

Eat, Drink, and Be Merry

Travel in the eighteenth century, and specifically in Virginia, could be a time consuming and occasionally risky venture, no matter who the traveler was. Towns at this time were few and far between, and with the condition of many of the roads, a traveler was fortunate if he had progressed forty or more miles on any given day. Arriving at his destination, the traveler's first priority was to find a place of lodging and entertainment for the comfort and refreshment of himself and his horse. The tavern that he was seeking was at once recognized by a signboard, which had either been suspended from a nearby post, or mounted to a bracket attached to the building. Notices of auctions, horses for sale, runaway slaves or indeed anything else that needed to be advertised, were posted on the tavern's door or to the walls immediately adjacent, and likewise attracted his attention. In the evening, when the signboard was only a mere silhouette, the windows, illuminated by the yellow light of candles, gave a sense of warmth that invited those outside to enter.

Inside, the scent of food and drink, of candles and fireplaces, and the acrid smoke from clay pipes filled with smoldering tobacco filled the public rooms and helped to mask the less favorable smells of the humanity present. Conversation, both amicable and agitated, filled the traveler's ears along with the sound of dice and drinking vessels coming into contact with tables strategically placed so as to accommodate as many customers as possible. These tables, dark with age and stained with marks from former days, provided the setting for grey and white or brown stoneware mugs, polished pewter dinnerware, and glasses filled with various libations, which could cool in the summer or warm in the winter. On the walls were displayed numerous engravings and maps which could serve to stimulate the conversation and in some

cases possibly settle disputes. In the main room stood a bar where the tavern keeper stored his liquid refreshments, along with an array of vessels from which drinks were served.

While some of these observations may seem romanticized, and possibly they are, they are the very images that draw visitors to the restored taverns in cities like Williamsburg, Virginia and elsewhere. Since these taverns filled or attempted to fulfill the basic needs and wants of human comfort, it is little wonder that a fascination still exists with these structures and the various items to be found in them.

My interest in eighteenth century taverns can be traced back to a volume which my Dad especially enjoyed sharing with me when I was young entitled *A Window on Williamsburg*. Since he collected pewter (albeit not eighteenth century examples), we would always pause at the page which showed the dining room of the Raleigh Tavern and its dresser well laden with tankards, chargers, porringers, and other serving pieces, all of his beloved metal. On our first visit to Williamsburg some years later, one of our objectives was to see first hand the items we had seen in that book. While there was some disappointment in the reality, in part due to the brevity of guided tours, what was seen and experienced on that trip, and on many subsequent ones, fostered a passion in me for understanding what the taverns of the time were like, and who the men and women were that operated them.

Whether they were known as a tippling house, ordinary, tavern or coffee house, all public houses in eighteenth century Virginia were required by law to provide certain services, and were further regulated by the county courts, as to the maximum prices that could be charged. A tippling house, as the name implies, was primarily a house where drinks were sold, similar to the English ale house. By Dr. Johnson's definition, an ordinary (pronounced ordinary not ordinary) was "a place of eating established at a certain price;"¹ he then defines a

tavern as “a house where wine is sold and drinkers are entertained.”² In Virginia, taverns served meals in the style of an ordinary, and both provided lodging in the fashion of an inn, making distinctions between them difficult since both served essentially the same purpose. Coffee houses, though rare in rural Virginia, existed in Williamsburg and some other urban locations. Providing the same services as their English counterparts, Virginia’s coffee houses also provided food and lodging.

The men and women who operated the public houses of Virginia came from many different walks of life, and while their personal circumstances might differ, all needed some type of financial backing in order to furnish and stock their businesses. Some, like Henry Wetherburn of Williamsburg, began their career by working in a tavern as an employee, and then later when the opportunity came, opened a tavern of their own. Others practiced a different trade and then later combined that trade with tavern keeping, such as tailoring, barbering and harness making, all of which are services a traveler might require. Some tradesmen kept public houses after leaving their earlier vocation, such as Anthony Hay of Williamsburg who retired from a successful career as a cabinetmaker and then took up tavern keeping at the Raleigh, possibly supplying some of the furnishings the tavern required.

Once established, some ordinaries and taverns remained in the control of one family for years, the business being continued by the widow, child, or other family member. As the duties of the tavern keeper were of a “domestic” nature, the feminine presence in the tavern did not disturb the proprieties of the eighteenth century. Christiana Campbell and Jane Vobe each operated taverns in Williamsburg in the years prior to the Revolution, and both of their taverns were frequented by George Washington. An anonymous French traveler visiting

Williamsburg in 1765 wrote, "...I got a room at Mrs. [Vobe's] tavern, where all the best people resorted."³

Along with the tavern keeper's family and slaves, some of the larger taverns hired bartenders and other servants. Robert Anderson, who operated a tavern in Williamsburg, advertised in the *Virginia Gazette* for "A single man, well recommended, who understands the business of a bar."⁴ As accounts had to be kept, bartenders were required to be able to spell and cipher.

Many of the taverns and ordinaries in eighteenth century Virginia were one and a half story buildings, which apart from their size, appeared no different than many private residences. Like English taverns, most of Virginia's public houses had a sign hanging nearby which enticed potential customers with its presence. Names like: Rising Sun, Indian Queen, King's Arms, Red Lion, and Edinburgh Castle naturally lent themselves to the sign painter's art. The Raleigh tavern in Williamsburg, in addition to its sign, had a bust of Sir Walter Raleigh placed above its main door. The custom of posting notices on the outside of public houses also helped to identify a structure as an ordinary or tavern, even if no other sign was present.

Many taverns, especially those built in the second half of the eighteenth century, had a porch which stretched across the entire front of the building. In addition to affording some protection from the elements, the porch helped to identify the structure as a public house. The kitchen and other service buildings such as stables, smokehouses, and dairies were usually kept in the rear of the main building, while inside the tavern would be a number of rooms set aside for the reception and entertainment of guests. The rooms located on the second floor would be primarily reserved for lodging, while the rooms on the first floor would be used for

food, drink and amusement, as well as the living quarters for the tavern keeper and his or her family.

The most distinctive room found in an ordinary or tavern was the main public room, due in part to the bar and its portcullis like grate from which libations were served. Shelves in the back of the bar held the bottles and drinking vessels needed by the bartender. When the bar was not in use, the grate was lowered and locked to protect the keeper's wares. Drinking vessels of pewter and stoneware, being the most durable, were found in most taverns. Glass vessels were fashionable, but since they were fragile and expensive, their use was limited to those public houses that could afford them.

Next in importance was the public dining room. This room would be located near to the barroom, as liquid refreshment was required with the meals. Like the drinking vessels, the plates and flatware used in the public rooms needed to be substantial to withstand the heavy use they were put to. Pewter was used in most taverns throughout the eighteenth century, with the exception of the finer taverns which by mid-century relied more on china and silverware, partly to impress their clientele.

Taverns located along the major roads or by river crossings usually stood alone, while the towns of Virginia often had multiple public houses. As competition existed between these urban taverns, some of the larger ones would offer enhanced services, such as private dining rooms or bedrooms, to entice potential customers. As a tavern's size increased, so did its capability to provide extra services. In Williamsburg, for example, the Raleigh Tavern acquired a reputation for elaborate private meals and entertainment, so much so, that while George Washington and Thomas Jefferson dined and spent their evenings at the Raleigh, their

lodgings for the night were usually elsewhere, possibly to escape the noise of the boisterous crowds.

Prior to the opening of any public house, the prospective tavern or ordinary keeper petitioned the county court for an “ordinary license.” The county court then had the responsibility to determine if the petitioner had the financial “ability to find and provide continually, all things necessary for entertainment, and have housing [fit] for the same.”⁵ Having provided bond in the sum of ten thousand pounds of tobacco, the petitioner then agreed to “provide...good, wholesome, and cleanly lodging and diet for travelers, and stableage, fodder, and provender, or pasturage, and provender, as the season shall require, for their horses... [furthermore they]...shall not suffer or permit any unlawful gaming...nor on the Sabbath day permit any person to tipple and drink any more than is necessary...”⁶

Posted on a wall in the main public room, a rate list detailed the prices for these services along with the cost of various drinks. Issued each March by the county court, this list reflected what was available, or could be available in that particular public house. On a rate list from 1746 for Albemarle County, the price for a simple meal was listed as six pence, while lodging for the night cost only four. While this may seem to be a bargain, it should be noted that this four pence only entitled the traveler to what might be termed as bed space. Rooms set aside for sleeping would contain as many beds as conveniently fit into them, and in addition to sharing the room with others, at times of high occupancy, the traveler would be expected to use only half of the bed, the other half being reserved for another guest.

Other problems with sleeping arrangements could arise, as was the case with the Marquis de Chastellux at the ordinary of Mrs. Teaze in Waynesboro. Mrs. Teaze and her family gave up their beds for the use of the Marquis and his company. As the group

concluded their arrangements, a young man entered the room to retrieve some medicine. When the Marquis asked what the medicine was for, the youth replied “Oh not much, only a little itch.” While the Marquis appreciated the young man’s openness, he was thankful that he had brought his own sheets to use on the bed.⁷ It is interesting to note that a Middlesex County rate list used the phrase “One nights lodging with clean sheets”⁸ in describing its rates. Unfortunately for the Marquis, some of the other counties did not.

Returning to the Albemarle rate list, there were two types of meals listed that the traveler could obtain. The first, “a Diet of Two or Three Dishes and small beer-twelve pence,”⁹ refers to dinner, which was served in the early afternoon, and was the main meal of the day. The second, “a Common or Cold Diet-six pence,”¹⁰ would be for either a breakfast, served in the early morning, or a supper, which was served in the early evening. The quality and quantity of food that was received for these six or twelve pence varied with each establishment and ultimately depended on various factors, some of which were in the power of the cook or tavern keeper to control, while others were not.

The personal preferences of the tavern keeper as to what constituted a “good wholesome diet”, along with how loose or tight their purse strings were could determine what the cook might actually be able to provide. A good cook, with only the sparsest of provisions, could have the ability or creativity to transform a few simple ingredients into a prized dish that was relished by all, while a poor or possibly inexperienced cook, even when surrounded with plenty, might struggle, producing a dish that was barely edible. As most meals in the eighteenth century relied heavily on meat, bread, and various sweets, the cook was constantly challenged to add variety to the dishes that were served. Fruits and vegetables, either grown on the tavern’s property or purchased from local sources, were a welcome addition to the

menu; however, as most were only available for a short time that they were in season, various means had to be employed if they were to be preserved for later consumption.

Taverns in urban locations, like Williamsburg, could obtain some of their supplies from the local merchants. Advertisements placed in the *Virginia Gazette* give some idea as to the variety of their wares. Raisins, currants, figs, prunes, lemons and citron were available, as were olives, anchovies, mushrooms, almonds, and walnuts. Spices were also advertised, including white ginger, nutmeg, mace, cloves, cinnamon, pepper and allspice. Luxuries like comfits and candies, along with grains like barley and rice augmented what the tavern keeper could offer.

Unlike households, which also had to have food supplies laid in, taverns needed to provide for a fluctuating number of travelers which could change throughout the day. The location of the tavern determined in part what the flow of customers would amount to. An ordinary located on one of the major roads, or at a ferry crossing might have a fairly constant and predictable number of guests, while a tavern located near a court house might experience a fluctuating number, being packed during those times the court was in session, while thinly populated when it was not.

Both of these establishments required a source of meat which could be kept on hand, ready for meals when needed. Two ready sources of meat were smoked ham, or bacon as it was then commonly called, or poultry which could be kept alive until needed. One British traveler, Nicholas Cresswell, in 1774 wrote, "Have had either Bacon or Chickens every meal since I came in to the Country. If I continue in this way [I] shall be grown over with Bristles or Feathers."¹¹ Eggs were also served to travelers as Chastellux recounts in a meal at

Boswell's tavern in Louisa County, "Our breakfast the next morning was better; we had ham, butter, fresh eggs, and coffee with milk for drink."¹²

William Byrd, II, of Westover, was a member of the Council of Virginia, and as such made frequent visits to Williamsburg. Recording in his diaries his visits to the taverns, Byrd also made note of some of his meals. In addition to the previously mentioned chicken and pork, Byrd was also served beef, mutton, venison, fish, and various shellfish. These meats, along with other game and fowl, were frequently found on the tables of taverns elsewhere. As some of these meats could not be preserved with much success, they had to be consumed while fresh, and so their use would be limited to those times when the occupancy at the tavern warranted it.

These services of lodging and diet were of the utmost importance to the traveler's comfort, yet it should be recalled that by definition taverns were houses where "drinkers are entertained," Just how much they were entertained depended on the personal preferences of the traveler, and whether the tavern keeper's stock was sufficient to meet the traveler's expectations. Some idea of the variety of drinks that might be available can be determined from the annual rate lists issued by each county. One such rate list from 1770 for Middlesex County, has prices for eight types of wine, three types of brandy, four different mixtures of punch, two kinds of cider, four varieties of ale or beer and one type of rum, while another rate list, this one from 1782 for Rockingham County, has less variety, listing two types of brandy and only one heading each for rum, wine, cider, and malt beer.

One rate list that appeared critical in the tone of its descriptions was from Isle of Wight County, which in 1774 differentiated between rums as either "Good Barbadoes Rum," ten shillings per gallon, or "New England and other bad rums,"¹³ five shillings per gallon.

Also known as “kill-devil,” rum was a staple in taverns though not always held in high esteem. William Byrd, II, wrote in his *Progress to the Mines*, “...we reached Caroline court house, where Col. Armstead and Col. Will. Beverley, have each of them 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 a more vulgar taste.”¹⁴ Rum was used as the spirit in several drinks popular in the eighteenth century, including grog, sling, bumbo, toddy, shrub and punch. What made each of these drinks different was the combination, either singly or together, of water, sugar, nutmeg, lemons or oranges.

Two other spirits that were commonly found in taverns were arrack and brandy. Arrack, or rack as it was sometimes called, was distilled from the fermented sap of the cocopalms and was often used as an additive in punch. One Williamsburg tavern keeper, Henry Wetherburn, must have been proficient in mixing this libation for in 1736 William Randolph conveyed two hundred acres in Goochland County to Peter Jefferson, in consideration of “Henry Wetherburn’s biggest bowl of arrack punch.”¹⁵

Brandy, which was most likely one of the polite liquors that Byrd spoke of, was available in the taverns as either domestic or imported. Nantes or French brandy was the most expensive costing as much as sixteen shillings a gallon, while the English or Virginia varieties usually cost a little less than the imported rum. Some of the types of Virginia brandy included cherry, peach, raspberry, and apple (also known as cider brandy or apple jack). In addition to being consumed by the dram, brandy was also used as a spirit in punch as well as an ingredient in some other drinks.

Some of the other spirits that were available in the taverns included whiskey, citron water, aniseed water, cordials, and gin. Whiskey was mentioned in the Albemarle County rate

list for 1746, yet it was not until the trade restrictions leading up to and during the American Revolution that whiskey acquired any wide spread popularity.

In addition to brandy, the other “polite” drink which William Byrd spoke of was wine. Although the varieties that might be served in the taverns seem to be endless, certain wines were more common and so deserve special mention. Faial, Canary, and Madeira wines from the Spanish and Portuguese islands off the western coast of Africa were especially popular, and appear frequently on the county rate lists. Madeira, which was fortified with brandy, was also used as an ingredient in their sangaree or lemonade. Sangaree, which comes from the Spanish for blood, was a mixture of red wine, water, sugar and nutmeg. Other Spanish and Portuguese wines, such as Sherry and Port were often listed, along with the French Claret and Rhenish wines. While the bulk of the wines served in the taverns were imported, county rate lists and the estate inventories of tavern keepers show that some Virginia wine was also available, though not in the quantity shared by the imports.

Cider of both English and Virginia manufacture was a common beverage in the taverns. Locally made ciders included apple, crab apple, peach, and pear (otherwise known as perry). Fresh cider was served as a beverage with meals, while fermented cider was consumed much the same as wine.

Most of the stronger varieties of beer, along with ale and porter, were shipped from England, with Bristol Beer being one of the most popular. Locally brewed small beer was occasionally made with cakes of persimmons, according to Hugh Jones who in 1726 further stated “...the common small Beer is made of [molasses], which makes extraordinary brisk good tasted liquor, at a cheap rate, with little trouble in brewing; so that they have it fresh and fresh, as they want it in Winter and Summer.”¹⁶ A popular drink called flip was a mixture of

beer, rum, sugar or molasses, and egg. After blending the ingredients together, the mixture was heated with a hot poker to give the flip the burnt taste that the drinker craved.

Accompanying their evening libations at the taverns, customers could expect certain forms of amusement to be present. Some tavern keepers owned fiddles or harpsichords, and the songs sung in England most certainly found their way into Virginia's taverns. Travelers could also bring their own accompaniment for songs in the form of a flute or violin, or even a kit, a small traveling violin that fit in the traveler's pocket.

Whether called gaming or gambling, most of the taverns could provide their patrons with either dice or cards for a friendly game. An anonymous French traveler who visited Williamsburg in 1765 during a session of the General Assembly left these impressions of the town during his stay, "...never was a more disagreeable place than this at present. In the day time people hurrying back and forwards from the capitol to the taverns, and at night, carousing and drinking in one chamber and box and dice in another, which continues till morning commonly. There is not a public house in Virginia but have their tables all battered with the boxes..."¹⁷

Depending on the size of the tavern or the resources of the tavern keeper, other types of gaming might be available including cribbage, backgammon and billiards. Smallest and least expensive of these would be the cribbage board and its cards, followed by the backgammon table with its markers and dice, and finally the billiard table along with its sticks and other equipment. While some taverns devoted a room for billiards, others had an outbuilding designated as the billiard house. Either way, the two billiard players were often surrounded with spectators whose wagers contributed to the excitement of the game.

More commonly found at the rural taverns were outdoor sports such as ninepins, bowls and quoits. As these required not only a level playing field, but also daylight and good weather to be played, their use was most likely limited to those times when crowds were drawn to the tavern for reasons such as county court sessions or fairs. Other sports like cock fights were sometimes held at taverns. Chastellux, who witnessed a match at Willis's ordinary, stated that planters had traveled thirty to forty miles to attend. As the participants (the planters not the fowl) needed refreshment and lodging, a tavern would be the most obvious place to stage such a match. For the same reasons, horse races were held near taverns, often being sponsored by the tavern keeper, who also cared for the horses and took in subscriptions for the race.

Although the public houses were primarily for the accommodation of travelers, some of the larger taverns also served to meet the needs of the many social, political and business functions of the community. Balls were given in celebration of the King's birth night and also the anniversary of his accession to the throne. In 1771, Lord Dunmore, Governor of Virginia, gave an anniversary ball at his residence, and according to the *Virginia Gazette*, "The Raleigh Tavern likewise, by direction of his Excellency, was opened for the entertainment of such as might incline to spend the evening there."¹⁸ Balls were given once a week while the General Assembly was in session at the Raleigh and Henry Wetherburn's tavern, both of which had sufficient space for such an event. Ann Shields, whose tavern lacked sufficient space, took in subscriptions for a ball to be given at the James City County court house.

Less frequently the taverns of Williamsburg played host to lecturers, actors and artists. In 1767, actor William Verling performed a satire on physiognomy by George Alexander Stevens entitled "A lecture upon heads" in the great room of the Raleigh Tavern. In March of

1773, portrait artist Matthew Pratt exhibited some of his work, consisting primarily of Christian and mythological themes, in Jane Vobe's tavern in Williamsburg. In addition to his own work, Pratt also had "a number of choice prints [and] a few copies of some of [Benjamin] West's best portraits."¹⁹

In addition to their public areas some of the larger taverns had private rooms in which formal dinners or private meetings could be held. Speculative businesses such as the Ohio Company and the Mississippi Company met in the taverns in Williamsburg, as did various political groups. Two of the most famous political meetings held in Williamsburg's taverns occurred in 1769 when Governor Botetourt dissolved the House of Burgesses and in 1774 when Governor Dunmore did the same. On both occasions the former burgesses reconvened as a group at the Raleigh Tavern. Of the two, the second meeting had the greatest impact on the events of the day. The eighty-nine former burgesses that met at the Raleigh formed an association that boycotted tea, along with other British imports, and a call was issued for a continental congress.

Private rooms were also rented for the use of clubs. Tavern clubs in Virginia, though less formal than their counterparts in London and larger cities like Boston or Philadelphia, essentially served the same basic purpose of bringing together a group of like minded individuals to share in an evening's entertainment. George Washington's diaries, for example, frequently mention his club expenses at the taverns during his visits to Williamsburg as a burgess. Clubs could also meet for a private dinner in the tavern, at which time specially prepared dishes would be served. The added expense for this service would then be shared by each individual participant.

Whether for a ball, formal dinner, or a club, some of the larger taverns had an array of serving pieces that could present the food in the most appealing fashion as possible. Anthony Hay's estate inventory lists "glass for pyramids" along with silver serving pieces which would have been reserved for special occasions. Henry Wetherburn's inventory which lists jelly, sweetmeat, and syllabub glasses, along with wine decanters among its serving pieces appears similarly capable of putting on a good display.

These refinements, though necessary in the better taverns of Virginia's capitol, would have seemed pretentious had they been found on the tables of some backwoods ordinary, and yet, these remote ordinaries with their simple furnishings and limited diet likewise served the needs of the region in which they were located.

Although many of the ordinaries visited by Chastellux on his journey to Virginia's natural bridge had meager furnishings and provisions, he singled out the ordinary kept by Mrs. Teaze in Waynesboro as "...one of the worst lodging places in all America."²⁰ While this may be true, it should be noted that for the previous four days Chastellux had been a guest at Monticello enjoying the hospitality, conversation and comforts offered by Jefferson. Following such a visit, it would be an exceptional public house that could hope to provide anything comparable.

Chastellux frequently mentions his conversations with the public house proprietors and other guests, an activity which played no small part in whether he considered his stay satisfactory or not. Being of a gregarious nature, Chastellux enjoyed telling of his experiences and listening to those of others, whereas Johann Schoepf preferred lodging in private houses, his reason being that in private houses "...one has to submit to a general interrogation but once...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.”²¹

The topics discussed in the taverns of Virginia, much like the conversations at the Literary Club on Monday nights, would defy generalization. Subjects dealing with politics and certain current affairs might cause tempers to flair, especially in the years prior to and during the Revolution. Less volatile but equally important would be the news shared by travelers from different parts of the colony, news that was often absent from the papers of the day. As a forum for the interests and concerns of the patrons, the public houses of the eighteenth century possibly provided their most far reaching service, along with being the simplest and most common form of amusement.

The satisfaction of the traveler with the public houses of Virginia depended on a combination of the quality of the amenities, the disposition of the proprietor, and the nature of the crowd. If all three were to the traveler’s liking, he would be content and want to return again, along with possibly recommending the establishment to others. On the other hand, when any of the above met with his disapproval, his opinion of the public house as a whole would suffer.

While the nature of what influenced the traveler’s opinions or possible biases is beyond the scope of this paper, or my interests, it should be noted that these variables along with those previously mentioned, created a situation in which the proprietor would have little hope in receiving anything close to a favorable consensus on his or her efforts. These efforts were further hindered during the Revolution with trade restrictions, and in the years following as Virginia worked to repair the damage caused by the war’s campaigns. Unfavorable

opinions written during this time often fail to consider that the public houses were doing the best they could with the resources they had available.

Not every tavern in eighteenth century Virginia could be a Raleigh or Wetherburn's, just as today not every hotel deserves a five star rating. There has always been and always will be a need for a variety of establishments, ranging from the most basic to the more ostentatious. If the eighteenth century traveler entered a rural ordinary and expected the services normally provided by a city tavern, then they would be just as disappointed as a present day traveler who checks into a Motel 6 and expects the amenities and hospitality of the Greenbrier.

In the end, the honest tavern keeper of Virginia could only hope that through his or her efforts, one of the customers might be inclined to write as William Shenstone did:

“Whoe'er has travell'd lifes dull round,
Where'er his stages may have been,
May sigh to think he still has found,
The warmest welcome at an inn.”²²

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¹ Johnson, Samuel, A Dictionary of the English Language, 3rd Edition, London, 1766.

² Ibid

³ Anonymous, “Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765,” American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), p. 741.

⁴ Virginia Gazette, Purdie & Dixon Publishers, Feb. 28, 1771, p. 3, Col. 3.

⁵ Hening, William Waller, Statutes at Large, Richmond, 1810-1813, Vol. 3, p. 396.

⁶ Ibid, p. 397.

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- ⁷ Chastellux Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782, Chapel Hill, 1963, Vol. 2, p. 402.
- ⁸ Extracts from Virginia County Records, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 12, p.188.
- ⁹ Albemarle County 1746, William & Mary College Quarterly, 2nd Series, Vol. VII, p. 136
- ¹⁰ Ibid
- ¹¹ Cresswell, Nicholas, The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, New York, 1924, p.20.
- ¹² Chastellux Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782, Chapel Hill, 1963, Vol. 2, p.388.
- ¹³ Isle of Wight County Records, William & Mary College Quarterly, 1st Series, Vol. VII, p. 270.
- ¹⁴ Byrd, William, A journey to the Land of Eden and Other Papers, Vanguard Press, 1928, p. 361-362.
- ¹⁵ A Study of Taverns of Virginia, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, N.D., p.8.
- ¹⁶ Jones, Hugh, The Present State of Virginia, London, 1724, p.52.
- ¹⁷ Anonymous, "Journal of a French Traveler in the colonies in 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (1921), p.742-743.
- ¹⁸ Virginia Gazette, Purdie & Dixon Publishers, Oct. 31, 1771, p. 2, col. 1.
- ¹⁹ Ibid, March 4, 1773, p. 3, col. 2
- ²⁰ Chastellux Travels in North America in the years 1780, 1781 and 1782, Chapel Hill, 1963, vol. 2, p. 402.
- ²¹ Schoepf, Johann David, Travels in the Confederation, New York, 1968, vol. 2, p. 35-36.
- ²² Gilfillan, Rev. George, The Poetical Works of William Shenstone, New York, 1854, p 85.