

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 1

Comments by the Author

It is with joy that I recount my “Richmond Memories” of the great hotels of the 1950s of which I was intimately familiar, not only as a citizen of Richmond but also the nephew of the Richmond hotelier, Lee Paschall.

To better appreciate these memories I also set about to understand the founding and growth of Richmond (once called Nonsuch) and its hospitality industry.

In 1609, two years after English colonists founded Jamestown, Captain John Smith established a settlement called Nonsuch on land acquired from the Powhatan Confederacy. The spot was near the falls of what colonists called the James River and the native tribes’ confederacy called Powhatan—both names honoring each group’s respective king. Smith described the location as “No place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Nonsuch”. With fertile land and riverfront access, Nonsuch was a successful inland port for colonial Virginia. After Robert Rocketts established a ferry there in 1730, the location came to be known as Rocketts Landing. In 1733, the surrounding area was established as the town that would eventually become Virginia’s capital: Richmond [Virginia Water Resources Research Center, 2019].

My keenest memories were threefold. Sunday lunches at the Hotel Richmond dining room were a treat. The food served on tables covered with white linen was, of course, memorable. In addition, the exit from the hotel elevator into the dining room anteroom, filled with paintings of 1860 – 1865 battle scenes, was especially memorable to a young child.

Lastly, there was the glorious nighttime view from the top of Cary Street at the turn down the hill into Richmond with the bright, lighted, rooftop signs from the roofs of the Hotel John Marshall, and the Hotel Richmond plus the glow of Broad Street.

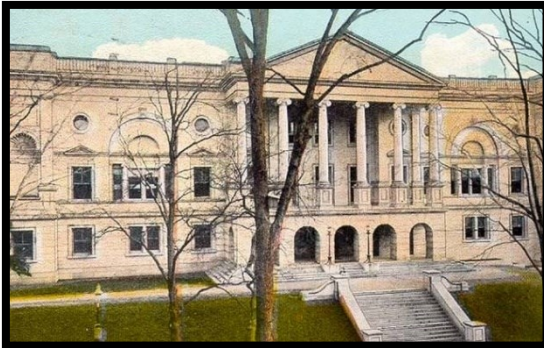


Hotel John Marshall, McPherson Design Group Photo

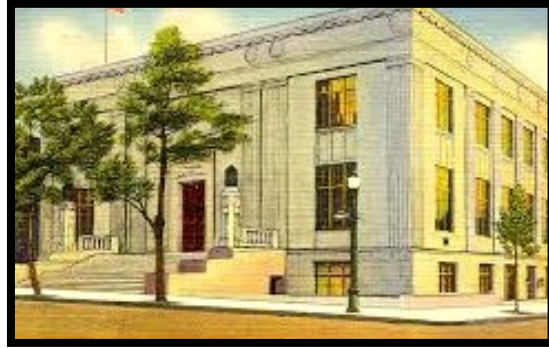
Richmond Memories

Both these hotels along with the Hotel William Byrd , the Hotel King Carter and the Chamberlin Hotel at Old Point Comfort, Virginia were owned and operated by Richmond Hotels, Inc. Richmond Hotels, Inc. was led by Lee Paschall, originally from Wise, North Carolina. Lee Paschall's sister was married to my great-grandfather.

Not knowing the history of those hotels and their predecessors, I started my journey into the past with a somewhat uncertain smile on my face. I was on the way to the great libraries of Virginia and North Carolina.



Virginia State Library (c. 1960)



Richmond Public Library (c. 1960)

The Great Libraries of Richmond

As someone who enjoyed the great libraries of Richmond when I was a youth, returning to them as a researcher was a homecoming that I thoroughly enjoyed.

In addition, a return to the beautiful Louis Round Wilson Library in Chapel Hill after an absence of forty years since my graduate school days was also a joy. To top it off, visits to the State of North Carolina Archives and Library Building in Raleigh were soon to come.



State Library of North Carolina



Louis Round Wilson Library

The Great Libraries of North Carolina

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

The many trips to my previous home city of Richmond, Virginia, were always enjoyable when they included visits with my Collegiate School buddies Ben Greenbaum, John Robertson and their respective wives Bonnie and Fran. Many days and nights were spent discussing the Richmond of old. My hours of research went by so much better when they were there to help.

Ben and John are well known experts in many of the historical topics which are found in this book. Ben, an ISA appraiser and co-owner of Perry Adams Antiques, Petersburg, Virginia, was my expert in all things regarding antique photographs, and the Civil War.

John Robertson, owner of Robertson & Company Custom Builders, Inc. served as my resource concerning topics related to historical Richmond neighborhoods.



Ben Greenbaum



John Robertson

It was an unexpected treat to reconnect with Raymond Wallace, Jr., author of, *Essex Memories & Beyond*. Ray and I go back to the 1946 – 1960 period during which time he was a keen observer of all things related to Lee Paschall of Richmond Hotels, Inc., and Wise Contracting Company.



Raymond Wallace, Jr.

Richmond Memories

Lee Paschall was described as “the most important building contractor and hotel developer in Richmond in the first half of the twentieth Century” by Robert P. Winthrop, partner at Winthrop, Jenkins, and Associates, a Virginia-based architecture firm.

Both Raymond and I remember that whenever we would visit Lee Paschall in his back office at Wise Contracting Company with our respective fathers, a shiny, silver quarter would be deposited in our young hands by this kindly man. Additional information on Lee Paschall can be found in Chapter 16 of this book.

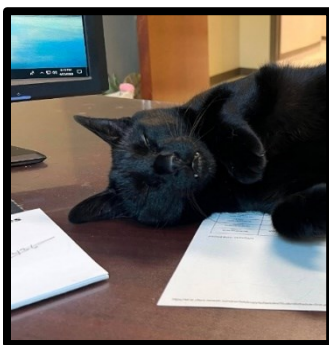
Lastly, this book could not have been written without the help of my wife and professional librarian, Brenda Weeks Coleman, PhD, author of, *Keeping the Faith: The Public Library's Commitment to Adult Education, 1950—2006.*



Brenda W. Coleman, PhD

Being an academic author, Brenda encouraged me to always use source documents to collaborate unsourced material. Brenda has given me good advice for the past fifty years since we met and later married.

Keeping a close eye on the recording of every word in this book was the office cat, “Edgar”. Named in honor of Richmond’s Edgar Allan Poe, he had the final word on all things feline and canine related. He closely watched every keystroke and examined every photograph from his favorite position on the author’s desk. He was a friend to all that visited the office. Visitors to the office could not miss this “Editor-In-Residence”.



Edgar (Allan Poe), Editor-In-Residence, At Work

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 2

Introduction

Romance and charm are words that come to mind when one thinks of the quaint gathering places of colonial Richmond called taverns. They once administered to the needs of travelers and civic minded citizens alike who found them admirably suited for the task. They have subsequently been replaced by the hotel, which continues the tradition, albeit at a different scale and in a different way [Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia, Sun, Sep 30, 1934, Page 59].

No other chapter of local history is so fragrant with the flavor of Richmond. In these taverns the beaux and belles of a generation long gone danced the minuet and entertained the celebrities of that day. Here the traditions of the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg, the most famous of all taverns, were maintained by the Richmond families of that day [Richmond Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia, Sun, Sep 30, 1934, Page 59]

The Marquis de Lafayette, Washington and other notables lent grace and distinction to taverns such as the Swan (see page 120), the Bell (see page 188), the Eagle (see page 138), the Washington (see page 169), Mann's Tavern (see page 131) and others. Four great occasions stand out in Richmond's colonial and early national history. The first was in 1784, three years after independence had been achieved at Yorktown, with a visit to Richmond of George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette. The war had not been long over and the people were poor, but the visit of these distinguished men was celebrated with all the magnificence of the times. A public dinner was given them at Bell Tavern, and the Revolutionary officers and soldiers, the militia, officers of the State and town and citizens escorted them to the place. The Legislature was in session and took occasion to show them special honor [Christian, W. Asbury, 1912].

The second occasion was in 1791 when Washington again visited the city. The people in large numbers came to meet him, and he was entertained at dinner at the Eagle Tavern. When the Common Hall was informed that the President of the United States was hourly expected in the city on his way South, a meeting was called and the mayor, George Nicholson, Recorder David Lambert, John Barret, Alex. McRobert, Robert Mitchell, and Henry Banks were appointed a committee to prepare and present an address to him [Christian, W. Asbury, 1912].

Thomas Jefferson's trip to the capital city in 1809 after having served two terms as President of the United States was the third momentous occasion. On Thursday afternoon, 19 October 1809, a carriage stopped before Swan Tavern, which stood on Broad street not far from Tenth. Its occupant alighted and went in; his distinguished appearance, attracted attention, for it was Thomas Jefferson. He had finished his two terms as President of the United States March 4th and had come to Richmond on some private business [Christian, W. Asbury, 1912].

The fourth event, in 1825, was when General Lafayette again visited the city. As early as July the volunteer companies of the city met and proposed to give him a reception at Yorktown on 19

Richmond Memories

October, 1825, and to invite all the troops of the State to join them. All of the companies of the State responded, and a great meeting, commemorating the victory of American independence, was arranged. The Richmond Light Infantry Blues, the Artillery Company, the Rifle Rangers, the Governor and his council, the Chief Justice of the United States, the judges of the Court of Appeals, and the citizens set out on the 16 October for Yorktown. In the meantime several public meetings had been held and extensive arrangements were made for the general's visit to Richmond. Governor Pleasants offered the mansion for his reception, but it was thought best to secure a suite of fine rooms for the party, and twenty rooms for the officers of the Revolutionary War at the Eagle Hotel [Christian, W. Asbury, 1912].

Later, during the antebellum period, the Washington's equestrian statue's corner-stone was laid in the presence of President Zachary Taylor. On February 22, 1850, in the presence of President Zachary Taylor, former President John Tyler, and many other dignitaries and a crowd of thousands, the cornerstone was laid. Thomas Crawford's design was selected in a competition. The bronze statue was cast in Germany and arrived in Richmond late in 1857, just weeks after Crawford died suddenly at age 47. Following the cornerstone ceremony President Taylor attended a Masonic ball at the Union Tavern (see page 179) [Daily Richmond Times, Volume 75, Number 355, 25 February 1850].

The hotels in Richmond today are modern examples of the abundant hospitality of these old colonial taverns such as the Bell, Swan, Union and Eagle. They also have the spacious beauty of the Exchange and Ballard of the 1860s. There have been, of course, famous hostelries continuously since the establishment of Richmond's first tavern, Richard Leven's Tavern/Ordinary (see page 82) in 1717 [The Richmond News Leader, 28 Aug 1926, Sat, Page 36].

In the early days the demand on the part of travelers and visitors for food and overnight lodging were usually met by the provision of rooms (or beds) rented by the night in buildings provided by private enterprise, unless capital for that purpose exceeded local resources. In that case, institutions or landowners would provide guest lodging. Over time, the building types that served travelers changed in response to changing levels of prosperity and demand. The American luxury hotel, typified by Richmond's Jefferson Hotel (See page 368) of 1895, and the John Marshall (see page 447) of 1929, had their origins in the early nineteenth-century taverns and hotels financed by merchants and developers to ease travel, promote business interests, and answer civic and social needs [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Taverns, ordinaries, and hotels served Richmond's visitors and residents as places of residence and resort. Virginia's public social life, often associated with consumption of spirits, was largely led in taverns and drinking establishments operated in specialized buildings or in rooms licensed for the purpose in dwellings. Upper floors were divided up into sleeping rooms. Licensing of such multiple accommodations and the sale of alcohol ensured their reliability and profitability, while providing income for the city in the form of fees and taxes. Such accommodations were little more than dormitories or small rooms arranged along corridors. Taverns and the later hotels, tended to be built at transportation nodes or near places where visitors gathered or disembarked from wagons, trains, or automobiles [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

In the earliest days, the taverns' entertaining rooms, although privately owned and managed, were often the only available venue for public meetings and official transactions. Taverns provided space for many other community functions, including polling places, courtrooms, and post offices. Indicative of the significance of their predominantly male environment during the Revolution, men used taverns as meeting places for military training activities. Following the Revolution, men continued to meet here for the sociability and fraternization that these drinking houses provided [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The accommodations ranged from small and inexpensive to what amounted to a kind of civic institution. The grander hostelries were provided with architectural form and ornament and were the sites of important civic banquets and social events. Whether modest or grand, taverns and hotels express the social and aesthetic yearnings of cities for a kind of public palace, a civic building available to all who can afford to pay for what it provides [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Gentility and refinement were crucial to early nineteenth century American society. During this period, ideas associated with gentility and refinement shaped both public and private buildings, and the men who occupied them. Taverns, as public buildings, were particularly shaped by the growth of architecture, as a profession. As the development of architecture as a professional field occurred, American leaders, like Thomas Jefferson, sought to use architecturally appealing buildings to present an image of the United States to the rest of the world. Strong, durable, and aesthetically pleasing buildings symbolized the strength and capabilities of the new nation [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

Richmond's use of wood as a first building material, followed by red brick and ornamental ironwork are iconic to the southern charm of this city. Red bricks or painted bricks were paired with carved wooden or stone classical pediments and decorative ironwork facades. It is interesting to note that the first American iron and brick supplies were manufactured in Richmond, thus facilitating the early use of these materials in tavern and hotel construction [Paglialong, Kristin, 2015]. These materials were later supplemented with concrete and steel to enable the construction of the multistoried edifices of the gilded age and beyond.

Therefore, in order to understand this development of taverns and hotels in Richmond, one must first understand the design, development and construction of the city and its early neighborhoods and commercial areas.

Richmond Memories

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 3

The Development Of Early Richmond

In 1609, the first permanent English settlement in the vicinity of the future Richmond began in the area that would later become known as Rocketts. Later that year, Capt. John Smith purchased the tract of land on which the Powhatan village stood from the Native Americans. This tract was located about three miles from the initial settlement. Smith named it “Nonsuch” for its unparalleled beauty and attempted to establish a small garrison. Perpetual attacks by the local Native Americans, however, forced abandonment of the land and the English took up residence along the river, probably in present-day Fulton Bottom, for a short time before returning back to Jamestown. Despite the hardships endured, the English continued to attempt a permanent settlement along the James River. The village of Henricus was established in 1611, to be followed by Henrico County which encompassed 11 present-day counties [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

Soon after the founding of Henricus on Farrar’s Island on the James River, a wealthy English businessman and investor named John Rolfe claimed a large plantation east of the town to grow tobacco for the purpose of undercutting the high Spanish prices. He became one of the earliest tobacco growers in the colony on his plantation known as Varina. Rolfe married Pocahontas, the daughter of Chief Powhatan [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

This union helped ease the tensions that continued to simmer between the local native tribes and the English; however the peace was short lived and in 1622 the tribes staged a massive coordinated attack against villages and plantations throughout the colony. Despite these adverse conditions, the Virginia Company continued to order settlers to re-occupy abandoned land for fear of losing their investment in the colony. People clustered initially along rivers and navigable creeks, then moved inland as the most desirable land was exhausted [Moore, 1976]. Tobacco and its subsequent profits determined the pattern of nearly every aspect of early life in Virginia, encompassing the economy, the cultural landscape, and social relations [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

Robert Coleman, the multiple great grandfather of the author, was a headright of William Farrar, who received 2,000 acres in Henrico County, Virginia in 1637, for the importation of forty English indentured servants. These 2,000 acres were located on what would become known as Farrar’s Island. Robert would have been approximately fifteen years old at the time of his arrival in Virginia. As time went on the use of indentured servants would be replaced by slaves from Africa and the Caribbean. [Coleman, James Michael Paschall III, Bogalusa, 2022].

On 18 April 1644, the natives of the Powhatan Confederacy made another attempt to drive the colonists back east. The colonists responded by erecting forts at the fall lines of the major rivers, including Fort Charles at the falls of the James River. A year later, however, a peace treaty was made with the Indians which helped to quell the violence [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

Richmond Memories

During the following peaceful time, in the spring of 1656 the Native Americans and English formed an uneasy alliance. An aggressive band of Native Americans, and proclaimed enemies of the Pamunkeys, the Rechahecrean, who were possibly members of the Cherokees, Senecas, or Monacans, moved east from the Piedmont and settled on the north side of the James River. The Pamunkey and English mounted a joint expedition to force them out [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

It is believed that fighting took place in the vicinity of present-day Marshall and 31st Streets in Richmond. And it is local lore that the voracity of the fighting caused the waterway that drains into Gillies Creek, to be named Bloody Run. The battle resulted in defeat of the Virginians and Pamunkeys. Additionally, Chief Totopotomoy was killed and Edward Hill of Shirley, commander of the militia, was shamed [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

Between 1659 and 1663, Thomas Stegg, Jr acquired 1,800 acres on the south side of the James River, on which his home "Falls Plantation" stood, and 1,280 acres on the north side of the river. It appears that the rough topography of "steep hills and rocky ravines" led him to abandon his land on the north side of the James River. Following his death in 1671, Stegg's nephew William Byrd inherited the land. Byrd established a trading post at the fall line and increased his landholdings to 26,000 acres. In 1702, William Byrd I sold 100 acres to Gilly Gromarrin who lends his name to Gillies Creek. It appears that his land was along the James River south of Gillies Creek; a hill in the area has alternatively been called Powhatan, Fulton's, Marrin's, or Marrian Hill. The flow of Gillies Creek has been altered over time and it is now channelized [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

As population slowly increased in Virginia and the western frontier shifted farther west, settlers cleared uplands and drained wetlands for tobacco cultivation. The early eighteenth century landscape along the James River was a haphazard assortment of worn and working tobacco fields and frame dwellings; small villages began to form around tobacco warehouses. There was a mill at Rocketts Landing and a plantation; additional land was leased land to tenants [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

The Warehouse Act of 1730 designated the falls of the James River as a required location for a tobacco inspector station. This increased the importance of the area and Byrd built a tobacco warehouse. By 1730, Robert Rocketts established a ferry near the confluence of Gillies Creek and the James River, across from Falls Plantation and just downstream from the James River falls. This area became known as Rocketts Landing [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

What gave Rocketts Landing and the soon to be established Richmond fame and regard is the falls of the James River, The lower terminus of these is next the town ; but their whole breadth or extent is seven miles upstream to Westham, a small place, and in this distance the total perpendicular fall of the water is only seventy-one feet, according to an exact measurement said to have been made [Morrison, Alfred J., 1911].

Hence the falls are of themselves inconsiderable, and one looks in vain for high rock-walls over which the water plunges straight down; but a vast number of great and small fragments of rock fill the bed of the river as far as the eye can see, and through these the current, with foaming uproar,

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

makes its way. What with the help of devious banks and the forests on both sides, the impression from a view of the whole is great and pleasing. The noise of the falls, especially at night, was heard not only throughout the town but, before the wind, for several miles around [Morrison, Alfred J., 1911].

The James River, up from its mouth in the Bay, is one of the greatest and most beautiful of American streams, and on account of the profitable tobacco-trade which it facilitates and furthers, one of the richest. It is navigable for large merchantmen as far up as three miles below Richmond, that is, below the falls. The tide comes up to the falls. From Westham on beyond the falls, only flat-boats and canoes may be navigated [Morrison, Alfred J., 1911].

Towns in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Virginia were almost entirely oriented around commerce. Towns were required in order to concentrate the availability of products and services needed for the organization of commerce and agriculture. The distribution of land in Richmond began in the 1730s, by which time the surveying of land and the regional manner of laying out of towns was well developed. The lots in 1730s Richmond were established for the building of merchant enterprises [Urban Scale Richmond, *Basic Buildings*, Richmond, 14 March 2022].

An announcement was made In this advertisement, published on page 4 of William Parks's *Virginia Gazette* on 22 April 1737:

This is to give Notice, That on the North Side of James River, near the Uppermost Landing, and a little below the Falls, is lately laid off by Major Mayo, a Town, called Richmond, with Streets 65 Feet wide, in a pleasant and healthy Situation, and well supply'd with Springs of good Water. It lies near the Publick Warehouse at Shoccoe's, and in the midst of great Quantities of Grain, and all kind of Provisions. The Lots will be granted in Fee Simple, on Condition only of building a House in three year's time of 24 by 16 Feet, fronting within 5 Feet of the Street. The Lots to be rated according to the Convenience of their Situation, and to be sold after this April General Court, by me, William Byrd.

The stimulus for development originated from Governor William Gooch's Tobacco Inspection Act. Intended “to prevent the exportation of bad and trash tobacco and the many frauds in deceiving his majesty of his customs,” the act mandated that any tobacco shipped from Virginia first had to be “brought to some public warehouse and there shall be viewed and inspected by persons thereunto appointed”. Whether due to the convenient position of his lands at the fall line, or to Byrd's familiarity with Governor Gooch, the act specified that one of Henrico County's public warehouses be at Shockoe Creek, on Byrd's land. This might have been a doubly fortunate event for Byrd, who could press into service the warehouse his father erected on the site and save the cost of erecting a new building [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

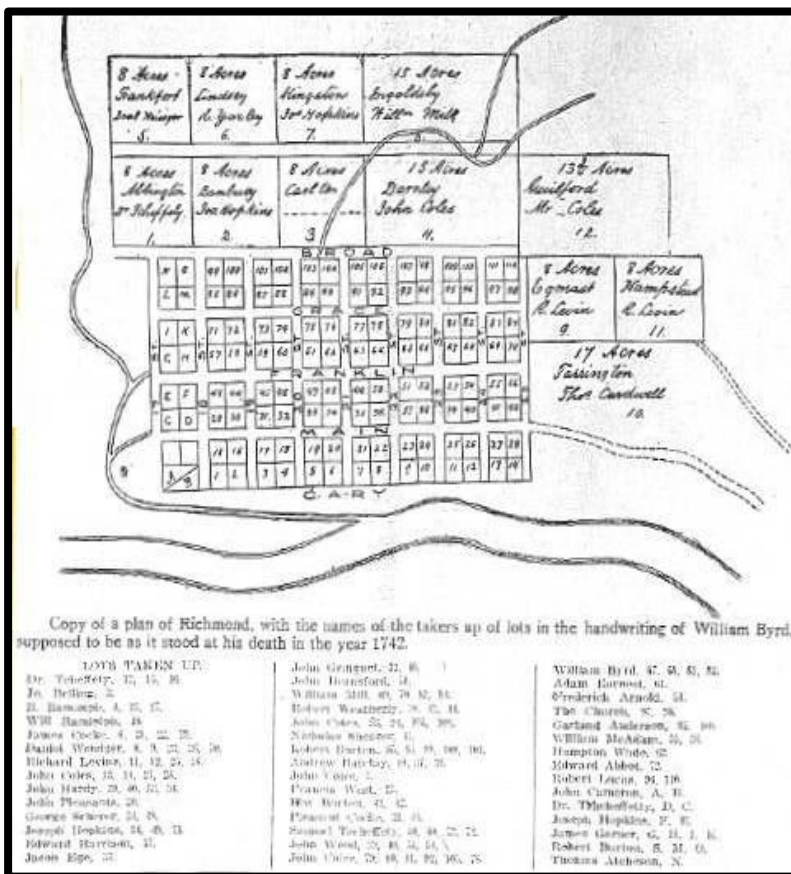
William Byrd recognized Shockoe's potential for commercial and residential development, claiming the site was “naturally intended for marts, where the traffic of the outer inhabitants must center”. As the uppermost landing of the James, any goods going up or down the river had to stop there to be unloaded, carted around the falls, and then reloaded on to another vessel. The traffic his tobacco warehouse received likely suggested the possibility of other endeavors that might prove profitable in and around Shockoe, despite the unforgiving topography of the surrounding

Richmond Memories

area. Transshipment and tobacco warehouses would draw both traders and farmers, requiring places to eat, drink, and rest [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The inevitable ordinary would appear, and in itself create a new space for the “outer inhabitants” to gather. In Virginia, “ordinary” was the name typically given to public houses, while elsewhere they were referred to as inns or taverns. Markets would create markets, increasing the flow of goods between the western hinterlands, the plantations along the James, and the ports towns on the eastern edge of the colony. Byrd's city in the air was therefore not merely a flight of fancy, but a calculated attempt to draw profit from and settlement to an area of land that would otherwise be underused [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The city plan that Mayo surveyed and drew in 1737 reflected much more than Byrd's commercial aspirations; it also captured Byrd's and Virginia's desire for urbanity and their motivation for town building. After several failed attempts to legislate urban centers into existence throughout the late seventeenth century, Virginia's eighteenth century urban growth was organic and allowed towns and cities to develop based on need rather than legislation. This opened the door for Byrd to begin building for himself a city that blended Virginia's pastoral settings with the sophistication of London [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].



First Map of Richmond, 1737
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 16 Feb 1902, Sun, Page 1

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

In the English metropolis, Byrd indulged in the urbanity that only a city could offer: “worldliness moderated by a well-developed moral sense, individualism, sociability, refinement not only in taste and manners, but in terms of man's higher moral, intellectual, and aesthetic capabilities, the liberation of the self into the world, and the striving for distinction”. Try as it might, the capital city of Williamsburg provided only a pale comparison to the vitality and culture of Byrd's London. Meanwhile, Richmond's visual similarity to its English counterpart on the Thames hinted at its potential as a bastion for British culture on the Virginia periphery [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Whether Byrd found inspiration for Richmond in its appearance, his desire for urbanity, or the commercial prospects it offered, he and William Mayo laid out the town according to imperial prescription [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Historian Robert Home argues that a model British colonial town required: a policy of deliberate urbanization; land rights allocated in a combination of town, suburban, and country lots; the town planned and laid out in advance of settlement; wide streets laid out in geometric, usually grid-iron form, usually on an area of one square mile; public squares; standard-sized, rectangular lots; plots reserved for public purposes; and, a physical distinction between town and country, usually by common land or an encircling green belt [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Byrd and Mayo established a nearly perfect model city. Mayo's 1737 plan for Richmond captures nearly every element laid out in Home's archetype. The town embodied an impulse for deliberate urbanization from its very inception. Byrd's quip about building “cities in the air” indicates his intention to create an urban space. Laid out in advance of Byrd's April, 1737 advertisement of lots for sale, the town plan adopted a grid-iron form, ignoring the steep topography of the surrounding hills and ravines. Each of the thirty-two central blocks contained four lots [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Mayo's plan was one common to the Tidewater - a rectangular town design located east of Shockoe Creek. That year, Byrd held a lottery to sell off town lots. Mayo's original plan included 112 numbered lots, 14 lots designated by letters, and two without any identification. Lots 97 and 98 were set aside for the Henrico Parish vestry, and St. John's Church was erected on them in 1741. In 1742 Virginia's General Assembly granted Richmond a town charter. Byrd's son, William Byrd III, in debt and seeking a way to pay off his creditors, decided to hold a lottery in 1768 to sell additional lots west of Shockoe Creek [Farrell, Cassandra Britt, 2017].

An additional twelve lots, ranging in size from eight to seventeen acres, surrounded the urban core. Likely intended for villas or mansions, such as the one William Byrd III built nearby at Belvidere, these larger lots softened the transition from city to countryside. At sixty-five feet wide, Richmond's streets were narrower than those of Williamsburg, but still provided pleasant avenues [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The natural topography of the area, rather than an established green belt, provided a natural distinction between town and country. Sitting on what is today known as Church Hill, Byrd's Richmond was bounded by the James River to the south, Shockoe Creek to the West, and ravines to the north and the east. All the new town lacked was public squares, an easy concession for a town not yet settled and one that would be rectified within the next fifty years [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Richmond Memories

Richmond had much to recommend it. It was “a pleasant and healthy situation, and well suppl'd with Springs of good Water, near the Publick Warehouse at Shoccoe's, and in the midst of great Quantities of Grain and all kind of Provisions” [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

Byrd's instincts soon proved correct and settlement progressed quickly. In 1742, the House of Burgesses passed an act establishing Richmond as an incorporated town. Officially recognized by an Act of Assembly, the freeholders and inhabitants of Richmond gained the same rights and privileges that the citizens of other towns enjoyed, including the right to hold bi-annual fairs and exemption from arrest while attending such fairs [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The act also included the unusual provision that the land between the southern boundary of the town and the river was “to remain and be, as and for a common, for the use and benefit of the inhabitants of the said town, forever” [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The reasons for this provision remain unclear, but including a formal commons fully aligned Richmond with imperial ideals of colonial towns and the practical necessities of a developing community. Establishing a common along the riverfront negated the need to survey inconsistently-sized parcels along the riverfront, as had been done in Alexandria and Fredericksburg. This simplified future surveying and sales. The riverfront commons also supplemented the otherwise lacking public spaces of the city. The Henrico Parish church in Richmond, arguably the single significant public building in the town, sat atop Church Hill and was already surrounded by privately owned lots. Creating a commons along the river offered a space that would allow both public gatherings and future public commercial development of warehouses [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

These warehouses were remembered in 1856 by Samuel Mordecai, “The Tobacco Warehouses or Inspections in Richmond, fifty years ago were, Shockoe, a mere cluster of wooden sheds ; Byrd's, of brick, opposite to the present Exchange hotel ; and Rocketts, of which a portion of the walls is now standing, their aspect from the river having the appearance of an old fortification”. The latter two ceased their vocation long since, as has also one of later date, below Rocketts, called Powhatan from being built near the wigwam of that King. It is now converted into a number of dwellings, and serves to shelter other heads than hogs-heads. In later years, the Public Warehouse on the basin became an Inspection and Seabrook's was established in the valley [Mordecai, Samuel, 1856, 1860].

In the old times a furnace stood near each warehouse, and tobacco unfit for export, was treated as heretics were at an auto-da-fe, as being unfit for salvation—both were burned ; and now both are suffered to pass for what they are worth [Mordecai, Samuel, 1856, 1860].

Additionally, the act specified that the commons “strike Shoccoe's creek, then down the said creek to the River, and then by the River”. This created “a green pasture, much used by the laundresses whereon to dry the clothes which they washed in the stream”. While Byrd or the burgesses may have been providing an imperial necessity, they also provided a practical one [Cook, Elizabeth, 2017].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

In most cases merchants lived in the same structures occupied by their shops and stores, although by the mid-eighteenth century the most financially independent citizens began to build suburban dwellings on hills around the town, where the noisome air and bustling activity could be avoided.

For the first 70 years the town was made up of one and two story frame structures like those built throughout the Tidewater region during this period. The half-acre lots appear to have been considered large enough for a main building and the domestic offices and garden needed to support an urban family without rural property. Most buildings were placed near the front edge of the property with the implicit understanding that eventual subdivision of the lots would create a virtual wall of buildings [Urban Scale Richmond, *Basic Buildings*, Richmond, 14 March 2022].

The basic building of the Virginia town until the antebellum period was the store/dwelling. One memoir of the area around Main and Governor Street in early Richmond emphasizes this fact, “A good portion of the population lived over stores in this part of the city, probably more than two thousand, within an area of a few square” [Urban Scale Richmond, *Basic Buildings*, Richmond, 14 March 2022].

The value of land for commercial use led to the lining of the principal routes with long rows of these store/dwellings. The gradual infilling of the town’s grid took many years, as civic institutions, service functions, and professions multiplied. As space became more valuable, secondary commercial and service buildings spread to secondary streets. The construction and placement of these basic buildings were governed by the grammar of regional vernacular architecture and by rules established by the town government to ensure regularity and safety [Urban Scale Richmond, *Basic Buildings*, Richmond, 14 March 2022].

In 1780, when Richmond became a city, the majority of residents lived east of Shockoe Creek on the grid established by William Byrd in the 1730s. The plateau to the west on Shockoe Hill was laid out in streets in 1768 on the lands of William Byrd III and was incorporated into the city as the Town of Shockoe in the following year.

In just two years from its establishment, Richmond’s population was 1,081 of which there were 563 whites, 425 slaves and 43 free persons of color [Richmond Dispatch, Volume 14,527, 20 February 1898].

In the very early 19th century, the city of Richmond, Virginia was centered on Main Street and along the docks in a roughly 25-block area along the banks of the James River. The town’s western edge ran down to Shockoe Creek, where it fed into the James. Residences climbed up Church Hill (first known as Richmond Hill) and Union Hill (to the west of Church Hill), areas behind and to the north of the waterfront with its docks and factories edging the riverside. Capitol Square, home to the Virginia General Assembly, the fine homes that grew up around it, and the businesses that accompanied them pushed city development across Shockoe Creek. By 1820, the city had grown up the several hills and gullies to the west [Sorensen, Leni Ashmore, 2005].

Richmond’s urban form allows for few axially placed buildings. Churches and commercial structures occupied conventional lots in the overall grid plan. As might be expected, only official buildings like the Henrico Courthouse and the Capitol, and to a lesser extent, City Hall and the

Richmond Memories

Custom House, are located in axial positions at the urban scale. Institutional buildings like churches and schools are generally freestanding, while hotels and taverns, like other commercial buildings, are placed in line with adjoining structures at the edge of the street [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The Union Hill neighborhood was long separated from the rest of Church Hill by a deep ravine. This physical isolation, combined with its hilly and rugged terrain, led to development of an independent community. The early history of Union Hill is closely tied to (Colonel) Richard Adams (1726-1800) and his descendants. In 1761, shortly after arriving in Richmond, Adams purchased 831 acres from William Byrd III. Adams believed that the future of Richmond lay to the east, and he acquired enormous tracts of land, not only within the city limits but on the northeast end of what we now call Church Hill, on Union Hill. Even as late as the 1850s, Union Hill was described as a place of "barren fields and unsightly gullies" [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2002].

By 1867, the population of Union Hill had grown to such a degree the area was annexed into the city. However, the ravine that ran diagonally along the southern edge of Union Hill still physically isolated the neighborhood from the city. Three major events during this period contributed to the rapid growth of Union Hill and its continued integration into Church Hill and the city. In 1882, the great divide at the southern edge of Union Hill was filled and graded to create Church Hill Avenue (renamed Jefferson Avenue in 1905) [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2002].

Now that there has been a brief review of the design and development of the city and its early neighborhoods and commercial areas, let us now develop an understanding of early tavern development and how such was integrated into the city's neighborhoods and topography.

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 4

Early Taverns and Hotels

Shockoe Hill was also slow to develop, but one area, just at the top of the hill, attracted merchants and tavern operators along the old “County Road” that climbed the steep hillside and connected the town to points east and west [Urban Scale Richmond, Richmond, 2015]. The "old County Road" is Governor Street and was the principal way up the bluff to the top of Shockoe Hill [Urban Scale Richmond, 2010].

Accommodations for visitors, licensed sales of liquor, and settings for social conviviality were supplied throughout the colony and state in private establishments known variously as ordinaries, taverns, and houses of public entertainment. These businesses, often known as ordinaries during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, were located near seats of government and catered to the need of rural Virginians to spend one or more nights in town during court sessions or when conducting business. The term “tavern” supplanted “ordinary” for the better sort of facility at the middle of the eighteenth century. As transportation routes improved, taverns were spaced along post roads and turnpikes to provide for travelers and to supply changes of horses for stagecoaches [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

In Virginia, “ordinary” was the name typically given to public houses, while elsewhere they were referred to as “inns” or “taverns”. Ordinaries were usually furnished with billiard tables and bowling alleys, and served as gambling sites. These ordinaries highlighted the centers of social and political life in Virginia. Demonstrating their significance, an English traveler by the name of Mrs. Wakefield observed [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013] :

“We can scarcely pass ten or twenty miles without seeing an ordinary. They all resemble each other, having a porch in front, the length of the house, almost covered with handbills. They have no sign. These Virginia taverns take their name from the person who keeps the house, who is often a man of consequence”.

While other colonies insisted that a tavern must furnish a certain number of beds, Virginia colonial law merely required tavern keepers to provide clean lodgings. It was unlikely that travelers would receive private rooms or a bed to themselves, or even a bed at all. Nor should this surprise us considering that in eighteenth-century Virginia very few people had private rooms in their homes [Gilbert, Ashley, 2016].

In describing his Virginia travels, William Byrd, II noted that he and his companions were “obliged to lodge very sociably in the same apartment with the family, where men, women, and children mustered in all no less than nine persons, who all pigged it lovingly together” [Gilbert, Ashley, 2016].

Richmond Memories

The Marquis de Chastellux recalled that “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, all they want in a house is a bed, a dining room, and a drawing room for company” [Gilbert, Ashley, 2016].

Before opening a tavern, the prospective owner had to apply to the city's Hustings Court to obtain a license, and would have to pay a fee for this privilege. The Hustings Court regulated Richmond taverns and their keepers by means of various licensing regulations for owners as well as specific, legislated prices for food and lodgings. Henrico County, which did not have a separate Hustings Court regulated those taverns outside the boundaries of the city through its county court system.

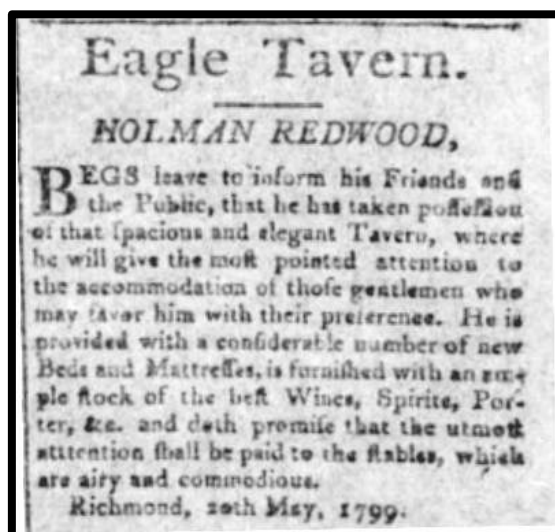
An example of a Hustings Court ordinance was the limit on the amount of alcohol that could be served to one person in the course of a year. Legislation of 1785 set the amount of saleable liquor to an individual at twenty-five shillings worth per annum, but this was a difficult law to enforce unless a local Justice of the Peace noted the amount consumed by specific bar patrons [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Some of the basic services offered by taverns during the period, all of which fell under the regulation of the Hustings Court, were enumerated by a state law pertaining to the licensing of taverns, enacted in October of 1785 by the General Assembly. The basic distinction of a tavern which separated it from a mere eatery was the ability to sell wine, beer, cyder, or rum, brandy, or any other spirituous liquor, or a mixture thereof, to be drunk in or at the place where it shall be sold. The selling of alcoholic beverages was legal only if the tavern keeper obtained a license from the county court or Hustings Court to do so, and he risked the penalty of a fine if he did not have such a license. Almost every meeting of the local Hustings Court in Richmond during this period was notable for some infringement of this law. For example, William Radford, who was the keeper of the Eagle Tavern, was cited by the Hustings Court for selling liquor without a license, which was by far the most common indictment in contemporary court records [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The Act of 1785 further stated that the prices for all diet, liquors, lodging, provender, stabledge, and pasturage will be set by the local Hustings or county court, and that these price lists will be issued to the local tavern keepers, to be posted in the tavern in a conspicuous place. This insured that any travelers not familiar with local prices would have an easy reference for the cost to spend the night at the tavern or simply to buy a meal. These set rates also assured that no tavern keeper charged too little or too much for any of the services or goods provided, and thus he could not cheat customers in his establishment or conduct price wars with other local taverns [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

When a new tavern keeper became the proprietor of a local tavern, he often announced his assumption of this position in one of the local newspapers. For example, in 1799, when Holman Redwood took over the Eagle Tavern, he advertised this fact in the Virginia Gazette and also reminded local patrons of his ability to give "the most pointed attention to the accommodation of those gentlemen who may favor him with their preference". He further described the services available at his establishment, such as his "considerable number of beds and matrasses, ample stock of the best wines, spirits, potter, etc, and doth promise that the utmost attention will be paid to the stables, which are airy and conunodious" [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch



Virginia Argus, Volume 7, Number 10, 24 May 1799

During the Revolutionary War the government saw taverns as possible storehouses of provisions for the troops, and thus enacted legislation in 1780 during the British southern campaigns for "procuring a supply of provisions and other necessaries for the use of the army". This act set up a number of commissioners whose duties included the procurement of provisions for the troops, "whether by purchase or impressment". Nevertheless, the tavern keepers were not wholly without rights to the foodstuffs that they had collected for the use of their taverns. Stipulated in the act was a provision for leaving "in the hands of the tavern keepers, a sufficient quantity of enumerated articles, not only for the use of the family of such tavern keeper, but as much as may be necessary for the accustomed consumption of such tavern". This gives a clue to the prominence of local taverns, since the government deemed them important enough to the local community and its economy to leave them with enough provisions to maintain their usual business [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Richmond's tavern keepers procured the necessary provisions by a variety of methods. Some bought directly from merchants who advertised their wares in the local newspapers. For example, George Nicholson, a merchant with stores at Rocketts Landing, advertised newly received, "Cut Herrings, Shad, and Connecticut Prime Pork, by the Barrel" to local purchasers. Other advertisements also list a variety of available liquors for sale, such as a large quantity of the "best LONDON BOTTLED PORTER" sold by Thomas Gilmer. Wholesalers, like Watson and Ebeneser Stott, could provide basic cooking necessities such as sacks of salt or loaves of sugar [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Conveniently located for many tavern keepers near the Henrico County Courthouse, John Widewilt operated his fishery just two blocks away from the Bird-In-The-Hand Tavern (see page 86), and undoubtedly furnished fresh seafood for many taverns in this part of town. Other fresh meat or vegetables could be provided by local farmers, or could be found for sale at the Richmond Market, located at what are now Main and Seventeenth Streets until 1794, when it moved to the corner of Broad and Twelfth Streets. Occasionally, tavern keepers, also kept plots of land as

Richmond Memories

gardens near the tavern and used the produce grown in these gardens to supplement what they could purchase. Some local tavern owners, such as Gabriel Galt and Robert Anderson, seemed to have increased their local purchase options with the additional consignment agent services of Anthony Singleton, a local silversmith [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Singleton, who had silversmith shops in both Richmond and Williamsburg, listed accounts for both of these men in his account book. It appears that he purchased small amounts of food or drink, such as a quarter of mutton or eight bottles of wine from suppliers in Williamsburg, or perhaps some farmers on the road between the two cities, and noted such debts in his account book. He advanced cash to both men, as well as paying some cash to other creditors on their behalf between 1786 and 1788 [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Although tavern keepers could purchase food stuffs from local wholesalers, merchants or the Market, the need to cook and prepare the food for consumption at the tavern compelled many owners to erect outbuildings for this specific purpose. Stephen Tankard's (see page 125) establishment had two kitchens, a meat house, and a smoke house conveniently located near the building. Abraham Cowley's Tavern (see page 84) also had outbuildings which were used for food preparation, including a "good kitchen, dairy, and meat house". By owning these buildings, the tavern owner saved the expense of using a public oven, or having meat cured or smoked. The tavern keeper could also purchase larger quantities of food stuffs, knowing they could later be prepared for a lesser expense. Popular dishes included many seafood items, such as locally caught fish, crab, and oysters. The popularity of oysters in Richmond's taverns is attested by the fact that taverns such as William Booker's Union Tavern had one large oyster kettle in the kitchen and eight oyster serving dishes for the dining room. Occasionally, a traveler might find "wild turkeys, partridges, wild geese, swans, black ducks and wild pigeons" at a Virginia tavern, often supplied by local hunters [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Despite the varied sources from which Richmond's tavern keepers obtained food and drink to supply their guests, not all accounts of the available tavern fare are positive. For example, while visiting Richmond in February of 1779, a British prisoner-of-war, Thomas Anburey, remarked that "all taverns and public houses are, in Virginia, called ordinaries" due to the bland fare available and the limited choices for hungry or thirsty travelers. He commented on what he believed was a poor selection of food and drink, as well as what he considered to be extremely high charges [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Anburey notes that the traveler's fare at Virginia's taverns, particularly the roadside inns, was often limited only to "eggs and bacon, with Indian hoe cake, and at many of them not even that; the only liquors are peach brandy and whiskey". Anburey compares this to the state of things before the beginning of the Revolution, when many travelers stopped at one of the plantations where they were given "the most courteous treatment, and were supplied with everything gratuitously", but now that more convenient taverns are available the tavern keepers think that they can demand "pretty exorbitant rates" [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

By contrast, however, some travelers found the board in the taverns they visited to be quite satisfactory. One visitor to the Swan Tavern during this period was even impressed with the quality of the fare in this establishment. The traveler reminisced in later years that: if the table never

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

glittered with plate nor groaned under French dishes, nor sparkled with costly champagne, the ham was always prime, the meats the very best the market could afford, the cooking unrivalled, and the wine the best London Particulars, imported direct from Madeira in exchange for old Virginia corn.

By far the most prevalent substance for sale and consumption in the taverns was alcohol. Because at that time clean drinking water was in short supply in the cities, most urban Americans consumed some form of alcohol, either beer, cider, or more potent drinks such as rum, as their primary, and often only type of drink. Jack Larkin estimates that at the time of the Revolution most Americans consumed in a year "the equivalent of three-and-a-half gallons of pure, 200 proof alcohol" per person. He further attributes an increase per capita to almost four gallons by the beginning of the nineteenth century due to "anxieties generated by rapid and unsettling social and economic changes" [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Whatever its cause, consumption of alcohol provided a tavern's most important source of income. A comparison of prices set by the Hustings Court on alcoholic beverages and other services provided by the tavern graphically illustrated the vast pricing difference between the cost of an alcoholic drink and any other services provided in the tavern. In the 1780s, for example, a quart of rum punch made with good quality loaf sugar cost two shillings six pence; a similar amount of port wine was four shillings; and Madeira wine could be purchased for six shillings. In comparison to this, a visitor could buy a meal, either breakfast or supper, for two shillings six pence, or could pay one shilling for a night's lodging. Clearly, a group of men who ordered a few rounds of punch in an evening of friendly conversation could easily provide as much income for the tavern in one night as a week's worth of lodging [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Popular drinks in Virginia's taverns included beer or ale, as well as cider and rum. Richmonders also drank porter, a mixture of beer, ale, and small beer such as that brewed by a brewery near Philadelphia and imported into the South. Another common alcoholic beverage was wine, particularly Madeira, which cost less than other wines since it was not European, and therefore was not subject to any tariffs, even though directly imported [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

A Mr. McCelland who stayed at the Bell Tavern in 1811 partook of a wide array of these various types of beverages as well as some less potent drinks. On his first day at the tavern, he was charged only for Lemonade and "Soda", which cost him forty-eight cents, as noted on his running account kept by the tavern keeper. This lack of liquor charges on his bill, suggests that McCelland was less of a drinker than the average American of this decade. On the second day, however, he purchased thirty-eight cents worth of wine and an equal amount the following day. On 3 June 1811, his bill notes that he spent thirteen cents for four toddies, thirteen cents on wine, and thirty-seven cents on punch. His total expenditures for drinks totaled slightly more than one-tenth the cost of his room for his eight day stay at the Bell Tavern [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

When visiting Richmond in 1793, the Reverend Mr. Toulmin wrote to his friend, Dr. Thomas Cooper, on the state of prices at the Eagle Tavern. Dr. Cooper, who would come to the United States in 1794, commented to the Rev. Toulmin that those prices seem high when compared to those found in a Northern city's tavern. Using Rev. Toulmin's price list from the Eagle, it can be calculated that a traveler could easily live on two dollars a day, "including a quart of punch". A receipt from the Bell Tavern, an establishment of similar quality, indicates that prices had not risen

Richmond Memories

much by 1811. Issued on 5 June 1811, to Mr. McClland, the receipt shows charges for eight days' food and lodging, as well as various alcoholic drinks and stabling and fodder for a horse. Total charges came to twenty-one dollars and sixty-four cents, with the average cost being approximately \$ 2.58 per day [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

A comparison of this cost to contemporary wages shows that for a skilled artisan (someone who would be considered "middle class"), who made approximately \$ 1.25 per day, it would cost nearly two days' wages to pay for room and board for one night's stay in one of Richmond's taverns. Local prices, including the costs of food and drink, however, could be influenced by outside events, such as war. During the Revolution, in May, 1780, Governor Thomas Jefferson placed an embargo on certain foodstuffs and other necessities to help keep down the incidence of profiteering and also to prevent the British from seizing American ships carrying these items on board. Some of these enumerated goods included "beef, pork, bacon, lard, wheat, corn, peas and other grains, as well as flour and meal". However, when the embargo went into effect, the scarcity of these food stuffs could not be immediately overcome, driving prices up [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Although serving alcoholic beverages was a primary source of income, the taverns also provided lodging for both men and their horses. Unlike the mixed reports from travelers about available food, contemporary accounts about lodgings in Richmond uniformly complained of their poor quality. For example, Dr. Johann Schoepf visited Richmond during a trip to America in 1783. Schoepf had been a surgeon in the Hessian Army and was stationed in America with British forces during the Revolutionary War. He stayed at Serafina Formicola's establishment (see page 118), considered one of the finer taverns in the city. Although Schoepf was pleased with his host and found the local patrons of the tavern to be "very agreeable, entertaining and instructive", he was somewhat taken aback by the crowded and noisy lodgings which were available [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

He noted, that the entire house contained by two large rooms on the ground floor, and two of the same size above, the apartments under the roof furnished with numerous beds standing close together, both rooms and chambers standing open to every person throughout the day. The whole day long, therefore, one is compelled to be among all sorts of company and to sleep in like manner; thus travelers, almost anywhere in America, must renounce the pleasure of withdrawing apart (for their own convenience of their own affairs), from the noisy disturbing or curious crowd [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Another visitor to Richmond in this period who commented on the poor quality of available lodging was Robert Hunter, Jr. Hunter was the son of a wealthy British merchant who toured the United States and Canada to complete his education and see the world. He visited Richmond in February, 1786, and was not at all impressed with the city, finding it one of the dirtiest holes of a place that he ever was in. Hunter stayed at the tavern run by Mrs. Younghusband (see page 110) [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Although Hunter commented that his bed was hard as a rock, he and his travelling companion were awakened only by one other gentleman who came in about one o'clock in the morning and disturbed us. Accommodations such as these, which placed only three people in one room, as

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Hunter notes, would have seemed luxurious to travelers like Dr. Schoepf who roomed in a much more crowded tavern with two common sleeping rooms for all [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Apart from providing room for the travelers, many taverns also provided stabling and fodder or pasturage for the traveler's horse. Taverns in the heart of the city which had no pasture space usually had stables. One of the most commodious of these stables was at Cowley's Tavern which could contain seventy-four horses [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Other taverns on the outskirts of town had more space for pasturage. Bacon's Quarter Branch Tavern (see page 240), for example, was noted for its large meadow, as well as the plentiful spring from which the tavern took its name. Both of these features made this tavern a particularly attractive spot for drovers bringing their animals into Richmond to the market [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Prices for stabling or pasturage varied, depending on market conditions and what types of fodder the animals were given. Richmond's Hustings Court records of the 1780s ordered that prices for a gallon of corn or oats should be ten pence, a pound of hay should be two pence, and pasturage per animal for one night should cost seven and a half pence. In his letter quoting prices at the Eagle Tavern in 1793, Mr. Toulmin stated "horses kept at livery, 3 shillings per 24 hours", the same price charged for boarding one's servant. In summary, Richmond taverns offered a wide variety of services involving food, drink and lodging [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Despite sometimes mediocre and high priced food and drink, however, the taverns were almost always well frequented and served the male community as an important meeting place for social gatherings [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

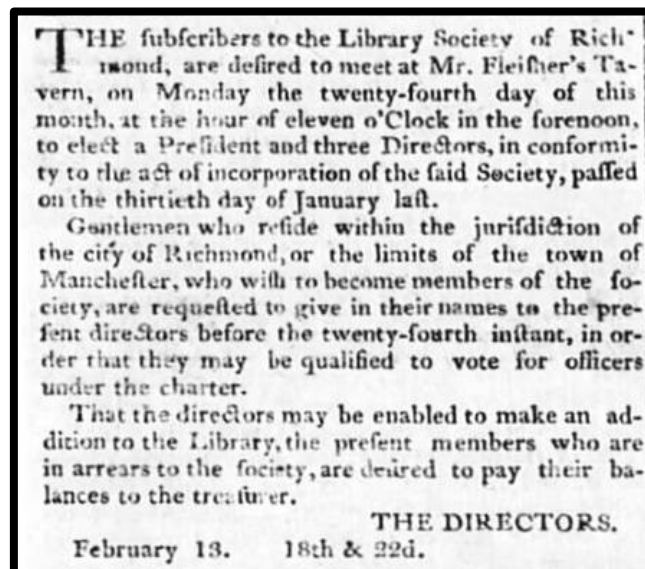
Richmond's taverns were often "center-pieces" of the community where men from many levels of society gathered for conversation as well as entertainments. One author has even remarked that, "Taverns were Americans' most important centers of male sociability". The taverns of Richmond provided a meeting place for many kinds of male-dominated activities, ranging from various clubs to different games, upon which large sums of money could be wagered [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The various clubs which formed in Richmond during this period touched on a wide range of interests, from horse racing to literature. Because the men who joined these clubs were among Richmond's elite citizens, many of whom lived or worked in this part of the city, they primarily met in one of the taverns located around the Capitol Square. They clubs were relatively exclusive, as membership dues or subscription fees had to be paid regularly to remain a member of the group [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The account books of John Marshall, a leading Richmonder during this period, provide an excellent representative sample of the kinds of club activities a member of elite society would be involved in, and the expenditures necessary to maintain such membership. Marshall was one of the charter members of the Richmond Library Society, which was founded to create a library system for the city, to choose books to purchase for the collection, and to raise money through subscriptions to pay for the books [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Richmond Memories

The first meeting of the library society, as advertised in a local newspaper, met on 16 January 1784, and was presided over by Edmund Randolph, another prominent local citizen. Marshall's original subscription fee is noted in his account book with a payment of seven pounds, paid to the club on 14 January 1784. Marshall then paid a subsequent fee of one pound, eight shillings on a yearly basis to maintain his club membership. Although the club originally met at the home of Edmund Randolph, the club president, meetings after the turn of the century were often held at the Rising Sun Tavern (Fleisher's Tavern, see page 165) on Fourteenth Street. These meetings were advertised in one of the local papers by the president of the club and were usually held on a yearly basis during the winter [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].



THE subscribers to the Library Society of Richmond, are desired to meet at Mr. Fleisher's Tavern, on Monday the twenty-fourth day of this month, at the hour of eleven o'clock in the forenoon, to elect a President and three Directors, in conformity to the act of incorporation of the said Society, passed on the thirtieth day of January last.

Gentlemen who reside within the jurisdiction of the city of Richmond, or the limits of the town of Manchester, who wish to become members of the society, are requested to give in their names to the present directors before the twenty-fourth instant, in order that they may be qualified to vote for officers under the charter.

That the directors may be enabled to make an addition to the Library, the present members who are in arrears to the society, are desired to pay their balances to the treasurer.

THE DIRECTORS.
February 13. 18th & 22d.

Richmond Library Society
Richmond Enquirer, 15 Feb 1806, Sat, Page 1

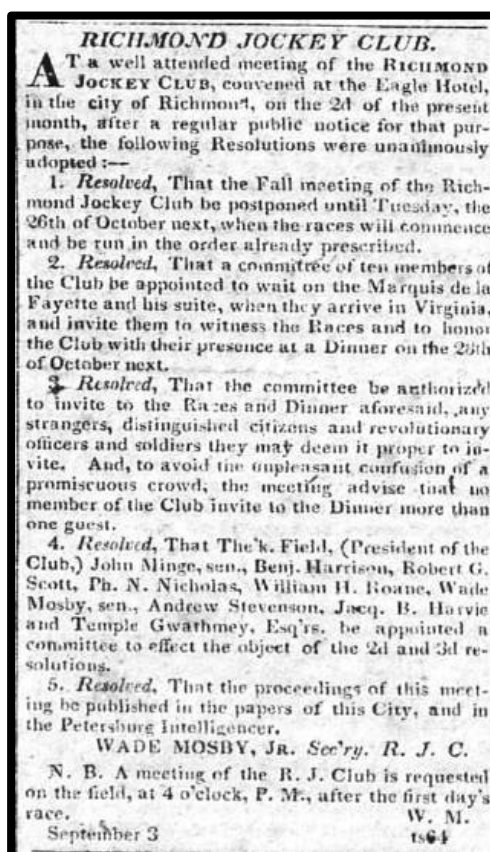
John Marshall was also a member of two gentlemen's clubs, first at Formicola's Tavern and later at the Swan Tavern. These clubs were similar to British men's clubs in that they gave subscribers a chance to mingle and exchange drinks with other members of the society's elite. Marshall and other club members attended jovial gatherings in the public rooms of either one of these local taverns, hosted by Serafina Formicola or Colonel John Moss, respectively. The men also participated in various games of cards or billiards while they enjoyed food and drink, and often the best gaming tables would be reserved for club members only [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Marshall appears to have belonged first to Formicola's Tavern's club in the middle to late 1780s. Entries in his account books for fees at his Club at Formicola's appear first in May of 1785. Costs for membership fees at Formicola's varied, but the average amount spent is about six shillings. In the early 1790s, Marshall changed his club membership to the Swan Tavern, under the management of John Moss. This likely was due to the closing of Formicola's Tavern in 1789 and the growing attraction of the Swan Tavern, which was located one block south of Marshall's residence [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Expenses for the Swan Tavern's club are only sparsely listed, as Marshall's account book ends in December, 1795, only a few years after his move to the Swan's club. Marshall's bill for membership at the Swan totals one pound, eleven shillings, as noted in the account disbursements of September, 1794 [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

John Marshall was also frequently involved as a member of the Richmond Jockey Club. The Jockey Club furnished funds to support horse racing, one of the favorite sports of Virginia's elite. Like other large cities of the day, Richmond's racing clubs collected dues from their members to help pay for the building and maintenance of local racecourses. Races usually coincided with lavish balls given at one of the local taverns. Often, the balls were held at the Eagle Tavern, which accommodated a large number of people. The balls were gala affairs, attended by the men and women of Richmond's elite society. Mordecai provides a description of the event, complete with its members' elaborate and formal dress: the race ball "was held in the large ballroom of the Eagle. Boots and pants in those days were proscribed. Etiquette requires shorts and silks, and pumps with buckles, and powdered hair". Various types of dances were performed from the stately "minuet de la Cour" to a more robust Virginia Reel [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].



Constitutional Whig, 28 Sep 1824, Tue, Page 1

Richmond Memories

Richmond's taverns were increasingly challenged to find new ways of attracting patrons in the early years of the nineteenth century as the city expanded in size and importance in the state. Many new taverns opened in the final years of the eighteenth century, and older, established taverns were therefore pressured to find ways of maintaining their business clientele. The new taverns were also seeking patronage, and looked for new ways to serve members of the Richmond community in the hope of gaining some of the loyal patrons of the more established taverns in the city. Many of the local taverns thus expanded services to a wider variety of community members, in an effort to appeal to a larger audience than their previous male clientele which had been primarily drinking and gambling patrons [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

One of the more prevalent services the taverns offered was a site for the sale of goods. Various goods would be advertised in the local newspapers with times of the sales, as well as the selection of items which were offered for sale. one of the first sales to be advertised in Richmond was held at the Old Tavern (see page 114) in May, 1785 [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

In the early nineteenth century, the Bell Tavern housed a sale of clothing goods which were advertised to spark the interests of fashionable ladies of the city. In 1804, a dry goods dealer advertised muslins, calicos, silk, and cotton stockings, as well as "spring and fancy goods" of all kinds. These goods would have been extremely popular because lightweight imported muslins for women's dresses were in vogue, both in America and Europe during the early nineteenth century. A similar sale, which advertised goods for both the ladies and gentlemen of Richmond, was a collection of "muslin, cigars, and paper" supplied by William Ross at the Eagle Tavern [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].



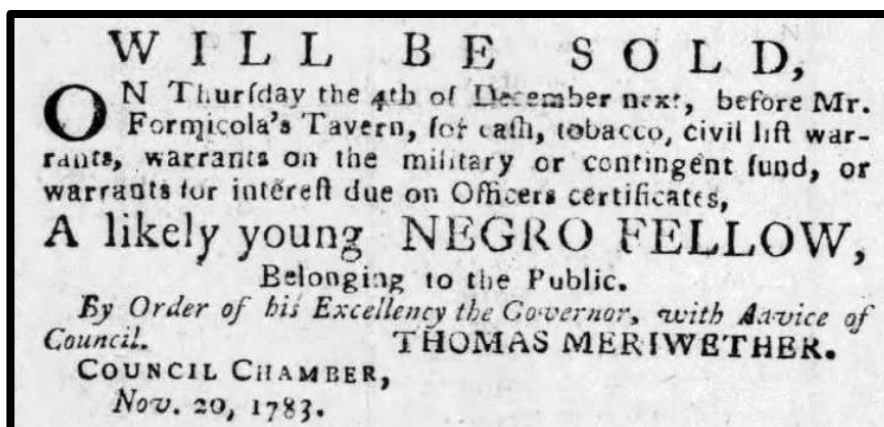
Virginia Argus, Volume 12, Number 1154, 23 May 1804

The taverns also were the site of various auctions. These ranged in size from very small sales of perhaps only one item to larger "estate" sales with many goods including furnishings, glassware, or even liquor [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The sale of Negro slaves in local taverns was one of the more regularly advertised auctions in the city. Notices in the local papers included the auction of numerous slaves at Formicola's Tavern as early as 1783 and the sale of prime Virginia Born SLAVES at Bowler's Tavern (see page 163) in

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

December of 1800. William Radford of the Eagle Tavern also sold several likely and valuable Negroes which were available for cash only [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].



The Virginia Gazette, 22 Nov 1783, Sat, Page 3

Richmond's taverns served not only the private sector, but also the public. Meetings of portions of governmental bodies were occasionally housed in local taverns. In 1779, Williamsburg's Virginia Gazette ran a notice of an early meeting for the construction of buildings to house the branches of the government in conjunction with the removal of the capital to Richmond. The paper noted:

The Directors appointed by the General Assembly to provide temporary buildings for the two Houses of Assembly, the Courts of Justice, several public Boards, and a public jail, give notice that they will meet at Mr. Hogg's tavern to agree with workmen for undertaking the said buildings.

The newspaper further remarked that after the design of the buildings was chosen, "A plan of the buildings shall be lodged in the hands of Mr. Hogg and Mr. Galt (of the City Tavern, see page 104) in the said town a week before" [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Occasionally, the taverns were even used as polling places. For example, citizens voted at the Eagle Tavern in March, 1805. At this election, members of the Common Council, Madison District, were chosen for the city [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

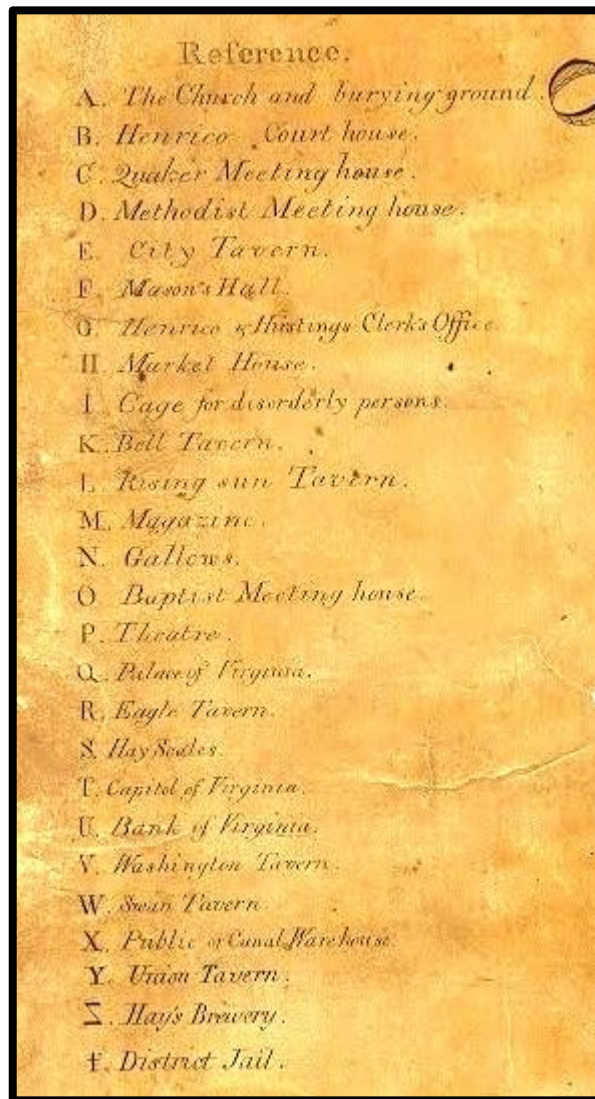
Members of the corporate body of the city met socially in October, 1792 at the Eagle Tavern. One local newspaper commented that there had been an elaborate dinner at this tavern, with numerous members of local and state government attending. Notables included in the account of the dinner were the Governor, members of the executive, Judges of the Superior Courts and other esteemed members of the community [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The local taverns also provided easily identifiable reference points to find other shops or less well known landmarks in the city. An excellent example of this can be seen simply by studying a map

Richmond Memories

of the city from 1809. This map, drawn by Richard Young for the Citizens of Richmond, provides a key which notes twenty-six major landmarks of the city on a grid which shows geographical features, street names, and the numbers of the city lots. Obvious city landmarks such as the Henrico Courthouse and the Capitol of Virginia are noted, but seven of the city's most prominent taverns are also included on the key, representing slightly more than one-fourth of the identified buildings of the city [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The seven taverns noted on the key include: Galt 's City Tavern, the Bell Tavern, the Rising Sun Tavern, the Eagle Tavern, the Washington Tavern (also known as the Indian Queen Tavern), the Swan Tavern, and the Union Tavern [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].



Map, 1809, Richard Young

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Local taverns played an important role in the lives of those Richmonders who enjoyed music and dancing. Assemblies, dances and balls were often held to celebrate important events, but they were also regular entertainment. Music was an obvious accompaniment to the dancing. Solo musical performances in Richmond taverns also occurred with the local taverns providing concert space for musicians. Both professional and amateur musicians played in these taverns, and numerous concerts were held in them, with the spacious Eagle Tavern and the Bell Tavern the most frequently used buildings for this purpose in Richmond. The taverns also provided an atmosphere where satirical ballads and other popular tunes could be performed for the amusement of the patrons, and thus were also important places for the spread of ideas presented by these songs about the politics of the developing country [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Visitors to Richmond included many members of the state legislature, and officials of the state and county court. Most of the taverns were strategically located to lodge, feed, and entertain the people who attended the legislative and court sessions during the year. The taverns served as "welcome centers" for visitors to the city and occasionally hosted important dignitaries or nationally-renowned guests, as well as at least one of the period's most notorious figures, Aaron Burr [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

For many of these special visitors, as already noted, the taverns held dances, dinners and other celebrations like those held for events such as Washington's Birthday or St. Tammany's Day. Some of these occasions, however, fostered antagonism between the two major political parties, the Federalists, whose numbers were amply represented by some of the prominent members of Richmond society, and the Republicans, supporters of Jeffersonian politics [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The least partisan of the annual celebrations in Richmond was the Fourth of July. This was a major event in the city, as it was in many locations around the new nation. In 1786, for example, the Virginia Gazette or American Advertiser ran a brief notice of the festivities which were held at Galt's City Tavern. The paper reported that:

*Yesterday being the Anniversary of the 11th Year
of our glorious Independence, the day was celebrated
with firing of cannon, and an elegant dinner on this
memorable occasion, was provided at the CITY TAVERN,
where a genteel assembly of the Sons of Columbia
were present, the day closing with jollity, occasioned
by the pleasing recollection of this happy event.*

Another celebration of the Fourth of July was noted by John Marshall in his accounts of 1791. Marshall paid more than two pounds for the privilege of attending a dinner held at the Eagle Tavern on July 4th of that year. One local paper in the city reported this celebration and noted that there would be other festivities in Richmond, including a barbecue, and a fifteen-cannon salute, once in the morning and again at noon [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Marshall's accounts also provide information about the celebration of the Richmond organization of Masons, who were predominantly members of the Federalist party. The local chapter of Masons

Richmond Memories

customarily celebrated the anniversary of St. John the Baptist's birth on 24 June. Marshall notes the one pound, sixteen shillings he paid for attending the 1785 celebration [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Richmond was also a stopping place for many important Americans during the years following the Revolution, and their arrival in the city was often celebrated by a dinner given in their honor at one of the local taverns. George Washington visited the city in March, 1775 for the second Virginia Convention. He notes in his diary that he stayed at the house of Archibald Cary in Chesterfield County, but nights following a day's debates were spent at Galt's Tavern. During the seven days of the convention, on the evenings that he did not dine at Cary's home of Amptill, just outside the eastern boundaries of the city, he "dined at Galt's Tavern and stayed after dinner, perhaps to socialize and play cards or billiards" [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

In later years, Washington returned to Richmond on business trips. He was involved in the building of the James River Canal, and sat on the company's Board of Directors. In April, 1786, he noted that he "Put up at Formicola's Tavern" where he had dinner and spent the night. Formicola's Tavern

was also patronized by other 11 founding fathers, including Thomas Jefferson who dined there during his years as Virginia's Governor. Jefferson also frequented Hogg's Tavern (see page 115) located near the county courthouse building in the early 1790s for dinner and drinks [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Jefferson's visits to Richmond after his tenure as the state's governor were not always so placid. While traveling north to Washington, D.C. in the fall of 1809, Jefferson took lodgings at the Swan Tavern. His presence in the city on his second night was heralded with a dinner given by the local Nineteenth Regiment of Virginia Militia, attended by several prominent Richmond citizens, including the Governor and members of the City Council [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The following night, a subscription dinner was given in his honor at the Eagle Tavern. This dinner was criticized by the Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser, a Federalist newspaper, as the evening's festivities got somewhat out of hand. Numerous toasts which were drunk to Mr. Jefferson's health were accented by the discharging of a number of six pound cannon, which had been dragged from the front of the Capitol into the street in front of the tavern. The Eagle Tavern was located in the business district of the city and was surrounded by stores, as well as local residences. By the third discharge of the cannon, an estimated eighty to ninety glass windows in these businesses and residences had been shattered by the cannon blasts, before the neighborhood's residents put a stop to the shots [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The Virginia Gazette and General Advertiser published a full account of the evening's festivities, as well as an editorial that demanded that someone in town, presumably one of the Republican supporters of Jefferson, be held financially responsible for the damages incurred as a result of this dinner [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The early city legislators worried that tavern keepers might have too much influence on members of the community, both in political and "secular" matters. In an effort to limit this influence, a law was passed in May 1792 when the city was incorporated, which prohibited tavern keepers from

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

holding any of the civic offices of government, including Mayor, Recorder, Alderman, or membership in the Common Council. However, many tavern keepers held other offices in the city government, such as Auctioneer, or Surveyor of one of the city's wards [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Although the tavern keepers did not officially discriminate on the basis of a patron's political stance, some of the local taverns did cater to members of one party or the other, with the vast majority of Richmonders being Federalists. Most taverns, however, were less obvious in their political leanings, and simply indicated which political ideology they supported by permitting celebrations, such as the dinner given at the Eagle Tavern for Thomas Jefferson during his visit to the city, or the ball at the Indian Queen Tavern (see page 202) to honor the election of Jefferson and Burr. Despite the political leanings of specific tavern keepers, their establishments served Richmond's political community as bipartisan meeting places which fostered debate and informal networking between party members [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The particular appearance and character of a tavern determined in which Richmond district it resided. Early Richmond's taverns were divided between four different geographical districts: Richmond Hill; Rocketts Landing; Shockoe Valley, and Shockoe Hill. Each held a specific history and indicated a unique style of tavern [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

These geographical districts are not well defined from a Geographic Information System (GIS) standpoint. There is no known polygon boundary of this feature class. Developing the boundary from today's topographical data would be misleading since the city's landscape has changed over time as "steep hills were leveled or graded and new towns or extensions of the old were tacked on in every direction" [Cook, Elizabeth, College of William & Mary, 2017].

A general description of each district follows and as such, must suffice.

Richmond Hill

Richmond Hill was an early name for Church Hill after the church building which itself was variously called Indian Town Church, New Church, Old Church, Henrico Parish Church, Town Church, and later, St. John's Church. Richard Adams, one of the most prominent men in Richmond, built a house there in the 1790s, and a second house, still standing, was constructed in about 1810.

Proprietors erected Richmond Hill taverns near the James River on 21st Street, 22nd Street, and 23rd Street. Since these streets were not located in close proximity to Capitol Square, the taverns in this district represented simplicity in their appearance and design. Further, many were still termed ordinaries, rather than taverns. Richard Levens was the first official ordinary-keeper in Richmond when he received his license in 1717, from Henrico County [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

One of the most popular taverns in Richmond Hill was Isaiah Isaac's Bird-In-The-Hand. Isaiah Isaacs kept the tavern for most of its existence, although he did maintain a business partnership involving the Bird-In-The-Hand with Jacob I. Cohen until October, 1792. In 1785, the tavern had

Richmond Memories

all the necessary outbuildings and an enclosed garden. The sign on the door of the tavern illustrated a gentleman dressed in a black frock coat and top hat holding a bird in his upturned hand. The lettering beneath this image read, “A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush” [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

Although Richmond Hill’s taverns primarily represented simplicity, Gabriel Galt’s tavern, known as both Galt’s Tavern as well as the Old City Tavern, represented one of the most distinguished public houses in Richmond Hill. Out of all of Richmond Hill’s public houses, Galt’s Tavern was located in the closest proximity to Capitol Square. This location undoubtedly affected its appearance since taverns erected near the capitol often provided added conveniences to the distinguished men and political leaders who traveled here for business. Galt’s Tavern opened in either 1766 or 1775 (depending on the information source), and was known as “a commodious one with good stables, kitchen, smokehouse, dairy, corn-house and an excellent bake oven and bake house”. By the first decade of the nineteenth century, however, it became difficult for the Old City Tavern to compete with new taverns on Shockoe Hill, where the capitol was located [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The early taverns on Richmond Hill were (e=estimated date):

ID	NAME	OPEN		CLOSED	
1	Richard Leven's Tavern/Ordinary	1717		1809	e
2	Abraham Cowley's Ordinary (Also Known As Cooley's, Coley's Ordinary)	1737		1790	e
3	Bird-In-The-Hand Tavern	1750		1852	
4	Richmond Tavern (Later Named City Tavern)	1760	e	1766	
5	City Tavern (Also Known As Galt's Tavern, First Named Richmond Tavern)	1766		1858	
29	Cross Keys Tavern (Also Known As Cohen And Isaac's Tavern)	1796		1806	
37	William Lipscomb's Tavern	1800	e	1820	e
50	Indian Queen	1806		1821	
53	Trowler's Tavern	1814	e	1841	e
55	Union Hotel (Later Named United States Hotel)	1817		1845	
56	Old Courthouse Tavern	1820		1854	

Rocketts Landing

Taverns in Rocketts Landing were located even farther away from the capitol than those in Richmond Hill. Rocketts Landing was known as “the lower landing”, where cargo was brought up from the James River by smaller watercraft. Rocketts Landing’s importance lay in its location

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

as a port on the upper James. Any physical structure built on Rocketts Landing risked flood damage due to its position on the river [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

During the great flood of 1771, for instance, nearly everything at Shockoe’s and Rocketts Landing was destroyed. This flood may have spurred those with the means to move to higher land in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries leaving the low-lying land of Rocketts Landing to stores, warehouses, and tenements. Richmond, especially Rocketts, at this time was described as a crudely made “shabby looking village of log houses, with wooden chimneys” [Dutton + Associates, LLC, 2017].

The dangers of destructive flooding likely accounts for the fact that only four taverns existed at Rocketts landing in the early days: John Roper’s Tavern (see page 126); William Pennock’s Tavern (see page 129); Lockley’s Tavern (also known as Rocketts Landing Tavern, see page 136), and William Depriest’s Tavern (see page 242) [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The earliest tavern at Rocketts Landing was Roper’s tavern and store. The Hustings Court of the city of Richmond granted ordinary licenses to John Roper and Mary Taylor in 1782. Serving as both a tavern and store, Roper’s Tavern offered more than just alcohol to customers. In a January, 1783, a Virginia Gazette advertisement, highlighted other items for sale, including “Jamaica and Grenada rum, brown sugar by the barrel, hyson, congo, and bohea tea; and various articles of dry goods; all at reasonable rates” [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The early taverns at Rocketts Landing were (e=estimated date):

16	Roper's Tavern (Also Known As John Roper's Tavern)	1782		1799	e
18	William Pennock's Tavern	1783		1784	
22	Lockley's Tavern Also Known As Rocketts Landing Tavern	1785	e	1790	e
65	William Depriest's Tavern	1840		1849	

Shockoe Hill

The districts of Shockoe Hill and Shockoe Valley lay in close proximity. Shockoe Hill, was specifically designated as Richmond’s capital. Originally, Shockoe Hill was referred to as “Indian Hill,” and was bound on the west by Shockoe Creek and on the east by the creek in Sorrel Bottom [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The main public road in town ran through this area, past Rocketts Landing to the Henrico Court House at Varina, and then to Williamsburg. When Thomson Mason elaborated on the area in a Virginia Gazette advertisement as he was trying to find a buyer for his tenement, he described Shockoe Hill as “on the north side of the falls of James River, with a number of convenient houses upon it, well adapted for either a merchant, tavern keeper, or private Gentleman” [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

Among the Shockoe Hill taverns, Richmond’s most celebrated house of public entertainment was the Eagle Tavern. Throughout its life, a host of tavern keepers operated the Eagle Tavern. James Currie, a young physician from Scotland, originally led construction of it. Over the years, the Eagle Tavern grew into a three storied brick building with elegant accommodations, including a

Richmond Memories

ballroom, coffee room, multiple private rooms, stables, and carriage house, for its genteel patrons. Just as Capitol Hill was the commonwealth's seat of government, the tavern served as the city's seat of entertainment. During the day, members of the legislature enacted laws on Capitol Hill. At night, however, the Eagle Tavern provided a space for entertainment, amusement, and relaxation [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

Today, Shockoe Hill extends from the downtown area, including where the state capitol complex sits, north almost a mile to a point where the hill falls off sharply to the winding path of Shockoe Creek. Interstate 95 now bisects the hill, separating the highly urbanized downtown portion from the more residential northern portion.

The early taverns on Shockoe Hill were (e=estimated date):

ID	NAME	OPEN		CLOSED	
14	Swan Tavern (Also Known As St. Tammany's Tavern, Boxley's Hotel. Later Named Broad Street Hotel)	1781		1849	
20	Miller's Old Tavern	1784		1794	e
21	Crouch's Tavern (Also Known As Virginia Inn)	1784		1818	
24	Eagle Tavern (Later Named Eagle Hotel In 1832. Destroyed By Fire 12/29/1838)	1787		1839	
25	Mrs. Gilbert's Coffee House (Later Named Union Tavern And Then Globe Tavern)	1788		1802	
30	Goodall's (Also Known As Indian Queen or Fairy Queen and Later Named Washington Tavern/Hotel)	1797		1810	
36	William Cocke's Tavern	1800	e	1820	e
44	Archelaus Hughes' Tavern	1805		1847	
45	Globe Tavern (First Named Mrs. Gilberts Coffee House And Then Named Union Tavern)	1808		1812	
46	Planters' Inn	1809	e	1813	e
49	Washington Tavern /Hotel (Later Named Monumental Hotel)	1804		1853	
57	Shockoe Hill Tavern	1821		1853	
61	Columbian Hotel	1832		1865	
62	Benajah Thomas's Tavern	1835		1843	

Shockoe Valley

Shockoe was named in the 1730 Tobacco Inspection Act as the site of a tobacco inspection warehouse on land owned by William Byrd II. Shockoe Valley contains much of the land included

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

in Colonel William Mayo's 1737 plan of Richmond, making it one of the city's oldest neighborhoods. It encompasses the smaller neighborhoods of Shockoe Slip, and Shockoe Bottom. Topographically the area rises gradually from the James River and Richmond Dock on the south to level out along E. Main and E. Franklin Streets. On the northeast, Church and Union hills present a steep ascent. The area between 14th and 19th Street encompasses the Shockoe Creek flood plain which continues north along the route of the creek [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1983].

The area's development in the late 18th century was aided by move of the state capital to Richmond and the construction of Mayo's Bridge in 1788 across the James River. Between the late 17th century and the end of the American Civil War in 1865, the area played a major role in the history of slavery in the United States, serving as the second-largest domestic slave trade site in the country, second to New Orleans. Profits from the trade in human beings fueled the creation of wealth for Southern whites and drove the economy in Richmond, leading 15th Street to be known as Wall Street in the antebellum period, with the surrounding blocks home to more than 69 slave dealers and auction houses. Throughout the 19th Century, Shockoe Bottom was the center of Richmond's commerce with ships pulling into port from the James River. Goods coming off these ships were warehoused and traded in Shockoe Valley [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

In Shockoe Valley, the Rising Sun was a prominent tavern. The Rising Sun was the only tavern in Richmond above the falls of the James to enjoy an eastern exposure. Originally, it was known as Rawlings Tavern in honor of its owner, Robert Rawlings, from Portsmouth, Virginia. In 1787, Rawlings began his business in tavern keeping at the corner of what would later be known as Exchange Alley and Fourteenth Street [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

Although a great fire destroyed the tavern in January, 1787, by September of that same year, Rawlings was able to open his tavern once again. Referring to this new construction in a newspaper advertisement, Rawlings described the tavern as “It is fitted to accommodate gentlemen with boarding, lodging, and has accommodations equal to any Tavern in the City” [Lennon, Heather Nicole, 2013].

The early taverns in Shockoe Valley were (e=estimated date):

ID	NAME	OPEN		CLOSED	
11	Hogg's Tavern (Also Known As Old Tavern)	1779		1796	
17	Falling Gardens	1782		1809	
23	Rawling's Tavern (Later Named The Rising Sun)	1787		1794	
27	Bowler's Ordinary/Tavern (Later Named Bell's Tavern)	1793		1803	
28	Rising Sun Tavern (First Named Rawling's Tavern)	1792		1807	
33	Shield's Tavern	1800	e	1820	e
34	Western Tavern	1800	e	1820	e
35	White Hall Tavern	1800	e	1820	e

Richmond Memories

42	Bell's Tavern (First Named Bowler's Tavern)	1803		1846	
66	Truehart's Tavern	1840	e	1861	e

While many taverns were housed in the dwelling of the proprietors, others were purpose-built. All, however, partook of a domestic character and also served as the home of their operators. In spite of their private status and often modest scale, taverns and later, hotels, provided, other than the parish church, the closest approximation of a public building that most developing Virginia towns could muster. For instance, meetings of Petersburg's court and common hall were held in a tavern for the first years, until a courthouse could be constructed. Taverns and coffeehouses were the primary gathering places, accessible to all who could afford to pay, where the work of political compromise, commercial trade, civic celebration, and business dealing was carried on [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

The number of taverns in Richmond grew steadily at the end of the eighteenth century and into the beginning of the nineteenth. In comparing the architectural design of the "uptown" and "downtown" buildings, it is noticeable that the "downtown" taverns west of Twentieth Street were built with larger floor plans. More of the "uptown" taverns east of Twentieth Street were made of brick, although some of these buildings had upper stories constructed of wooden boards, which was the primary building material of the less fashionable taverns of the "downtown" district. Often the older taverns upgraded from wood to brick facings, or if a complete remodeling was too expensive, the tavern owner would sometimes have the lower half faced in brick while the upper story remained wood [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Part of the reason for the difference in the structures of the "uptown" and "downtown" taverns can be attributed to the fire of 1787. This fire, which started in a storehouse near Anderson's Tavern (see page 111), spread to many buildings in that part of the city. The fire also threatened some of the government buildings, including the Treasury Office, until it was contained and eventually put out. As a result of this fire, many of the wooden buildings were destroyed in the western end of the city. With the addition of new building codes enacted by the legislature, any rebuilt structures had to be constructed of brick to prevent the possibility of another large scale conflagration damaging property within the city [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

However, the differences in each tavern's physical design also reflected its profitability and status in the Richmond community. Taverns which were making more money could afford improvements such as brick facades or polished wooden dance floors, and thus their internal and external appearance paralleled the wealth of the business contained in the tavern. Also, taverns which catered to influential or well-known patrons such as John Marshall were able to charge higher prices for food, drink and lodgings, providing money which could be reinvested in a high quality establishment. With more available funds for improvements, these buildings thus reflected the higher social standing of their patrons [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

For example, many of the more expensively furnished taverns housed members of various national or state conventions held in Richmond, and taverns such as the Swan Tavern, with its reputation for fine food and lodging, could cater to the richer tastes of Virginia's statesmen. On the other

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

hand, the taverns which catered to the simpler wants of farmers or tradesmen did not need to foster the prestige associated with an imposing exterior. Taverns such as the Bird-In-The-Hand Tavern, while perhaps providing service and refreshments comparable to the more high class establishments, did not have the imposing structures or exteriors of taverns in the Uptown district [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Thus, the taverns reflected the life of the city of Richmond. As the city grew and prospered, so did the taverns. They provided a stopping place for travelers coming into the city and they also furnished drink, food and entertainment for the local citizens. The taverns served as important locations where local products could be bought and sold, and provided an information exchange, not only about local and state news, but also about national and world-wide events. The taverns physical designs and the rapid increase in the number of establishments were a visual sign of the increasing prosperity of the city after the turn of the century. As Richmond became an important center for the state, the taverns served as a concrete reminder to all who saw them that travelers with business in the capital could come and stop in comfort [Hedges, Anne Rachel, 1993].

Taverns and later, hotels, were used throughout the nineteenth century for meetings of a private and semi-private character. Hotels took over this function on a grander scale, and provided rooms for traveling salesmen, private parties, and the offices of commission merchants, including slave traders, all within an architecturally articulated setting that emulated the appearance of the public buildings [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The term “hotel” came into being at the end of the eighteenth century to distinguish the best accommodations in urban areas. In addition, the terms “Inn” and “public house” were rarely used in colonial Virginia [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Hotels and boarding houses offered shelter (temporarily for some, permanently for others), and were plotted with this in mind. Probably due to the comings and goings of those related to the Virginia state legislature and to state affairs, hotels and boarding houses clustered near Capitol Square. Hotels were west, northwest, north, southeast and south of Capitol Square [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Hotels primarily shared locations with retail areas on several blocks of both East Broad and East Main Streets. Boarding houses were near and around Capitol Square but spread farther out in all directions than hotels. Restaurants and eating houses were diffused throughout the same approximate area. Whereas restaurants were businesses that sold meals probably to mainly business people, eating houses were actually individual homes that served meals, usually only lunch, to workers as well as some business people. The greater concentration of restaurants was to the south of Capitol Square and the greater concentration of eating houses was east of Capitol Square nearer the manufacturing sites [Newcomb, David Ray, 1989].

As with retail areas, in a walking town the location of establishments such as restaurants, hotels, eating houses and boarding houses depends on accessibility. Such service oriented businesses must be placed so that they are both easy to get to and convenient for reaching other destinations. In all likelihood, many of the patrons of the restaurants and boarding houses were state employees or business people who walked from home to work, to eat, then back to work or home. Although

Richmond Memories

some hotel residents lived there permanently, most were visitors who likewise walked to their goals. These visitors may have arrived in Richmond by steamship, steamboat, train or canal boat. Upon arrival, presumably, few opted to walk to their hotel or boarding house, but most employed hacks (horse & carriage-for-hire) or perhaps the horse-drawn streetcar [Newcomb, David Ray, 1989].

A new building type appeared in Richmond in 1817. The Union Hotel (see page 207), located at Main and Nineteenth Street, was built for Dr. John Adams and designed by architect Otis Manson, who was associated on at least one project with architect Robert Mills (he and Mills prepared plans for a new Richmond City Jail that wasn't built at about the same time [Records of the Common Hall, 17 March 1817]. It represented a more architecturally sophisticated response to the demand for overnight accommodations, the first to rise "above the primitive level of inns and taverns" [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

As Bryan Clark Green, author of, *In Jefferson's Shadow: The Architecture of Thomas R. Blackburn*, and co-author of, *Lost Virginia: Vanished Architecture of the Old Dominion*, has observed, Richmond hotels, beginning with the Union Hotel, had about a twenty year life-span before they appeared outmoded. By the early 1840s, when the Exchange Hotel was built, equipped with toilets, central heat, and running water, the Union Hotel was no longer fashionable. Although it was returned to use as a hotel, it was rented as the site of the predecessor of the Medical College of Virginia when the school was opened in 1838 [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

In spite of the ostensible twenty-year rule, the ancient Eagle Tavern maintained its superlative reputation for decades, even in competition with newer hostelrys. In 1825, Lafayette's dinner at the Eagle Tavern was matched by one at the newer Union Hotel. John Tyler was entertained at the Union Hotel in 1827 (and again in 1836), but John Randolph was feted at the Eagle in 1827 and the Washington birthday ball was held there in 1832. The Eagle, by this time known as a hotel, burned in 1839 [Christian]. No image survives of this popular place of entertainment. According to one source, a popular song in Richmond during the antebellum period included the lines "I dined at the Union, got drunk at the Bell, and lost all my money at the Eagle Hotel" [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The Exchange Bank opened in June, 1841 and the new Exchange Hotel (see page 249) the next month. The name Exchange is a clue to the building's proposed use by merchants and dealers to further their business. It was built near the tobacco warehouses at the foot of Shockoe Hill for a stock company of Richmond businessmen. Their intention was to encourage commerce by providing visitors to the city with a luxurious and even palatial hotel. After that date, most entertainments were held at the Exchange, including one for Charles Dickens in the following year [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Hotels built in the late antebellum years, like the Ballard House (see page 286), tended to be much less exuberant on the exterior, but even more luxurious and comfortable on the interior. The new five-story Spotswood Hotel (see page 295), built at Eighth and Main, was like an elongated version of a Richmond commercial building with no discernable main entry and no colonnade above its cast iron storefronts. Not until 1895, with the opening of the Jefferson Hotel, would Richmond hotels again join civic buildings and churches in employing elaborate architectural detailing. In

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

spite of its plain exterior, when it opened in 1860 the Spotswood Hotel became the city's most popular destination for travelers. Competing against the famous Exchange Hotel/Ballard House, it was the favorite hotel for official visitors to the Confederate capital. Robert E. Lee and Jefferson Davis both took rooms there until permanent homes could be found for them [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The outbreak of the Civil War ushered in an era of radical change in Virginia. Starting with fanatical John Brown's failed revolution at Harpers Ferry, and ending with a devastating defeat and painful reconstruction six years later, citizens of the Old Dominion experienced a decade of upheaval that would forever change the fabric of their social and domestic life [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Nowhere was this change more evident than in the new Confederate capital of Richmond. What had been a quiet, conservative Virginia city of 38,000 people was transformed overnight into the political and industrial center of a nation at war, the defiant guardian of an imperiled culture [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Much of Civil War era Richmond has passed away in a physical sense, due in part to the 1865 evacuation fire (started by Confederates and put out by Federals), but mainly due to the irresistible drive of modern progress [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The James River, as always, is a central geographic landmark, winding through the very heart of the city with sometimes breathtaking beauty. During the Civil War, almost every structure or place of importance was within sight of the river, and a hotel room facing south on an upper floor would often have a view of the river [Trammell, John K., 1996].

In the summer of 1861, newcomers had a significant number of hostelries, taverns or boardinghouses to choose from, ranging from such upscale hotels as the Exchange or Spotswood to the cramped confines of a dozen or more second-rate boardinghouses. As more and more people entered the city on military and political business, the population of the city swelled, eventually doubling prewar totals, and a social caste within, and sometimes competing with, pre-existing society began to emerge [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Because of the need for rooms and living quarters, hotels and taverns became natural gathering places for the newly formed Confederate government. For the price of a drink or a meal, boarders could hear political debates, haggling over government contracts, and news of the war [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Perhaps foremost among the Richmond hotels was the Spotswood. Completed shortly before the war in 1860, and located at the southeast corner of 8th Street and Tan Road (now called Main Street), the Spotswood became the place to see and be seen. An impressive five-story brick structure with an ornate iron facade, the Spotswood was similar in many ways to Willard's Hotel in Washington, D. C. Few people of importance to the South failed to visit its rooms or parlors at some time during the war. It became a vital nerve center within the capital; its basement even served as the Confederate post office [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Richmond Memories

For even casual students of the Confederate cause, the names of two men head the list of numerous wartime guests at the Spotswood. Robert E. Lee, then a colonel, rode through Richmond for the first time during the war, taking up lodgings at the Spotswood until a permanent residence could be arranged. The day before his arrival, Richmond had suffered the first of what would become many wartime scares, when word came that the Federal warship Pawnee was steaming upriver to attack the city. Though the alarm proved to be false, the arrival of Lee signaled an exciting time for the city, as well as foreshadowing an ominous end that was not yet in sight. Four years later, Lee would travel the same Richmond streets to his home at 707 East Franklin Street, a defeated general of a lost cause [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The other most important Spotswood guest was Jefferson Davis. The president of the Confederacy arrived in Richmond on May 29 to a booming salute of guns, and, after an enthusiastic greeting from Governor John Letcher, Mayor Joseph Mayo and others, he proceeded through the crowded streets to the Spotswood. Davis stayed in room 83, which the proprietor had decorated specially to serve as his parlor. The business of the new nation demanded Davis' attention immediately, and the new chief executive worked out of his Spotswood lodgings until a home was furnished for his family [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Spotswood remained busy throughout the war. During the Battle of First Manassas, anxious wives and relatives crowded into the lobby and parlors to await news from the front and to read printed casualty lists. Ironically, the Spotswood bar became a favorite meeting place for enemy spies. Even the infamous Belle Boyd stayed at the Spotswood [Trammell, John K., 1996].

After the war, the Spotswood hosted Union Generals William Sherman, Ulysses S. Grant and Phil Sheridan, and even U.S. President Andrew Johnson. Although a breeze fortunately spared the hotel from the evacuation fire in 1865, flames eventually claimed the dignified structure in 1870, after barely 11 years of service [Trammell, John K., 1996].

In direct competition with the Spotswood were the Exchange Hotel and the Ballard House, which were connected by an iron bridge above Franklin Street. The Exchange was the older of the two structures, having been erected in 1841, while the Ballard House was constructed in 1854 to service an overflow of guests. The Exchange was a stately five-story building, completed in royal fashion with spacious rooms and liberal use of marble. During the war, the Exchange Hotel and the Ballard House were popular venues for gatherings of Confederate senators and congressmen. After the war, Lee stayed at the Exchange when he traveled to Richmond from Lexington, Va., where he served as president of Washington College [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Other hotels that were popular during the war included the Arlington House (6th and Main, see page 279), which hosted at least eight Confederate senators and congressmen; the American Hotel (12th and Main, see page 186); and the Powhatan House (an enlargement of a smaller building built in 1831, at 11th and Broad, see page 233), which, though losing popularity as the war started, served as a breeding ground for the separatist movement growing in western Virginia [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Other hotels were not so popular, and in some cases were considered out of style by both Confederate socialites and local Richmonders. A list of these includes such hotels as the Saint Charles (15th and Main, see page 282), which was also known as the City Hotel. This four-story stucco building was converted into Hospital Number Eight in the summer of 1861. Another was the Monumental (9th and Grace, see page 276), which was taken over for use by the Confederate Second Auditor's Office. The Columbian (see page 237) and the Richmond House (see page 261) were other hotels that were not popular during the war [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Bird-In-The-Hand Tavern (dating from the 18th century, on Main Street) was a popular wartime gathering place. A new tavern, Bird-in-Hand, serves Main Street customers in present-day Richmond, though the original structure has been lost to renovations [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Union Tavern (19th and Main) had been a popular inn before the war. The Eagle Hotel became the American Hotel in 1840. The Union Tavern served as a military barracks during the war, and was also the starting point for many military processions, reviews and parades held in the city. It remained a popular meeting place until near the beginning of the 20th century when, after becoming something of a home for the destitute, it finally was torn down to make way for a row of commercial buildings [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Swan Tavern (8th and 9th), which was also known as the Broad Street Hotel, once housed the likes of Thomas Jefferson and Edgar Allan Poe, but was quite run down by 1861. Although it served as a hospital on several occasions, it passed the war mainly as a second-rate boardinghouse, where a drink and a room could be had cheaply and without questions [Trammell, John K., 1996].

For those seeking cultured entertainment, there was the Richmond Theater (7th and Broad), which housed several ornate galleries and an orchestra. On one occasion, General J. E. B. Stuart was forced to send armed patrols to the theater to retrieve some of his men who had "accidentally" left camp and found themselves there. Stuart's patrol aroused the ire of the city provost marshal, who felt his territory had been infringed upon, but Stuart responded in typically flamboyant fashion by sending more armed patrols into the city [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The provost marshal, Brig. Gen. John H. Winder, was not popular among the citizens, and his company was always vigorously avoided. Nor was a trip to his headquarters (at 10th and Broad) a pleasant prospect, as the odor from the uniforms and clothes taken off of dead soldiers had a tendency to drift upward from the basement, where thousands of uniforms were stored, to create a positively putrid environment in the already filthy office [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Another important social gathering place was the Confederate White House (12th and Clay), to which Jefferson Davis and his family moved on 1 August 1861. "Levees," a regular

Richmond Memories

Washington tradition where anyone could pay an unannounced call on the first family, were held every fortnight at the Davises [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The Governor's Mansion (on Capitol Square) was also the location of many social and official activities during the war, but is perhaps best remembered for the night it held the mortal remains of Lt. Gen. Stonewall Jackson as he passed through Richmond for the last time. The mansion was not officially opened to the public, but Constance Cary, a prominent young Richmond girl, and a handful of other women did manage to gain entrance and catch a final glimpse of the fallen hero. Cary described the unearthly scene this way: "Two sentries paced to and fro in the moonlight streaming through the windows. A lamp burned dimly at the end of the hall, but we saw distinctly the regular white outline of the quiet face in its dreamless slumber" [Trammell, John K., 1996].

There were a number of places that citizens of good standing attempted to avoid in wartime Richmond. Even in the capital city of a cause that embraced and defended slavery, slave auctions were not popular places to frequent. They were located in an older, run-down neighborhood to begin with, and were usually held in dirty, ill-repaired structures that earned the gloomy scorn of Charles Dickens during his prewar visit to the city. No one of social standing, including most Confederate officers, had any reason or desire to travel through such an area of town [Trammell, John K., 1996].

The prisons for Union soldiers were also avoided, authorities having generally placed them out of the way to begin with. The most famous was Libby Prison, a converted warehouse commandeered by the Confederate government in 1862. Although conditions in Libby Prison were better than in many other prisons, they were no better than the conditions faced by most Confederate troops, which were substandard by any measure the last half of the war. In 1864, roughly one hundred Union prisoners dug their way out and attempted to escape with the aid of a local pro-Northern citizen, Elizabeth Van Lew [Trammell, John K., 1996].

John Van Lew was a prosperous Richmond merchant and owned what was perhaps the most impressive home in wartime Richmond, located on Grace Street and occupying a full city block. The activities of his abolitionist daughter, however, were destined to bring the wrath of the local population down upon the family name. At first, Elizabeth Van Lew was regarded as merely an eccentric, since the South was not devoid of abolitionists, though they were a small minority. Local citizens even laughed when it was reported that she was preparing a room for Union General George McClellan during the Peninsula campaign. While she cultivated her reputation for eccentricity, she engaged in activities (like harboring escaped prisoners) that could only be deemed treasonous to the Confederate cause. Her importance as an enemy spy was highlighted by the fact that General Grant sent an armed patrol to see after her safety upon entering the city in 1864. The citizens of Richmond, justly or not, were finally able to extract a measure of revenge in 1911 when Van Lew passed away, an ostracized, lonely old woman. The city permitted the historic Grace Street home to be razed to make way for a public shelter [Trammell, John K., 1996].

A description of the evacuation fire of the third of April, 1865, includes many references of the destroyed buildings. "The evacuation of Richmond commenced in earnest Sunday night, closed at daylight on Monday morning with a terrific conflagration, which, was kindled by

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

the Confederate authorities wantonly and recklessly applying the torch to Shockoe warehouse and other buildings in which was stored a large quantity of tobacco. The fire spread rapidly, and it was some time before the Fire Brigade could be gotten to work. A fresh breeze was blowing from the south, and the fire swept over great space in an incredible short space of time. By noon the flames had transformed into a desert waste that portion of the city bounded between Seventh and Fifteenth Street, from Main-street to the river, comprising the main business portion. We can form no estimate at this moment of the number of houses destroyed, but public and private they will certainly number six or eight hundred” [New York Times, 8 April 1865, Page 1].

“At present we cannot do more than enumerate some of the most prominent buildings destroyed. These include the Bank of Richmond, Traders' Bank, Bank of the Commonwealth, Bank of Virginia, Farmers' Bank, all the banking houses, the American Hotel, the Columbian Hotel, the Enquirer building on Twelfth-street, the Dispatch Office and job rooms, corner of Thirteenth and Main Street; all that block of buildings known as Devlin's Block; the Examiner Office, engine and machinery rooms; the Confederate Post-office Department building; the State Court-house; a fine old building situated on Capitol-square, at its Franklin-street entrance; the Mechanics' Institute, vacated by the Confederate States War Department, and all the buildings on that square up to Eighth-street and back to Main-street; the confederate arsenal and laboratory, Seventh-street” [New York Times, 8 April 1865, Page 1].

Hardly any of the buildings mentioned have survived into modern times. Those that have are primarily the ones closest to Capitol Square. Still, as one drives around the streets today and tries to imagine the lively activity and bustle of the struggling capital of a lost cause, one cannot escape the feeling that something significant happened here, and that the modern high-rises and commercial buildings cannot erase the mark the war left on Richmond [Trammell, John K., 1996].

Sprinkled throughout this historical account of early, pre-Civil War Richmond is an occasional reference to the use of slave labor in Richmond's business and industry and to the slave trade. These occasional references, however, are not sufficient to develop an understanding of the true impact of African Americans on the development of Richmond and its taverns and hotels. Thus, an in-depth analysis is warranted.

Richmond Memories

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 5

The Impact of the Slave Trade On the Development of Richmond And Its Taverns And Hotels

The presence of slavery and the business of buying and selling bondsmen was an essential element in Richmond's development as one of the preeminent cities in the south. The city's pivotal location in proximity to the agricultural fields of Tidewater and Southside Virginia, and North Carolina, the natural power source provided by the falls on the James River, and its accessibility as a shipping port and later as a railroad hub made Richmond an ideal place for manufacturing and exporting operations. Processing, marketing and exportation activities were concentrated near the James River around Shockoe Creek where Richmond was founded. Tobacco processing, flour milling, and iron production were prominent industries and the coalfields of Midlothian contributed yet another facet to the city's wealth [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Often overlooked in discussions of Richmond's economic success in the antebellum period is the impact of the slave trade as a commercial enterprise. In the 1850s, Richmond's biggest business by dollar volume was not tobacco, flour, or iron, but slaves [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The first Africans arrived in the British colonies in 1619 at Jamestown, Virginia. The great majority of imported slaves came directly from Africa but some were brought into the colonies from the West Indies. Their exact status as slave (lifetime service and inherited status) or servant is unclear but between 1640 and 1660 there is evidence of enslavement and by 1660 the concept of slavery was being solidified in the statute books of the colonies. In the Chesapeake area (Virginia and Maryland) more than anywhere to the northward, the shortage of labor and the abundance of land placed a premium on involuntary labor. The cultivation of tobacco in this region required labor which was cheap but not temporary, mobile but not independent, and tireless rather than skilled. In 1649, it was estimated that there were 300 slaves in Virginia. The number had grown to 2,000 in 1671 and by 1721, slaves accounted for over 50% of Virginia's total population. The 1780 United States census enumerated 292,627 slaves in Virginia [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the trans-Atlantic slave trade was conducted by British importers and intermediate commission merchants who had access to large amounts of capital and political connections. Importers and commission merchants often served in government offices and occupied privileged positions in Colonial society. Northern ports carried on a large commerce in slaves who were trans-shipped to the other colonies, especially Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina. Southern ports convenient to the plantation regions grew up at Charleston, Savannah and Richmond [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

In the Richmond area, the earliest sales of imported slaves took place on board ships at the Manchester Docks, on the south bank of the James River. Manchester and the settlement of

Richmond Memories

“Shockoes,” on the north bank of the James River at the mouth of Shockoe Creek, were the first established settlements in what is now Richmond. Manchester, originally called Rocky Ridge, was the site of warehouses and other utilitarian buildings. An advertisement in the Virginia Gazette dated 16 June 1774 announced the sale of slaves in the town of Rocky Ridge. “To be sold 10th November at Rocky Ridge, 150 choice slaves, late the property of Jahn Wayles, dec’d by Francis Eppes and Henry Skipwith” [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

By 1778, the sale of slaves in Richmond had moved to the north bank of the James River. The port of Rocketts was located just east of “Shockoes”. Robert Rocketts had operated a ferry landing at this location since 1730. By 1770, Rocketts was one of the busiest inland shipping ports in the colonies. A seven mile section of the James River and Kanawha canal was opened in 1790 that allowed upland boats to enter Richmond instead of having to transfer goods from bateaux to wagons to be transported into the city. The “basin on Shockoe Hill” subsequently became the port of embarkation for goods traveling to and from Richmond and points west on the James River [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

With the birth of a new nation, the debate over the importation of slaves rose to the level of material advantages over questions of general welfare and human rights. In the northern colonies where many were resolutely hostile to the institution there was nonetheless much profit in the fitting out of ships for the African slave trade and a desire to preserve the enterprise. In Virginia, it was argued that there would be a greater benefit if importations stopped. “Her slaves will rise in value, and she has more than she wants”. Other reasons offered for abolishing the international slave trade were the fear that newly imported Africans were more likely to rebel than those already accustomed to the conditions of slavery and the immigration of “white persons” would increase. Between 1777 and 1804, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey ended slavery within their borders [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The Virginia General Assembly prohibited the importation of slaves in 1778. In 1783 and 1784 the United States Congress debated the issue of slavery, and Rufus King of Massachusetts introduced a resolution that after 1800 there should be no slavery or involuntary servitude in the United States. King’s resolution was defeated but a provision was included in the federal Constitution that the importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person. By 1803, South Carolina was the only state that had not outlawed the importation of slaves. In 1808, the federal government enacted the African Slave Trade Act that made it illegal to import slaves, thus ending the trans-Atlantic slave trade [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The early nineteenth century saw the expansion of the United States into the Lower South. Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama became states in 1812, 1817 and 1819, respectively, and Texas was declared a territory in 1836. The depletion of agricultural fields from the over cultivation of tobacco and the collapse of the tobacco market in the Upper South between 1819 and 1830 meant that many planters sought farming opportunities in the Lower South. Virginia’s rate of population growth for free blacks plummeted from 35 percent in the decade before 1820 to

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

3 percent between 1830 and 1840. Planters typically took a small group of slaves with them when they moved and if successful they increased their work force by purchasing additional slaves from traders [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The primary crop grown in the Lower South was cotton, a labor intensive operation dependent on slave labor. Because of the 1808 prohibition on the importation of slaves from Africa, planters in the Lower South had to look elsewhere for a labor source and the interstate slave trade rose to meet the demand. Statistics show a massive relocation of slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South once the former region's agriculture started to decline. One estimate has placed the average movement at 20,000 bondsmen per year from 1820 to 1860, or 10 percent of the Upper South's slave population. Virginia, possessing the most slaves, supplied 300,000 bondsmen between 1830 and 1860 [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Virginia was exclusively a slave exporting state and Richmond was the best place in the state to sell slaves. Speculators, planters, farmers, urban purchasers of domestic servants for their own use all preferred to go to Virginia, especially to Richmond, for negroes, because this indicated a certain social as well as a financial advance. Richmond was known as the greatest market for slaves in the United States, second only to New Orleans. Richmond's profitable industrial economy, its location as a central transportation hub, and its importance as the state capital and a center of banking and commerce, all contributed to the success of the slave trade in the city [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The long history of slavery in Virginia and the comfort of many with the presence of the institution set the framework for the development of slave trading as a commercial enterprise. The Richmond Enquirer's editorial article about 'Our Slave Market' demonstrated that slave trading was recognized as both an honorable and an important business [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The failure of tobacco plantations in the 1820s created a surplus of slaves in the Upper South, which coincided with an increased demand for slaves in the Lower South where many farmers had migrated, seeking new agricultural opportunities. Many a Virginia 'country gentleman' or 'planter' was unable to keep his family in comfort and feed and clothe his negroes decently without ultimately selling some of them or running deeply in debt. Many owners sent excess slaves to Richmond either to be sold or hired out [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

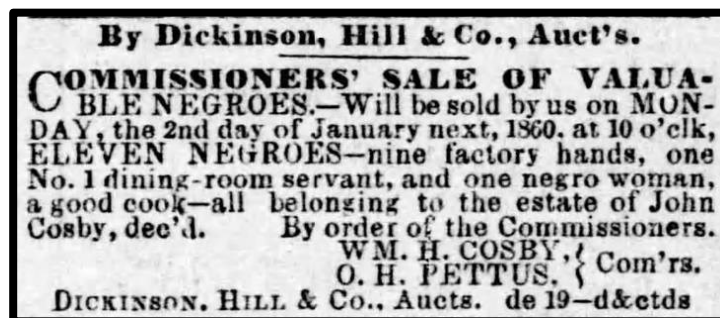
The process of hiring out was a unique aspect of slavery in Richmond because of the presence of manufacturing interests in the city. A niche developed for agents who specialized in the hiring out of slave labor. Often owners worked with an agent to negotiate the terms for the hiring of a slave, or they negotiated with a potential employer directly, and in some cases slaves were allowed to hire themselves out, seeking their own employment and housing. Under this system, owners allowed slaves to go to Richmond to find work for a specified period of time. This system became popular among owners who cared little for paying an agent or for the hassles of finding employment for their slaves. According to this practice slaves were required to pay their masters a stipulated sum of money, but whatever they could earn above that amount was theirs to do as they wished. This was generally a small amount of cash with which to secure their food and lodgings [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Richmond Memories

Between the years of 1800 and 1840, Richmond experienced considerable economic development and the demographics between those years reflect an increase in the number of slaves, most of whom were owned by or employed in Richmond industries. In 1800, Richmond had a population of 5,737, of whom 2,293 were slaves and 607 were free blacks. By 1840, 20,153 people lived in Richmond, including 7,509 slaves. The demand for hiring slaves was high because they were considered the most efficient workforce in many industries and for large construction projects like the James River and Kanawha Canal. Tobacco, iron and mill operators experimented to find the most efficient blend of workers, slaves, free blacks and whites [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Because there were so many slaves employed in industries that were dependent upon the rise and fall of market demands, slaves switched jobs frequently. The system of hiring out allowed businesses to, in essence, lay off slave workers when they were not needed. Because manufacturing and ancillary businesses required fewer laborers than farming there was an excess of slaves available for exportation to other areas. Thus the domestic slave trade was born to move surplus slaves from the Upper South to the Lower South and western territories where they were in high demand [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The trade in slaves grew as an industry just as tobacco processing and flour milling did. The 1845 Richmond Directory identified nine agents associated with the slave trade. The 1852 directory listed twenty-eight “negro” traders and by 1860 it listed eighteen “negro” traders, eighteen agents, and thirty-three auctioneers, all of whom were engaged in the business of selling slaves. Such a large increase in the numbers of those involved in the business suggests that slave trading as a commercial enterprise was viable and financially successful. The editor of the Warrenton Whig wrote that the gross amount of the Dickinson’s’ (referring to the Richmond auction house of Dickinson and Hill) sales in 1856 reached the enormous sum of two million dollars [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].



*Dickinson and Hill
Richmond Dispatch, 30 Dec 1859, Fri, Page 3*

The entire sales for other houses of similar kind in Richmond would make the amount go over four million dollars, and still the business was increasing. In 1857, the Richmond Enquirer estimated that receipts for Richmond’s slave auctions totaled \$ 3,500,000. By the 1840s, the slave trade had become such a large economic factor that the city of Richmond began to look for ways

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

to regulate the business and benefit financially. The Richmond City Council required in 1842 that auctioneers be licensed to sell slaves. In 1852, the city charter allowed a tax to be levied on slave jails and slave traders. This tax ranged from \$ 20 to \$ 50 annually depending on the volume of trade. The Virginia General Assembly did not attempt to regulate the slave trade until 1860 when it imposed a licensing fee on auctioneers. In 1861, the city of Richmond realized \$ 10,000 in revenue from the licensing and taxing of the slave trade [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The trader, who undertook as their primary occupation, the business of buying and selling bondservants, was viewed with disdain and seen by many as the root of all of the evils associated with slavery. Many accused the traders of habitual brutality, general dishonesty, breaking up families, and trafficking in criminal and unhealthy slaves. As the significant interstate slave trade developed, traders began to establish more permanent headquarters and advertise in directories and newspapers. The selling and hiring of slaves was so fully recognized as a business of general public interest that city (Richmond) directories usually indicated resident traders. But not all traders liked to be so classed, and it was easy to avoid it, if one dealt in other things. It was the name “negro” trader that was to be avoided and not the business. The innocuous practice of occasionally selling slaves was accepted by most southerners as a necessary part of operating a financially successful business [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

As slave trafficking became a more organized business so did job classifications. Larger traders often purchased slaves in rural areas and transported them directly to areas outside of Virginia for resale. The primary and least expensive method used to move slaves south and west was by foot in coffles, groups of slaves manacled together. A coflle was usually accompanied by a wagon with a tent and some custodial personnel [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The smaller traders bought slaves and sold them through the auction houses on consignment. Another class of trader was the slave jail or pen operator. The jail operators often speculated in the slave market and had slaves available for direct purchase. The primary function of the jails was to house slaves that were being sold at local auctions, to hold recently purchased slaves for planters, and to confine slaves who had violated one of the many laws that governed their activities. “Auctioneers,” “commodities brokers,” and “commission merchants” were all terms used by those who sold a variety of goods including slaves. Auctioneers would occasionally purchase a few slaves for quick resale but generally held large sales for others and charged a commission for their services. Commodities brokers and commission merchants were more discreet, and arranged private sales or purchases with little or no advertising [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

They were often requested to liquidate the assets of an estate which included the sale of slaves owned by the deceased. “General agent” usually referred to someone who arranged the hiring of slaves but they often sold slaves as well. Specialty retail stores also grew up around the slave trade especially clothing stores that supplied outfits for slaves about to be auctioned. The selling price for a slave was enhanced when they appeared on the auction block clean and neatly dressed [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Many of the early public auctions of slaves in Richmond took place on the streets. As the industry

Richmond Memories

developed further, the auctions moved to the taverns frequented by the traders.

As early as 1800, newspaper advertisements such as the following were being published in the Richmond newspapers:

December 17, 1800,
SLAVES FOR SALE.
 BY virtue of a deed of trust made to us
 by Col. William Cannon of Bucking-
 ham for purposes therein mentioned. We
 shall proceed to sell on Saturday the 10th of
 January, 1801, at John Anderson's Tavern
 viz. Charles, Frank, John, Major, Kitt,
 Lewis, Lucy & Charity, for cash.
 William Anderson } Trustees,
 Daniel Bagby }
 December 27, 1800. (12)

FOR CASH.
 On Thursday, 1st day of January, 1801, at
 Mr Richard Bowler's Tavern, in the Ci-
 ty of Richmond, will be SOLD,
 Two likely Virginia born
SLAVES,
 Belonging to the estate of Joseph Lewis, decd,
 of Powhatan county, one of which is a very
 good carpenter, the other a good Sawyer.
 Those having claims against said estate are
 requested to bring them forward on that day,
 otherwise this notice will be paid in bar,
 By the Executors.
 Likewise, on the same day and
 place, will be hired, for one year, several Ne-
 groes, consisting of men and women, belonging to
 the estate of William Lewis, deceased, of Hen-
 rico,
 By the Administrator.
 Powhatan, December 20, 1800

Anderson's Tavern

Bowler's Tavern

Virginia Argus 30 Dec 1800, Tue, Page 3

Bell Tavern was the center of the slave trade during the first part of the 1800s. Located at the corner of Franklin and Fifteenth Street, the tavern was the site of many slave auctions. Examples of these auctions at the Bell Tavern were first seen in 1830.

BY virtue of a Deed of Trust, executed to the
 subscribers by Nelson Cary, Edward Hill and
 Branch T. Archer, for certain purposes therein set
 forth—which deed bears date on the 3d day of June,
 1826, and is duly recorded in Chesterfield County
 Court—will be sold, on Friday, the 24th day of the
 present month, at 12 o'clock, before the front door
 of the Bell Tavern, in this city, for ready money, to
 the highest bidder, FOUR NEGRO MEN, ONE NEGRO
 WOMAN, and twenty MULES.
 We know of no objection to the title, but shall
 convey only such as is vested in us as Trustees.
 ROBERT G SCOTT,
 WYNDHAM ROBERTSON, } Trustees.
 dec 14—10t

Richmond Times-Dispatch, 16 Dec 1830, Thu, Page 3

Later, the Bell Tavern housed the offices of slave trading firms. R. H. Dickinson and Thomas Taliaferro had offices at Bell Tavern. The following advertisement appeared in the Whig on 1 January 1841 [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

NEGRO HIRING.—Thomas H. Taliaferro offers his services again to his friends and the public generally in Hiring out Negroes for the ensuing year, and collecting all claims entrusted to his care—also, renting out Houses, and selling all kinds of Produce. He takes this method of informing those who wish to employ him, that it would be advisable to inform him as early as they can, that he may have an opportunity of getting good homes. He pledges himself that every exertion shall be used to obtain good prices and good homes, and hopes that an experience of fifteen years will entitle him to a share of patronage.

✶ He will at all times be found at Messrs. N. B. & C. B. Hill's Office, opposite Messrs. R. H. Dickenson & Brother, Franklin street, in rear of the Bell Tavern. no 3—1st J

*R. H. Dickinson and Bell Tavern
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 07 Dec 1846, Mon, Page 1*

The Bell Tavern was replaced in 1846, by the City Hotel (see page 260), also known as the St. Charles, located on the northeast corner of 15th and Main Street. Thomas Taliaferro moved his offices to the City Hotel. Benjamin Davis, Churchill Hodges, the Hill brothers, David Pulliam, and later the partnership of Pulliam and Davis, all well-known traders, also had offices in the City Hotel. Auctions were held in the basement. The Exchange Hotel, one of the city's finest, at the southeast corner of Main and 14th Streets, housed the offices of at least five agents including George Jones, Pulliam and Slade and P. M. Tabb and Sons [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Thomas H. Taliaferro.
GENERAL AGENT AND COLLECTOR,
WILL continue the ensuing year, (1849) to Hire out Negroes, Rent out Houses, Collect Claims, sell privately any thing that may be entrusted to him, such as grain of all kinds. He will also attend to any auction sales out of the corporation, or in any of the adjoining counties, within 20 miles of this city.

Those wishing my services in the hiring out of their Servants will please notify me as early as practicable, that I may be enabled to procure good homes for them.

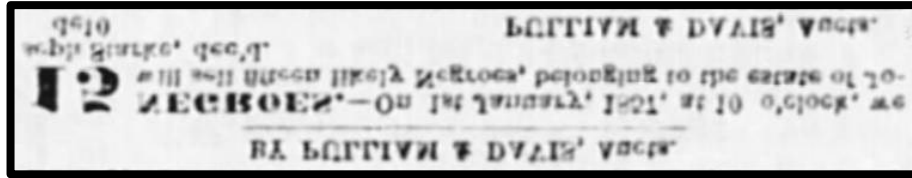
I pledge myself that no exertion shall be wanting on my part to give satisfaction to all who may entrust business to me.

Office on Wall street, near City Hotel.
Nov. 30 THOS. H. TALIAFERRO.

*Thomas Taliaferro and the City Hotel
Richmond Enquirer, 15 Dec 1848, Fri, Page 3*

The offices of other traders were located in the warehouses and shops within a two block radius of the hotels. The heart of the slave trading district was centered on these hotels and taverns and

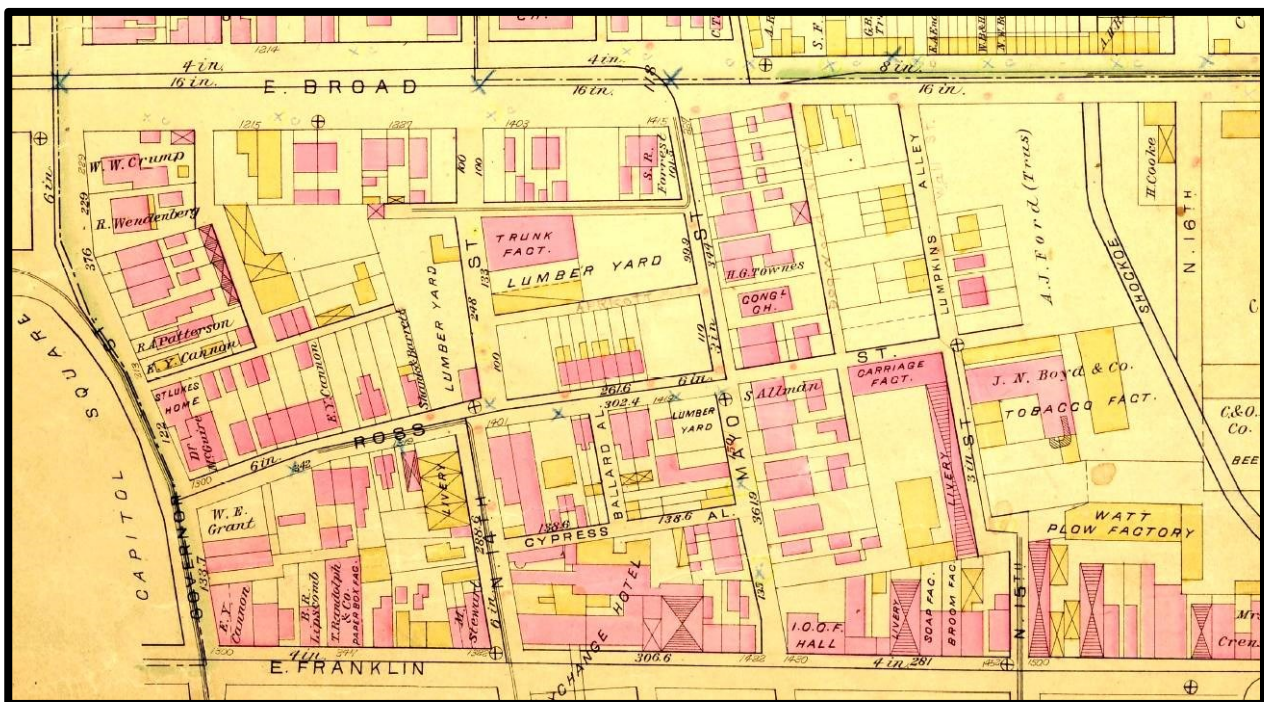
The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch



Pulliam & Davis

Richmond Times-Dispatch, 15 Dec 1856, Mon, Page 3

There were three major slave jail operators in the city, Robert Lumpkin; Silas Omohundro and Bacon Tait. The jails served a number of purposes. The slave jails could house as many as thirty slaves or more who were awaiting auction or who were recently purchased and awaiting transportation. The jails were the site of private sales that were more leisurely than the fast paced auctions and often provided boarding houses for traders and planters from out of state. Robert Lumpkin's Jail is perhaps the most well-known of these. The complex was located on Lumpkin's Alley, an extension of 15th Street between Franklin and Broad. Lewis A. Collier and Bacon Tait operated jails on this site before it was purchased by Lumpkin. The area was known as "the devil's half acre", reflecting the iniquitous business conducted inside the stockade fence. Thomas Lumpkin and George Apperson operated jails on the west side of Lumpkin Alley between Broad and Franklin Streets [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].



*Area Between Lumpkin's Alley and Capitol Square
Atlas of the City of Richmond, G. W. Baist, 1889*

Richmond Memories

Silas Omohundro operated a jail on Exchange Alley between Locust Alley and Wall Street. Omohundro also had offices and a jail on the southeast corner of Broad and Seventeenth Street. Bacon Tait operated a jail at the southeast corner of Cary and 15th Streets and Hector Davis operated a jail at the corner of Locust Alley and Franklin Street. On the north side of Broad Street, near Lumpkin's jail was the "Negro" burial ground. It was here that the slaves who died in the jails from disease or were hanged for their indiscretions were buried. Freed blacks were also buried in this cemetery, now under an asphalt parking lot [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

CASH FOR NEGROES.—I shall be absent two or three months from Richmond. During my absence, Mr. Wm. H. Goodwin will attend to my jail and the purchase of slaves for me. Liberal prices will be paid.
Nov. 26. [58—t] LEWIS A. COLLIER.

Lewis A. Collier

Richmond Enquirer, 20 Feb 1834, Thu, Page 1

DISSOLUTION OF COPARTNERSHIP.
THE copartnership existing between Omohundro & Templeman, is this day dissolved by mutual consent. Those having claims against the concern will please present them for settlement, and those indebted are requested to make payment. The name of the concern will only be used to settle up its business.
SILAS OMOHUNDRO.
H. N. TEMPLEMAN.
The subscriber will continue the business of buying and selling and receiving Negroes on board at 25 cts. per day as usual at the old stand in a few paces of the Bell Tavern.
May 13—6t SILAS OMOHUNDRO.

Silas Omohundro

Richmond Enquirer, 13 May 1845, Tue, Page 2

FOR SALE, not to be carried out of Richmond or the neighborhood, if early application is made, a likely **Negro Woman**, about 42 years old, with her child, about 8 years old. She has been accustomed to the house, plain cooking and washing and to the dairy. Apply at BACON TAIT'S office.
au 25—eo3t*

Bacon Tait

Richmond Dispatch, 25 Aug 1852, Wed, Page 2

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Many of the merchants involved in the slave trade had residences close to their offices or lived in the same building from which they conducted their business. Some houses were part of a larger complex, such as the one at Lumpkin's Jail that housed Robert Lumpkin and his family. Listings in the 1855 City of Richmond Directory indicate that many slave traders operated their business out of the same building that served as their primary residence. The dwellings were located on one of the many alleys and streets that formed the core of the district, or only a few blocks away. Many slave traders maintained separate residences, but these too were primarily located in the Shockoe area [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

\$50 REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber on the 20th July, two negro men named HENRY and ZACK. Henry was purchased at Matthews Courthouse, in June, by Lumpkin and Templeman, of Mr. Zeboles Gayles. He has a brown complexion, is about 25 years of age, five feet 6 or 8 inches high and has a wife in Gloucester or York county. Zack is a black fellow, about 22 years of age, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, a little bow-legged and stammers when spoken to quick. I purchased him at the Bell Tavern, of Mr. Wm. G. Jones, from New Kent. I will give \$50 for each of them, delivered to me, in Richmond; or \$25 for each of them, if confined in any jail, so I can get them again.
ROBERT LUMPKIN.
Richmond, August 3. 25—1f

Robert Lumpkin
Richmond Enquirer, 10 Aug 1841, Tue, Page 1

SERVANT WANTED.—The subscribers are authorized to purchase or hire a MAN SERVANT, faithful and honest, who will be willing to go to King William. For such a liberal price will be paid.
my 1 ft GODDIN & APPERSON.

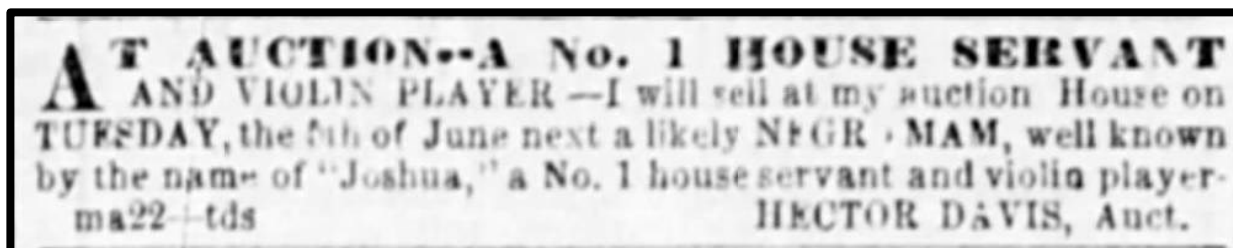
George Apperson
Richmond Dispatch, 03 May 1854, Wed, Page 3

Hector Davis, who had an office at St. Charles Hotel, lived in a house located at 9th and Marshall Street. Ash Levy, a slave dealer who also operated a clothing store for outfitting slaves, lived on the east side of 18th between Grace and Broad Street. The house is still standing at 211 North 18th Street and is the only standing house that can currently be identified with any certainty as the former residence of a slave trader. The dwelling is listed as a contributing resource in the Shockoe Valley and Tobacco Row National Register Historic District [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Richmond Memories

The 1859 City Directory contains the following advertisement:

Hector Davis, Auctioneer & Commission Merchant, For sale of Negroes, Franklin Street, Richmond, VA. Sells negroes both publicly and privately and pledges his best efforts to obtain highest market prices. He has a safe and commodious jail where he will board all negroes intended for his sale at 30 cents per day



AT AUCTION--A No. 1 HOUSE SERVANT AND VIOLIN PLAYER --I will sell at my auction House on TUESDAY, the 5th of June next a likely NEGRO MAM, well known by the name of "Joshua," a No. 1 house servant and violin player. HECTOR DAVIS, Auct.
ma22--tds

*Hector Davis
Richmond Times-Dispatch, 24 May 1860, Thu, Page 3*

Dramatic changes in land use patterns of both Shockoe Bottom and Shockoe Slip have resulted in the loss of many of the structures associated with the slave trade. The evacuation fire of 1865 did much to destroy the southwest corner of the trading district. At 3:00 AM on 3 April 1865, fire was set to the Shockoe Warehouses to prevent the Union troops, which were preparing to enter the city, from seizing valuable supplies. The fire quickly spread from the warehouses located at 12th and Cary Street and soon engulfed much of the river front. By the time the fire was brought under control at mid-day on 3 April 1865 the area from 15th Street on the east, Main Street on the north, Fifth Street on the west, and the James River on the south had been destroyed [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Reconstruction of the financial district along Main Street was quick as Northern investors came to the city. The heart of the trading district was given over to tough saloons, gambling houses and women of shady reputation. Today, nothing remains of the Old Council chamber, Harris's mansion, the Ballard and Exchange Hotels, the five churches, Odd Fellows' Hall, or the many quaint dwellings of this vanished neighborhood [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

In 1860, fifty-two tobacco factories stood in the greater Shockoe area. All but three antebellum tobacco factories have been replaced with larger modern facilities south of Main Street along the James River. These buildings have been or are being renovated as apartments and condominiums [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The construction of Interstate 95 resulted in a large swath of the city being leveled including the nucleus of the former slave trading district. While many of the structures had already disappeared, the construction of Interstate 95 guaranteed even more widespread destruction. The highway enters the district on the north near the intersection of Broad and 16th Street and continues south

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

to Franklin Street, where it cuts a diagonal path to the southeast and crosses the James River. The highway passes under Broad Street and is elevated by the time it reaches Franklin Street. The northwest corner of the district was particularly hard hit by the construction of Interstate 95, the area where Robert and Thomas Lumpkin, and George Apperson operated their jails [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The hotels served a multitude of purposes in relation to the slave trade. They often served as the offices and residences of the traders, they housed buyers who came to Richmond wishing to make a purchase, and they were often the site of auctions. Bell Tavern was constructed on the northeast corner of Main and 15th Streets in 1802 and was noted as the scene not only of recruiting in the War of 1812 but of countless slave-auctions. Bell Tavern was replaced by the City Hotel, known during most of its history as the St. Charles, in 1846. The City or St. Charles Hotel was a four-story brick building with seven bays facing Main Street and extending north on 15th Street for twelve bays [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

There were storefronts at street level and a wrought iron balcony was positioned below the second story windows on the Main Street facade. The building was demolished in 1903. The Exchange Hotel, a grand hotel built in 1841, stood on the south side of Franklin Street between 14th and Locust Street. The three story brick edifice was set on a raised stone foundation. Round bays anchored the corners and the five bays of the facade were separated by full-height Ionic columns that supported a deep entablature that was pierced with attic windows [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The Ballard House was built in 1855 directly across the street from the Exchange. The two hotels were connected at the second story by an enclosed bridge across Franklin Street. The five story Ballard House had an ornate facade of cast iron columns and entablatures. The Exchange Hotel was demolished in 1900; the Ballard was demolished in 1920 [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The Union Hotel stood on the southwest corner of 19th and Main Streets from 1817 until it was demolished in 1911. The first story of the four story hotel was shielded by a columned arcade which supported a wrought iron balcony. The six second story windows were set within arched reliefs; the center arch contained double doors with side lights that opened onto the balcony. The third and fourth stories were set off by two story, Doric pilasters that supported the cornice [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

The hotels and public buildings had all disappeared from the trading district by 1936 and their sites occupied by state office buildings and Main Street Station. The loss of these buildings has erased a major architectural resource associated with the slave trade in Richmond [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2008].

Now that a review of the design and development of the city and its early neighborhoods and business areas; an understanding of early tavern development, and the impact of slavery on the city has been accomplished, let us now examine the resurrection of the hospitality industry after the destruction of the core of Richmond's business district at the end of the Civil War.

Richmond Memories

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

Chapter 6

Later Taverns and Hotels

Following the economic deprivation of the war years, the defeat of the Confederate States at the end of the Civil War led to further financial hardship, and in Virginia, the southern state most devastated by the war, a long period of rebuilding lay ahead. During Reconstruction, major changes occurred in Virginia, the effects of which greatly influenced the state well into the twentieth century. The foundations were laid for America to move away from a heavily agrarian economy and to emerge as an industrialized, urban nation [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

Virtually all construction throughout Virginia halted during the Civil War and this lag continued into the early 1870s in most of the Commonwealth. The city of Richmond proved to be an exception since the complete destruction of the city's commercial center from the 1865 evacuation fire created an immediate need to rebuild. Fortunately, the still viable tobacco industry helped fund the rebuilding effort [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

One of the iconic examples of the Second Empire style in Richmond hotels after the Civil War was the 1889 Murphy's Hotel (see page 357) with its ubiquitous mansard roofs and heavy ornament. This style was the first choice of wealthy homebuilders and their architects because it was, in their eyes, not only thoroughly "modern," but also fashionably flashy in what was a very flashy era indeed.



*Murphy's Hotel, Original Hotel Building with the Palace Hotel Addition On the Left
And the Four Story Brick Addition In the Rear.*

Not until the 1880s was Richmond's economy recovered sufficiently to think of building a great new hotel to symbolize its joining in the renewed growth of the New South. Lewis Ginter (1824-

Richmond Memories

1897), an extremely wealthy tobacco manufacturer, played the role of civic philanthropist toward the end of his life. Ginter was a leader in a plan which originated as early as 1882 with the city's chamber of commerce, to construct a modern hotel in the western part of the city, augmenting the superannuated accommodation available downtown. The Exchange Hotel of 1841, and the Ballard House of 1856 undoubtedly appeared to him to be progressive or modern.

By 1892 Lewis Ginter had personally taken up the hotel scheme, determined to act as a benefactor and tastemaker to his burgeoning adopted city. The project's extraordinary scale, complex plan, and high cost suggest that other factors, including the effective "boosting" of Richmond, outweighed practical profitability among Ginter's intentions [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Per Ginter's wishes, The Jefferson Hotel was built incorporating Renaissance and other forms of architecture that he admired, creating a composite, eclectic style popular at the turn of the century.



Jefferson Hotel, Before Fire of 1901

As a centerpiece for the upper lobby, Ginter commissioned Richmond sculptor Edward V. Valentine to create a life size image of Thomas Jefferson from Carrara marble [Turkel, Stanley].

The rectangular site selected by Lewis Ginter for the hotel occupied approximately one-half of a square or block west of downtown Richmond, between Franklin and Main Street, in what had been the city's most fashionable residential neighborhood for many years [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

The pressure of postwar industry and commerce in the city's old center sparked new construction in the old residential areas to the west. The Franklin Street front was intended

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch

from the start to appeal to an elite clientele by its relationships of scale and form to its fashionable residential setting, while the flush Main Street front, which served as an entrance for commercial travelers, responded to the commercial functions located along Main Street and the streetcar line that ran its length [Urban Scale of Richmond, 8 May 2018].

Ginter invested an estimated \$ 500,000 to \$ 1,500,000 in the design, construction and furnishing of the hotel. It was the most impressive and attractive hostelry in the South, with towers modeled on those of the Giralda in Seville, a spectacular lobby and luxurious and tasteful furnishings and appointments. Leading citizens sought to place a plaque in the hotel, celebrating the all-important contribution of Ginter in bringing the Jefferson into existence, but the modest man refused to allow it [Dabney, 1999].

Not only did Carrere and Hastings design the original Jefferson Hotel, they also designed the first part of the Hotel Richmond at 9th and East Grace Street. John Kevan Peebles of Peebles & Ferguson Architects of Norfolk, Virginia. was associated with Carrere and Hastings in rebuilding the Jefferson Hotel after it burned in 1901. Only the Main Street portion of the Jefferson now has a high rise motif. The firm also completed the Hotel Richmond in 1911 [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1996].



Hotel Richmond After Rebuild

Other Peeble designed hotels in Richmond include the Hotel Murphy at 807 East Broad Street and the Capitol Hotel that stands at the northwest corner of 8th and East Grace Street. Other Richmond high rise hotels built during this period included the Hotel Stumpf (see page 412) at 728 East Main Street, designed by Carl Ruehrmund, a seven story mid-rise, and the Raleigh Hotel (built as the Rueger in 1912, see page 414), now called the Commonwealth Park Suites Hotel) at 9 North Ninth Street designed by Charles Robinson [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 1996].

Richmond Memories

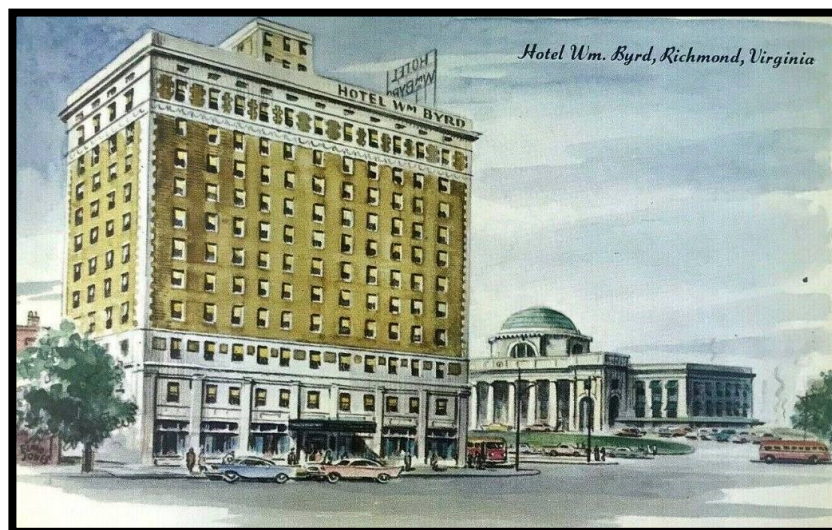


Hotel Murphy at 807 East Broad Street

Between the two world wars, rural residents migrated to cities in large numbers, as America became a truly urban nation and the number of viable operating farms began to decline [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

As the country urbanized and its population experienced dramatic growth, two events occurred that transformed the roles and power of the national and state governments: the Great Depression and World War II.

The two most significant structures erected in Richmond during this time period were both hotels and both were owned and operated by the same company, Richmond Hotels, Inc. These two hotels were the Hotel William Byrd (see page 332) and the Hotel John Marshall.



Hotel William Byrd (foreground) and Broad Street Station (background)

The Taverns and Hotels of Nonsuch



Hotel John Marshall

Richmond Hotels, Inc. would continue to expand its influence within the city and state with the acquisition of Hotel Richmond (see page 396), Murphy's Hotel, and the Chamberlin Hotel at Old Point Comfort. With Lee Paschall as its President, the company became during its zenith, the most important operator of hotels within the state.

After World War II, as construction activity mushroomed due to widespread economic prosperity, Virginians continued looking to Colonial Revival for design inspiration [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

Commercial and corporate architecture proliferated after World War II at a rate unparalleled in Virginia's history. After years of economic stagnation during the Great Depression and rationing through World War II, pent up consumer demand in the United States was finally unleashed by more than two decades of sustained economic growth after the war [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

The most significant hotel constructed during this period was the Executive Motor Hotel (see page 480) located on West Broad Street.

Richmond Memories



Executive Motor Hotel

Quoting architect Norman Giller, “At the time, Richmond’s architecture was dominated by heavy, traditional brick buildings. Mr. Stern wanted his motor hotel to be one of the first ‘contemporary’ structures built in the city, producing a light, lively building that would catch the eye of speeding motorists was essential” [Rocket Werks, 2016].

Other types of commercial architecture, such as for banks, office buildings, and independently owned (non-chain) stores and restaurants, tended to adhere to mainstream architectural styles [Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2015].

To facilitate a detailed examination of Richmond’s history and the development of the taverns and hotels during such, the following time periods will be utilized:

- Settlement To Society Period (1607 - 1750)
- Colony To Nation Period (1751 – 1789)
- Early National Period (1790 – 1830)
- Antebellum Period (1831 – 1860)
- Civil War Period (1861 – 1865)
- Reconstruction And Growth Period (1866 – 1916)
- World War I And World War II Period (1917 – 1945)
- New Dominion Period (1946 – 1960)