

Chapter Four. Findings

The Wilderness Road, which connected with the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road in Roanoke, headed southwest to Montgomery County, Virginia, following what is known as Route 11 today. Since Christiansburg was the first town in the county or on the route, a number of public houses were established which provided food, entertainment, and/or sleeping accommodations.

A review of county documents revealed that the term house of entertainment, ordinary, and tavern are combined or used interchangeably when describing public houses. The distinction made between the three types of travel accommodations appeared to be the difference in state regulations and taxes applied; however, the designation seems arbitrary at times. For example, according to the 1773 court order records, Lindsey Crow held an ordinary license (Index to Court Order Records – 1773 to 1855), but later in the 1823 court order book he was granted a house of entertainment license (M.C. Order Book 22, 1823), yet in that same month, May 1823, another entry in a deed book describes Lindsey Crow's residence as being a tavern (M.C. Deed Book H, 1823). In another example, according to an 1807 account book, Henry Edmundson, owner of the Christiansburg tavern, held an ordinary license (Index to Court Order Records – 1773 to 1885), but his handwritten account book used the term tavern (Edmundson, 1807).

Annual court was held in May and presided over by different judges. This resulted in Court order books containing various signatures, handwriting, and spelling of terms and names. Because court officials may have had individual definitions, there was a lack of distinction between the three forms (ordinaries, taverns, and houses of entertainment) of travel accommodations. Therefore, the term public house was used in this study and is inclusive of all three terms.

Montgomery County court order books of the contained entries of rates for public houses set by the State were reported in an 1820:

Ordered that the following rates be observed by the Ordinary keepers of this county, for breakfast 25 cents, warm dinner 25 cents, supper 25 cents, lodging nights 12 ½ cents, best rum or french brandy for half pint 18 ¾ cents. Best port wine or Madeira per quart one dollar, per ½ pint 25 cents, best whiskey or apple brandy at a half pint 8 cents, best peach brandy 12 ½ cents, [Rum] or [Brandy] of [Inferm] quality 50 cents, ½ pints 17 cents. Cold meal 17 cents, horse as hay or [fodder] one night 17 cents, for 24 hours 25 cents. Corn and oats per gallon 12 ½ cents (M.C. Court Order Book 21, 1820, 60).

House of Entertainment

Twenty licenses to operate a house of entertainment were granted to 14 individuals between the years 1773 to 1823. The first house of entertainment license was granted in 1791 to Francis Gardner (see Figure 4.1) who operated a public house for one year. Between the years 1792 to 1819 only one other individual, Henry Kelkner was granted a license (see Appendix A). Between the year 1821 to 1823, 17 individual house of entertainment licenses were obtained. Often a person would operate a house of entertainment for only one year and then not renew the license. However, others would obtain a license consistently for many years.

Examples of entries from court order books concerning house of entertainment licenses and their locations are the following:

Upon the petition of James Barnett, and who paid to the clerk of this court four dollars and fifty cents, the tax imposed by law, and it appearing the court be of opinion that he will keep an orderly and useful house of private entertainment: a license is granted him to keep a license of private entertainment in this county, until the next May term of

this court (M.C. Court Order Book 21, 1821, 169).

On the petition of Mary Ann Mitchell, who produced to the court the receipt of John R. Charlton deputy for John Kent, sheriff of said county, for [Two] dollars and twenty five cents, the tax imposed by law, and the record being of opinion that she will keep an orderly and useful house of private entertainment. A license is granted her to keep a house of private entertainment at her house in this county, until the next May term of this court (M.C. Court Order Book 22, 1823, 236).

The order book also stated, “Ordered that Francis Gardner have to leave to keep [publick] entertainment at his own [H]ouse by [haveing] with security entered into [Bond] as required by law” (M.C. Court Order Book 5, 1791, 79).

Ordinary

Two hundred and six ordinary licenses were also obtained by 109 individuals between the years 1773 to 1823 (see Appendix B). Some people held an ordinary license for one year, while others held a license continuously for many years in succession . On average, people would obtain a license to run a public house one to three years. Only six out of 118 individuals operated a public house for more than five years (see Appendix C).

According to Court records nine people held an ordinary license in 1773. A total of 18 ordinary licenses were issued between 1773 to 1788, with nine of those years being without an ordinary in operation. After 1789 application for licenses began to increase. Between the years 1789 to 1823, more than 206 individual ordinary licenses were obtained, averaging four ordinaries in operation per year.

William Ingles, a ferry keeper in Montgomery County, obtained an annual ordinary license from 1816 to 1820. A court entry granting him an ordinary license for his home

stated, “On motion of William Ingles, a ferry keeper in the county, a license is granted him to keep an [Ordinary] at Ingles Ferry until the first day of May next, he having given bond and security according to law” (M.C. Court Order Book 20, 1819, 167).

William Christian, deputy clerk of Montgomery County, was also granted a license to keep an ordinary at his house in Christiansburg in 1793, however the exact location was not provided (M.C. Court Order Book 6, 1793) (see Figure 4.1). William Christian was an early resident and local hero of Montgomery County (Givens, 1981). The town of Christiansburg is named for him.

Another prominent citizen of Montgomery County was plantation owner George Hancock. George Hancock, as noted in chapter one, was the contractor for the Alleghany Turnpike, which began construction in 1809. In the years 1801, 1802, and 1804, John Bond operated an ordinary located on Colonel George Hancock’s plantation named Fotheringay (see Figure 4.1). The following is the court entry that granted John Bond an ordinary license, “On the motion of John Bond a license is granted him to keep an [Ordinary] at Col. George Hancock’s house on [Roan oak] he having entered into bond with security as the law directs” (M.C. Court Order Book 12, 1801, 169).

Tavern

The one tavern license granted between the years 1773 to 1823 was recorded in a court order book stating, “On the petition of James McGavock for leave to keep a [Tavern] at his house in this county. License is granted him in having entered into bond with William Herbart is securely [Agreeable] to [Law]” (M.C. Court Order Book 1, 1786, 77).

Henry Edmundson, was granted an ordinary license in 1806 and 1807, yet his account book was titled the Christiansburg tavern (see Figure 4.1). The entries in the account book described amenities that were offered including: horse accommodations, grains, and

meals that included cheese, butter, honey, fowls, whiskey, brandy, and gin. Entries did not include rates for sleeping accommodations (Edmundson, 1807).

Public house design

Many of the structures that served as public houses in the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century have been dismantled or if any are still standing, they have been altered, covered over, or restructured. Fortunately, one of the work programs put into place by President Roosevelt during the Depression was the Work Projects Administration (WPA). Historical sites throughout the United States of America were documented by recording architectural elements, including written descriptions of the structure. Fortunately, several historical structures in Montgomery County were included in this WPA project which was conducted in 1937.

The WPA forms were sorted through by compiling a list of all owners of public houses predating 1823 in Montgomery County. This list was then compared to a list of licenses for ordinaries, houses of entertainment, or tavern issued during the same years. A comparison of the lists showed that three of the structures recorded served as public houses at times between 1773 to 1823: the homes of Jesse Hall, Lindsey Crow and Redmand Eakin. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources also documented historical structures in Montgomery County, including the public houses of Redmand Eakin and Jesse Hall. The historical structures were recorded by written descriptions of the public houses, and recorded the interior and exterior architectural elements.

Documented structures

Of the public houses licensed at some time between 1773 to 1823, five could be used for this study. A WPA report documented the public house of Lindsey Crow. Structures once owned by Redmand Eakin and Jesse Hall are documented through WPA and the Virginia

Department of Historic Resources reports. Three structures are still standing and could be observed and recorded: Jesse Hall, William Ingles, and Brugh Tavern.

Lindsey Crow public house

The WPA report documented the home of Lindsey Crow, an ordinary license recipient in 1811, 1812 and 1823. The property was located on the Wilderness Road, in the town of Christiansburg. The building was described as a 3½-story log home with a metal gable roof. The WPA report described the home as containing a cellar that was possibly suited for occupancy.

According to the report, a large stone chimney was located at the right side of the house. The exterior contained fourteen double sash windows, with each sash described as having six panes (also known as lights) measuring 6” x 12” each. The cornices were reported to be made of plain wood. The exterior of the home did not have shutters or dormers. The home did not have a porch, but the original entrance to the Crow home was described as being a landing with steps that led to the front door.

The interior of the Crow home was described as having six small rooms, with two rooms on each floor. The rooms contained eight-foot ceilings. A boxed in, also known as closed, stairway was located at the front door entrance. Each batten door was made of heart pine with full-length strap hinges. One door was described as having the boards placed on a diagonal, with large iron bolts. Wide plank flooring, eight to twelve inches in width, was used throughout the home. The report described the mantels as being “tall” and the fireplace to be six to seven feet in width. One room was reported as containing a tall mantel and to have served as a dining room when it was a tavern. The condition of the structure in 1937 was characterized as good, and that some remodeling had been done over the years.

Redmand Eakin public house

Redmand Eakin, a licensed owner of a house of entertainment from 1829-1854, purchased a home and 194 acres for \$455.00 in 1828. The house was built by John Patterson, and was less than 10 years old when Redmand Eakin purchased it. Because the house was relatively new, it can be assumed that there would have been little or no structural changes to the home before it became a public house. Thus, the Eakin structure was included as documented evidence of a structure providing public housing prior to 1823.

The WPA report and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey both included a description of the Redmond Eakin house that had a construction date of 1819. The reports were in agreement in regard to architectural features of the structure. These reports noted that the property was located on Route 114, otherwise known as Pepper's Ferry road, in Montgomery County. The building was described as a square, two-story, square cut log home. The gable roof was constructed of metal, and contained a half story attic. The home also had a cellar made of rock walls and a dirt floor.

Three stone chimneys were located on the east-side of the structure. Both reports state that the exterior contained only two original windows. The original windows were described as being made of twelve lights, each light measuring 8" x 10". The exterior contained no dormers, cornices, or shutters. The entrance to the home was reported as having a one-story porch, with square columns. A two-panel maple entrance door was located off the porch.

The interior of the Eakin home was described as being made of four large and two small rooms, with eight-foot ceilings. A boxed winding stairway was reported within the home, but a location was not noted. The WPA report noted six batten doors made of pine, and having full-length and half-length strap hinges. Two log rooms contained five-inch

width oak flooring and varying widths of curly maple boards in the ceilings. The other flooring in the home was made of pine. The mantels were not described in the WPA report or Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey. The condition of the structure in 1937 was described as excellent, yet remodeling had changed the home (WPA, 1937).

Jesse Hall public house

Perhaps the most important example for this study of former public houses is one licensed as a house of entertainment by Jesse Hall. This house stands today as a private residence and also is included in both the WPA report and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey. Jesse Hall, a house of entertainment license recipient from 1842 to 1852, owned a home that was built in 1797. He purchased the home from the original owner, Thomas Watterson. Because there was one previous owner of the property, it is assumed that there would have been little or no structural changes to the home. Thus, the Hall structure is the third example documented by the WPA survey of a public house prior to 1823.

The home of Jesse Hall, located on Route 603 (see Figure 4.1) also known as North Fork road, in Elliston, Virginia, is a rectangular 2 ½ story log home. The gable roof is made of metal and contains a half story attic. The WPA and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources reports state that the structure of the house is made of v-notched split face logs that are ten to thirteen inches in height, and eight inches thick (see Figure 4.2). Originally a single chimney was located on both the left and right hand sides of the house. One of the two original brick chimneys still stands. Because of various owners and remodeling, the mantels are not known to be original.

The WPA and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources reports do reveal some changes that have occurred to the house over time. For example, the exterior has four

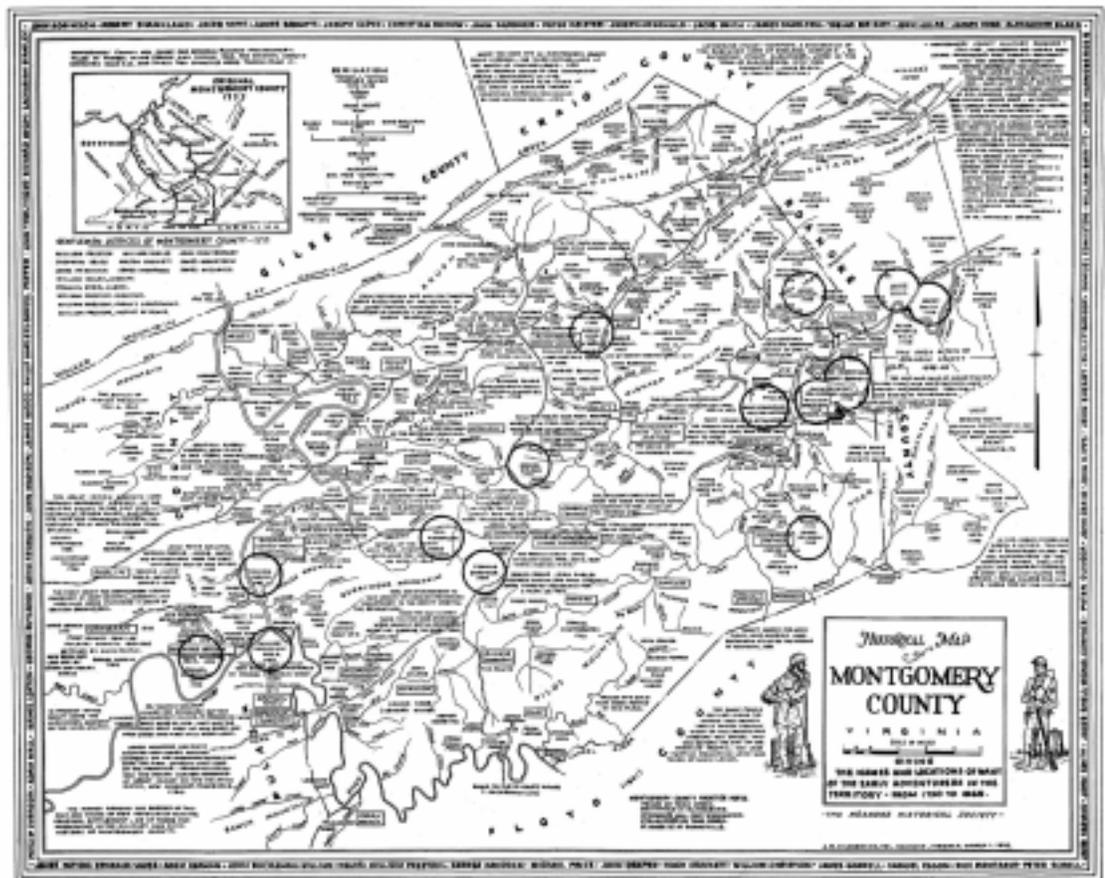


Figure 4.1. Map of Montgomery County, with circled names of public house proprietors.
 Map courtesy of History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia.

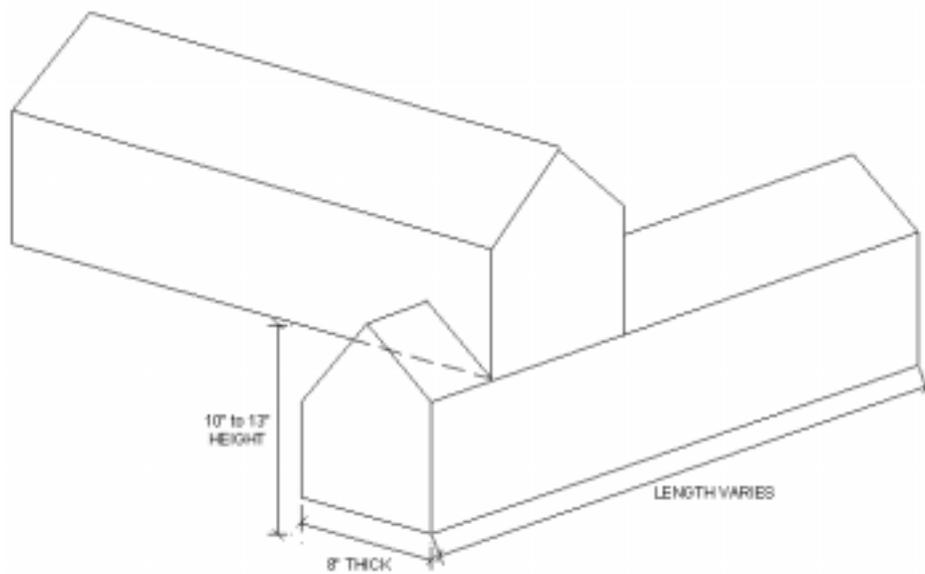


Figure 4.2. V-notched split face log.

windows that have been replaced at some point in time, therefore the original size and number of lights is not known. The WPA stated that exterior shutters did not exist on the structure. Cornices described in the WPA report do not appear today because the current owners of the Hall home removed the weather boarding and replaced it with new siding. The cornices were described in the WPA report as plain wood that might have been added after the original construction of the home.

When the current owners purchased the home, the two-story porch that once existed in older photographs and in the 1939 WPA report did not exist. The WPA report described a two-story porch, with square columns. The porch cannot be documented as being original. However, the current owner has since rebuilt the porch, based on older photographs of the home.

Upon entering the home, there is a central foyer with one room flanking either side (see Figure 4.3). Two rooms are located on each floor of the two floors, with some containing the original 8" pine floors. Originally wainscoting was located throughout the first floor. The current owner removed the wainscoting in the two rooms flanking the foyer. The 10'-0" x 19'-6" foyer retains the original wainscoting. The 32" high wainscoting is made up of two horizontal pieces of wood, 11" and 13 ¼" in width, a 6" baseboard and 1 ¾" trim. The two rooms flanking the foyer measure 15'-0" x 19'-6", with 9'-4" ceilings.

Original batten doors are throughout the home, with reproduction full-length strap hinges made of common iron. The current owner stated that they had the hinges replaced to resemble what would have been original. The doors are typically 6'-4" tall, and 32" wide (see Figure 4.4). Six-inch baseboards and five-inch wide door casings are throughout the home.

One interesting feature is a storage area under the main stairway in the foyer (see Figure 4.5). The space below the stairs is enclosed, with a 33" by 46" ventilated opening and a

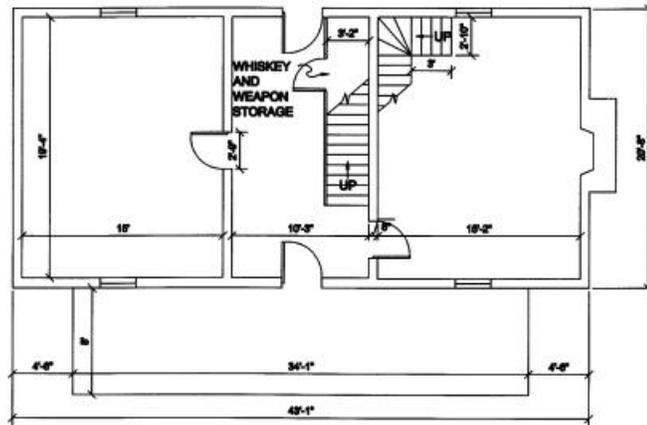
66” by 30” door. Thirteen identical vertical pickets partition off the area. Each picket is about 1 1/8” square, and positioned on a 45-degree angle. This area is similar in appearance to other storage areas described and photographed within public houses of the same period. For example, the Rising Sun tavern, located in Fredricksburg, Virginia, built in 1760, has a similar enclosed space with a picket opening (Sincock, 1992, 9). These unique storage areas have been identified as both a secure bar and a storage space for weapons.

In addition to the stairway located in the foyer, there is a stairway in the room to the right of the front entrance (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7). The small 90-degree stairway leads to a room upstairs, and then on to the attic. Originally the only entry to the room above and the attic is by this staircase. This presents two scenarios for the purpose of the two staircases and the rooms closed to the hallway on the second floor. The family might have used this as a private stairway from their main living area to sleeping areas on the second floor and attic. With this arrangement, the family would have been secure, because they could have locked the door on the first floor, keeping patrons separate from the family.

Another possibility might have been the opposite. The family could have lived in the public space on the first floor during the day and then retired to the second floor by using the staircase in the foyer. The overnight guests would have stayed in the secure area on the second floor and would have used the attic for additional sleeping space. With the guests being in the secure area, the owner of the home could regulate their traffic and any outstanding bills.

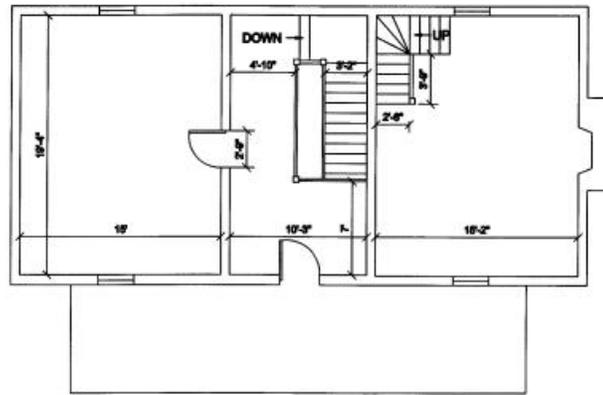
Brugh Tavern

The design features of early public houses in Montgomery County documented in the WPA report and the Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey are further



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Not to Scale



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

Not to Scale

Figure 4.3. Floor plan of the original portion of Jesse Hall residence.



Figure 4.4. Original batten doors with full-length strap hinges.

Permission granted from homeowner.



Figure 4.5. Possible storage area for whiskey and weapons located under the foyer stairway of the Jesse Hall's public house. Permission granted from homeowner.



Figure 4.6. Second stairway in Jesse Hall public house.
Permission granted from homeowner.



Figure 4.7. Second stairway in Jesse Hall public house.
Permission granted from homeowner.

substantiated by another existing public house, which was originally located along the Wilderness road, though not in the county. The home of Daniel Brugh built in 1800 on the Wilderness Road in Fincastle, Virginia has been moved recently to Virginia's Explore Park, in Roanoke, Virginia. Brugh held a tavern license in 1809, 1822 and 1823, and an ordinary license in 1812 (Sarver, 1999). It is said that the house sometimes was brimming with so many patrons, that they would have to sleep on the floor, or with their horse teams in the barn behind the house. The barn was said to be large enough to accommodate four wagon teams (Lewis, 1961).

In 1996, the Brugh home was dismantled, and rebuilt exactly as it was constructed originally, at Virginia's Explore Park. Menno Kinsigner and his assistant, Dewayne Dooley, were contracted to dismantle and reconstruct the Brugh home. The foundation stones were repositioned, and the red-oak beams and roof were placed in their original position. Within the first year of the project, Kinsigner and Dooley alone had moved the roof, 100 tons of stone and 39-foot timbers to Virginia's Explore Park. A few unsound logs were replaced by Kinsigner himself with hewn logs that were made using a broadax. The structure was expanded with a new addition, but this report is on the original section.

The project was completed in the spring of 1998, under the supervision of Scott Sarver, director of capital projects and long range planning. Today the structure serves as a dining establishment. Scott Sarver, in an interview, noted all the original features of the Brugh home.

The rectangular 2 ½ story log structure has a full basement, and a metal gable roof (see Figure 4.8). The rooms on both floors have over nine-foot ceilings, with walls of flat face nine-inch v-notched logs ranging from twelve to fourteen inches in width (see Figure 4.9). The two brick chimneys on either end of the house still function today. The existing mantels are not thought to be original to the house.

The home contains nine modern windows that are similar in size and placement to the originals. Cornices, dormers, and exterior shutters do not appear on the house, but windows in the basement have interior shutters. A one-story porch with a metal roof is located on the front façade of the house. Today eight-inch square columns are used, because the design of the original columns is unknown.

Like other houses in this study there is a central foyer with rooms flanking either side (see Figure 4.10). The foyer is 10'-0" x 26'-4", which contains a front and back door. Two rooms are located to the left of the foyer, and one to the right. Each of the three rooms have a fireplace. The chimney that flanks the left side of the house contains separate flues for each of the two smaller rooms. The spatial arrangement of the second floor duplicates the first floor.

The foyer of the Brugh Tavern has a boxed in stairway located at the front door similar to Jesse Hall's foyer stairs. Scott Sarver believes that this storage closet is where the guests would have stored their weapons (see Figure 4.11). The millwork in the house, including the mantels, wainscoting, baseboards, and casings, is not known to be original. Original 8" to 12" red oak floors are located on the second floor. The doors are not original, however batten doors with full-length strap hinges made of common iron have been replicated. The interior walls in the home are four inches thick, being made of boards.

William Ingles public house

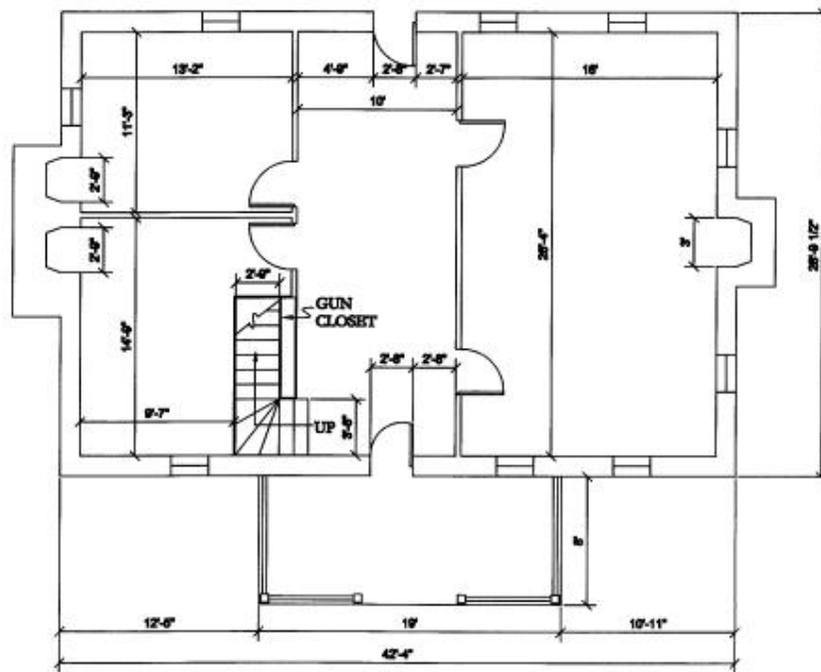
Travelers heading westward on the Wilderness Road after leaving Brugh Tavern, and after passing Christiansburg, would next reach the New River. Earlier, in 1762, William Ingles was given permission to operate a ferry across the New River at this juncture. In 1773 he began operating a public house in conjunction with his ferry service. Ingles Ferry and Tavern is a Virginia Historic Landmark, and is in the National Register of Historic Places. One section of his house stands today and is included in this study.



Figure 4.8. Brugh public house located in Virginia's Explore Park.
Permission granted from Mr. Scott Sarver.



Figure 4.9. Interior of the room on the first floor, located on the right hand side of the Brugh public house. Permission granted from Mr. Scott Sarver.



FIRST FLOOR PLAN

Not to scale

Figure 4.10. Floor plan of Brugh public house.



Figure 4.11. Storage area located under the stairway of the Brugh public house.
Permission granted from Mr. Scott Sarver.

According to the National Register of Historic Places inventory and nomination form, business evidently was brisk because William Ingles and his partner, John Draper, collected over a thousand dollars in tolls for one month alone at Ingles Ferry. In addition to the ferry and public house, Ingles also ran a store, blacksmith shop, campground, well of pure water, and a large barn to shelter horse teams (Fitzpatrick, 1936). From 1773 to after 1823, someone in the Ingles family had a license to operate a public house.

A direct descendent of William Ingles, Mrs. Roberta Ingles Steele, who now owns the property that was once Ingles Ferry, was interviewed in January, 2000. Mrs. Steele, based on stories passed down in the family, noted that travelers in stagecoach and wagon teams often would park in the campground overnight. Some of the patrons would sleep in the public house. Food and entertainment was said to be offered in the house, including card games, music, and local and national news. It is unknown if the family lived in the public house. Mrs. Steele states that the family might have lived in the original section in the early years, but later the family had a home on the other side of the New River.

Today the public house is still standing, in Radford, Virginia, including the original structure that was built in 1773 (see Figure 4.1). In 1775 an addition was made on the west side of the original public house. This western addition was removed around 1920 (Shackelford, 1968). George Shakelford stated that the original and western addition measured about 44' by 18' (see Figure 4.12). Therefore, from the description a projected floor plan of the previously existing western addition can be seen in Figure 4.13. Only the original center section still standing has been documented for this study. An addition was built in 1837 on the eastside of the original structure, thus too late to be included in this study.

Visits to the site found the original 1 ½ story rectangular log section to have a metal gable roof and no cellar (see Figure 4.14). The seven-inch v-notched split face logs range from

eleven to thirteen inches in width (see Figure 4.15). The stone chimney is located on the east-end of the structure (see Figure 4.16).

The home does contain one small original window, located in the attic near the fireplace. Existing windows today are not believed to be original, either in placement or size. Mrs. Steele stated that she believes there were no windows on the first floor of the original section (see Figure 4.17). Neither cornices, dormers, nor exterior shutters appear in the original structure. The front façade of the house does not have a porch.

The first floor 23'4" x 15'2" single room would have been used both as a barroom, lobby, and bedroom. The interior of the fireplace is made of bricks and is 4'4" in width. The attic might have served as additional sleeping areas because it also has a small fireplace, plus a 1' x 2' window (see Figure 4.18). The first floor ceilings measure 9'9" in height. The attic, not now accessible, appears to have sloped seven foot ceilings.

A means of access to the attic in the original section is unknown because there is no evidence of a stairway having existed. However, it is possible that the attic area was reached with the use of a ladder. The millwork, (mantels, wainscoting, baseboards, and casings) in the house is not known to be original. The floors are not original, although the batten entrance door (see Figure 4.15) is believed to be original.

The western addition was built two years after the original section and was said to function as a new lobby, barroom, and bedrooms. Although the structure does not exist, from George Shakelfords' description, the interior was believed to be about eighteen feet in width, and the same depth as the original section. It is possible that this addition would have had a fireplace located on the west-side wall.

A photograph predating the demolition shows the second floor of the western addition to have two windows on the upper floor of the front façade (see Figure 4.12). Evidence of a

Western addition	Original structure	Eastern Addition
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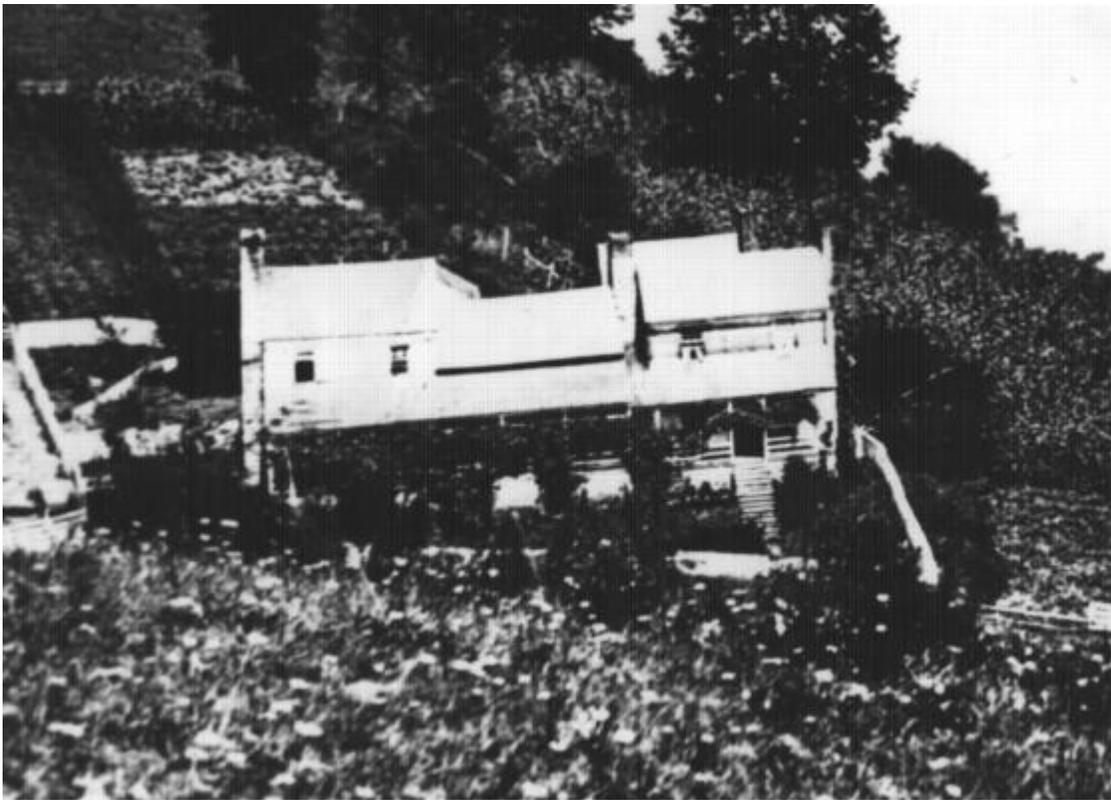


Figure 4.12. Original structure, with western and eastern additions of Ingles public house.

Permission granted from Mrs. Roberta Ingles Steele.

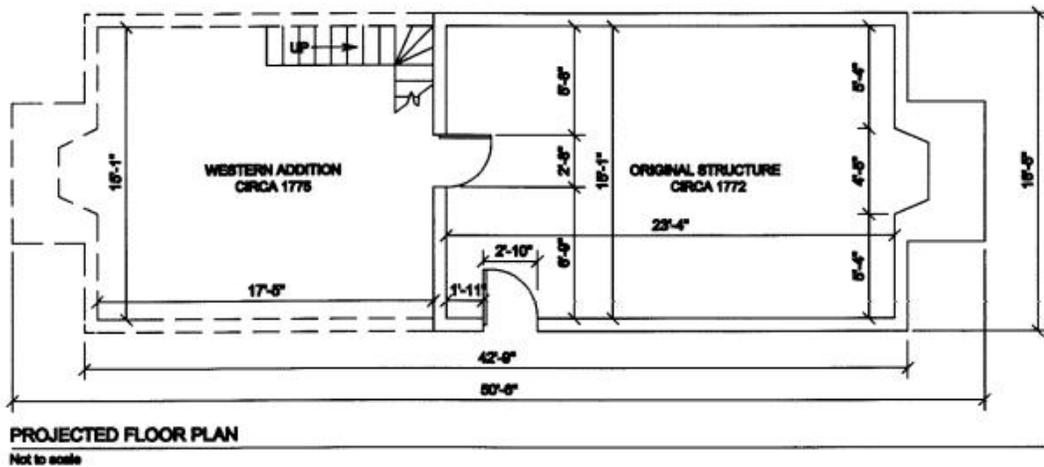


Figure 4.13. Projected floor plan of Ingles public house predating 1823.



Figure 4.14. Existing Ingles public house, located in Radford, Virginia.

Permission granted from Mrs. Roberta Ingles Steele.



Figure 4.15. Original front entrance to the Ingles public house.
Permission granted from Mrs. Roberta Ingles Steele.

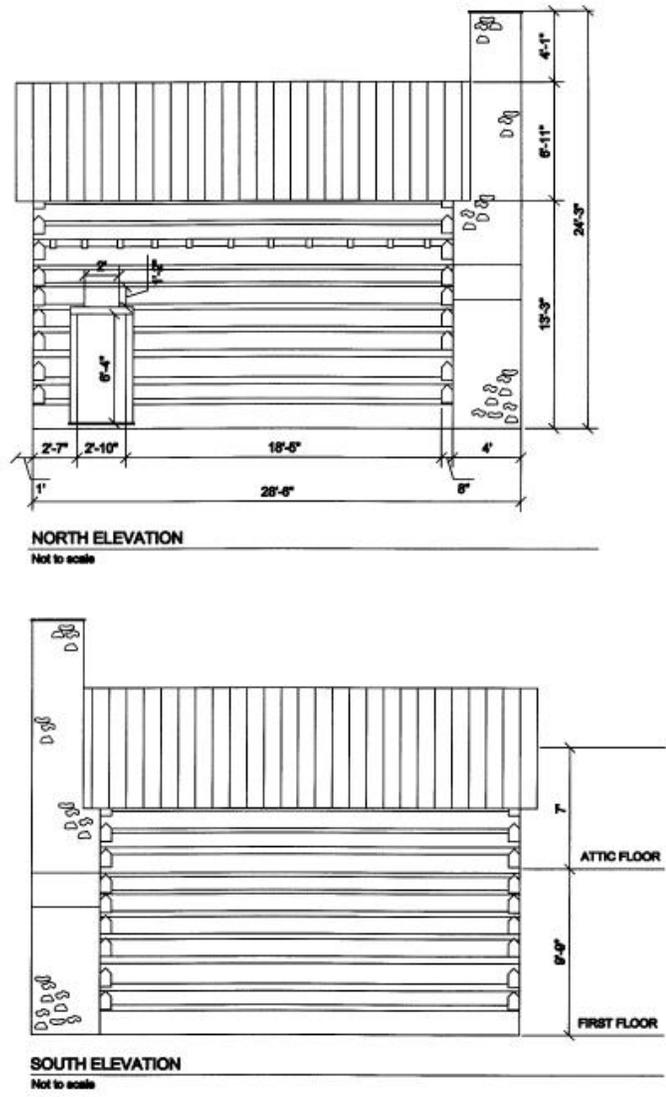
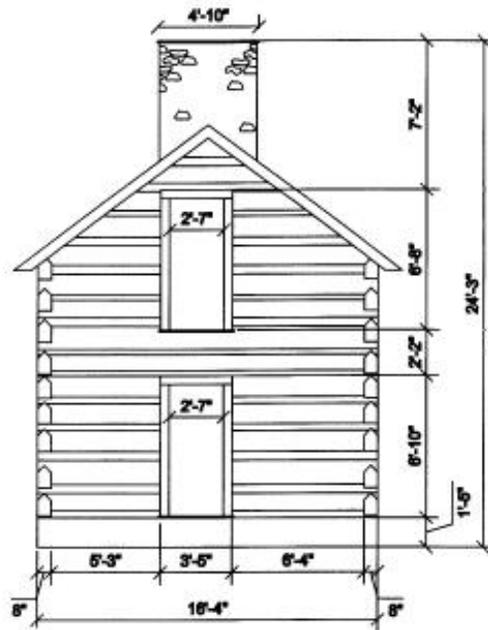
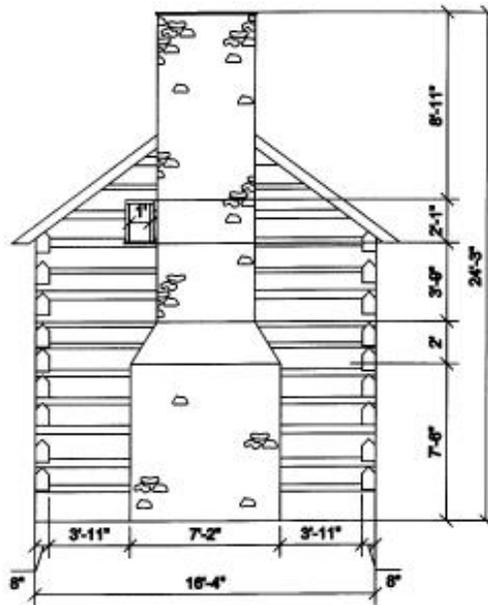


Figure 4.17. North and south elevation of Ingles public house.



WEST ELEVATION

Not to scale



EAST ELEVATION

Not to scale

Figure 4.18. East and west elevation of Ingles public house.

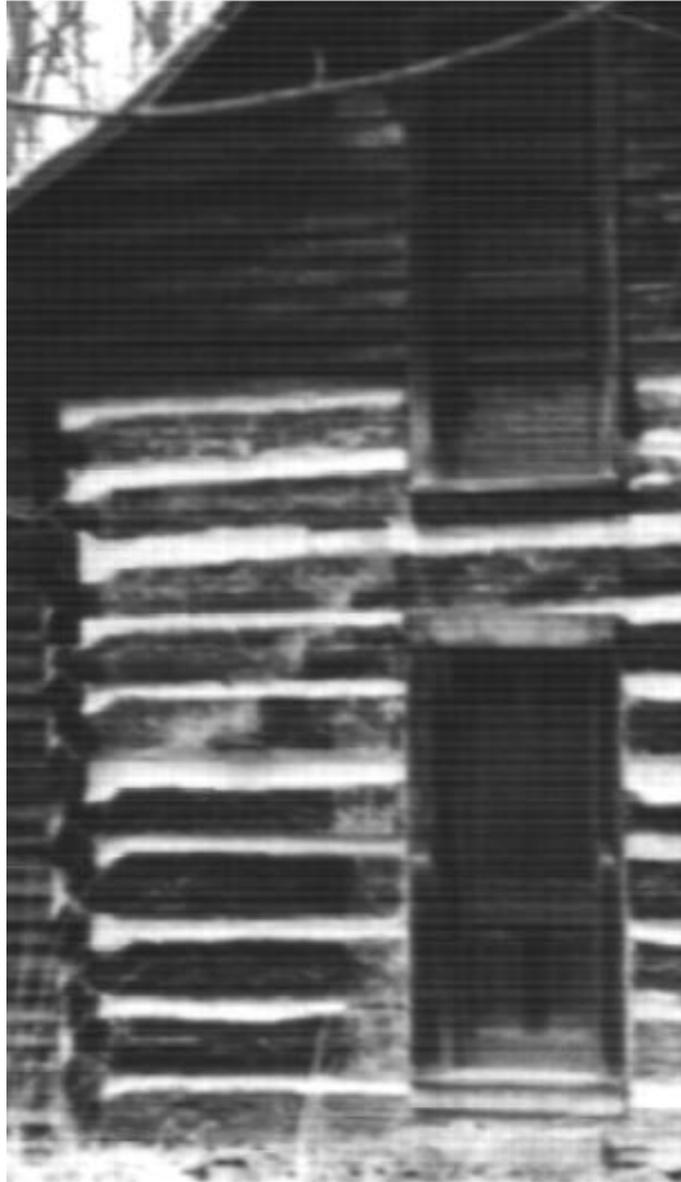


Figure 4.19. Ghost markings of previous stairway in Ingles public house, located in Radford, Virginia. Permission granted from Mrs. Roberta Ingles Steele.

	Public house license owners				
	Jesse Hall *##+	Lindsey Crow *	Redmand Eakin *+	William Ingles #	Daniel Brugh #
Name of structure	Moses Home	Crush Home	Eakin Home	Ingles Tavern	Brugh Tavern
Construction date	1797	predating 1815	1819	1773	1800
Building plan	Rectangular	Not discussed	Square	Rectangular	Rectangular
Cellar	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Number of stories	2 1/2	3 1/2	2	1 1/2 and 2 1/2	2 1/2
Exterior material	Log - V notched	Log (cut not discussed)	Log - Square	Log - V notched	Log - V notched
Type of roof	Metal gable roof	Metal gable roof	Metal gable roof	Metal gable roof	Metal gable roof
Chimneys location	2 brick East and west side	1 stone South end	3 stone All on east side	2 stone East and west side	2 brick East and west side
Weatherbonding	Yes	None	Yes	None	Yes
Cornices	Plain wood	Plain wood	None	None	Unknown
Windows size	4 not original	14 12 light windows each light 6 x 12	2 (original) 12 light windows each light 8 x 10	Unknown not original	9 not original
Shutters	None	None	None	None	None
Dormers	None	None	None	None	None
Porch	two-story	None	One story porch	No	One story porch
Entrance	Door on 1st floor is not original.	Original landing in front of structure	Two panel maple door	Original entrance door	Entrance door is not original
Column type	Not available	N/A	Square	N/A	Square
Misc.	South addition was not included in this study.	Not discussed	Not discussed	Western addition built in 1775	South addition was not included in this study.
Condition of structure in 1937	Excellent condition.	Good	Excellent condition	Good condition	Excellent condition

Sources: * Historical Inventory of Montgomery County - Vol. I & II. Copies from W.P.A. microfilm series. 1937.

On-site observations of Hall, Ingles, and Brugh public houses.

+ Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks - Historic District/Brief Survey Form. 1986 & 1989.

Table 4.1. Exterior architectural descriptions of public houses predating 1823.

	Public house license holders				
	Jesse Hall *##+	Lindsey Crow *	Redmand Eakin *+	William Ingles #	Daniel Brugh #
Name of structure	Jesse Hall home	Crush home	Eakin home	Ingles tavern	Brugh tavern
Construction date	1797	predating 1815	1819	1773	1800
Number of rooms	4 large	6 small	4 large, 2 small	1 large	4 large
Ceiling height	9'-4"	8'	8'	9'-9"	9'-5" and 9'-2"
Staircase(s)	Possible storage area beneath the stairway for liquor and weapons. Second stairway.	Boxed in stairway, which is located at the front entrance.	Boxed stairway	Unknown	Boxed stairway. Storage area under stairway said to be used as liquor and weapon storage.
Cellar	None	Basement room	Rock walls and dirt floor	None	Basement room
Doors	5 batten hard pine	Batten hard pine, with large iron bolts.	6 batten pine doors and one 2 panel door	Batten hard pine	Unknown
Millwork	Original wainscotting in the entrance area	Chair rail in each room. Papered (not original).	The two log rooms have varied widths of curly maple boards in ceiling	Unknown	Unknown
Interior cornices	None	None	None	None	None
Hardware	Full length strap hinges made of common iron.	Full length strap on each door	Full and half strap hinges	Unknown	Unknown
Flooring	8" wood plank flooring	8" to 12" wood plank flooring	5" oak floors in 2 rooms location not given.	Unknown	Original 8" to 12" red oak flooring on the second floor.
Mantel(s)	Original mantels are not known, however the hearths are 6'-7" in width.	Tall mantel, 6' to 7' wide in a previous dining room.	Not discussed	Unknown	Unknown

Sources: * Historical Inventory of Montgomery County - Vol. I & II. Copies from W.P.A. microfilm series. 1937.

On site observations of Hall, Ingles, and Brugh public houses.

+ Virginia Division of Historic Landmarks - Historic District/Brief Survey Form. 1986 & 1989.

Table 4.2. Interior architectural descriptions of public houses predating 1823.

staircase was seen on the exterior of the original section. From the ghost marks, a tread and riser height is evident, thus providing the actual size and location of the staircase (see Figure 4.19). The staircase would have led to the attic in the original section and the bedrooms in the addition (see Figure 4.13).

Summary of features

The WPA reports, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey, and on-site observations were compared as to the similarities in regard to interior and exterior architectural features of all five public houses (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2). In general the characteristics of the homes were very similar to one another. All of the houses are made of log materials and have or had a metal gable roof. The number of windows varied, although all were of the sash type. The original windows typically were made of twelve lights, six over six, with individual light sizes being either 8" x 10" or 6" x 12". Exterior and interior wood cornices did not appear in or outside the houses.

Entrances to the public houses varied, including porches. For those houses that had a porch, the columns were square. None of the public houses reported had dormers. Houses tended to have two floors with four rooms, with two rooms on each floor. Three of the five houses had ceilings over nine feet in height. Each of the homes also was described as having a half story attic.

Boxed-in stairways were typical; however, their locations varied. Batten heart pine or oak doors having full-length hinges made of common iron are known to have been used in four of the houses. Plank flooring was common to all houses on all floors. The pine or oak wood flooring material was typically eight inches in width.

Chimneys are located on the left and right sides of the home, typically with one fireplace in each of the four rooms. The typical width of the hearths was 6'7" and 7'0". Millwork,

including mantels, could not be documented as being original, except for the wainscoting in the Hall house.

In general, the WPA report, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources survey, and on-site observations of existing structures that served as public houses at one time, described very similar features regarding interior and exterior architecture that were common. Little is known about the interior furnishings of public houses, but some research has been reported on tavern furniture in general.

Wills and appraisals

A review of Montgomery County will books and appraisals was conducted, searching for listings of household goods that would provide information concerning interior furnishings of public houses. Five people who held a license for a public house for the greatest number of years were selected: Levi Flanagan, Catherine Keath, Archaleaus Michell, David Wade, and William Ingles. Only appraisals of the inventory of David Wade and a will of Levi Flanagan were found.

David Wade held a license to keep an ordinary at his home in 1799, 1800, and 1801. In February 1805, an appraisal recorded a complete list of interior furnishings (see Table 4.3). The appraisal of David Wade's possessions suggests how typical public house interiors might have been furnished. Nine beds, 29 plates, two teapots, servers, all indicate that the public house accommodated many persons (M.C. Will Book1, 1805, 234). The number of family members living in the house at the time is unknown, but the quantity of several items is well beyond the possessions owned by other families in Montgomery County (Yagow, 1985). The number of tables and cupboards, as well as household furnishings like plates, dishes, canisters, decanters, utensils, salt cellars, and tumblers suggest that meals were prepared for a large number of people.

Levi Flanagan also obtained a license to operate an ordinary from 1797 to 1820. In October of 1821, Mr. Flanagan drew a deed of trust, and interior furnishings were left to Nathaniel Lawrence and his heirs (see Table 4.4). Levi Flannagan's trust was another example of furnishings that typically might be found in a public house. The number of beds (bedsteds) was not provided, however, 14 chairs, 14 teacups and saucers, more than 24 plates, four coffee pots, tables, and servers were listed and suggest that large meals were prepared either for the family and/or patrons (M.C. Will Book 3, 1821, 353).

Mary Kegley reported in an unpublished thesis, Pioneer Possessions – A study of Wills and Appraisals of Southwest Virginia, the household furnishings, farm equipment, livestock and crops, and slaves listed in Montgomery County wills and appraisals. Kegley's documentation of household furnishings reveals similarities among those owned by David Wade and Levi Flanagan. For example, William Herbert's estate listed unusually high numbers of featherbeds, blankets, looking glass, trunks, tables, and a chest (Kegley, 1975).

Montgomery County will books recorded wills and appraisals of the owner's possessions, including interior furnishings. But, the records tend to be listings of types of items, such as tables, chairs, etc. The actual style of the furniture was not reported. Examples of furniture predating 1823 could not be located. Further research of secondary sources though revealed that splint and plank bottom chairs were most common (see Appendix D). The tables tended to be simple in design with a stretcher base and legs in American public houses (Sincock, 1992, Rice, 1983, Lathrop, 1926, Yoder, 1969, Foley, 1998). Beds were listed in most wills and appraisals, but sleeping mats, which were not recorded, may also been used (see Figure 2.2).

<p>\$3 half cupboard</p> <p>2 small tables valued at \$3.00 each</p> <p>\$4 small folding-leaf table</p> <p>\$2.50 large table</p> <p>1 desk valued at \$13</p> <p>\$5 small corner cupboard</p> <p>29 earthen plates</p> <p>3 50 cent dishes</p> <p>2 tea pots</p> <p>2 bowls</p> <p>1 pepper box</p> <p>1 large sugar canister</p> <p>1 small sugar canister</p>	<p>1 knife and forks</p> <p>1 large and three small servers</p> <p>1 looking glass</p> <p>\$5 worth of books</p> <p>\$40 bed</p> <p>1 small bed</p> <p>3 beds valued at \$38</p> <p>5 \$20 beds</p> <p>5 candle sticks</p> <p>5 snuffers</p> <p>1 candle box</p> <p>2 salt cellars</p> <p>1 decanter</p> <p>2 tumblers</p>
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Table 4.3. Inventory of David Wade's interior furnishings.

<p>4 feather beds [bedsteds] 2 chests 2 flour barrels with flour 1 arm chair 2 pickling crocks 2 coffee or pepper mills 2 washing tubs 4 pickling tubs 14 chairs 14 teacups and saucers 2 pair of andirons 2 fire shovels and iron pokes 8 small and 4 large dishes 2 large and 3 small bowls 3 smoothing irons 4 coffee pots 1 tea kettle 12 knives 2 forks 1 pewter basin 2 pewter dishes 6 pewter plates 1-quart size, pint size, and ½ pint size decanters</p>	<p>2 salt stands 1 half gallon pitcher 2 soup ladles 2 looking glasses 1 sugar box 2 one quart mugs 3 one pint mugs 1 large bible 10 small religion books 1 bureau and its contents 1 bond box 1 clock 1 folding leaf table 2 common folding leaf tables 1 cupboard 1 kettle 1 wine sifter 1 churn 2 servers 1 knife box 3 wine bottles 6 tumblers 24 earthen plates 1 pair of candle moulds</p>
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Table 4.4. Inventory of Levi Flanagan's interior furnishings.

Comparison of Montgomery County public houses with Richmond public houses

Public houses located in Montgomery County were compared to other public houses located in Richmond, Virginia. As discussed in chapter one, Anne-Rachel Hedges (1993) completed a study of taverns (author's term for public houses), located in Richmond, Virginia between the years 1775 to 1810. A comparison of what was reported in her study revealed considerable differences. In Richmond, the public houses tended to be constructed of brick while log framing was more typical of those found in southwest Virginia.

The large taverns in Richmond were typically three stories with long wooden porches extending the entire length of the building. The larger more prestigious public accommodations would cater to more affluent patrons; thus, more funds were available for improvement. State and national conventions were held in Richmond, and the larger taverns would have provided lodging, food, and entertainment for these events.

The smaller taverns in Richmond were described as constructed less expensively (Hedges, 1993). Smaller and older taverns typically had wood siding, and later were often remodeled to brick facing (the number of houses that were remodeled with brick facing was not provided by the author). However, due to the expense of brick, wood might have appeared on the upper half of the building with brick on the bottom half. Usually the smaller taverns were one or two stories. Service and refreshments were described as being comparable to the larger taverns. The smaller taverns serviced farmers or tradesmen who did not desire or could not afford such prestigious accommodations as the larger public houses (Hedges, 1993). Descriptions of the smaller taverns are more comparable to descriptions found for early public houses in Montgomery County. Interior furnishings of both larger and smaller taverns were not discussed in the Richmond study. Consequently, an overall comparison of public houses located in southwest Virginia as compared to smaller taverns in Richmond could not be made.

Typical public houses in Montgomery County between 1773 to 1823

Based on the findings of this study, a typical public house licensed in Montgomery County before 1823 would have been a 2 ½ story log structure, with a metal gabled roof and centered front entry. The house would have a central hall with one room on each side and one room above each of those. The floors were of oak or pine planks, doors were battened with full-length strap hinges of common iron. Most likely four sash windows, with six over six lights, were on the front façade. Modest furnishings would have included tables, splint bottom chairs, desks, cupboards, beds, looking glasses, books, earthen plates, teacups and saucers, and decanters.

Results of the investigation of the operating practices of public houses in Montgomery County showed that 227 licenses were issued to 118 individuals between the years 1773 to 1823. Most individuals operated a public house one to three years. Only six out of 118 individuals operated a public house for more than five years. Common rates of public houses in Montgomery County would have been the following: breakfast, supper, and dinner 25 cents, overnight lodging 12 ½ cents, whiskeys and other liquors 12 to 50 cents, and horse accommodations 17 to 25 cents.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine if public houses were available to travelers along the Wilderness Road between 1773 to 1823, in Montgomery County, Virginia. Research questions for this study included the following: if public houses existed, then how were they designed, what were the furnishings, where were they located, and what were the operating practices. Documentation of public houses in southwest Virginia may add an important component to the history of Virginia's early lodging facilities. Public houses provided food and shelter to travelers, thus public houses served a vital role in the western movement.

Ten sources for this study included: Montgomery County court records, WPA surveys, Virginia Department of Historic Resources reports, historic maps, photographs, and Salem, Roanoke, and Virginia Historical Society documents. Records at the Valentine Museum, Wilderness Road Museum, and the Montgomery County Museum were reviewed. Personal account books, letters, and surveys were researched at the Special Collections Division of Newman Library, at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. On-site observations and personal interviews were also included in the findings.

The Montgomery County court records revealed the number and names of public house licenses issued each year along with the state regulations and taxes imposed on the owners of public houses. Court will books provided primary information concerning the amount of interior furnishings owned by public house owners. The WPA (Work Projects Administration) surveys revealed design aspects of public houses in Montgomery County, including detailed descriptions of the homes in regard to the exterior and interior. The Virginia Department of Historic Resources reports also provided descriptions of public houses predating 1823, which further supported the finding of the WPA surveys. Historical maps were reviewed in an attempt to locate public houses in Montgomery County between 1773 to 1823. Photographs of early public houses revealed typical design elements. Personal account books and letters were reviewed to obtain a better sense of the typical design of the public houses, quality of accommodations, and the conditions that were to be expected in the years predating 1823. On site observations and personal interviews confirmed findings on the spatial design of an early public house and the operating practices of the license holders.

Secondary sources used in this study included several theses on the topic of early public houses and taverns, and numerous publications. One thesis in particular, Richmond Taverns: Between the years 1775 to 1810 by Anne-Racheal Hedges (1993), offered insight into the design and operation of public houses in Richmond. This thesis was

important for comparative purposes. Two theses used in this study, Pioneer Possessions by Mary Kegley (1975) and Solitude: identification of it's furnishings from 1830 to 1880 by Carol Yagow (1985), revealed information concerning the typical early interior furnishings owned by citizens of Montgomery County.

This study covers the first fifty years, 1773 to 1823, after the finding of Montgomery County. Court documents revealed that during those 50 years, as many as 226 licenses were granted to 118 individuals to operate public houses. Typically, a proprietor would hold a license for less than two years. This short term suggest that public houses were a secondary means of income and were not always monetarily rewarding. However, six out of the 118 individuals operating public houses held a license for five or more years. All individuals awarded were identified by year and name and listed in Appendix C.

The operating practices of public houses were state regulated by setting rates for liquor, food, and sleeping accommodations. For example, in the year 1820 sleeping accommodations were set at 12 ½ cents a night, and breakfast, supper, and dinner was 25 cents. Various liquors offered in public houses included brandy, rum, port wine, and whiskey, ranging in price from 12 ½ to 50 cents. Other fees set by the state included overnight livestock accommodations set at 17 cents, and lodging for 24 hours was 25 cents. Corn and oats for the animals was 12 ½ cents a gallon.

Five former public houses were selected for analysis in this study: two are extant structures in Montgomery County that could be observed first hand, two were former public houses documented in public records, and a fifth public house was one originally built in Botetourt County, north of Roanoke, but on the Wilderness Road. This house was relocated and restored.

Findings revealed that the interior furnishings and spatial organizations of public houses are similar to those described by Van Hoesen (see p. 14) and Yoder (see p. 16). Features

found in common included the following: 2 ½ story wooden structures, front porches, a barroom(s) on the main floor, bedrooms upstairs, and modest interior furnishings of benches, tables, chairs, tin ware, and candles. Public houses located in Montgomery County, predating 1823, had many features in common. For example, the number of windows varied in the public houses; however each house would have had sash windows with six over six lights, with each light measuring 8" x 10". Shutters, dormers and cornices were not characteristic of public houses predating 1823. The entrances to the public houses varied. Some had either a one or a two-story porch, while others had none. If the homes were to have a porch, the columns would have been square. Typically, the houses were a 2 ½ story log structure made of v-notch split face logs would have been hand hewn. Each one had a metal gable roof.

Usually after entering the front door, there would have been a boxed-in stairway to the second floor. Four out of the five houses had only one stairway. In the case of Jesse Hall's residence, there were two stairways. The boxed in area below the stairs was thought to be a storage area for weapons and liquors. Central halls were not addressed specifically in the WPA and Virginia Department of Historic Resources reports, however central halls were located in two existing houses used in this study. Therefore, typically there was one room flanking either side of the central hall, with an identical arrangement on the second floor.

Common to these houses were stone or brick chimneys flanking both ends of the structure with each room containing a fireplace. Normally the hearths were between six and seven feet in width. The existing millwork in the houses could not be determined as being original. However, original six inch baseboards and wainscoting was found in the Hall public house. Eight-inch plank wood flooring were made of pine or oak. Batten doors ordinarily were made of pine with full-length strap hinges made of common iron. Common ceiling heights were over nine feet on both floors.

Some public houses would have offered separate sleeping quarters, but often sleeping accommodations would have been in the public room that also served as the dining room and bar. It was not uncommon for strangers to sleep in the same room and even in the same bed. Occasionally women had separate sleeping areas. Bedding material would have been made of cornhusks, straw, feathers, and other natural materials. Based on findings in Montgomery County appraisals and wills, and the relatively few books and references on rural furnishings in southwest Virginia, typical interior furnishings would have included simple chairs, tables, cupboards, desks, feather beds, and [bedsteads].

Anne-Rachel Hedge's study of Richmond Taverns (authors term for public house) focused on the more prominent taverns; however, what little was reported on the more modest taverns appears to compare closely with those established in southwest Virginia. The author went into great detail of the personal history of the tavern owners and other prominent people who were patrons of the taverns. Lengthy descriptions of the various forms of entertainment offered in the Richmond taverns were addressed including games, gambling, theater and dance.