church. He offered several rooms for public lodging to gentlemen during Public Times. Wells died in 1753.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>172</sup>Stephenson, Christianna Campbell's, p. 9-12. Sources: "A French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," Paris, Service Hydrographique, photostat Colonial Williamsburg Research Department; Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), July 25, 1771, p. 2; February 6, 1772, p. 3.

<sup>173</sup>Stephenson, King's Arms Tavern, pp. 1-12. Sources: Virginia Gazette (Purdie & Dixon), February 6, 1772, p. 3; Williamsburg Personal Property Tax List, 1783, (M-1-41); Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (Nicolson), November 10, 1785; Virginia Independent, and General Advertiser (Davis), June, 1789.

<sup>174</sup>Indentures to Serve in Virginia. Corporation of London Record Office, Virginia Colonial Records Project; Virginia Gazette (Hunter), June 27, 1751, p. 3; York County Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 310. (M-1-10)

Wetherburn, Henry. Tavern keeper, 1731-1760. His marriage to Mary Bowcock in 1731 is the first mention of Henry Wetherburn in Williamsburg. That year he received the first of many licenses to operate a tavern at his house. The location of Wetherburn's tavern in the early years is uncertain, but by November, 1742, he was keeping the Raleigh. He was evicted in December, 1742, and probably then moved across the street to lots 20 and 21 (where Wetherburn's Tavern has been restored) which he had bought in 1738. He was definitely operating a tavern on his own lots by January, 1746/7. Wetherburn's reputation as a tavern keeper was attested in a famous deed of 1736, when William Randolph sold two hundred acres of Goochland County land and sealed the bargain with "Wetherburn's biggest bowl of Arrack punch." William Byrd ate most of his meals at Wetherburn's in the early 1740's, and George Washington frequented the tavern. Through the years it was a center for balls, private dinners, meetings, and auctions. In 1751, ten days after Mrs. Wetherburn died, Wetherburn married Mrs. Ann Marot Ingles Shields, widow of James

Shields. Wetherburn continued to keep his tavern until his death in 1760.<sup>175</sup>

Wills, Robert. Tavern keeper, c. 1731-1739. In July, 1731, Dudley Digges of York County mortgaged lots 266, 267 and 268 on Nicholson Street to Robert Wills. Wills may have begun operating a tavern on the site since he obtained an ordinary license in August, 1731. By 1739 Wills foreclosed the mortgage and sold the property to Thomas Nelson, a Yorktown merchant.<sup>176</sup>

Wyatt, William. Lodginghouse keeper, c. 1738; tavern keeper, 1745. William Wyatt, a tailor, advertised for

<sup>175</sup>Stephenson, Wetherburn's Tavern, pp. 7-25. Sources: York County Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 77, 184, 191, 208; XVIII (1732-1740), 29, 64, 272, 349, 407, 589; Deeds, V (1729-1740), 30; VI (1755-1763), 540-541; Virginia Gazette (Parks), January 23, 1746, p. 3; Goochland County Deeds, II, 222; Byrd, Diary, 1739-1741, passim; "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., I (1892-1893), 151; York County Wills and Inventories, XXI (1760-1771), 23-25.

<sup>176</sup>Mary Stephenson, Colonial Lots 266, 267, 268, pp. 5-7. Sources: York County Wills, Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740), 499-500; XVII (1729-1732), 214; Deeds and Bonds, IV (1729-1740), 559-560.

journeymen in the 1730's and in 1738 announced that gentlemen could lodge at his house during Public Times. In 1743 he received a license to keep a tavern in Yorktown. He served as keeper of the public jail in Williamsburg from 1745 until his death. In April, 1745, he informed the public that he was operating the tavern (reconstructed as the Red Lion) "lately kept by Mr. John Parker." By September, 1745, he had moved out and Joseph Gilliam had taken the tavern. He died in 1752.<sup>177</sup>

Young, John. Tavern keeper, 1701-1705. John Young was paid by the colony in 1701 for dieting two Indians and their guards. He was granted an ordinary license in 1703 and listed as a tavern keeper in the testimony regarding the college fire in 1705. His testimony suggested that his house was near the college. Young died in 1719.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>177</sup>Virginia Gazette (Parks), October 15, 1736, p. 4; October 6, 1738, p. 6; York County Orders, Wills, Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 194 (M-1-10); H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1742-1747, 1748-1749 (Richmond, 1909), p. 161, 304; Stephenson, Red Lion, p. 5; Virginia Gazette (Parks), April 18, 1745, p. 4; H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1752-1755, 1756-1758 (Richmond, 1909), p. 10.

<sup>178</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed. Journals of the House of Burgesses: 1695-1696, 1696-1697, 1698, 1699, 1700-1702 (Richmond, 1913), p. 293; York County Deeds, Orders, Wills, XII (1702-1706), 79 (M-1-5); Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, VI (1898-1899), 276; York County Orders, Wills, XV (1716-1720), 543.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Though colonial taverns performed important functions in each community and along the principal travel routes, little has been written about them. The two books published early in this century, Alice Morse Earle's Stage-coach and Tavern Days, New York: Macmillan Company, 1900, and Elise L. Lathrop's Early American Inns and Taverns, New York: R. M. McBride & Co., 1926, are mainly concerned with taverns in the northeast and middle colonies during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth. Then, too, these books deal more with "quaint" anecdotes about individual taverns than with tavern life. This thesis, by examining the services offered at eighteenth-century taverns in tidewater Virginia before the Revolution, attempts to give the reader an idea of the conditions the traveler found there and of the business of the tavern keeper.

Though several monographs have been written about colonial taverns in the south, none of these covers tavern

services or taverns in Williamsburg. Carl Bridenbaugh, in "Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766; or, The Importance of the Trivial," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LXXVI (1964), 1-29, wrote in detail about Colonel John Chiswell's murder of Robert Routledge in a piedmont tavern. Edward M. Riley, in "The Ordinaries of Yorktown," William and Mary Quarterly, 2nd ser., XXII (1943), 8-26, reported on the taverns of that port town. A recent study by Alan D. Watson, "Ordinaries in Colonial Eastern North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, XLV (1968), 67-83, provided a contrast to taverns in tidewater Virginia.

The sources for a study of tidewater taverns are scattered. No detailed eighteenth-century description of a Virginia tavern has been located, but from tavern regulations, ordinary rates, licenses and other court records, newspaper advertisements, tavern accounts, diary entries, and travelers' comments one can get some idea of tavern life.

Issues of the Virginia Gazette, published in Williamsburg from 1736 to 1780 by Parks, Hunter, Royle, Purdie, and Purdie and Dixon, Rind, Pinkney, Dixon and Hunter, Dixon and Nicolson, and Clarkson and Davis provided the most use-



ful source for data on tidewater taverns: advertisements for the sale of taverns, notices for the opening and closing of taverns, and announcements of sales, meetings and social events at taverns. Parks's Maryland Gazette, published in Annapolis, and the Richmond papers, Davis's Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser,<sup>and</sup> Nicolson's Virginia Independent and General Advertiser, sometimes furnished additional data on individual tavern keepers.

Ordinary rates approved each year by the county courts and licenses issued annually to tavern keepers were recorded in the county records. Because of the loss of the Hustings Court records for Williamsburg and the records of James City County, it was necessary to depend almost entirely on the records of York County. Selected records from Amelia, Caroline, Goochland, Lancaster, Middlesex, <sup>IX</sup> Norfolk, Spotsylvania, and Surry counties were consulted to show contrasts to prices and services found in York County and to locate information on individual tavern keepers. Wills, inventories, deeds, bonds, and court cases listed in the county records were helpful in compiling biographical data.

The role of the government in regulating taverns was determined from laws found in William Waller Hening, ed., Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the

Laws of Virginia, 13 vols., Richmond: Printed for the Editor, 1810-1813. Other printed documents used included Henry R. McIlwaine and Benjamin J. Hillman, eds., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 5 vol., Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1966; Henry R. McIlwaine and John P. Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 13 vols., Richmond, 1905-1915; Henry R. McIlwaine, ed., Legislative Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 3 vols., Richmond, 1908-1909; William P. Palmer, et al., eds, Calendar of Virginia State Papers and Other Documents Preserved in the Capitol at Richmond, 11 vol., Richmond: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1875-1893. Another documentary source, especially helpful for biographical information on Williamsburg tavern keepers, was Mary Francis Goodwin, ed., The Records of Bruton Parish Church, Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941.

Excerpts of laws, items from the issues of the Virginia Gazette and other newspapers, county records, letters, and accounts, many of which have since been lost, have been printed in issues of Virginia historical magazines: Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine (1919-1929); Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser

(1848-1853); Virginia Magazine of History and Biography (1893 to date); and The William and Mary Quarterly (1892 to date).

Daybooks, ledgers, notebooks, account books, and individual accounts included in the collected papers of Virginia planters, merchants, and craftsmen identified tavern keepers, indicated prices charged for tavern services, and recorded purchases by tavern keepers. The Virginia Gazette Day Books, 1750-1752 and 1764-1766, University of Virginia Library, are particularly valuable, since few issues of the Virginia Gazette for the periods covered by the daybooks have survived. George Washington's detailed Ledgers A and B, Library of Congress, were especially useful because he traveled so extensively over a long period and stopped at many taverns. Thomas Jefferson's Notebook, 1769, University of Virginia Library; the John Mercer Ledger, 1741-1750, Bucks County Historical Society; and the Robert Carter Account Book, 1759-1775, Library of Congress, contain fewer references to taverns than Washington's ledgers, but often refer to additional tavern keepers.

Individual accounts with tavern keepers, suggesting the variety of drinks, the facilities for amusements, and the availability of private dinner and club activities

included: Almanac Diary of John Page, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library; Diary, 1722-1727, of Robert Carter, University of Virginia Library; James Southall Accounts, 1768-1776, Brock Collection, Huntington Library; Greenbriar Store (Sampson and George Mathews) Day Book, April 8, 1771-June 1773, Virginia State Library; separate accounts in the Jones Family Miscellaneous Manuscripts, 1649-1889, Library of Congress, and in the Webb-Prentis Papers, 1757-1780, University of Virginia Library.

Items sold to tavern keepers were studied to determine the variety and quality of produce and beverages served. Purchases of this kind were found in: Account books of Alexander Craig, 1749-1756 and 1761-1763, Galt Papers (used with permission of the Director of Research), Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; William Lightfoot Account Book, 1742-1764, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; account books of James Bray, Carter Burwell and Nathaniel Burwell, Burwell Papers, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; accounts of Neil Jamieson with James Southall in the Jamieson Papers, Library of Congress.

Single manuscripts provided bits of information on certain taverns and tavern keepers: Treasurer's Book, Botetourt Lodge of Masons, and the Minutes of the Williams-

burg Lodge of Masons, owned by the Williamsburg Lodge of Masons; Indentures to Serve in Virginia, Corporation of London Office,<sup>Colonial</sup> Virginia Records Project; and the John S. Charles Memoirs, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives.

Letters, journals and diaries of eighteenth-century travelers gave additional data on tavern services and tavern keepers. The diaries of William Byrd--The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, Richmond: Dietz Press, 1949; The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, New York: Oxford University Press, 1958; and Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741, Richmond: Dietz Press, 1942--contain many details of Williamsburg taverns. Diary entries covering nearly half a century show what taverns Byrd frequented, the main dishes he ate, the games he played, and the beverages he drank.

The Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1770, edited by John C. Fitzpatrick, 4 vols., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, offer comparable coverage of the later period. These diaries, when correlated with Ledgers A and B, are especially helpful; they are not only record where Washington went and with whom he stayed, but what he paid for tavern services. Fitzpatrick's edition,

George Washington, Colonial Traveller, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927, which includes excerpts from the diaries and ledgers, provides an excellent guide. Though Washington's diary and ledger entries are brief, the fact that he frequented many Williamsburg taverns makes his writings helpful in determining when certain tavern keepers were in business.

Other Virginia diaries that mentioned tavern keepers included: The Almanac Diaries of Robert Wormeley Carter, 1764 and 1765, Clements Library, and 1774, American Antiquarian Society; the Robert Rose Diary, ca. 1747-1750, Colonial Williamsburg Research Archives; and the "Diary of John Blair," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., VIII (1899), 1-17, provided details on certain tavern keepers.

The journals and diaries of foreign travelers are an especially useful source for tavern services, since foreigners often commented on things which were different from what they were used to at home. Many of these travelers came from England. Daniel Fisher, himself a tavern keeper, provided many details of the business in his journal. Other Englishmen include: John Bernard, Retrospections of America, 1797-1811, ed. by Mrs. Bayle Bernard, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1887; Charlotte

Browne, "With Braddock's Army: Mrs. Browne's Diary in Virginia and Maryland," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXII (1924), 305-320; Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North America, in the Years 1759 and 1760, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960; Nicholas Cresswell, The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1777, New York: The Dial Press, 1924; Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786, Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr., a Young Merchant of London, San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1943; Edward Kimber, "Observations in Several Voyages and Travels in America," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., XV (1907), 143-159, 215-224; J. F. D. Smyth, "Travels in Virginia, in 1773," Virginia Historical Register, VI (1853), 11-19, 77-90, 131-147; and Harry Toulmin, The Western Country in 1793: Reports on Kentucky and Virginia, ed. by Marion Tinling and Godfrey Davies, San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1948.

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Wright, Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1966; Natural History of Virginia, ed. and tr. by Richmond Beatty and William Mulloy, Richmond: Dietz Press, 1940; Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia, ed. by Richard Morton, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956.

A bibliography and two indexes greatly aided in the location of source material: Jane Carson's Travelers in Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1800: A Bibliography, Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1965, identified eighteenth-century Virginia travelers and its index of Williamsburg facilitated the location of specific references. The Virginia Gazette Index, 1736-1780, ed. by Lester J. Cappon and Stella Duff, 2 vols., Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950, and the Virginia Historical Index, compiled by Earl Gregg Swem, 2 vols., Roanoke: Stone Printing and Manufacturing Company, 1934-1936, made it possible to locate references to taverns and tavern keepers in the extant issues of the Virginia Gazette and in Virginia historical magazines.

I am indebted to the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. for additional bibliographical aids. Information gathered from office files, house histories and research reports--both unpublished and published--provided numerous references to Williamsburg taverns and innkeepers.

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The First Theatre, Hay Cabinet Shop, James Anderson House,  
John Crump House, King's Arms Tavern, Market Square Tavern,  
Wetherburn's Tavern, Pitt-Dixon House, Prentis House,  
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