

## ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: “AND THEY WERE BEDMATES!”: TRAVEL AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVACY IN COLONIAL AMERICA

**Joanna Kathleen Labor, Doctor of Philosophy, 2023**

Dissertation directed by: Burke Professor and Associate Professor Dr. Holly Brewer  
Department of History

This dissertation is a study of how travelers, particularly white, elite travelers, thought about their lodgings over the course of the long eighteenth century, and how their lodging options changed as a result. Their writings about how they ate and where they slept reveal shifting cultural attitudes from both travelers and their hosts. Genteel travelers began to expect greater personal privacy, and private householders who formerly provided accommodations began to refuse to do so. The material culture of gentility spread quickly through the Atlantic world; elite homes became more compartmentalized places that allowed for people to develop new senses of personal privacy. While many Americans could partake in the trappings of gentility, they could not participate equally. Such differences in a standard of living created tensions between travelers and their hosts. Taverns, inns, and private homes were the main sources of lodging; however, most hosts were unable and increasingly unwilling to provide the individualized spaces that genteel travelers increasingly expected for their bodily privacy. Chapter one describes travelers and boarding in urban areas, and the role that boardinghouses played in affording travelers a measure of privacy. Chapter two discusses rural America during the colonial period, looking at why so many travelers ended up lodging in private homes despite

their discomfort. Chapter three illustrates the standards of genteel travelers, and why they were often in opposition with the families who lived in the homes and taverns that they stayed in. Finally, chapter four discusses the reasons why householders and tavernkeepers began to deny travelers a berth overnight. If the first three chapters are about the power of elite travelers, the fourth chapter is about the power of householders to refuse entry in their homes, and the tools they used to reclaim their space from intrusive travelers. The conclusion discusses the emergence of the modern hotel, purpose-built buildings that both allowed travelers' personal privacy as well as taking them out of domestic spaces. The rise of a tourist economy, coupled with changing ideas about who was allowed in domestic spaces, ensured both that travelers no longer sought respite in private homes, and that householders would not willingly allow strangers into their homes. However, the practice did not die out entirely, persisting in the backcountry frontier and in less settled areas where there was less travel infrastructure, into the nineteenth century.

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PRIVACY IN COLONIAL AMERICA

By

Joanna Kathleen Labor

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Advisory Committee:

Burke Professor and Associate Professor Dr. Holly Brewer, Chair  
Professor Dr Richard Bell  
Associate Professor Dr. Clare Lyons  
Professor Dr. Laura Rosenthal  
Professor Emerita Dr. Nancy Struna

## Dedication

For Melissa Hall and Derrick Corwin, for helping me over the finish line.  
And for Eliza Vitanova Everett and Josephine Margaret Everett, for always.

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## Contents

Dedication.....	i
Acknowledgements.....	ii
Introduction: “The Ten Plagues” of Traveling.....	1
Chapter 1: “An Unpleasant house to be lodged at; yet it was a principal tavern:” Taverns versus Boarding Houses.....	20
Chapter 2: “A shocking country to travel in:” Public and Private in the Backcountry.....	54
Chapter 3: “Beshrew the Traveller who would let fall a reflection over the dinner I here made:” Genteel Travelers and Standards of Living.....	85
Chapter 4: “And no, or none, was the replys hee made us to our demands:” The Motives of Lodging Refusal.....	125
Conclusion: “Everything calculated for convenience:” The Rise of the Hotel.....	166
Bibliography.....	179

## Introduction: “The Ten Plagues” of Traveling<sup>1</sup>

In a rural Tennessee cabin in 1799, the Moravian missionaries Abraham Steiner and Christian Frederic de Schweinitz sat down to dinner with a vegan, an older single man named Mr. Friderici.<sup>2</sup> In true vegetarian fashion, their host served them a badly cooked vegetable dish: a pumpkin soup where he “had neither peeled nor cleaned the pumpkins, nor had he taken out the inside but merely cut them up” in the pot. The two men were thus “obliged fairly to fish until one caught a piece or some kernels by the stringy nature of the inside.”<sup>3</sup> The missionaries, who had happened upon Friderici’s cabin on the road and asked for permission to stay the night, were probably beginning to regret their choice of housing as Friderici began to discuss first his veganism, then his entire convoluted life story to his captive new audience.<sup>4</sup> Finally, it was time for bed, which was straw laid on the floor before the fireplace for the missionaries, and the table bench and a bear skin for Friderici. This was not the only adventure for the missionaries as they sought to proselytize to the Cherokee population of Tennessee. As they went through the rough frontier of Middle and Western Tennessee, they often sought shelter not in inns or hotels, but the homes of private families they encountered on the road.<sup>5</sup> Though their hosts were not what modern Americans would recognize today as hostellers, nevertheless on the road these homes “made their living...[by] the gain from the sale of provisions to travellers.”<sup>6</sup> What inns the two Moravians found were, perhaps unsurprisingly, a touch on the rough side. Walking into one inn in Roane County, the pair found that all the beds in the one room cabin were already occupied by

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<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Mifflin, “Journal of a Journey from Philada to the Cedar Swamps and Back. 1764,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52, no 2 (1928): 130.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, ed., *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800: with introductions, annotations, and index* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928), 466.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 481.

<sup>4</sup> Williams, *Early Travels* 481-4.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 464, 486, 490, 506-7, 534.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 519.

other travelers. There was also an intense card game going on, with the players hogging the prime location by the fireplace and demanding silence from everyone else in the room. The landlord handed them “a few pieces of meat and a tin of water” and the missionaries shivered in the corner until midnight when the card players cleared out, and they managed to squeeze in between a pile of sleeping dogs to lay next to the fire. Too late did they hear that their inn had a reputation for being “the worst and most godless in that region.”<sup>7</sup>

As a lifelong traveler, stories like these that have long captivated me. When I began the initial research for the project, I wanted to investigate the assumption that travel was uncommon in early America. What I found was though travel in colonial America was not easy; it involved great effort and even greater uncertainty. Despite that however, people traveled often. It is harder to trace the movements of those colonists who did not leave behind a paper trail, the people who slept in forests or with their mule trains, a robust literature remains from the mostly elite and middle-class men and women who kept diaries and wrote letters home while they were on the road. When I first began my study, my interests were broad; I initially took notes on the camaraderie of people who meet while travelling. However, the more I read the more I became interested in two common threads of complaint I saw in my sources. One was a vein of almost visceral disgust at the living conditions these mostly upper-class travelers found in their lodgings; especially room and bedsharing. I had been under the impression that room-and indeed even bedsharing-was a non-issue in the eighteenth century, an accepted part of traveling. However, that so many were discomfited by this told me that this was a sign of a changing societal more. The other was that travelers felt no compunction about walking up to *any*

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<sup>7</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 499.

domicile, at any time day or night, to ask for food or shelter. Public or private did not seem to matter, and I wanted to find out why.

This dissertation is a study of what travelers, particularly white, elite travelers, thought about their lodgings over the course of the long eighteenth century. I argue that by looking at travelers' attitudes and comments about where they slept, we can see how the attitude of genteel travelers towards personal privacy changed from the colonial period into the early Republic. The material culture of gentility spread quickly through the Atlantic world, changing the way most Americans lived, though, for the travelers studied in this dissertation, the change was not always fast enough for their fastidious tastes. More than refined rooms, the change in standard of living meant a change from one room homes and shared familial beds to a room and a bed of one's own. Gentility culture also ensured a sense of entitlement on the part of the elite traveler, so that they felt entitled to walk up to *any* door they encountered to ask for food and shelter. These changes were not linear; frontier living, and lack of resources ensured that even in the 1820s and 1830s travelers would sometimes find themselves sleeping on the floor of a one-room cabin or sharing a bed with a stranger for the night. However, by the early nineteenth century, as these changes emerged, others responded by creating a more formal and separate tourist industry, including the modern hotel. Bed sharing, sleeping in a stranger's home; what characterized colonial travel began to disappear by the nineteenth century.

My work touches upon multiple historiographical debates, including that of tavern culture in America, refinement and etiquette, and domestic life and privacy. The contribution that my dissertation makes is by taking threads from all three of these topics and focusing on lodging travelers, which has been cursorily addressed but not focused on in full by the current historiography. Tavern historiography focuses heavily on the social aspects of tavern life-

drinking, socializing, and politicking. Two of the earliest works on taverns in America are *Early American Inns and Taverns* by Elise Lathrop and *The Colonial Tavern: A Glimpse of New England Town Life in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* by Edward Field. Both books are generalist turn-of-the-century histories. Field focuses not only on New England, but a large portion of his book looks at taverns in the seventeenth century compared to the eighteenth. Lathrop covers the entire thirteen colonies, organizing her chapters chronologically by both state and major travel routes. Two modern monographs that offer a general history of early American taverns are *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* by Kym S Rice and *On the Road North of Boston: New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes 1700-1900* by Donna-Belle Garvin and James L. Garvin. Rice's book is meant for a lay audience and was published for the modern incarnation of the Fraunces Tavern in New York City. However, most of the monograph focuses on the overall history of the colonial tavern, only focusing on Fraunces Tavern in the last chapter. While the Garvins' book is both specifically about New Hampshire taverns and covers the entire nineteenth century in addition to the colonial period, chapters one and two offer significant background on taverns during the eighteenth century overall.

More recent tavern monographs focus on the political and social aspects of colonial tavern life. David Conroy in *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* argues that the tavern was not only an important part of functioning public society, but a place where colonists fought back against officials who saw taverns as a threat against order and "initiated and addressed changes in their society."<sup>8</sup> Peter Thompson makes a similar argument in *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth*

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<sup>8</sup> David W. Conroy, *In Public Houses: Drink and the Revolution of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts* (Chapel Hill, NC: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 10-11.

*Century Philadelphia*, noting that public house patrons in the city were less about exchanging and receiving information and more about expressing and “defend[ing] their complicated and contested notions of community and society in” the colonies.<sup>9</sup> Sharon Salinger offers a different view than both Conroy and Thompson in *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, arguing that taverns, rather than challenging authority, reaffirmed class stratification in colonial society, focusing on “the tavern’s exclusionary nature, instead of envisioning the space as essentially inclusive.”<sup>10</sup> Finally, Vaughn Scribner argues in *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society* that urban tavern-going was an attempt by colonists to recreate the “civil society” already to be found in England, tying colonial taverners’ “society building” to the larger vision that would eventually become the American Revolution.<sup>11</sup>

My dissertation also intersects with scholarship on gentility and material culture. One of the key tensions that I saw in these travel narratives was over standards of living. Most of my travel narratives came from people used to a more refined way of life encountering people who, while able to participate in the world of goods, were not able to do so to the level that the traveler could. One of the works that most informed the dissertation was *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* by Richard Bushman. Seeking to explain the explosion of personal goods in both quantity and quality, Bushman explains this trend of gentility as a way to “transform [people] along with their environments” to achieve “an inward grace.”<sup>12</sup> Bushman looks at gentility as a concept that first was only the concern of the elite in the eighteenth century

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<sup>9</sup> Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 4.

<sup>10</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 5.

<sup>11</sup> Vaughn Scribner, *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society* (New York: NYU Press, 2019), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), xii.

and its eventual dilution throughout the nineteenth century to a concept that anyone “who aspired to simple respectability” had to imbue in their homes and lives.<sup>13</sup> Cary Carson seeks to explain the why behind the explosion of genteel culture in *Face Value: the Consumer Revolution and the Colonizing of America* In *Buying into the World of Goods*. Carey argues that before the seventeenth century, wealth, status, and reputation was accrued through the amount of land, gold, and livestock that one had. In an England where most people stayed where they lived most of their life, these were the material things that mattered, not furniture or clothes or other moveable goods.<sup>14</sup> However, when trade and mobility began to rapidly increase during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the traditional markers of status and social credit were less relevant in a highly mobile world. Genteel manners, and more importantly, genteel goods, became the key marker of status. Gentility was useful because the goods and the manners were portable, and easily recognizable anywhere in the colonial world.<sup>15</sup>

Ann Smart Martin uses the account books of John Hook to look at the effect of genteel material culture in the Virginian backcountry. Martin argues that “consumer goods did not have to be expensive to be powerful.” Even if many of Hook’s customers were poor, there were still genteel goods that they could purchase from him that allowed them entrée into the world of goods that made up gentility.<sup>16</sup> Phyllis Whitman Hunter looks at the Puritan transition from God to Cod in *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World* and links it to the culture of gentility- in her book specifically ‘Georgian Gentility.’ Faced with the need to earn money to support their

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<sup>13</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, xii.

<sup>14</sup> Cary Carson, *Face Value: The Consumer Revolution and the Colonizing of America* (Charlottesville, VA: The University of Virginia Press, 2017), 39.

<sup>15</sup> Carson, *Face Value*, 15-37.

<sup>16</sup> Ann Smart Martin, *Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry Virginia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2010), 7-8. The other key part of Martin’s argument is that the *availability* of said goods was also key to this access, and the majority of her book looks at the dissemination of goods into the backcountry.

communities, Puritan merchants by nature of their trade became part of a community that through the trade of goods “found meaning and identity in the material world.”<sup>17</sup> Two books by Kathleen Brown helped me articulate my thoughts on the ties between gentility and hospitality. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs* looks at how gender and race became inexorably intertwined in colonial Virginia. As part of that look, chapter eight focuses on male and female displays of gentility, including hospitality. Hosting travelers was not just good hospitality, it was a way to flex patriarchal power, by showing the resources one had to command.<sup>18</sup> *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* looks at “the rise of the civilized, refined, or mannerly body as a consequence of changing internal social and political dynamics” in early America. Brown focuses as well on the role of women in this ‘body work’ and the eventual role of (some) women in enforcing body purity and refinement.<sup>19</sup> In particular, Brown discusses the extensive female labor that goes into ensuring clean bodies, clothes, and houses, as well as the role that cleanliness had in genteel standards-key for understanding some traveler reactions to their surroundings.<sup>20</sup> If participating in the culture of gentility was a way to show ones status and power, part of that display was accessibility to a dwelling, and being able to judge what was inside.

It was striking that there seemed to be so little delineation between public houses and private homes in traveler’s writings. Clearly there was something different about privacy during the colonial period that I needed to explore. *Privacy in Colonial New England* by David Flaherty

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<sup>17</sup> Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670-1780*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001): 1-13.

<sup>18</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 247-282.

<sup>19</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011), 4.

<sup>20</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 118-158.

was essential to my understanding of privacy in the colonial period. Flaherty provocatively states that “The need for privacy was rarely a crucial issue... not because privacy was unimportant, but because its availability was so often taken for granted.”<sup>21</sup> Flaherty argues that though Puritan New England was a society informed by collectivism and community surveillance, colonists still actively sought out time to be by themselves, or to ensure familial privacy within the home.<sup>22</sup> However, this requires us to leave our modern conceptions of personal and domestic privacy, where privacy is the expected norm for individuals, behind. Within crowded households there were still partitions and ways of mentally compartmentalizing to achieve privacy, and for physical solitude, the fields and forests of the colony could provide where a crowded home could not.<sup>23</sup> Privacy, Flaherty argues, while limited in modern terms, was “an integral part of a total values system that included freedom, material comfort, achievement, success, and the work ethic.”<sup>24</sup>

Privacy was centered less on the individual person, and more in the household as a whole. Women moved within circles of relationships, and less so as individuals. Scholars have shown the extent that the late eighteenth century marked the home as a private space in an increasingly gendered way. In her essay on Revolutionary War era attitudes towards wife beating, Ruth Bloch argues that the ‘right to privacy’ “applied not to individuals but to social institutions such as the family.”<sup>25</sup> While not the focus of *Women at the Bar: Gender, Law and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789*, Cornelia Hughes Dayton does make a crucial link between

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<sup>21</sup> David H. Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England 1630-1776* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1972), viii-ix.

<sup>22</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 7-19.

<sup>24</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 242.

<sup>25</sup> Ruth Bloch, “The American Revolution, Wife Beating, and the Emergent Value of Privacy,” *Early American Studies* 5, no. 2 (Fall 2007): 223.

privacy and gentility when looking at why women began to leave the courtroom. Participation in the world of goods included the subdivision of spaces within the home, and new conceptions of the self. The legal system protected the privacy of the middle classes from the public scrutiny that surrounded “moral transgressions.” Poor women and women of color however, were *not* afforded these protections of their private lives.<sup>26</sup> Looking at “The Family as a Public and Private Institution,” Barbara Laslett argues that our modern conception of domestic privacy only begins with the Industrial Revolution, and the eventual separation of work from the family home.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, in their discussion on the history of boarding homes in America, John Modell and Tamara Hareven point out that taking strangers into the home as boarders was a non-issue throughout the eighteenth century. However new standards of domestic privacy in the nineteenth century brought on by the Industrial Revolution saw boarders as a threat to family morality, and thus began a discourse about the moral ills of boarding and boarders.<sup>28</sup>

The connections between the Industrial Revolution and domestic morality on domestic lives led to efforts to create a home that ideally was insular and sheltered from the outside world, as traced in Mary Ryan’s seminal work on the early nineteenth century, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. Work no longer was centered in the household but was outside of it, and the contributions of women to the household economy lessened both culturally and economically in the eyes of Americans. The definition of the family now only included the nuclear family and blood kin, as opposed to the extended household of

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<sup>26</sup> Cornelia Hughes Dayton, *Women Before the Bar: Gender, Law, and Society in Connecticut, 1639-1789* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 1995), 12.

<sup>27</sup> Barbara Laslett, “The Family as a Public and Private Institution: An Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35, no. 3 (August 1973): 480.

<sup>28</sup> John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, “Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35, no.3 (August 1973): 468.

servants, seasonal workers, boarders and travelers. The home went from a place where strangers could be expected to work and walk in, to being mainly for the nuclear family only.<sup>29</sup> However, Mary Beth Norton argues in *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial World* that these changes were not completely new. According to Norton, the ideology of separate spheres, of a feminine private and a male public, began a century earlier. During the Glorious Revolution in England, the correct exercise of public power shifted to “gendered manhood... [from] ungendered status.”<sup>30</sup> The other shift that was required was that “cultural depictions of men’s primary identity had to move out of the household context.” Manhood and the exercise of masculinity was done in public, outside of the home, while management of the home was more and more associated with women.<sup>31</sup>

My dissertation draws on these three historiographies, along with several hundred traveler’s accounts, to connect these various changes, and trace their impact on people’s lives. While tavern historiography has focused on the tavern as the location where alcohol is served and people socialize, I look at the tavern for its original legal purpose, to feed and house travelers overnight. Because taverns more and more focused on the serving of alcohol, their overnight accommodations became less important, much to the disgruntlement of elite travelers. I use gentility to look at why elite travelers were so discomfited by the condition of beds and food in taverns that overall were still the norm for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For these travelers, part of genteel culture was the performance of gentility, to show that one had the manners and means to obtain genteel goods. Disgust and discomfort in the surroundings of their

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<sup>29</sup> Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-17.

<sup>30</sup> Mary Beth Norton, *Separated by Their Sex: Women in Public and Private in the Colonial Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014): 3.

<sup>31</sup> Norton, *Separated*, 4.

lodgings was part and parcel of that performance. And by focusing on the reactions of genteel travelers to room and bed sharing, I show how older standards of domestic privacy began to change in the face of a genteel material culture. Homes over the long eighteenth century began to go from one to two rooms to multiple rooms, from a single multipurpose room to rooms with specialized purposes for each. Room and bed sharing, while still common by the early Republic, were beginning to fade away. By looking at the writings of these travelers, we can see the effects of this slow-moving change by their reactions. The driving questions that drove my research were “why did these travelers feel entitled to go to *any* building and ask to be let in” followed by “and why were they upset at what they found?” For white, male, travelers, it was a display of their power to go to a domicile and expect to be admitted in, to use the resources of the home. And it was a display of their status that they felt able to judge the contents within. If genteel hospitality was about showcasing power through one’s largesse, genteel travel was about untrammelled access to the resources of others. Householders and tavernkeepers were not without power of their own. Both were the final arbiter of who came in, and who was allowed to stay. Tavernkeepers were well within their rights to eject unruly customers or deny entry if their resources were overtaxed. Householders were not legally required to provide shelter to travelers—they chose to do so due to the social mores around hospitality, for material gain, or a little bit of both. And if a tavern or a home was in an isolated area, a traveler would be best to be on their best behavior, for there would be no other options if ejected. Elite men may have felt no compunction about eating and sleeping in a stranger’s home, but if their behavior was too egregious, they would be denied a berth.

My dissertation draws from almost two hundred primary sources.<sup>32</sup> The majority of these were diaries kept by travelers on their journeys, or letters written by travelers to friends and family at home. Due to the limitations of both the coronavirus pandemic as well as childcare, I focused on printed sources I could obtain through the library, JSTOR, Hathitrust, and the independent websites of some academic journals. The sources used in the dissertation date from 1704 to 1826. Of 188 authors, seventeen or about ten percent of them were women. I chose the 1820s and 1830s as my upper limit chronologically as this is the period in which the modern hotel as we understand it today was born, as well as the beginning of the American tourism industry. While strangers still stayed in private homes after this, standardized hostelry emerged in response to changing attitudes about staying in taverns, inns, and private homes. Though I included sources from the very early eighteenth century, most of the material I used for this dissertation ranges from 1740 to 1800. Earlier narrative sources are for the most part not as concerned with describing the living conditions that the traveler met while they were on the road.<sup>33</sup> While I was able to find some female-authored narratives, as well as a few group migrant narratives, the vast majority of the authors included were not only men, but middle and upper class men.<sup>34</sup> To an extent I was able to incorporate this bias into the dissertation by using their outrage and annoyances to look at *why* they were so aggrieved, especially with regards to privacy expectations and domestic lives so different from their own. There is still a bias present, and I have done my best to address that throughout the dissertation. The dissertation covers geographically all thirteen original colonies, as well as Kentucky, Maine, Ohio, Tennessee, and

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<sup>32</sup> Currently I have 188 unique sources.

<sup>33</sup> Some notable exceptions to this are Sarah Kemble Knight's narrative from 1704 and William Byrd's *Dividing Line* journals from 1728.

<sup>34</sup> Of my group migration narratives, while one was of a large group traveling from Philadelphia to the Kentucky frontier, most of them were groups of Moravians migrating down from Pennsylvania to their settlements in North Carolina.

West Virginia. Originally, the project began by only looking at the mid-Atlantic region, however, about halfway through research I realized I was needlessly limiting myself, and the differences I was researching applied throughout the colonial and early Republic periods. Thus, I widened my source base.<sup>35</sup>

To keep track of everything, and to track trends across time, I created a spreadsheet. For each distinct lodging place that I encountered in my sources, I entered the location and operator name, date, and location, whether it was a private home or not, the activity done by the traveler at the home, and whether the operator was female or not. Finally, the last columns were the actual entry itself, as well as a running column to keep track of multiple appearances from the same lodging place. The spreadsheet contains 3,813 individual entries, of which there were 426 lodging places that appeared across multiple narratives. Listing operator name and locations allowed me to discern if a certain lodging appeared across multiple narratives. For ease of use, I listed locations by state, then county, then town. Operators were listed by last name and then first name. When I began to focus more on domestic privacy, the public or private column came into play. I was initially frustrated that I was unable to conclusively mark one or the other for a large number of locations but realized that that in and of itself was telling. The activity column, in which I noted if they dined, spent the night, bated their horses, or some combination of the above, ended up not being needed. The female operator column, while good for quickly grabbing data, also was not used as often as I would have thought. What ended up being the most useful thing, aside from date, operator, and location, was simply copying the relevant passage onto my spreadsheet. What I should have focused on was tagging each entry with relevant tags; for

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<sup>35</sup> I had defined mid-Atlantic as Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. At some point it also seemed asinine to leave out the rest of the colonies when I already included almost half of them in the project.

example, 'denial,' 'sex,' 'bedsharing,' et cetera. As it was, whenever I began a new chapter of my dissertation, I spent a considerable amount of time going through my almost four thousand entries one by one looking for the evidence I was going to use for that chapter.

This dissertation is organized both thematically and chronologically. The first chapter looks at travelers and boarding in urban areas. I briefly discuss the role of urban taverns as sites of socialization, politicking, and drinking, before going on to describe the experience of actually boarding overnight in a tavern. From there I move to the main point of the chapter, which is that the majority of travelers would stay in boarding houses and private homes in lieu of taverns and inns. For the people running boardinghouses or taking in the occasional boarder, lodging strangers was a way to earn money, especially as a woman, who were often the majority of boardinghouse keepers or otherwise in charge of boarding overnight guests.<sup>36</sup> Private boarding offered several benefits over staying in a tavern, such as a fixed weekly rate, one or two meals included in the cost of lodging, and potentially more room for either oneself or one's retinue. Most exciting of all was that one could potentially have a room to oneself, and thus considerably more personal privacy than if one stayed at a tavern, though that was not always guaranteed. I also argue that a key characteristic of staying in a boardinghouse was becoming embedded into the family life of those running the boarding house. I use the boarding home run by Mary House in Philadelphia during the 1780s and 1790s, and how her guests quickly became treasured members of her family, viewing themselves and their fellow guests as part of an extended family even long after they last stayed at House's house.

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<sup>36</sup> To delineate the difference here: boarding houses were set up to house multiple people for long term stays or as renters, whereas overnight guests were taken in occasionally and not as a long-term way of earning money.

Chapter two traces travelers through the ever-expanding backcountry, which framed the lived experience of the majority of Americans in the eighteenth century. I was inspired to write this chapter when I realized that I could rarely discern if the majority of backcountry homes that my travelers were staying in were public inns or private houses. What I realized, however, over the course of writing this chapter was that this inability to discern between public and private was the point, and what is a hard dichotomy for us today was considerably less so during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I begin the chapter first by defining what is meant by the backcountry, then what personal privacy entailed for colonial Americans, in order to understand how travelers would move through a world with different boundaries around privacy. From there I describe some of the nomenclature around housing options in rural America and what the different options meant. Many times, in lieu of licensing, rural households would run unofficial taverns illegally, especially for homes located off of a road who sought to take advantage of the stream of travelers outside of their door. While many householders were fine bringing in travelers for the night, others were not. Conversely, some travelers stayed in private homes as a last resort and had no problem making those feelings be known. No matter where a traveler stayed, it was often difficult to differentiate which option was which, or even if a traveler preferred the public over private, or vice versa. The chapter closes with a discussion about what a traveler and lodger received from each other during a stay, both material and immaterial.

The third chapter is about traveler standards, and how a traveler's reaction to their accommodations showcases changing ideas about privacy and domestic life over the course of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. The chapter begins with a brief physical description of the typical home in the early eighteenth century before discussing the changes that began to happen among upper class homes in the mid-century onwards. It is this tension

between these two standards of living that inform the majority of this chapter. I describe colonial standards of cleanliness, in laundry, in bed, and in the building itself, before moving on to the key point of this chapter: room and bed sharing. I argue that through these traveler narratives, we can see new standards and expectations of personal privacy beginning to form and take shape. The best evidence is travelers' reactions to the idea of sharing a room or bed with strangers. While bed and room sharing had been the custom both amongst travelers and within families up to the eighteenth century, increasing refinement and larger homes ensured that well-off travelers were beginning to become used to having a room and a bed to themselves. While some travelers accepted sharing as part of traveling, others did not, and reacted accordingly.

If most of the dissertation has focused on what motivated travelers to expect families to take strangers into their homes, the fourth chapter looks at the reasons that householders gave for refusing potential guests, a pattern that increasingly emerged towards the end of the century. Householders refused to lodge strangers for many reasons, some of them mundane, such as already having too many people in the home or having given up the act of tavern keeping. However, I find that multiple other factors such as gender, religion, race, and occupation played a role in rejection. Female housekeepers were wary of male travelers, travelers practicing 'fringe' religions such as Moravianism faced backlash from landlords, and travelers of color were forced to deal with unevenly enforced laws that sought to restrict their movement and bar them from resting for the night. Householders were also resentful about quartering troops during the Seven Years and Revolutionary Wars. Soldiers and officers fell outside of traditional ideas of guests and hospitality. Besides the costs incurred when quartering troops, householders both feared and resented that these soldiers were forced upon them, rather than having a say if they were allowed in their homes or not. Finally, where travelers would stay for a night or a week before passing on,

soldiers could stay for a potentially far longer period. Chapter four illustrates the extent to which elite travelers would exert their power during the colonial period, through the expectation of service at any building they came upon. Their demands became more demanding as well, displaying gentility by passing moral and material judgment upon what they saw. However, by the end of the eighteenth century there were increasing limits on these demands; the householder or tavernkeeper were within their rights to deny the traveler entry, and would do so if upset enough.

The conclusion connects these earlier changes in domestic privacy and travel to those in labor relations and means of travel brought on by the Industrial Revolution. With the rise of the new middle class in America, along with changing attitudes towards class and privacy as discussed through this dissertation, came a new emphasis on the home as a retreat from the outside world. The parlor, which had begun to rise in importance during the eighteenth century, became even more crucial for not only displaying a family's finery, but to have a designated room that strangers were allowed in, to protect the privacy of the rest of the home. With regards to travelling, the Industrial Revolution also saw the rise of the modern travel industry, with the first grand hotels, easier and faster access to travel in the form of railroads, canals, and improved roads, and the standardization of lodging places across the country. Hotels in particular overtook the private home as a place of lodging because they were buildings purpose built for the housing of travelers, including individual rooms that gave a traveler privacy. Simultaneously, the Market Revolution ensured not only that work moved out of the household and into public spaces, but that the home was seen as a refuge from the public working world; thus, householders became empowered to be more stringent with who they allowed in their domiciles, and to deny broad swathes of people entry into the home. While the conditions described in this dissertation would

continue to exist on the expanding American frontier, they were no longer the ‘norm’ for the majority of Americans.

If the complaints of so many colonial travelers could be summed up at the hands of one diarist, it would be Benjamin Mifflin. At the end of a bad night in a Delaware tavern in 1764, Mifflin was annoyed enough to take the time to write out the “Ten Plagues” that he suffered akin to the pharaohs of Egypt in the night. They were:

1. A Male Bedfellow
2. A very restless one
3. The Stink of the Candle-snuff which he blew out on coming to bed
4. Buggs.
5. Musquittoes.
6. The grunting & groaning of a Person asleep in the next room...
7. The Mewing of a Cat in my room which obliged me to get up twice to turn her out
8. The rummaging of a Negro Wench about the room for the candle with a cole of fire in her hand.
9. The noise she made at a Bugg or other insect getting into her ear
10. & Lastly with myself being so often disturb’d could not compose myself to rest for a Long time”<sup>37</sup>

Mifflin, a wealthy Philadelphian merchant, was unused to such depravity in his personal life. There were even more troubles waiting for Mifflin in the howling wilderness of northern Delaware. Travel brought him into intimate contact with his social lesser, much to Mifflin’s intense discomfort. At Thomas Evans’ “Miserable Tavern” he was horrified by the sight of Evans’ disabled in laws, while on the road he was “a gazing stock to the gaping country Folk” for using a handkerchief to keep the dirt from his mouth and eyes.<sup>38</sup> An earlier trip through Delaware also went poorly, with his horse provided with fodder of such low quality that the animal would not eat, followed immediately by an altercation with an impudent local planter that only ended

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<sup>37</sup> Mifflin, “1764,” 130.

<sup>38</sup> Mifflin, “1764,” 136; 130.

when the landlord broke them apart.<sup>39</sup> As a modern reader divorced from the dirt and discomfort of the period, we laugh at Mifflin's haughtiness and prose. However, reading deeper into narratives like that of Mifflin's reveals the tension inherent of a changing standard of living and expectations, not only for travelers like Mifflin, but for those who provided accommodations.

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<sup>39</sup> Benjamin Mifflin, *Journal of Benjamin Mifflin: The Record of a Tour from Philadelphia to Delaware and Maryland, July 26 to August 14. 1762* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1935), 15.

## Chapter 1: “An Unpleasant house to be lodged at; yet it was a principal tavern:” Taverns versus Boarding Houses

The Indian King, located on Biddle Street in Philadelphia, was one of the finest taverns in the city in 1755. The owners, John and Sarah Biddle, ran a tight ship, conducting their business with “the utmost regularity and decorum.” Their food was delicious, the selection of alcohol pleasing, and the Biddles took good care of their customers’ horses. The couple even stopped serving alcohol after eleven at night to cut down on the rowdiness of their clientele, a practice not common to most keepers of public houses. However, the couple could tell that their guest, Virginian Daniel Fisher, was still not at ease with their hospitality. Ten days into his stay, the couple invited Fisher to tea, where Mrs. Biddle offered to “enquire out a private lodging for thee in some reputable sober family in the neighborhood,” as even their less raucous than usual public house seemed to be too much for Fisher. While the Biddles made it clear that Fisher was more than welcome to continue his stay, Fisher replied in the affirmative. Though the Indian King was the best tavern he had stayed in during his journey from Williamsburg to Philadelphia, he would be in Philadelphia for another eleven weeks, and “a private [House], such as he proposed, would be more to my satisfaction.” Eventually, Fisher found boarding with Mr. and Mrs. Soumien, to whom he paid twelve shillings a week. To Fisher’s great delight, the Soumiens were neighbors of Benjamin Franklin, and he spent the rest of his time in Philadelphia ingratiating himself with the Franklin family.<sup>1</sup>

While clashes over expectations of personal privacy often happened in rural areas, the city was also ripe for these confrontations. This chapter will discuss the laws that governed

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<sup>1</sup>Louise Pecquet du Ballet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families* (Lynchburg, VA: JP Bell Company, 1907), 799-800, 804; Robert Earle Graham, “The Taverns of Colonial Philadelphia,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 43, no. 1 (1953): 320.

taverns, inns, and ordinaries in general before then moving on to urban tavern culture. Though local laws stipulated that the purpose of a tavern was for accommodating travelers, most of them eschewed the tavern for accommodations and instead used the tavern to socialize with both the locals and other travelers. When they did choose the rooms at a city tavern, travelers were not always pleased with the results. A second, and more pleasing option, was the boarding house. Boarding houses offered the weary traveler a considerable degree more privacy than the tavern, and perhaps more importantly the opportunity to embed oneself in a family atmosphere during the duration of one's stay- and at a better rate per week than a tavern. If they could not have the comfort they were accustomed to in a tavern, a traveler could often find it or something like it at a boarding house.

I will use the terms 'inn,' 'ordinary,' and 'tavern' somewhat interchangeably, as was the custom in colonial America. In England, these terms originally connoted businesses with different, albeit similar, aims.<sup>2</sup> Taverns and inns differed from alehouses in that they were required by English law to serve travelers, whereas alehouses were only to serve alcohol to the neighborhood.<sup>3</sup> For some colonists, these distinctions remained in their minds. Just as the terms 'tavern' and 'inn' were class-based in England, so were they in America, referring to public houses that were bigger and furnished to a higher standard than ordinaries, alehouses, and tippling houses.<sup>4</sup> And while 'ordinary' was the term used more commonly in Maryland and Virginia to refer to a public house, it also referred to meals, specifically one made at a set time,

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<sup>2</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 18; Vaughn Scribner, *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society* (New York: NYU Press, 2019), 203.

<sup>3</sup> Salinger, *Taverns*, 15

<sup>4</sup> Patricia Ann Gibbs, "Taverns of Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774," (master's thesis, William and Mary, 1968), 1.

and open for the general public to eat for a fee in urban taverns all along the eastern seaboard.<sup>5</sup> Contemporary travelers certainly noticed the looseness of the terms. Revolutionary War veteran, the Marquis de Chastellux, wrote in 1782 at Willis's Ordinary in Louisa County, Virginia, that "for the inns which in the other provinces of America are known by the name of taverns, or public-houses, are in Virginia called *ordinaries*."<sup>6</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, a 1774 English émigré, noted when eating at Rollins in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, that while he would call it a public house, Americans called establishments like Rollins "ordinaries." He further grouched that "they have not their name for nothing, for they are ordinary enough, have had either bacon or chickens every meal since I came [here]." At the rate Cresswell was eating, he "shall be grown over with bristles or feathers" sooner rather than later.<sup>7</sup> Luigi Castiglioni also made a note about the terminology of lodgings, writing about his experience in North Carolina that ordinary was "the term... used to distinguish the inns of north Carolina, which can with reason be called ordinary—and very ordinary."<sup>8</sup> Thus throughout this project, 'inn', 'tavern', and 'ordinary' all refer to a place where one could get something to drink, a meal to eat, and a place to sleep. The key difference, as we will discover, was between these three terms, which would apply to a public space, and 'house,' a private place that came with its own set of connotations and expectations.

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<sup>5</sup> Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983), 88; Peter Thompson, *Rum Punch and Revolution: Taverngoing and Public Life in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 3; Gibbs, "Tidewater," 1.

<sup>6</sup> Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782 Volume 2*, trans. by Howard C. Rice Jr (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963,) 386.

<sup>7</sup> Harold B. Gill and George M. Curtis, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1781*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 12.

<sup>8</sup> Luigi Castiglioni, *Viaggio: Travels in the United States of America, 1785-87* trans. and ed. Antonio Pace, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 287. The urge to make a very lame joke about ordinary/ordinary was strong enough to transcend time apparently.

What was required of a person wanting to open a tavern, inn, or ordinary? Throughout the colonies, before a housekeeper could open their establishment legally, they had to obtain a license. As historian Kym Rice argues, there were four factors in granting a license: could the keeper shoulder the financial cost of maintaining a tavern, was the keeper able to actually perform their duties, the location of the tavern and how many were already operating (if any) within that area.<sup>9</sup> Ostensibly, the ideal tavern keeper was someone who could be trusted to uphold public morality, have the financial ability to supply and operate a public house, and could be trusted to refuse service to those deemed unworthy in the eyes of the law. Said tavern keeper would of course be a man, because only a man had the physical strength to deny service to sailors and enslaved people, cut off drunks, know all the legal regulations involved in running a tavern, and have the mental fortitude to chase down creditors. In turn, colonial governments would only license to the appropriately sober and fiscally solvent men, as well as limiting the amount of public houses they licensed, to best preserve public order and prevent rampant drunkenness.<sup>10</sup> As late as 1759, one New England law required innkeepers to eject locals by 9pm and to keep singing and dancing out of their taverns.<sup>11</sup> While this was the idea behind tavern licenses, the reality was considerably different, as financial and societal pressures ensured that colonial officials were almost always very cavalier in issuing licenses to potential tavern operators. Colonial governments depended on the money that licensing fees brought in, and thus fiscal necessity sometimes outweighed the societal need to control the potential for debauchery and sin that too many tippling houses could bring.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 61.

<sup>10</sup> Salinger, *Taverns*, 152-3, 159-161.

<sup>11</sup> Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 114.

<sup>12</sup> Salinger, *Taverns* 153-159.

While ostensibly it was men who were the ideal and sole tavernkeepers, in reality both men and women were taverners. Women as well as men throughout the colonies were able to obtain licenses to operate a tavern during the long eighteenth century. While the license of an ordinary was under the man's name, more often than not it was his female family members who actually ran the ordinary. Women's work was crucial to the running of the ordinary, filling in when male relatives were busy with other duties or jobs. The work women usually did for the home-cooking, cleaning, and tending to family members-also lent themselves well to the work of running a tavern.<sup>13</sup> After a woman's male relative passed away, local magistrates would provide continuity by granting her the license in her own right afterwards.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, the number of widowed female tavern keepers was quite considerable; in seventeenth century New England, seventy percent of the women running taverns were widowed. Women however were not only given licenses in light of past work as tavern keepers, but often as a form of poor relief, the idea being that a tavern license would allow a woman to work for and support herself and her family rather than the town supporting her financially.<sup>15</sup> Another form of tavern licensing for poor relief

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<sup>13</sup> Sarah Hand Meacham, *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013), 70-4.

<sup>14</sup> For contemporary examples of widows running taverns, see: Anonymous, "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765, II," *The American Historical Review* 27, no. 1 (October 1921): 72, 77; James Auld, "The Journal of James Auld, 1765-1770," *Southern History Association* 8, no. 4 (July 1904): 256; Beriah Brown, "A Journey to the Susquehanna River in 1762," *The Narragansett Historical Register* 2 (1883-4): 219; Ethel Conrad, ed., "Touring Ohio in 1811: The Journal of Charity Rotch," *Ohio History Journal* 99 (Summer-Autumn 1990): 138; Reuben Aldridge Guild, *Life, Times and correspondence of James Manning, and the early history of Brown University* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1864), 271-2; A.E. Martin, "A Diary of 1822," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 49, no. 1 (1925): 64; Needham Parry, "The Journal of Needham Parry—1794," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 34, no. 109 (October 1936): 384; Gotthold Benjamin Reichel and Helen Bell, "A Journey to Bethlehem and Nazareth, in September and October, 1815," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 4, no. 3 (1892): 133; Dwight L. Smith, "Israel Angell and the West in 1788," *Rhode Island History* 22, no. 1 (January 1963): 9; "1771. Saturday June 8th.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0001-0005-0008>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 28–30.]

<sup>15</sup>Meacham, *Every Home*, 73; Rice, *Entertainment*, 49-56; Salinger, *Taverns*, 161-73; Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 115.

was a partial license, one that allowed the licensees to sell only beer and rum-‘lesser’ forms of alcohol.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately, however, “the most salient characteristic of licensing practices in the eighteenth century was its arbitrariness,” with licenses being awarded to not only the poor and to women, but to keepers who ran disorderly houses or were drunkards themselves.<sup>17</sup>

Once the publican received their license, they then had to outfit their tavern, the costs of which were not inconsiderable. The supplies that taverns, ordinaries, and public houses needed to keep in stock was linked to one of their legal purposes, offering lodging to travelers. While tavern historiography focuses less on this aspect of the public house to focus more on the tavern as a meeting place for local activity, contemporary tavern law was greatly concerned about the needs of travelers.<sup>18</sup> Starting in 1715, licensees in New Hampshire were to have on hand facilities not only for travelers but “Pasturing, Stable-room, Hay and Provender” for their horses as well.<sup>19</sup> Early New England tavern laws emphasized that the “ancient, true, and principal use of Inns... is for the Receipt, Relief and Lodging of Travellers,” as opposed to letting the locals come in to drink. Later laws in Massachusetts would allow people to drink in their neighborhood tavern but would impose restrictions on how much and at what times they could enter, restrictions that travelers were exempt from observing.<sup>20</sup> Southern colonies, while less concerned with policing the morality of their inhabitants, still linked taverns with travelers. A 1677

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<sup>16</sup> Thompson, *Rum Punch*, 41-2.

<sup>17</sup> Salinger, *Tavern*, 180.

<sup>18</sup> In *In Public Houses*, David Conroy makes the argument that the tavern was a public space that enabled men and women to challenge their political and social superiors in colonial Massachusetts. Peter Thompson in *Rum Punch and Revolution* looks at the tavern going phenomenon within colonial Philadelphia and examines what aspects of it made it both extremely popular and yet highly disconcerting to various members of the public. *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, by Sharon Salinger, looks at tavern going as a whole in the thirteen colonies, and argues that tavern society, rather than creating an equitable society of peers in the dram room, reinforced social inequality and hierarchy instead.

<sup>19</sup> Donna-Bell Garvin and James L. Garvin, *On the Road North of Boston: New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes 1700-1900* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988), 7.

<sup>20</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 26

Virginian law charged those seeking a tavern license to provide “for travelers good dyett, lodging, and horse meate.”<sup>21</sup> Maryland had more particular requirements of what their tavern keepers needed to provide, with a 1694 law stating that a licensee needed to have six good beds (twelve if in the capital) of wool or feather, in addition to stabling for horses. New York taverns were also required to maintain a set number of beds and needed to be able to care for at least six horses a night.<sup>22</sup> The linkage between taverns and travel continued well into the eighteenth century. The court records from Augusta County, Virginia, show Valentine Sevier seeking an ordinary license in 1747 as “he is very much infested with travelers.”<sup>23</sup> That same year saw Robert McClanahan getting his rival, Samuel Wilkins, stripped of his license for failure to provide resources for travelers.<sup>24</sup> As late as 1779, Virginian law sought to link the two in order to restrict the growth of ‘tippling houses’ that prepared no food, housed no travelers, and only served alcohol to the neighborhood.<sup>25</sup>

To ensure that travelers, as well as the locals that came in, were not defrauded, colonial governments required ordinaries to keep to certain rates for their services, and to publicly post them.<sup>26</sup> One 1697 Maryland ordinance established such rates as ten pounds of tobacco for a gallon of small beer (twenty for strong), four pounds for an overnight stay in a bed, and six pounds of tobacco for a berth in a stable for one’s horse for the night (hay not included).<sup>27</sup> Some rate lists were more detailed than others; one North Carolina county established a cheaper rate

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<sup>21</sup> Paton Yoder, “Tavern Regulation in Virginia: Rationale and Reality,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 87, no. 3 (July 1979): 262.

<sup>22</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 28, Salinger, *Tavern*, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia: Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800* (Mary S. Lockwood, 1912) 431.

<sup>24</sup> Yoder, “Tavern Regulation,” 271.

<sup>25</sup> Yoder, “Tavern Regulation,” 264, 270.

<sup>26</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 86, Salinger, *Tavern*, 20-1.

<sup>27</sup> “Archives of Maryland, Volume 22, Page 520-Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly, March 1697/8-July 1699,” Maryland State Archives, accessed July 1<sup>st</sup>, 2021, <http://aomol.msa.maryland.gov/000001/000022/html/am22--520.html>

for sharing a bed with two or more travelers, and a more expensive one for those who wished to sleep alone.<sup>28</sup> With travel often wrapped up around court days, Virginia in 1677 differentiated meal rates between court days and not; with the rates being twelve and eight pounds for a master and servant, and ten and six otherwise.<sup>29</sup>

Some places forbade travelling on the Sabbath, requiring travelers to stay an extra night in a tavern. The Count dal Verme, travelling through Massachusetts in 1783, was told by other travelers that such laws “were not generally enforced at present,” and even when they had, a traveler could bypass it with a bribe. It was his misfortune to encounter the one lawman who still upheld the laws, in the town of Weston. The man threatened to force dal Verme “to dismount at the first tavern” and fine him twelve dollars. However, dal Verme was able to spur his horse and race away from the officer, thus dodging his fine.<sup>30</sup> In a similar vein, New Hampshire’s 1700 Sabbath law would only allow Sunday travel if they were people lost in the woods overnight; they too only had leave to go to the nearest tavern. As late as 1815, Sabbath travel laws were still in effect in New Hampshire, as South Carolinian Harriott Pickney Horry found out to her annoyance. Only with the intervention of a local magistrate were Horry and her party able to complete their journey to Portsmouth, though she noted that even with her permit “we were stopt twice on the road and obliged to produce it ere we could proceed.”<sup>31</sup> Even if no Sabbath laws were in place locally, that did not keep tavern keepers or travelers from observing the holy day.

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<sup>28</sup> Salinger, *Tavern*, 20.

<sup>29</sup> William Waller Hening, *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of all the Laws from the First Session of the Legislature, in the Year 1619* (New York: R & W & G Bartow, 1823), 393-4.

<sup>30</sup> Francisco Dal Verme, Conte di Bobbio, *Seeing America and its Great Men: The Journal and Letters of Count Francesco dal Verme, 1783-1784*, trans. Elizabeth Cometti, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1969), 19-20.

<sup>31</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, 1815 Journal, 20<sup>th</sup> August 1815 from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Garvin, *On the Road*, 9.

James Clitherall, escorting two female friends to Philadelphia in April 1776 was annoyed to find that the landlord's son at Burton's Ordinary would "not send for any Fodder" for their hungry horses because it was Sunday.<sup>32</sup> Of course, laws changed over the course of the long eighteenth century or were enforced less stringently. Tavernkeepers also pushed back against the arduous costs and requirements involved with maintaining space for travelers or just ignored these laws altogether. Despite this, however, public house-keeping and travel remained entwined in the legal consciousness.

During his long journey in 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton stayed twice in the city of Philadelphia. Though he stayed with a landlady, Mrs. Cume, who offered "private lodgings," he still frequented taverns all over the city.<sup>33</sup> One night he ate at a tavern with men of many nationalities and religions "round an oblong table in a great hall well stoked with flies," where "the prevailing topick was politicks and conjectures of a French war."<sup>34</sup> Another night, Hamilton was taken to the Old Tun Tavern by a local friend to be inducted into the Governor's Club, a social club of local gentlemen who met nightly to discuss various topics and were graced once a week by the presence of the governor.<sup>35</sup> Hamilton used taverns, not for their legal purpose of housing travelers, but instead to eat and socialize outside of his boarding house. Rural taverns, while still serving alcohol to people in the neighborhood, would still house large numbers of strangers for the night as dictated by the law. In cities, however, the tavern was mainly for socialization, conviviality, and drinking, much to the chagrin at times of urban authorities.

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<sup>32</sup>James Clitherall, entry 28<sup>th</sup> April 1788 in the James Clitherall Diary, #159-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>33</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh and Alexander Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 19.

<sup>34</sup> Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, 20.

<sup>35</sup> Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, 213, 21.

Travelers who chose to stay in the urban tavern often had to reckon with the aggressively public nature of their lodgings, and how it infringed on their comfort and privacy.

For travelers, urban taverns were usually less a place to stay overnight in, and more a place where they could eat a good meal, read the papers and collect their mail, socialize with the locals, and, of course, drink copious amounts of alcohol.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly then, when travelers came to one of the major cities, their writing focused less on their lodging and more on the taverns they went to at night to eat, drink, and socialize. For Dr. Alexander Hamilton, already an experienced socialite and clubman in his home of Annapolis, he was concerned less in his 1744 trip journal about his urban lodgings and focused more on the characters he met each night at dinner or over drinks in various taverns. In Philadelphia he took ‘private lodgings’ with a Mrs. Cume and in New York City, roomed with Mrs. Hog. The meals he spent at his lodgings were either breakfast, or tea with his landladies; the rest of his time he went out for food and socialization.<sup>37</sup> In Philadelphia, Hamilton was invited to participate in the Governor’s Club, a group of upper-class men who met nightly at a tavern to discuss various topics and were graced with the Governor’s presence weekly. One night he found himself among twenty-five men of at least ten different denominations, discussing politics and trade; perhaps by unspoken agreement they “touched a little upon religion... but their blood was not hot enough to quarrel.”<sup>38</sup> Many taverns prided themselves on the quality of their food. James Birket proclaimed Stephenson’s inn in the Bronx “one of the Best Eating houses we met with,” enjoying a meal of freshly caught fish and oysters.<sup>39</sup> Seeing the quality of the supper laid before him and his large party in 1774 made

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<sup>36</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 42.; Thompson, *Rum Punch*, 2-3.

<sup>37</sup> Alexander Hamilton, et al, *Colonial American Travel Narratives* ed. Wendy Martin and Susan Imbarrato (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994), 190-98,208-212, 235-42; 306-15;318-321.

<sup>38</sup> Hamilton, *Colonial American*, 191.

<sup>39</sup> James Birket, *Some Cursory Remarks made by James Birket in his Voyage to North America, 1750-1751* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 1916), 39.

John Adams proclaim the City Tavern in Philadelphia “the most genteel one in America.”<sup>40</sup> Some keepers had such a reputation for their table that their services were demanded outside of the tavern, as in the case of innkeeper Daniel Grant and the Fountain Inn/Sign of the Indian Queen in Baltimore. The inn itself had at least “three kitchens with Garretts over them” ready to feed their guests.<sup>41</sup> Grant frequently hosted the Washington family when they stayed in Baltimore and catered to their catering needs even when not in town. In January 1790 he sent to New York for Martha Washington, four “white Back Ducks,” noting that he hadn’t sent any before this as they were scarce.<sup>42</sup> And in 1791, Washington’s personal secretary, Tobias Lear, wrote to Grant asking for his expert knowledge in recommending a cook from Baltimore to join the Washington household.<sup>43</sup>

The local tavern was perfect if one wanted to socialize and have a good meal and a drink (or several) but what about sleeping there? In that case, results varied wildly. Some taverns had a reputation for their sumptuous quarters, and, for the men who could afford them, they indeed had a good stay. The Indian Queen Tavern, on 11<sup>th</sup> Street in Philadelphia, was well known for both its hospitality and its lavish rooms for travelers. According to Manessah Cutler it was more like a

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<sup>40</sup> “1774 Aug. 29. Monday.,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0004-0005-0017>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 114–115.]

<sup>41</sup> “[May 1787],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-05-02-0002-0005>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 5, 1 July 1786–31 December 1789, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979, pp. 147–164.]

<sup>42</sup> Daniel Grant, “To George Washington from Daniel Grant, 24 January 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-05-02-0029>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 5, 16 January 1790–30 June 1790, ed. Dorothy Twohig, Mark A. Mastromarino, and Jack D. Warren. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, p. 47.]

<sup>43</sup> Tobias Lear, “Tobias Lear to Daniel Grant, 28 February 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-05-02-0113>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 5, 16 January 1790–30 June 1790, ed. Dorothy Twohig, Mark A. Mastromarino, and Jack D. Warren. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, pp. 185–187.]

small compound, “a large pile of buildings, with many spacious halls and numerous small apartments.”<sup>44</sup> Indeed, the Indian Queen was well situated for both entertaining large parties and hosting sleepers, with sixteen rooms for guests, four rooms designated for servants only, and five rooms on the first floor that could be converted to two large entertainment spaces, akin to the modern day convention center.<sup>45</sup> Francisco de Miranda, having spent most of 1783 travelling the length of the country, praised the inn as “at no other inn have I seen more cleanliness, abundance, regularity, and decency.”<sup>46</sup> The City Tavern, also located in Philadelphia, had exclusivity and gentility built into its very foundation, being erected of the finest materials in 1773; the £3000 price tag borne by wealthy subscribers across the city.<sup>47</sup> Keeper Edward Moyston advertised that the hotel was “more agreeable than any private Lodging House in Town,” with servants that far outnumbered any force that a boarding house keeper could muster, and rooms designed for privacy.<sup>48</sup> Purposely built to be the tavern for the rich and respectable, the Tavern hosted George and Martha Washington on their way to Mount Vernon in September 1790. Though the party came there at the last minute, City Tavern was able to easily house in comfort the large party and their sixteen horses.<sup>49</sup> And during his stay in 1794 in Baltimore, Moreau de St. Mery noted

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<sup>44</sup> Max Farrand, ed., *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787 Volume III* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1911), 58.

<sup>45</sup> Andrew K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 40; Thompson, *Rum Punch*, 59.

<sup>46</sup> Francisco de Miranda, *The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84* trans. Judson P. Wood, ed. John Samuel Ezell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 41.

<sup>47</sup> Thompson, *Rum Punch*, 149

<sup>48</sup> “To George Washington from Edward Moyston, 4 April 1787,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-05-02-0120>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Confederation Series, vol. 5, 1 February 1787–31 December 1787, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997, pp. 123–124.]

<sup>49</sup> John Claypoole, “To George Washington from John Claypoole, 4 September 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-06-02-0188>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 6, 1 July 1790–30 November 1790, ed. Mark A. Mastromarino. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, pp. 392–393.]; Tobias Lear, “Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle, 17 August 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-06-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Papers of*

generally of the inns and taverns there that "they have an immense collection of enormous bedroom slippers from which one chooses a pair when going to bed," allowing for the well-heeled traveler to have his own shoes polished, cleaned, and delivered to his door the next morning.<sup>50</sup> However, these well-appointed urban taverns were the exception, not only in the high level of service they offered, but in their size and notoriety. The majority of urban taverns were much smaller and humbler affairs.

Frequently, however, travelers found that while urban taverns made for good places to drink, have a good meal, and while away the hours in discussion and gaming, a restful night was certainly not guaranteed. A good table and bar in the dining room did not mean equal amounts of attention was paid to the cleanliness and comfort of the lodging area. On a journey to rejoin her husband in New York City in 1778, Katherine Hay lodged in a public house on the outskirts of town. There she found herself "mistress of" a room with three beds that had "as much dirt as you could well wade through" and sheets that, while promised to be clean, Hay noted were a suspicious "dark brown" color.<sup>51</sup> Thankfully the pleasures of the dining table and a convivial conversation distracted Henry Wansey from his berth, where he had to share a room filled with biting bugs.<sup>52</sup> Another tavern that Wansey stayed in was great for the conducting of business, with books "kept of what ships arrive or clear out," but was filled with "my old tormentors, the

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*George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 6, *1 July 1790–30 November 1790*, ed. Mark A. Mastromarino. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, pp. 272–275.]

<sup>50</sup> Moreau de St. Mery, "Baltimore as Seen by Moreau de St. Mery in 1794," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35, no.3 (September 1940): 229.

<sup>51</sup> Ondine E. Le Blanc and Katharine Farnham Hay, "The Journal of the 'Rebel Lady': Katharine Farnham Hay's Account of Her Trip to New York City, 1778," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 109 (1997): 112.

<sup>52</sup> Henry Wansey, *The Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the summer of 1794* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), 38. Dinner saw twenty people sitting to a spread of "salmon, veal, beef, mutton, fowl, ham, roots, puddings, &c &c." and a pint of Madeira wine per man. Wansey was pleased to see that "there is no shyness in conversation, as at an English table. People of different countries and languages mix together, and converse as familiarly as old acquaintances."

bugs” as well.<sup>53</sup> While Constitutional delegates had previously delighted in the sumptuous surroundings of the Indian Queen, by 1793 Frenchmen Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux found a completely different story. Though they arrived bearing the good word of a member of Congress who "asked that we be treated well" they found that "the owner seemed to receive us with repugnance." While their landlord had quoted them as paying one dollar per person when they arrived, when they left the next morning, he suddenly demanded two dollars a person instead. After a lengthy argument the party paid him what he asked so as not to attract undue attention and left with the landlord swearing "that in the future he would never take in any French people."<sup>54</sup> When hotels began to become institutions within cities, so did the poor conditions of tavern bedrooms become more intolerable. An Annapolis, Maryland, visitor in 1804 stayed in Caton's Tavern and described a place full of broken and half-fixed windows, doors with missing panels, and "innumerable servants and yet no attendance, filthy and ragged."<sup>55</sup> Later in 1812, the Reverend John Pierce spent the night in Boston at Boyden's Tavern by the market and noted that "old, wretched" place was so miserable that Pierce laid the city's reputation for "filthiness and disturbance in its publick houses" at the building's feet.<sup>56</sup>

Even the company of one's fellows could become wearying or disgusting to a traveler. The same sociability and conversation that enlivened tavern life could also prove irritating to those trying to get some sleep. Robert Honyman's New York City tavern, the Connecticut Arms, was "continually crowded with high Whigs and committee men," all talking politics to the wee

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<sup>53</sup> Wansey, *Journal*, 111.

<sup>54</sup> Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux, *Castorland Journal: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Northern New York State by French Emigres in the Years 1793 to 1797*, trans. and ed. John A Gallucci (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 67.

<sup>55</sup> Jonathan Mason, "Diary of the Hon. Jonathan Mason," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 22 (1885-6): 12.

<sup>56</sup> Rev. Dr. John Pierce, "The Rev. Dr. John Pierce's Memoirs," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 19 (1905): 366.

hours of the morning and keeping Honyman up, much to his consternation.<sup>57</sup> While the naval officers visiting the Indian Queen in Philadelphia in 1793 probably had a great time drinking and socializing, the “loud fellows” kept traveler John William Devereux up all night with their carousing.<sup>58</sup> Ethnic tensions could also come into play; with travelers associating noise and disorder with particular ethnicities. Later in his trip, when Devereux was staying in New York City, he was disgruntled to realize everyone in his lodgings were Scottish; after all, they were “very Clanish” and thus more likely to make a racket.<sup>59</sup> Nicholas Cresswell grouched in 1775 that his Philadelphia tavern was full of “Irish [men]... most of them profoundly ignorant and as impertinent as any skipkinnel.”<sup>60</sup> As travelers found in the cities, the main purpose of the urban tavern was for socializing and drinking, rather than the hosting of overnight lodgers, which led to restless and uncomfortable nights. What other lodging options were there available to travelers in the colonial city?

Though Daniel Fisher found the Indian King to be one of the best public houses he had ever been into, as he was staying in Philadelphia for eleven weeks, he was anxious to find more private quarters. At first, he had trouble, noting that “I was even so destitute of acquaintance, that I did not know where or to whome to apply for a private Lodging.”<sup>61</sup> After two weeks, Fisher introduced himself to Benjamin Franklin, and on leaving his house after tea, was met by Franklin’s neighbor, Mr. Soumien. While Soumien stopped Fisher to mainly fish for gossip about Franklin, he quickly proffered an offer of “a private Lodging...at Twelve shillings a week.”<sup>62</sup> For

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<sup>57</sup> Dr. Robert Honyman, *Colonial Panorama 1775: Dr. Robert Honyman’s Journal for March and April* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1939), 67.

<sup>58</sup> John William Devereux and O. Douglas Weeks, “My Journal of One of My Trips to New York (June 23–November 18, 1799),” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (March 1931): 55.

<sup>59</sup> Devereux, “My Journal,” 54.

<sup>60</sup> Cresswell, *A Man Apart*, 114.

<sup>61</sup> du Ballet, *Prominent*, 800

<sup>62</sup> du Ballet, *Prominent*, 804

those travelers who wanted to board away from the noise and shenanigans of the tavern or ordinary, or who planned on a long-term stay, there was the option to become a boarder in someone's home.<sup>63</sup> A boardinghouse (though the term would not come into common usage until later in the eighteenth century) did not require a special license on the part of the person offering board.<sup>64</sup> Boarders were not only travelers, but could also be soldiers, the indigent, the infirm, or family members or friends of the boardinghouse keeper themselves.<sup>65</sup> While men could and did operate boardinghouses, the profession was largely a female one. For widowed or single women who owned homes and needed to earn money, renting out rooms in their property was an 'easy' way to earn an income. Married women, of course, also ran boardinghouses, or rented rooms to boarders in tandem with other businesses run by themselves and their husbands. Boardinghouse keepers did not even necessarily have to own the homes they occupied, and some keepers essentially sublet the rooms they were renting to temporary short-term renters.<sup>66</sup> Like the men and women who worked in taverns, there was no separating the home from the workplace in the boarding house; they were one and the same. The idea of the home as a sacrosanct private retreat from the rest of the world was a decidedly nineteenth century idea.<sup>67</sup> However, housework and the creation of a family atmosphere within the home was still decidedly the work of women. Unlike the overwhelmingly masculine presence of taverns and ordinaries, a boardinghouse could offer a more refined, private, and domestic setting. Boarding in a stranger's home offered a way

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<sup>63</sup> Judson P. Wood, trans. and ed., *The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 71, 75.

<sup>64</sup> Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor, "'She Said She did not Know Money': Urban Women and Atlantic Markets in the Revolutionary Era," *Early American Studies* 4, no. 2 (Fall 2006): 334.

<sup>65</sup> Hartigan-O'Connor, "Money," 329

<sup>66</sup> Bernard L. Herman, *Town House: Architecture and Material Life in the Early American City, 1780-1830* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2005) 245-7; Hartigan-O'Connor, "Money," 332, 334.

<sup>67</sup> Wendy Gamber, *The Boardinghouse in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 2-3.

to partake in a family atmosphere; in effect the traveler was not only renting a room, they were renting a family.<sup>68</sup>

For travelers in urban centers, boarding houses were often the more economical option for a long-term stay, as they were charged per week rather than per day.<sup>69</sup> What boarding houses would and would not cover differed from house to house. In general, lodging at a boarding house would cover one's bed, some meals, and basic cleaning. Meals were served at a communal table, at set times a day, though male boarders often chose to go to taverns for their meals to socialize with others.<sup>70</sup> Some boarding houses offered communal parlors, or other public rooms that the boarders shared, while others gave boarders the option to include a private parlor along with their bedroom. Along those lines, some houses had their boarders share their rooms, and beds with other boarders, while boarders with the cash (and landladies with the space) could ensure their privacy.<sup>71</sup> Other services, such as extra meals, laundry, heating, alcohol, laundry, nursing, and

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<sup>68</sup> For examples of female boarding house keepers see Edward P Alexander, ed., *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719* (Williamsburg, VA: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 114; Nathaniel Cutting, "Extracts from a Journal of a Gentleman visiting Boston in 1792," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 12, (1871-1873): 60; John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802* (New York: H.Holt and Company, 1909), 350; Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal, 1775-1776: Written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army Around New York*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1934), 210; Bettina Manzo, ed., "A Virginian in New York: The Diary of St. George Tucker July-August 1786," *New York History* 67, no. 2 (April 1986): 182; John Pierce, "The Rev. John Pierce's Memoirs," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 19 (1905): 369; Dorothy Mackay Quynn and William Rogers Quynn, "Letters of a Maryland Medical Student in Philadelphia and Edinburgh (1782-1784)," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 31, no. 3 (September 1936): 185; Frederic Trautmann, "Pennsylvania through a German's Eyes: The Travels of Ludwig Gall, 1819-1820," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105, no. 1 (January 1981): 38; "[Diary entry: 18 May 1773]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-03-02-0003-0010-0018>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 3, *1 January 1771–5 November 1781*, ed. Donald Jackson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978, p. 180.]; "[Diary entry: 24 October 1789]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-05-02-0005-0002-0024>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 5, *1 July 1786–31 December 1789*, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979, pp. 473–476.]

<sup>69</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 42.

<sup>70</sup> Rice, *Entertainment*, 42.

<sup>71</sup> Herman, *Town Home*, 239

other incidentals would be accounted for extra.<sup>72</sup> Above all, a boarding house offered the potential for privacy; the two were correlated so in the public consciousness that an ad for rooms in City Tavern in Philadelphia described their lodgings paces “as private as a lodging-house.”<sup>73</sup>

Upper class travelers required space, not only for their own sense of domestic privacy, but also for their large retinues of family and servants or enslaved persons that came with them. When Mary Ambler came to Baltimore with her two children and her enslaved woman, Sukey, to get inoculated in 1770, she stayed at Mrs. Chilton’s boarding house. For two rooms and three meals a day, Ambler paid twenty-five shillings a week for the white members of the party, and a lesser rate of twenty-two shillings and six pence for Sukey. Notably, the final bill of over four pounds from Chilton did not include laundry, which Ambler had to send out separately to a washerwoman in the neighborhood.<sup>74</sup> When George Washington traveled to Philadelphia in 1790, he directed his secretary to see if Mary House’s boardinghouse had room for everyone in his party, which numbered sixteen people. In order to obtain rooms at the boarding house that half of Congress sought to stay in, Washington was willing to cram the party into as tight of space as possible. Two rooms were all he, his wife, and grandchildren, and the two maids needed; another room for the two gentlemen travelling along, and “the servants she knows how she can best accommodate.”<sup>75</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, on her 1793 trip through the Northeast, traveled with her daughter, two of her nieces, and five enslaved people, to say nothing of the

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<sup>72</sup> Hartigan-O’Connor, “Money,” 331.

<sup>73</sup> Thompson, *Rum Punch*, 150

<sup>74</sup> Mary Ambler, “Diary of M. Ambler,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 45, no. 2 (April 1937): 154-5, 167-8.

<sup>75</sup> Tobias Lear, “Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle, 17 August 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-06-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 6, 1 July 1790–30 November 1790, ed. Mark A. Mastromarino. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, pp. 272–275.]

occasional friends or other family members who joined her at various portions of the trip.<sup>76</sup> In Philadelphia, at Mary Williams' boardinghouse, she rented four rooms: two bedrooms, one parlor, and one drawing room. In addition, Horry agreed, "to find liquors, candles, fireing, and provisions for my Negroes and house linen." Williams in turn would provide "everything else for which I am to pay her 45 dollars a week."<sup>77</sup> Mrs. McEwing's house in New York was considerably simpler, with Horry agreeing "with her for a drawing room and bedchamber... 6 dollars per week for each of us and 2 ½ dollr for each Servant." McEwing's was also cheaper, at thirty-four dollars a week to the forty-five that Williams charged.<sup>78</sup> When John Adams was preparing to travel to Philadelphia in 1794, John Francis was prepared with some very exacting terms. Twenty dollars a week would get two rooms for Adams, and one for his servant Mr. Brasler. Breakfast and coffee would be taken to Adams' room, dinner was with the other boarders (all other members of Congress) but if Adams brought company over, he would be expected to pay for them. Of course, Adams was responsible for his own alcohol, candles, and firewood for his room. Though twenty dollars was exorbitant, it was a better deal than the other boarders were getting, which was ten dollars for a single room, and four dollars for their servant's board.<sup>79</sup> Privacy then could be compromised slightly, if it meant ensuring a higher standard of boarding for the night.

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<sup>76</sup> Horry, 1793 Journal, Introduction from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>77</sup> Harriett Pickney Horry, 1793 Journal, 20<sup>th</sup> April 1793.

<sup>78</sup> Horry, 1793 Journal, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1793. The final bill at Mary Williams came to 115 pounds or 495 dollars for eleven weeks of board.

<sup>79</sup> Samuel Otis, "Samuel A. Otis to John Adams, 16 October 1794," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 232–235.]

For women who wanted to attract a higher class (and higher paying) lodger to their boardinghouse, more was expected from their homes. Genteel clientele required from their landladies' good service, excellent food, and fashionable rooms with not just clean beds, but beds that ideally one would not have to share with another traveler.<sup>80</sup> As part of the preparations for Martha Washington to board in Philadelphia in 1779, George Washington's agent let him know that he rented a well-appointed house, and one which he would ensure was furnished with "some of the best Tea, Sugar, Coffee &ca for" Martha.<sup>81</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, on her second trip to New York City in 1815, was particularly taken in by Mrs. Braddish's boarding house, which she described as "an excellent house kept in high style by a lady like landlady."<sup>82</sup> On her second stop to New York City, Horry was even willing to put up with the crowded conditions at Braddish's as her house was "more like being in the home of a Gentleman of large fortune... amply provided with everything of the best without the least confusion."<sup>83</sup> Another customer of Mrs. Braddish's, Henry Fearon, had a more mixed review following his 1817 stay. His room was the attic, which he shared with at least one other person. The furniture was mediocre, consisting of "two old chairs; the bedsteads are temporary" and only covered by "a mattress, cotton sheets and coverlid." Fearon's room lacked a bell to summon the servants but he put it down to Americanisms.<sup>84</sup> However, Mrs. Braddish did serve a sumptuous *four* meals a day to her

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<sup>80</sup> Herman, *Town House*, 236-237.

<sup>81</sup> John Mitchell, "To George Washington from John Mitchell, 30 October 1779," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-23-02-0096>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 23, 22 October–31 December 1779, ed. William M. Ferraro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015, pp. 103–104.]

<sup>82</sup> Horry, 1815 Journal, 25<sup>th</sup> July 1815.

<sup>83</sup> Horry, 1815 Journal, 24<sup>th</sup> September 1815.

<sup>84</sup> Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles through the Eastern and Western States of America; Contained in Eight Reports Addressed to the Thirty-Nine English Families by whom the Author Was Deputed, in June 1817, to Ascertain Whether Any, and What Part of the United States Would Be Suitable for Their Residence* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1818), 16.

boarders, a rarity among landladies, and Fearon noted that he was told that “Mrs. B.’s is the best boarding-house in the United States.”<sup>85</sup> Furnishings were so important to a landlady’s arsenal that the losing or gaining of pieces of furniture were of utmost importance. Mary House, owner of the Philadelphia boarding house popular with James Madison and other Congressmen, faced a yearlong lawsuit in 1780 against Joseph Buckley, who was attempting to claim her furniture in order to satisfy his own debts. Her boarders, while in town for Congress, had to chase Buckley off the property to keep him from harassing House.<sup>86</sup> Lydia Leslie was another such Philadelphian in similar straits, writing to Thomas Jefferson in 1804 asking for money to support her family, noting that she would keep “a boarding house, but that will be out of my power if I am deprived of my furniture.”<sup>87</sup>

In the long eighteenth-century, upper-class travelers sought boardinghouses that had not only fine food and furnishings, but genteel and polite company. It was why Harriett Pickney Horry preferred them over taverns and ordinaries, noting in her diary that staying at a tavern meant that “we had...[not] even as select a society as in a boarding house, but the stage passengers or Tom Dick and Harry as may happen to come in are associated with you.”<sup>88</sup> The boarding house of Mary House in Philadelphia quickly became sought after by other potential boarders. One letter writer asked a current boarder in 1782 for help; John Francis Mercer “wishes to become an associate with you at Mrs. House’s and desires me to procure your influence

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<sup>85</sup> Fearon, *Sketches*, 44-45.

<sup>86</sup> James Madison, “From James Madison to Joseph Jones, [10 October] 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-02-02-0077>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 2, 20 March 1780–23 February 1781, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 122–124.]

<sup>87</sup> Lydia Leslie, “To Thomas Jefferson from Lydia Leslie, 10 January 1804,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-42-02-0230>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 42, 16 November 1803–10 March 1804, ed. James P. McClure. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016, pp. 256–257.]

<sup>88</sup> Horry, 1815 Journal, 25<sup>th</sup> June 1815.

towards his admission.”<sup>89</sup> The request was not surprising, considering that the letter was addressed to James Madison, and Mrs. House was known for hosting such luminaries as Thomas Jefferson and other members of Congress.<sup>90</sup> Robert Hunter, having run into his fair share of rough housing during his 1785-6 tour of America, appreciated when he was able to stay in a more polite setting. Fellow passengers on his packet ship in Rhode Island steered him towards Mrs. Almy’s, “where we found a genteel supper... with as genteel a company to set down with,” though he was still discomfited to find that each bedroom had six beds in it.<sup>91</sup> Later, in Wilmington, North Carolina, he left Ramsay’s boarding house for Meek’s, for “her agreeable manner of treating gentlemen.” Once there, he met a whole company of rarified and refined gentlemen, one of whom he played violin duets with during his stay.<sup>92</sup> While Horry spent more time describing who she saw around town while at Mrs. Braddish’s than who she boarded with, Henry Fearon noted that he dined with Commodores John Rodgers and Stephen Decatur, and other important members of the government while at Braddish’s table.<sup>93</sup> For travelers looking to replicate the environment of their own refined homes, a boardinghouse could prove to be the best and most polite option.

However, like taverns, there was no guarantee that the more limited (be it by space or by choice of the landlady) atmosphere of the boarding house guaranteed a lodger good bedfellows. Travelers found that their fellow lodgers were sometimes not of the same class as them or had

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<sup>89</sup> Edmund Randolph, “To James Madison from Edmund Randolph, 27 December 1782,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-05-02-0193>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 5, 1 August 1782–31 December 1782, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 453–457.]

<sup>90</sup> Elizabeth House Trist, “The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist: Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84,” in *Journeys in New Worlds*, eds. William Andrews, Annette Kolodny, Daniel B. Shea, Sargent Bush, and Amy Schrager Lang, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 184.

<sup>91</sup> Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, ed., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter Jr.*, (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1943), 120-1.

<sup>92</sup> Wright and Tinling, *Quebec to Carolina*, 286-7.

<sup>93</sup> Fearon, *Sketches*, 7-9

other faults. Congressmen, by nature of their position, spent much of their time in boarding houses; something which they were not always pleased with. William Grayson explained to James Madison that in 1785 Congress members were inconvenienced by “living at common boarding houses and mixing with the landlady her Aunts cousins and acquaintances and with all other sorts of company,” and the members were protesting “loudly.”<sup>94</sup> Several years later, the same complaints abounded, with John Francis warning John Adams that while Francis’ boarders were guaranteed to be only other Congressmen, if Adams went to other lodgings “you will perhaps be obliged to sit down with some tradesman and wife or both... [Ralph Izard] says he’ll be damned if he sits down to dine with a hairdresser.”<sup>95</sup> Another guest of Mrs. Almy’s Rhode Island house, Francisco de Miranda, was discomfited to find during his stay there that it was full of men and women in from the South to recover from the ague. He quickly moved to another lodging.<sup>96</sup> While in Boston on business in 1797, the dramatist William Dunlap stayed at the house of Ann Brown for several weeks. One of his fellow boarders was Mr. Dance, “an Irish... specimen of the West Indies... worn out, restless, confused, and flying to brandy for relief perpetually.”<sup>97</sup> Period typical stereotypes about the Irish aside, living with Dance did not always create the most restful atmosphere. One night, Dance fell out the window and cracked his skull while pursuing a female servant, then stayed in his room for an entire week embarrassed by his

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<sup>94</sup> “To James Madison from William Grayson, 28 November 1785,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-08-02-0220>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 8, *10 March 1784–28 March 1786*, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1973, pp. 425–426.]

<sup>95</sup> Samuel Otis, “Samuel A. Otis to John Adams, 16 October 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 232–235.]

<sup>96</sup> De Miranda, *Democracy*, 132.

<sup>97</sup> William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap: The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist and Historian Vol. 1* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1930), 173, 175.

behavior.<sup>98</sup> Sometimes it was not the other lodgers but the landlords themselves that provoked anger in a traveler. Nicholas Cresswell, trying to leave America in 1777, left his tavern in New York City to lodge with John Titus and his wife, where he was dismayed that his money would only buy him “two fresh Dinners in the week” but it was “the cheapest I can get.”<sup>99</sup> Perhaps because he felt so short-changed, Cresswell had no problem in indulging in some period typical anti-Semitism, ranting that Titus and his wife were “the greatest Jews I ever knew and two of the greatest Hypocrites.” To add insult to injury, they put molasses in everything they cooked “even to Salt Pork.”<sup>100</sup>

With bedfellows like these, it was no surprise that some people sought even more rarified settings, especially for their children. John Augustine Washington, discussing an apprenticeship for his son Corbin with brother George in 1784, was particular about where Corbin would live while in New York. After all, “even if we were vainly and ridiculously to suppose that a youths morals could not be corrupted,” a privileged young man like Corbin would be “rendered in some degree unhappy from not having it in his power to chuse his Company.”<sup>101</sup> Abigail Adams, writing to her daughter in law in 1806, had more specific concerns about the morality of boarding houses, noting that Louisa’s children were better with her in Massachusetts than with her in Washington DC. In Washington they would have “been confined in some degree; or have mixd with improper persons.” Under Adams’ care, not only would they not be “left to the care of any domestick,” she could also watch their diet. Adams, having travelled widely in Europe with

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<sup>98</sup> Dunlap, *Diary*, 177, 180.

<sup>99</sup> Cresswell, *A Man Apart*, 159.

<sup>100</sup> Cresswell, *A Man Apart*, 161.

<sup>101</sup> William Constable, “Enclosure: Constable, Rucker, & Co. to Robert Morris, 12 June 1784,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/04-01-02-0315-0002>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Confederation Series, vol. 1, 1 January 1784–17 July 1784, ed. W. W. Abbot. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992, pp. 452–453.]

her husband, also noted that there was nothing worse “than transporting young Children twice a year” over water or land.<sup>102</sup> For these upper-class travelers, even staying in a boarding house—which ostensibly had a more select clientele—still meant being exposed to strangers that they themselves had not personally vetted as up to their own standards.

Boarding house life did not always come easy, both for boarders and for those who ran boarding houses. The women who ran boarding houses often were operating on tight budgets; they themselves struggled to pay rent and cover the cost of food and supplies for themselves. A loss of boarders could prove devastating.<sup>103</sup> Mrs. Mary House, whose house was the preferred home of James Madison and other members of Congress was overwhelmed with sorrow when the capitol moved from Philadelphia. Madison was optimistic that though “the removal of Congress has been of some disadvantage to the old lady,” House’s sterling reputation for housekeeping would keep her afloat.<sup>104</sup> House’s daughter, Eliza House Trist, would have disagreed with him. In a 1783 letter to another former boarder, Trist noted that in the absence of Congress, they only had three boarders in the home, one of whom was so unpleasant that “I wou’d rather live among Hornets than be obliged to live with Mr. Smith.”<sup>105</sup> When House died in 1793, the home went to Trist but Trist was obliged “to give up the house immediately...

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<sup>102</sup> Abigail Adams, “From Abigail Smith Adams to Louisa Catherine Johnson Adams, 19 January 1806,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-03-02-1438>.

<sup>103</sup> Ellen Hartigan-O’Connor, *The Ties that Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 44-5.

<sup>104</sup> James Madison, “From James Madison to Edmund Randolph, 8 September 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0172>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 307–310.]

<sup>105</sup> “To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 11 December 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0210>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 406–408.]

suffer[ing] great loss in her own fortune by exertions hitherto to support it.”<sup>106</sup> Another Philadelphian landlady also fell on hard times in 1793 and gave up the boardinghouse life. For the well brought up “good Quaker” landlady of Thomas Boylston Adams, she faced not only the doubling of the cost of living, but the fact that her own house rent was increasing every day. “Unless she took a large house,” Adams wrote, “and admitted every comer and goer, her present course of life cannot be profitable.”<sup>107</sup> Landladies faced not only the financial burden to maintain homes genteel enough to attract a high paying clientele, they also struggled to pay the rent period.

It was not just their own rent that landladies had issues with. Women who took in boarders could become burdened with extra costs when the care of the boarders stretched beyond merely food and berth. Virginian merchant John Hatley Norton entered into a boarding agreement with Martha Gooseley in 1772, renting half of her house for himself, his white servant George, and two enslaved people named Grace and Greenwich for twenty pounds a year. Already he had entered on bad terms with Gooseley, who noted “you must suppose me very stupid to find four People for that sum” as laundry costs alone for the four would tally ten pounds. However, Gooseley was friends with his father, so she took in the younger Norton. She quickly regretted it. Though the agreement was for Norton to furnish his half of the house, as well as find his own firewood and candles, Gooseley ended up having to furnish Norton’s rooms. Gooseley also

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<sup>106</sup> Thomas Jefferson, “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 2 June 1793,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-26-02-0164>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 26, 11 May–31 August 1793, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995, pp. 167–168.]

<sup>107</sup> Thomas Boylston Adams, “Thomas Boylston Adams to Abigail Adams, 21 May 1793,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-09-02-0246>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 9, January 1790–December 1793, ed. C. James Taylor, Margaret A. Hogan, Karen N. Barzilay, Gregg L. Lint, Hobson Woodward, Mary T. Claffey, Robert F. Karachuk, and Sara B. Sikes. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 428–430.]

swallowed the cost of six months of medical bills for Grace, and food and board for Greenwich and George while Norton was out of town on long business trips. Though Norton claimed that Gooseley only served him small breakfasts, Gooseley retorted that she always had dinner and supper ready for “any person... ++who was not very dainty to which you had a right to sit down whenever you pleased.” Her past boarder Reynolds, in contrast, paid her twenty-five pounds for himself and five for his servant, even when gone for long trips, did his own laundry, and gave her presents of sugar, wine, and an enslaved woman when he left.<sup>108</sup> While Martha Gooseley was fortunate enough to be able to survive the financial burden that Norton placed on her, not all landladies would have been able to survive the incurred costs of a lodger’s medicine, doctor’s visits, furniture, and food.<sup>109</sup>

Above all, the boarding house offered travelers far from their own loved ones the chance to potentially join and partake in the privileges and pleasures of a family. The nature of most boardinghouses certainly encouraged this, with family-style meals where the whole household sat for dinner, shared common social spaces such as the parlor, and above all, a staff that often consisted of the owner and members of their family.<sup>110</sup> One such group of fictive kin arose out of the group of Congressmen who stayed at Mary House’s Philadelphia boarding house in the 1780s and 1790s. Only a block from Independence Hall, boarders included Robert Livingston, Joseph Jones, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson.<sup>111</sup> Perhaps it was the prolonged time spent in Philadelphia attending to both Congress and the Constitutional Convention, but the congressmen who stayed at House’s quickly referred to themselves and Mrs.

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<sup>108</sup> Martha Gooseley to John Hatley Norton, 5 May 1773, Folder 83, John Norton and Sons Papers, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg.

<sup>109</sup> Hartigan-O’Connor, *Ties That Buy*, 43-4.

<sup>110</sup> Herman, *Town House*, 239

<sup>111</sup> Ralph Ketcham, *James Madison: A Biography* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 88.

House and her household collectively as ‘the family.’ “Pray present,” Joseph Jones wrote to James Madison in 1780, “my compliments to the worthy Mistress and Gentlemen of the Family at the House... [and] to the old Lady if she is returned.”<sup>112</sup> The sentiment of the boarders was shared by the blood relatives of Mary House as well. During the Constitutional Convention, Eliza House Trist wrote to Thomas Jefferson that “our family is much enlarged by the meeting of the convention of the states. Gov. Randolph, Dr. McClurg, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Beckley all of your State make a part.”<sup>113</sup>

The family quickly embroiled themselves in the domestic concerns of Mary House, along with her children: sons George and Samuel House, daughter Eliza House Trist, and Eliza’s son Hore Browse Trist. Though back home in Virginia in 1780, Joseph Jones constantly inquired after “our domestic controversy”: the lawsuit against Mary House by Joseph Bulkley trying to claim House’s furniture. When the suit was decided against House, another of her boarders, James Duane, attempted to protect House from repossession by claiming that the house was sacrosanct by virtue of it having members of the government as boarders (a claim that the president of Congress gently denied.)<sup>114</sup> Thomas Jefferson quickly became close friends with Eliza House Trist, and wrote to her frequently. It was to Trist he entrusted the matter of finding

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<sup>112</sup> Joseph Jones, “To James Madison from Joseph Jones, 19 September 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-02-02-0059>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 2, 20 March 1780–23 February 1781, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 91–92.]

<sup>113</sup> Eliza House Trist, “To Thomas Jefferson from Eliza House Trist, 6 June 1787,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-11-02-0382>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 11, 1 January–6 August 1787, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955, pp. 403–405.]

<sup>114</sup> “From James Madison to Joseph Jones, [10 October] 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-02-02-0077>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 2, 20 March 1780–23 February 1781, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 122–124.]

proper schooling for his daughter Martha while they were in Philadelphia.<sup>115</sup> Trist in turn kept an eye on Martha while she was at her boarding school and sent Jefferson updates on her progress.<sup>116</sup> Mrs. House also quickly developed deep affections for her boarders. With the removal of Congress from Philadelphia in 1783, Trist noted that “Mama pines exceedingly; she has sustained a heavy loss. It is not likely she will ever have so agreeable a family again.”<sup>117</sup> Another letter that year from Trist to Jefferson mentioned that “Mama desires me to say a thousand things for her but they are only Repetitions of her distress at parting with the best Men in the world.”<sup>118</sup> Mary House had many boarders, but it was this family that she referred to as her “Chosen friends.”<sup>119</sup>

It was not only the gentlemen of the family who wanted to be remembered to Mrs. House and Mrs. Trist but their womenfolk as well. “Betsy,” Edmund Randolph wrote to Madison in

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<sup>115</sup> Thomas Jefferson, “To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 31 August 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 298–299.]; James Madison, “From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 30 September 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0189>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 362–363.]

<sup>116</sup> Eliza House Trist, “To Thomas Jefferson from Eliza House Trist, 13 December 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-27-02-0671>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 27, 1 September–31 December 1793, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 734–735.]

<sup>117</sup> Eliza House Trist, “To Thomas Jefferson from Eliza House Trist, [ca. 8 December? 1783],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0300>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 375–377.]

<sup>118</sup> Eliza House Trist, “To Thomas Jefferson from Eliza House Trist, 13 December 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-27-02-0671>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 27, 1 September–31 December 1793, ed. John Catanzariti. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 734–735.]

<sup>119</sup> Samuel House, “To Thomas Jefferson from Samuel House, 28 May 1785,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-08-02-0128>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 8, 25 February–31 October 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, p. 169.]

1781, “begs to be particularly remembered to Mrs. House [and] Mrs. Trist.”<sup>120</sup> Though she did not spend as much time at Mrs. House’s as her husband Edmund, Mrs. House’s family was constantly in Betsy’s thoughts, at least according to her husband. In March 1783, Randolph noted at the end of a letter to Madison that the couple were eager for news of the House family; Betsy in particular wanted to hear from House but was embarrassed as it had been too long since Mrs. Randolph had written to House.<sup>121</sup> Later that year, as Madison moved to Princeton, New Jersey, Betsy raised her concerns about “the effect of your removal... on the finances of Mrs. H—se.”<sup>122</sup> And when Martha Jefferson finally removed to Paris with her father in 1785, she still corresponded with Trist, describing her life in the convents and asking to “give my love to Mrs. House [and] Brouse.”<sup>123</sup>

The boarders also developed deep relationships between each other. At the least, close quarters meant that their finances began to entangle while at the House home, as evidenced by Madison writing to the Virginian state government that his expenses would be somewhat muddled for his 1780 stay in Philadelphia as they were “mixed with that of some Gentlemen of

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<sup>120</sup> Edmund Randolph, “To James Madison from Edmund Randolph, 22 March 1781 [1782],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-09-02-0236>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 9, 9 April 1786–24 May 1787 and supplement 1781–1784, ed. Robert A. Rutland and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975, pp. 427–428.]

<sup>121</sup> Edmund Randolph, “To James Madison from Edmund Randolph, 22 March 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-06-02-0124>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 6, 1 January 1783–30 April 1783, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 380–381.]

<sup>122</sup> Edmund Randolph, “To James Madison from Edmund Randolph, 18 July 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0131>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 232–234.]

<sup>123</sup> Martha Jefferson, “Martha Jefferson to Eliza House Trist, [after 24 August 1785],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-08-02-0337>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 8, 25 February–31 October 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 436–439.]

the family who were absent.”<sup>124</sup> A few years later, in 1783, Madison entered into a romance with fellow boarder, Catherine “Kitty” Floyd, daughter of delegate William Floyd.<sup>125</sup> The whole house knew and felt comfortable enough to tease Madison about it, with Jefferson writing in Madison in April that “the raillery you sometimes experienced from our family strengthened by my own observation, gave me hopes there was some foundation [for the relationship.]”<sup>126</sup> The couple were engaged in April; however it was a short lived romance and by August the two had split apart.<sup>127</sup> Other housemates reminisced about their times in the home long after their time there was done. Years later, William Thornton wrote to Thomas Jefferson about conducting science experiments in Mrs. House’s privy with James Madison, throwing lye and lime into the privy to try and reduce dangerous miasmas coming from the pit.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> James Madison, “From James Madison to Virginia Auditors of Public Accounts, 25 September 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-02-02-0063>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 2, 20 March 1780–23 February 1781, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962, pp. 96–97.]

<sup>125</sup> James Madison, “To James Madison from Thomas Jefferson, 31 January 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-06-02-0044>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 6, 1 January 1783–30 April 1783, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 177–182.]

<sup>126</sup> Thomas Jefferson, “From Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, 14 April 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0243>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 261–262.]

<sup>127</sup> James Madison, “From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 22 April 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-06-02-0176>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 6, 1 January 1783–30 April 1783, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1969, pp. 481–483.]; James Madison, “From James Madison to Edmund Randolph, [28 July] 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0144>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 256–258.]; James Madison, “From James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, 11 August 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-07-02-0151>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 7, 3 May 1783–20 February 1784, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971, pp. 268–272.]

<sup>128</sup> William Thornton, “To Thomas Jefferson from William Thornton, 7 May 1800,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-31-02-0472>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 31, 1 February 1799–31 May 1800, ed. Barbara B. Oberg. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004, pp. 563–567.]

The family's time at House's house echoed long after the building moved out of the House family. Elizabeth House Trist remained a lifelong friend of Thomas Jefferson. Inspired by their conversations on the natural history of America, Trist kept careful note of her observations of the environment on her journey from Philadelphia to Natchez in 1784. When she discovered her husband was dead in Louisiana, Jefferson helped Trist claim her son's inheritance from his English grandmother, making inquiries while he was in Europe into the Trist family. Trist's grandson married a granddaughter of Jefferson's, and her last few years were spent making the rounds between Monticello and other plantations in Virginia where her relatives and friends lived.<sup>129</sup> Into the nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison received letters from people referring to their time at House's. As late as 1814, James Madison was receiving claims from the House family; Mary Sprogell, a widowed woman, asked for a place for her daughter in Madison's household as Sprogell was "a Niece of Mrs. House whom you once new."<sup>130</sup>

It is perhaps fair to say that the family at Mrs. House's house was unique, the result of a confluence of influential and important men and women at an important time in American history. However, Mrs. House and her founding boarders were not the only ones who would refer to each other and the boarding house life as a family. William Dunlap began to board with Ann Brown on November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1797, yet within five days he was describing the household as his family, noting on the 29<sup>th</sup> that "our family is increased by 2 more West Indian Englishmen."<sup>131</sup> Despite finding some of the other boarders distasteful at times, he nevertheless went out to

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<sup>129</sup> Trist, "Philadelphia to Natchez," 187-8; 196.

<sup>130</sup> Mary Sprogell, "To James Madison from Mary Sprogell, 9 May 1814," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/03-07-02-0418>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, Presidential Series, vol. 7, 25 October 1813–30 June 1814, ed. Angela Kreider, J. C. A. Stagg, Mary Parke Johnson, Anne Mandeville Colony, and Katherine E. Harbury. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012, pp. 466–467.]

<sup>131</sup> Dunlap, *Diary*, 173, 176.

dinner with them on December 5<sup>th</sup> for oysters.<sup>132</sup> Other boarders, while not describing themselves as part of the family, still noted that what was distinctive about their boarding home were the families that ran them. While acting as a Continental Army chaplain in 1776, Philip Fithian observed that the boarding house he was staying at in New York City was run by “a genteel, sober, patriotic family.”<sup>133</sup> Katherine Hay, trying to find her husband in New York later that year, boarded briefly with a Quaker family, writing that “this happy family consisted of” two lodgers, a servant, the couple, and their two daughters.<sup>134</sup> The boarding house was a liminal space; public in that the owners would take in strangers into their own homes akin to taverns and inns, private in that what they offered was the comfort and accommodations of a home environment. For travelers far from their own domiciles, the boardinghouse was the place where one could not only rent a room but a sense of belonging into a family.<sup>135</sup>

In the summer of 1815, on her second cross country trip, Harriott Pickney Horry elected to stay in neither a tavern nor a boarding house in Baltimore, but a new kind of establishment, a hotel. Touring Gadsby's Hotel, Horry was astounded by what she found. "Every thing [is] calculated," she wrote, "for convenience on a large scale." There were rooms with hot and cold running water for the laundry, special machinery designed for ironing large amounts of sheets and linens, and an in-house coffee roaster among other wonders.<sup>136</sup> Another Gadsby guest enjoyed the luxury of the in-house barbershop and the constant attendance from "a black

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<sup>132</sup> Dunlap, *Diary*, 178.

<sup>133</sup> Fithian, *Journal*, 210.

<sup>134</sup> Hay, "Rebel Lady," 119.

<sup>135</sup> For other examples of boarders embedding themselves in the family, see Charles Pickney, 13 December 1798, *The Papers of the Revolutionary Era Pinckney Statesmen Digital Edition*, ed. Constance B. Schulz. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2016; Davis, *Travels*, 350; Fithian, *Journal*, 210; Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, 207.

<sup>136</sup> Horry, 1815 Journal, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1815.

servant... who was always at our command while we tarried." <sup>137</sup> The hotel in the first decades of the nineteenth century guaranteed large meeting spaces, luxurious surroundings and meals devoid of the riff-raff, and, most important of all, *private* bedrooms. <sup>138</sup> For genteel travelers who had begun to expect and require privacy over the course of the eighteenth century, they now had a place where privacy was guaranteed.... for a premium. But until then, the urban traveler had his choice of the tavern or the boarding house. The tavern could be a place of sociability, good conversation accompanied by even better tavern fare. However, despite legal requirements that required taverns to host travelers, tavern guests often found much to complain about the public and noisy houses. The boarding house offered not only a greater chance to gain a private berth, but the opportunity to enfold oneself into the bosom of the host family. The choice for the traveler then, was between sociable company, or comfortable company.

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<sup>137</sup> Pierce, "Memoirs," 375.

<sup>138</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 11-44.

## Chapter 2: “A shocking country to travel in:” Public and Private in the Backcountry<sup>1</sup>

In the late fall of 1793, Frenchmen Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux were deep in the backcountry of upstate New York. On their way for the first time to Castorland, the settlement founded by their employer, they soon found themselves a little lost in what is modern day Herkimer County. However, they then ran across the log home of David Heiss, and their night changed for the better. Heiss welcomed the strangers into his home, and the two Frenchmen not only had supper but ended up dancing and singing with the family long into the night. When the two had to leave, they tried to offer Heiss some money to repay his hospitality, but he refused. The pair left such a good impression upon Heiss that when Desjardins happened upon his cabin again in August 1795, "the entire family recognized me [and] displayed the greatest joy." Though Desjardins wanted to travel further that day, he could not help but stay for a breakfast of several freshly slaughtered chickens, so happy were the Heiss' to see him again.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter, in looking at rural environments, seeks to understand the delineation in early American minds between a “public house” and a “private house.” While there were officially licensed taverns, inns, and ordinaries in the backcountry, there were other options too. Private householders set themselves up as unlicensed ordinaries, operating outside the boundaries of the law. Others did not seek to host travelers but by dint of them being the only people for miles around still found themselves inundated with them. Though isolation would

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh Finlay, *Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, surveyor of post roads on the continent of North America, during his survey of the post offices between Falmouth and Casco Bay, in the province of Massachusetts and Savannah in Georgia*, (New York: F.H. Norton, 1867), 52.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux, *Castorland Journal: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of New York State by French Emigres in the Years 1793 to 1797*, ed. John A. Gallucci (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010) pp. 62, 196.

ostensibly provide a family with privacy, the reality that this solace would constantly be broken by travelers coming through: pioneers, soldiers, surveyors, neighbors, and more. Some householders welcomed travelers as a break from tedium and, more importantly, for news from the outside world (though travelers did not always appreciate being said source.) Others would welcome travelers in but would take the opportunity to make money off these unexpected guests. Finally, some householders would simply turn travelers away entirely, even in the absence of a public house. Ultimately the delineation between a private home and a public house meant little in the backcountry. There were simply buildings with families in them who would or would not take a traveler in, depending on the whims of the head of the household. A traveler would feel entitled to come to a stranger's home asking for admittance, but there was no guarantee that they would be allowed in. Throughout the colonies, travelers often found their only option was to join the bosom of a family in domestic privacy for one night, for better or for worse.

A discussion about the backcountry and privacy, of course, first necessitates a definition of those terms. The term 'backcountry' is a rather nebulous one. Eric Hinderaker and Peter Mancall argue that the contemporary meaning of the backcountry in eighteenth century America stretched "across a broad inland arc from Maine and New Hampshire, to northern New York, across western Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and through the Carolinas as far south as Georgia."<sup>3</sup> The backcountry, particularly the section stretching from Pennsylvania through Virginia, was especially ethnically diverse, with waves of German, Scottish, and Irish settlers fresh from Europe, French and Native American fur traders, as well as second and third generation Americans seeking new land.<sup>4</sup> This large geographic expanse was known as an area

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<sup>3</sup> Eric Hinderaker and Peter C. Mancall, *At the Edge of Empire: The Backcountry in British North America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Matthew C. Ward, *Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754-1765*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003), 9.

where the laws and behaviors that existed within England and the more settled parts of the colonies did not pertain. Travelers and other outsiders entering the backcountry were threatened by this ‘lack’ of not only traditional order as they were accustomed to, but also the lack of centralized leadership and community that existed on the seaboard.<sup>5</sup> George Washington, during his work as a surveyor and militia leader, repeatedly railed against the settlers he encountered in the Virginian backcountry, finding them to be selfish, obstinate, ignorant, and dangerously ethnic. The social order he found west past the Blue Ridge was completely unlike the planter hierarchy that he had grown up in the Tidewater.<sup>6</sup> The term ‘backcountry’ is not necessarily synonymous with ‘rural’ - there being rural areas within easy reach and connection of the coastal cities. However, there was a contemporary idea of the backcountry as the large swathe of the colonies that existed as sparsely populated territory. In this large rural region where traditional settlements were scarce, and both travelers and colonists had scarce resources available, the delineation between public and private houses blurred.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, how people conceived of privacy was vastly different than today. Speaking on early New England, David Flaherty noted that colonists were unconcerned with privacy “not because privacy was unimportant, but because its availability was so often taken for granted.”<sup>7</sup> As mentioned in a previous chapter, privacy in this era was more about mentally compartmentalizing within the home and seeking time alone in the outdoors away from home.<sup>8</sup> Despite the communal nature and surveillance culture of early Puritan society, a man’s household was still held as sacrosanct, and the privacy of the people inside upheld

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<sup>5</sup> Hinderaker and Mancall, *Edge of Empire*, 4-6.

<sup>6</sup> Dorothy Twohig, “The Making of George Washington,” in *George Washington and the Virginia Backcountry*, ed. Warren R. Hofstra, (Madison, WI: Madison House Publishers, 1998), 3-34.

<sup>7</sup> David Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England 1630-1776* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972), ix.

<sup>8</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 7-19.

against the outside world.<sup>9</sup> While privacy in the modern family centers around who has control over who enters the household and observes the family, in the colonial era it was not just the nuclear family but “servants, boarders, and lodgers, [and] apprentices” who had access to the home, both for work and for respite.<sup>10</sup> Strangers in the colonial era “was accepted as a normal part of family organization.”<sup>11</sup> While homes welcomed visitors, their presence meant a disruption in the privacy of the family, allowing for a stranger to observe and comment on the actions of the family. The pressure to provide hospitality in any rural area was especially prevalent due to a lack of inns, taverns, or other public houses for a traveler to stay in as they traveled through.<sup>12</sup> Thus, while eighteenth century Americans did have an idea of the home as a private sanctuary for the family, the definition of family included not just the nuclear family but workers both free and un-free, extended family, friends, et cetera. This mindset and the physical environment enabled families to welcome strangers into the home for the night without destroying that sense of domestic privacy.

In urban areas and in upper class homes during the eighteenth century, however, new ideas about privacy were beginning to form. In cities, the infrastructure to support travelers increased with every new tavern built, and the expectations that private homes would host unknown travelers decreased.<sup>13</sup> Other key changes were happening that were beginning to create modern conceptions of domestic privacy. Houses expanded allowing for more segmentation of

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<sup>9</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 85-6.

<sup>10</sup> Barbara Laslett, “The Family as a Public and Private Institution: An Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35, no. 3, (Aug 1973): 480-4.

<sup>11</sup> John Modell and Tamara K. Hareven, “Urbanization and the Malleable Household: An Examination of Boarding and Lodging in American Families,” *Journal of Marriage and Family* 35, no. 3, (Aug 1973): 467-8.

<sup>12</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 89-91.

<sup>13</sup> John Gilbert McCurdy, *Quarters: The Accommodation of the British Army and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 26; Flaherty, *Privacy*, 89-91

space, including rooms of one's own. Genteel culture tied into this expansion of space, with the separation of sleeping and bathing spaces from a communal room. Finally, the change in working patterns that came with the Industrial Revolution meant that work-specifically that of men-left the home, and the private home became gendered, where women and children were sheltered from the outside world.<sup>14</sup> However, this was only the experience of a small minority of Americans in the eighteenth century; for everyone else the home remained "undifferentiated, a multipurpose structure much as it had been" the century before.<sup>15</sup> Even when what was the backcountry eventually became populated enough to support travel infrastructure and larger homes, there was always still another frontier where earlier ideas about privacy prevailed.

Riding through the woods of Horry County, South Carolina in 1774, Hugh Finlay was relieved to finally come upon a dwelling to get some dinner. "The man," Finlay wrote, "keeps no tavern, but he takes money for his vituals and toddy."<sup>16</sup> Travelers had multiple terms for the dwellings that were not inns or taverns: 'private house,' 'private entertainment, 'private home.'". When a traveler wrote that they were staying at a 'private' location they could mean one of several things. In 1714, John Fontaine landed in Snow Hill, Maryland, and found the town so tiny that there was "not one public house" and thus stayed at "a private house" instead.<sup>17</sup> French

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<sup>14</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 16; Laslett, "Family," 480-4. The next chapter will discuss segmentation of the home and the way that gentility ties into it in more detail.

<sup>15</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 27.

<sup>16</sup> Finlay, *Journal*, 65.

<sup>17</sup> John Fontaine and Edward P. Alexander, *The Journal of John Fontaine; a Irish Huguenot son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972,) 120. For other uses of the term "private house" see: James X. Corgan and Michael A. Gibson, "Geological Exploration in East Tennessee: Gerard Troost's Travels in 1834," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 144; Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 6 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979): 122-3; Jonathan Mason, "Diary of the Hon. Jonathan Mason," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2 (1885-6): 18; Joseph E. Walker, "The Travel Notes of Joseph Gibbons, 1804," *Ohio History Journal* 92 (1983): 133; Israel Shreve, "Journal From Jersey to the Monongahela, August 11, 1788," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52, no. 3, (1928): 195.

national Ferdinand Bayard in 1791 stayed at a “private home” in Washington County, Maryland, which he noted only hosted travelers and did not sell alcohol.<sup>18</sup> Conversely, an unnamed peddler travelling through Virginia in 1807 occasionally stayed in a “private entertainment” or a home that was breaking the law by selling alcohol and beds without a license.<sup>19</sup> A private home could be a home where the owner made extra money by occasionally housing travelers for the night, but not necessarily as their main source of income. It could be a home that was operating as an ordinary in all but name, selling liquor and beer off license to avoid the fees and taxes+ and hoping not to catch the attention of the law. Or the most precarious situation of all for a traveler, a private home could be a home that was just that: a home whose door you would knock on at night when there was no better option and hope that the householder would be willing to let you sleep in the warmth of the home. These fine delineations may seem odd to a modern audience, but to a contemporary traveler, with a different conception of privacy and domesticity, they would have made complete sense. In the backcountry, when options were few and far between, public or private mattered less to both travelers and the people who let them in.

John Davis, a wandering British tutor, mused on American hospitality while eating a dinner in a humble log cabin in 1802. It was no wonder, he wrote, that there were few taverns, for “in a country where every private house is a temple dedicated to hospitality and open alike to travelers of every description, ought it to excite to surprise that so few good taverns are to be

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<sup>18</sup> Ferdinand Marie Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia, with a description of Philadelphia and Baltimore, in 1791: or, Travels in the interior of the United States, to Bath, Winchester, in the valley of the Shenandoah, etc., etc., during the summer of 1791*, (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1950,) 35.

<sup>19</sup> Richard R. Beeman, “Trade and Travel in Post-Revolutionary Virginia: A Diary of an Itinerant Peddler, 1807-1808,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 2 (Apr 1976): 177 For other uses of the term ‘private entertainment’ see John L. Blair, “A Baptist Minister Visits Kentucky: The Journal of Andrew Broaddus I,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 71, no. 4 (October 1873): 398, 402-403; Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 4 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993): 449-50; Jackson and Twohig, vol. 6, 74.

found.”<sup>20</sup> Though far removed from the settled seaboard, the backcountry was not entirely devoid of 'official' taverns. If urban taverns were more geared towards socializing and entertaining, it was rural taverns that focused more on a tavern's legal purpose; the accommodation of travelers.<sup>21</sup> Often, taverns, inns, and ordinaries were some of the first public buildings erected in a newly settled area. Along with churches, residents prioritized taverns because they could serve as multi-use public spaces, being at times a community's store, courthouse, post office, auction house, dance hall, racetrack, and other myriad purposes along the more usual duties of serving alcohol, food and providing lodging.<sup>22</sup>

As with urban taverns, rural tavern owners needed a license to operate legally. Just like urban taverns, which was easier said than done. Innkeepers who received their license one year would neglect to renew it the year following. Some of these gaps can be attributed to the death of the tavernkeeper. When William Whipple and his travelling party stopped at Cooken's tavern in 1777, they discovered that the landlord was no longer alive and the family had quit the business, though the family was kind enough to feed them still.<sup>23</sup> Women's labor was essential to the running of a good tavern, and the loss of a wife or mother could close the tavern, like the unnamed tavern that George Izard stopped at in Virginia which had been “broken up in consequence of the wife's death.”<sup>24</sup> As well, tavern keeping could be a costly business, with

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<sup>20</sup> John Davis, *Travels of four years and a half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, (New York: H. Holt and Company, 1909,) 373.

<sup>21</sup> Diana Diz Rockman and Nan A. Rothschild, “City Tavern, Country Tavern: An Analysis of Four Colonial Sites,” *Historical Archaeology* 18, no. 2, (1984): 113-19.

<sup>22</sup> Sharon V. Salinger, *Taverns and Drinking in Early America*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004,) 1; Daniel B. Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776,” *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4, (Nov. 1996): 661-3.

<sup>23</sup> William Whipple, “William Whipple's Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Hampshire, in the Summer of 1777,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 10, no. 4, (Jan 1887): 367. For reference to when Cooken's Tavern was active see Anonymous, “A Summer Jaunt in 1773,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 10, no. 2 (Jul 1886): 205.

<sup>24</sup> Harold W. Ryan and George Izard, “Diary of a Journey by George Izard, 1815-1816 (Continued),” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 2 (April 1952): 72.

innkeepers giving up the trade, buried under debts or tired of chasing down creditors. During his 1791 tour of the South, George Washington, who was avoiding private homes, went to stay at the tavern of Jeremiah Vareen in Horry County, South Carolina. However, when his party arrived "the proprietor of it either did not keep one or would not acknowledge it." Since Vareen took him in as a private citizen, Washington was unable to pay him for his entertainment.<sup>25</sup> George Izard during his 1815 trip tried to stop at Galt's Tavern in Fredrick County, Maryland. When he arrived, however, Mr. Galt told Izard that he no longer ran a tavern. However, Galt was kind enough to let Izard bate his horses and rest in his parlor before moving onward.<sup>26</sup> Other travelers did not encounter such magnanimous householders, however. The Marquis de Chastellux, travelling America after the end of his military career, tried to stay at Mr. Smith's tavern in Rockland County only to be told that not only did Smith no longer keep an inn but "at present he lodges only his friends." Since Chastellux "had not the honor to be of that number," he had to move on.<sup>27</sup> On another occasion, Chastellux stopped at the inn of Mrs. Wallen, a former innkeeper in Connecticut. She allowed him in "but only to oblige me." Once in however, Chastellux found that rooms that used to host guests were "so wretched" that he sent one of his party members back to a full tavern down the road to beg for a berth.<sup>28</sup> While George Washington frequented Christina Campbell's tavern in Williamsburg for many years, by the time

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<sup>25</sup> Jackson and Twohig, vol. 6, 121-2. For references to Jeremiah Vareen's tavern when active see Hugh Buckner Johnston, "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in North Carolina, 1777 and 1778," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 36, no. 3, (Jul 1959): 381; Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784 Volume 2*, trans. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (New York: B. Franklin, 1968) 156; Francesco Dal Verme, *Seeing America and its great men; the journal and letters of Count Francesco dal Verme, 1783-84*, ed. and trans. Elizabeth Cometti (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968): 52; Luigi Castiglioni, *Luigi Castiglioni's Viaggio: Travels in the United States of North America, 1785-87*, trans. and ed. by Antonio Pace (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983): 120.

<sup>26</sup> George Izard, "Diary of a Journey by George Izard, 1815-1816," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 53, no. 4 (October 1952): 229.

<sup>27</sup> Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782 Volume 1*, trans. by Howard C. Rice Jr (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963,) 189.

<sup>28</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 227.

Alexander MacCaulay and his wife tried to enter in 1783, she had retired, and very firmly refused the couple entry.<sup>29</sup>

However, even accounting for those who simply left the business does not account for every innkeeper.<sup>30</sup> Looking at taverners in Frederick County, Maryland, as an example, Valentine Shroiner had his license renewed in 1755 and 1762, and yet was still in business as late as 1768. Joseph Belt renewed his license in 1754 and 1755, and then not again until 1762. While Jacob Young was only licensed once, in 1762, he continued to run his inn until at least 1770.<sup>31</sup> While a dearth of extant colonial sources could perhaps explain some of these gaps, contemporary sources let us know that people were willingly choosing not to renew, opting to continue operating without the expense and chance for denial that getting a license could entail. In 1766, Virginian official Francis Fauquier "complained 'of the indulgence shown to the keepers of ordinaries in not compelling them to renew their licenses.'"<sup>32</sup> Things had not changed much seven years later, when officials complained again in the colony's newspaper about the lack of fees coming into the treasury due to lack of license renewal. The lack of a tavern license could be overlooked if tavern keepers behaved respectably. In Cowan County, North Carolina, the few publicans arrested for violating the law were known in the county for such sins as overcharging

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<sup>29</sup> Alexander Macaulay, "Journal of Alexander Macaulay," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 3, (Jan 1903): 183. For references to Christina Campbell's tavern when active see Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 2 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976): 61, 100, 140, 181 and 221; Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 3 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978): 3, 32, 45, 69, 94 160 and 236. For other examples of travelers encountering closed taverns see Archer Butler Hulbert, *Historic Highways of America Volume 11: Pioneer Roads and Experiences of Travelers Volume 1* (Cleveland, OH: The A.H. Clark Company, 1902), 129; Gotthold Benjamin Reichel and Helen Bell, "A Journey to Bethlehem and Nazareth, in September and October 1815," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 4, no. 3 (1892): 132; Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 172.

<sup>30</sup> Paton Yoder, "Private Hospitality in the South, 1775-1850," *The Mississippi Historical Review* 47, no. 3, (Dec. 1960): 269; Thorp, "Tavern Culture," 668.

<sup>31</sup> Henry C. Peden Jr, *Colonial Tavern Keepers of Maryland and Delaware: 1634-1776*, (Bel Air, MD: self-published, 2010): 14, 110, 135.

<sup>32</sup> Yoder, "Private Hospitality," 269.

for their liquor, letting the tavern rabble become too rowdy, or cheating their neighbors.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas Ogle, tavern owner in Ogleton, Delaware, had lost his license due to "behaving ill" in 1762. However, he told traveler Benjamin Mifflin that he took paying customers in, and indeed Mifflin was able to lodge comfortably and bate his horses, though notably was unable to purchase alcohol from Ogle.<sup>34</sup>

Travelers noticed when taverners were acting without a license—one of the biggest giveaways being that they would not serve alcohol. George Izard was thankful that a female relative had pressed a bottle of brandy on him before he left on his 1815 trip when he stayed at Mrs. Kennedy's public house in Berkeley County, South Carolina. Though he found the house "a comfortable one, Mrs. K has no license and therefore sells no liquors."<sup>35</sup> The Pennsylvanian publican that Elizabeth House Trist encountered on her way to New Orleans in 1784 followed the letter of the law but not the spirit. As the householder was a magistrate, he was not allowed to sell alcohol and as such did not keep "a licensed tavern; but for want of such, travillers are under the necessity of putting up there." Scandalously in Trist's eyes, the customers paid the owner's wife for their alcohol.<sup>36</sup> Francis Baily, putting up for the night in the Tennessee frontier, wrote in his journal that his host was a "'dry entertainment,' that is, board and lodging, but without any spiritous liquors."<sup>37</sup> Though he did not mention alcohol, George Washington encountered several of these during a trip to New York: Simmonds "formerly a Tavern, now a private entertainment

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<sup>33</sup>Thorp, "Tavern Culture," 670-1.

<sup>34</sup> Victor Hugo Paltsits, ed., *Journal of Benjamin Mifflin: The Record of a Tour from Philadelphia to Delaware and Maryland, July 26 to August 14, 1762*, (New York: The New York Public Library, 1935), 7.

<sup>35</sup>Izard, "Diary," 157.

<sup>36</sup>Elizabeth House Trist, "The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist, Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84," in *Journeys in New Worlds: Early American Women's Narratives* ed. by William L. Andrews et. al, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 205.

<sup>37</sup> Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800*, (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928), 417.

for Money” and Ketchum’s “weh. Had also been a public House but now a private one, receivg. pay for what it furnished.” He finally ended the night at Thompson’s, which had been a private home all along but “will receive pay for every thing it furnishes in the same manner” as a public house.<sup>38</sup> The change in circumstances was worth noting in Washington’s journal in case the former taverns chose to stop serving guests entirely, but the legality of their service did not seem to bother him, or other customers. Ultimately, license laws in much of the backcountry were enforced intermittently, with the need for places to eat, drink and, make merry outweighing the fee paid to the government in terms of importance.<sup>39</sup>

The nature of the eighteenth-century domestic economy meant that innkeeping would often be only one of the many occupations that colonists had to support their households. Travelers would often encounter tavernkeepers that were not only farmers but shopkeepers, lawyers, millers, tanners, shoemakers, ironsmiths, and anything else that needed doing that could bring in income.<sup>40</sup> Looking at records of Maryland innkeepers, one encounters coroner William Bradford, silversmiths James Chalmers and John Syng, carpenter Richard Sweatnam, and stay maker Charles Wallace.<sup>41</sup> One of the few times that George Washington broke from his custom of staying at Christiana Campbell's in Williamsburg was to stay at John Carter's, a shopkeeper who also rented rooms during court days.<sup>42</sup> Wandering with other lost and tired travelers in the mountains of western Pennsylvania, German naturalist Johann David Schöpfung happened upon the

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<sup>38</sup> “[Diary entry: 21 April 1790],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-06-02-0001-0004-0021>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 6, 1 January 1790–13 December 1799, ed. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979, pp. 64–65.]

<sup>39</sup> Thorp, “Tavern Culture,” 670.

<sup>40</sup> Donna-Belle Garvin and James Garvin, *On the Road North of Boston: New Hampshire Taverns and Turnpikes 1700-1900*, (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Historical Society, 2003), 113-115.

<sup>41</sup> Peden, *Colonial Tavern Keepers*, 19, 26, 119-20.

<sup>42</sup> Jackson and Twohig, vol. 3, 66.

house of a blacksmith "who on occasion plays the innkeeper." However, as the smith had no supplies to feed them, he could not take them in, and the company was left to continue to wander in the dark.<sup>43</sup> As Chastellux sniffed after a poor experience at a tavern, the problem was "innkeepers are all of them well-to-do farmers who do not stand in need of this slight profit" and thus had no reason to treat their customers well.<sup>44</sup> Even poorer farmers "tho they do not keep a tavern will accommodate you with whatever they can and take pay for it."<sup>45</sup> Some taverns were owned by one man, but ran by a tavernkeeper hired for that purpose, akin to a true form of business. Daniel Fisher, travelling through Virginia, wrote that rich men would "obtain a Lysence at the County Court...and puts it into some Lazy Person, or other, at a Salary... by which means, tho' the Proprietor (by the Courtesy) avoids the Reproach of being deemed an Ordinary keeper."<sup>46</sup> Of course, hiring the wrong person could lead to a loss in business. Charles Van Vleck came upon one such "shabby looking tavern; the landlord just having taken charge of it...from necessity as owner of the establishment, his predecessor having kept a most wretched house." As the man was a bachelor and still trying to put things back in order, Van Vleck had his doubts that the night's stay would be a good one.<sup>47</sup> With ample opportunities to house strangers, a blind eye turned towards enforcing the licensing law, and a possibility to earn extra income, any householder could simply put up a sign, begin to serve alcohol and food, and begin to allow strangers to stay in their home.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784 Volume 1*, trans. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison (New York: B. Franklin, 1968) 233.

<sup>44</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 82.

<sup>45</sup> J. Jefferson Looney, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series, vol. 11, 19 January to 31 August 1817*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 622-4.

<sup>46</sup> Louise Pecquet du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, (Lynchburg, VA: JP Bell Company, 1907), 789.

<sup>47</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, ed., "Travel Journal of Charles A. Van Vleck, 1826: Journal of Journey From Salem, NC, to Bethlehem, PA, in October, 1826," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (April 1931): 197.

<sup>48</sup> Salinger, *Taverns*, 54. For other examples of families who kept taverns and inn in addition to other jobs, see Timothy Bigelow, *Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805* (Boston: Press of John Wilson

Surveying the western Pennsylvania colonies, Samuel Vaughan stood upon Laurel Hill and realized that he could see as far as West Virginia. The reason was that “the woods have taken fire from fires left by Wagoners... [who] encamp in the night which hath killed all the trees.”<sup>49</sup> When no homes were readily available, travelers would camp and sleep outside for the night. The idea of camping in nature as a source of leisure and restoration would not come until late in the nineteenth century, as a reaction against the increasing industry and modernity of American culture.<sup>50</sup> During the long eighteenth century however, “most Americans were either still engaged in or close enough to the pioneer experience to maintain a decidedly negative, even hostile view of the wild.”<sup>51</sup> For travelers going in large groups, camping made more sense simply because it was not always possible to fit a large party all in one house. One common option in these cases was to camp outside someone’s home on their property, close enough to receive aid and food, but with the ability for everyone to spread out without cramming into the home.<sup>52</sup> If there was one advantage to camping, it was that it was free. Travelling through Virginia, Schöpf wrote that “the taverns...are intended only for the reception of gentlemen.” Everyone else would

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and Son, 1876), 44; Theophile Cazenove, *Cazenove Journal, 1794: A Record of the Journey of Theophile Cazenove through New Jersey and Pennsylvania* Rayner Kelsey, ed. (Haverford, PA: Pennsylvania History Press, 1922), 15; Izard, “Diary,” 391.

<sup>49</sup> Edward G. Williams, ed., “Samuel Vaughan’s Journal or ‘Minutes Made by S.V., from Stage to Stage, on a Tour to Fort Pitt,” *Western Pennsylvania History* 44, no. 3 (September 1961): 268.

<sup>50</sup> Cindy A. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 156-60; Terence Young, *Heading Out: A History of American Camping* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 5-10.

<sup>51</sup> Aron, *Working at Play*, 158. For further discussion about American attitudes towards wilderness in the colonial era, see Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven, CT: Yale University, 2014), 23-43.

<sup>52</sup> William Byrd, *The Dividing Line Histories of William Byrd II of Westover*, ed. Kevin Joel Berland (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina, 2013), 87-97; William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, “Moravian Diaries of Travels through Virginia (Continued),” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12, no. 2 (October 1904): 142-5; Newton Dennison Mereness, *Travels in the American Colonies* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 332.

“take with them their provisions and horse-fodder and lie in the bush.”<sup>53</sup> It was not only a lack of options that would push travelers to stay outside, but a lack of resources as well.

Sleeping outside would be uncomfortable at best, and dangerous at worst. Without a roof over their heads, travelers were exposed to the elements. While surveying in West Virginia, the wind carried George Washington’s tent away, and the party “was obliged to Lie the Latter part of the Night without covering.”<sup>54</sup> Salome Meurer, traveling with a large group of Moravians to North Carolina, wrote that on her first night, the ground was so wet from rain they laid down leaves as a layer between their blankets and the mud. The men in the party tried to build a fire between the tents to warm everyone from the cold, however the wind simply blew the smoke in the tents, keeping everyone up all night. Another night it rained so much that “had we not lain on the slope we would have been bailing water out of the tent.”<sup>55</sup> Even when the weather cooperated, sleeping outside was still uncomfortable. The County dal Verme and his party tried to use the smoke from their campfires in New York to keep the mosquitoes at bay, to little success.<sup>56</sup> While Israel Shreve thought nothing of spending the night outside, the women in his traveling party, feet sore from walking over the mountains and stony roads in Pennsylvania, put up “heavy complaints.” Without a stable or pen to contain them, travelers could lose their horses or livestock while asleep.<sup>57</sup> It was not just the forces of nature and animals in the woods that were dangerous; other humans could prove just as worrisome to campers. Salome Meurer’s

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<sup>53</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 45.

<sup>54</sup> “[April 1748],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-01-02-0001-0003>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 1, 11 March 1748–13 November 1765, ed. Donald Jackson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976, pp. 16–23.]

<sup>55</sup> Aaron S. Fogleman, “Women on the Trail in Colonial America: A Travel Journal of German Moravians Migrating from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1766,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 61, no. 2 (April 1994): 218, 223.

<sup>56</sup> Dal Verme, *Seeing America*, 13.

<sup>57</sup> William L. Anderson, “Cherokee Clay, from Duche to Wedgwood: The Journal of Thomas Griffiths, 1767-1768,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 63, no. 4 (October 1986): 501; Mereness, *Travels*, 342.

party, made up almost entirely of young women, faced continual harassment from men who found their tents, and propositioned them until one of their male escorts chased them off.<sup>58</sup> Sleeping under a tree with his horse in North Carolina, Thomas Griffiths couldn't help but reflect that he was in the same area where several people had been killed by "Virginia Crackers and Rebels... join'd together to Rob Travellers" and raid newly settled towns.<sup>59</sup> Faced with being cold, wet, and in danger of bodily harm, it is unsurprising that travelers were compelled to knock on *any* door that presented itself, without thought to it being a public or private home.<sup>60</sup>

Traveling through the isolated marshes and barrier islands of Georgia, Scottish traveler J.B. Dunlop described the area as being "of all the places in the world this is the most incommodious." There were no inns, and Dunlop was saved from sleeping in the bottom of his boat by a chance meeting with another Scotsman, who invited him to his home for the night.<sup>61</sup> The very nature of the backcountry also meant that the divide between private home and public house was blurred and not strictly delineated. Travelers found that in rural areas, the established infrastructure of taverns, inns, and ordinaries that they would find in more developed regions simply did not exist yet on the frontier. The Count dal Verme wrote that the lack of accommodations was "the greatest source of irritation in the two Carolinas, where the few inns

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<sup>58</sup> Fogelman, "Women," 215, 221. Chapter four goes into these incidents in more detail.

<sup>59</sup> Anderson, "Cherokee Clay," 500.

<sup>60</sup> For other descriptions of travelers spending the night outside, see J. Stoddard Johnston, *First explorations of Kentucky: Doctor Thomas Walker's Journal of an Exploration of Kentucky in 1750...* (Louisville, KY: JP Morton and Company, 1898), 40; Louise Rau, "Sergeant John Smith's Diary of 1776," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 20, no. 2 (September 1933): 253; Israel Shreve, "Journey from Jersey to the Monongahala, August 11, 1788," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52, no. 3 (1928): 198; "A Journal of my Journey over the Mountains began Fryday the 11th. of March 1747/8," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/01-01-02-0001-0002>. [Original source: *The Diaries of George Washington*, vol. 1, 11 March 1748–13 November 1765, ed. Donald Jackson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976, pp. 6–16.]; dal Verme, *Journal*, 13; Davis, *Four Years*, 65; Williams, *Early Travels*, 291.

<sup>61</sup> Raymond A. Mohl, "A Scotsman Visits Georgia in 1811," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 349.

are invariably bad.” Dal Verme felt that because inns were so few and far between, what innkeepers he did encounter were lazy and overcharged him.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, private homes that were the only dwellings for miles and unconstrained by a license that required a certain bill of fare, could charge what they wanted. Henry Wansey bitterly noted after one such encounter that “these gentry never make out any bills and you are to pay whatever they demand.”<sup>63</sup> Travelers were aware when they were going into the frontier that they needed to prepare accordingly. On the edge of the Tennessee frontier Francis Baily made sure to stock up on supplies, “for we were now arrived at a point on the road where we could not expect to derive much assistance in this way from the inhabitants, as they were all new settlers, and had scarcely sufficient to keep themselves.”<sup>64</sup> There was not only a lack of inns, there was just a sheer lack of people in the backcountry at times. One traveler in the West Virginia frontier noted when he finally got to an inn that “there are no settlements from Myer’s to Wilds, except for the woman at Cheat Hill.”<sup>65</sup> Travelers in the woods and the mountains, by themselves for long stretches of time, could only hope to hear “the sweet notes of the honest watch dog” in the distance or “a light cheerful blaze shining thro an hundred apertures” of the trees to lead them to someone’s home.<sup>66</sup> Without public

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<sup>62</sup> Dal Verme, *Seeing America*, 52. As dal Verme was a minor aristocrat, it is hard to tell if his complaints were ultimately due to his genteel standards not being met, or because isolated innkeepers took advantage of their rarity to upcharge their customers.

<sup>63</sup> Henry Wansey, *The Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the summer of 1794*, (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969), 108. For other examples of demand induced pricing, see Harriott Lucas Pinckney, December 1799, *The Papers of the Revolutionary Era Pinckney Statesmen Digital Edition*, ed. Constance B. Schulz. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2016; Fontaine, *Huguenot*, 120; Williams, *Early Travels*, 414, 506.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 418.

<sup>65</sup> Dennis O’Brien, ed., “A Lost Diary of the Western Virginia Frontier,” *West Virginia History* 40 (Fall 1978): 62.

<sup>66</sup> Robert V. Remini, ed., “A New York ‘Yankee’ in Tennessee, 1821,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (Fall 1978): 283.

houses to stay in, travelers by need were required to begin looking for private homes for food and shelter.<sup>67</sup>

Roads also ensured a blurring between the public house and the private home. Major interstate thoroughfares connected the backcountry with the Atlantic seaboard. Two of the biggest ones were Braddock's Road and the Great Wagon Road. Braddock's Road, later known as the Cumberland Road, connected the fort at Cumberland, Maryland, to Braddock, Pennsylvania, just outside of modern Pittsburgh. The Great Wagon Road began in Philadelphia, and eventually stretched all the way to Augusta, Georgia. Between these two roads, thousands of migrants swarmed into the Northwest Territory and the backcountry South.<sup>68</sup> As migrants, peddlers, surveyors and passers-through traveled along not only these major thoroughfares but local ones as well, they passed by homes. As Warren Hofstra explains in discussing the Shenandoah Valley, residents "did not seek rural seclusion; on the contrary, they wanted to link the[ir] fortunes as directly as possible to market and commercial centers."<sup>69</sup> Roads in the backcountry ran through farms-private property-and constantly connected with one another, making sense to those in the neighborhood but not to a traveler passing through.<sup>70</sup> And along those roads, travelers found private homes that took advantage of their location. "Every good American," Pharoux noted in

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<sup>67</sup> For other instances of travelers encountering isolated conditions, see John Lincklaen, *Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont: Journals of John Lincklaen, Agent of the Holland Land Company* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), 36; Needham Parry, "The Journal of Needham Parry—1794," *Register of Kentucky State Historical Society* 34, no. 109 (October 1936): 383-6; Richard Smith, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware in 1769, being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey* ed. Francis W. Halsey (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 52; Finlay, *Journal*, 67; Fontaine, *Huguenot*, 120; Walker, "Gibbons," 103.

<sup>68</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities; Societies of the Colonial South*, (New York: Atheneum, 1963), 128-30; John Kennedy Lacock, *Braddock Road*, (self-published, 1912), 1-38; Johnston, *First Explorations*, 36.

<sup>69</sup> Warren R. Hofstra, "Private Dwellings, Public Ways, and the Landscape of Early Rural Capitalism in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 5 (1995): 219.

<sup>70</sup> Hofstra, "Private Dwellings," 214, 217-9.

his colony's journal, "if he is located on a road, puts a sign on his door."<sup>71</sup> As Robert Hunter was guided by a local landowner, Mr. Ellsworth, to Niagara Falls in 1785, he noted that as their land had been cleared and established, people now frequently stopped at their home. Hunter enjoyed some punch and homemade bread and wrote further that the family should keep an inn, as it would easily make the Ellsworths rich.<sup>72</sup> Travelers along the Wilderness Road in 1799 Tennessee made note of men such as Mr. Shaw, who "makes his living, as do all the dwellers along the border, by the chase and the gain from the sale of provisions to travellers."<sup>73</sup> The German Reverend Paul Henkel also noted this phenomenon on a missionary trip to Ohio in 1806, staying in multiple private homes alongside the road, though he did not think much of the "miserable hut[s]" he found on the frontier.<sup>74</sup> Sometimes the press of travelers was such that householders gave up and got their license, like Talbot County, Maryland, resident Henry Frith Jr, who was so "oppressed upon by travellers" using the Dorchester Ferry on his property, that he applied for his ordinary license.<sup>75</sup> In the face of the constant presence of travelers, for many households the delineation of public or private did not matter, only the whims of the head of the home and the supplies available.

Wealthy householders, especially those in the South, prided themselves on their reputation for hospitality. Southern householders especially used hospitality to demonstrate their authority within the area, as well as a form of competition amongst themselves.<sup>76</sup> In 1774, Hugh

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<sup>71</sup>Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 12.

<sup>72</sup> Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter, Jr, a Young Merchant of London*, (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1943), 104.

<sup>73</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 519.

<sup>74</sup> Clement L. Martzloff, "Rev. Paul Henkel's Journal: His Missionary Journey to the State of Ohio in 1806," *Ohio History Journal* 23, no. 2 (Apr 1914): 168, 183, 197.

<sup>75</sup> Peden, *Colonial Tavern*, 48.

<sup>76</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 267-72; Cynthia A. Kierner,

Finlay wrote that the only way to travel in the comfort befitting a gentleman was to be “furnished with letters of recommendation to the Gentlemen and Planters living on the road.” Perhaps reflecting the potential one-upmanship among the planters, Finlay also noted that staying with the wealthy would require significant disentanglement, as they detained travelers longer than intended through their kindness.<sup>77</sup> Some travelers, particularly well-heeled ones, were aware of this and took advantage accordingly. While in Virginia, de Chastellux wrote that if there were no taverns, or the taverns that were there were not up to snuff, “it is the custom in America to ask for hospitality from some well-to-do individual, who can spare room in his house for you... the traveler and his host then converse together as equals, but he is paid as an ordinary innkeeper.”<sup>78</sup> Pharoux and Desjardins, on their way to Castorland for the first time ran into a large brick home in upstate New York that they mistook for an inn. Instead, it was the house of one of the largest landowners of the county, who still gave them a good meal, a clean bed, and refused their money. As they left the next morning, Pharoux noted that they wished, “for America's happiness, that it be peopled with many citizens like the good farmer and the rich landowner, from whom we had just experienced their frank hospitality.”<sup>79</sup>

Some householders had no intention of taking travelers into their home, but found themselves asked to do so anyway, either because the public house was full or because there was simply no other choice—the private home or a night outside. There were multiple scenarios that would drive travelers to a household door, and one such situation that filled local taverns and forced travelers to seek shelter elsewhere was court day. Courthouses and taverns, especially in

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“Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies,” *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 3, (Aug. 1996): 449-453.

<sup>77</sup> Finlay, *Journal*, 62.

<sup>78</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 76.

<sup>79</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 63.

the South, were paired together to ensure the large number of people converging for court had a place to stay. George Washington frequently stopped for meals at the county seats of King William and Caroline Counties in Virginia, but rather than giving the name of the tavern or the owner, instead referred to them in his diary as simply dining at "King William Court House" or "Caroline Court House."<sup>80</sup> If a courthouse was not available, court would be held in the tavern. Once the courthouse was built, the taverns around it would swell up during court days, packed to the gills much to the annoyance of travelers in town for unrelated reasons.<sup>81</sup> Elizabeth House Trist was discomfited to find during her stop in Hannastown, Pennsylvania, that since court was in session, all the public houses were completely full. While the county Sheriff was kind enough to let her party stay with him, the combination of a one room house that was "on acct of his business, as Publick as the Bar room of a tavern," ensured an uncomfortable night for the modest Trist.<sup>82</sup> Hannastown, was the seat of Westmoreland County "because William Hanna had a tavern there," with Hanna renting his house out for exorbitant sums, to profit from the court crowds.<sup>83</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry also ran into problems arising from court day throughout her 1793 travels. In Easton, Pennsylvania, Horry's party was almost left out in the cold for the night until the judge and a pack of lawyers gave up the room they were using at Opp's Tavern.<sup>84</sup> When ten days later, riding into Frederick, Maryland, they encountered another court day, Horry wearily wrote in her diary that they found yet "another court and a swarm of Lawyers."<sup>85</sup> Towns and

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<sup>80</sup> For references to King William Courthouse see Jackson and Twohig, vol. 2, 45, 105, 161, 181, 221, 248 For references to Caroline Court House see Jackson and Twohig, vol. 2, 190, and Jackson and Twohig, vol. 3, 29, 66, 90.

<sup>81</sup> John W. Harpster, "Eighteenth Century Inns and Taverns of Western Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania History* (1936): 15; Salinger 126.

<sup>82</sup> Trist, "Philadelphia to Natchez," 208-9.

<sup>83</sup> Harpster, "Eighteenth Century Inns," 15.

<sup>84</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, 1793 Journal, 13 November 1793, from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>85</sup> Horry, 1793 Journal, 20 November 1793.

neighborhoods that only had very few taverns could find themselves overrun. Ebenezer Hazzard tried to stay at Whitefield's in Virginia in 1777 but was turned away as it was full. However, "after enquiring for Lodgings at five private Houses," Hazzard was forced to come back to the tavern and plead until Whitefield would let him in.<sup>86</sup> And some taverns were so bad that a private home seemed like a better option. Though Joshua Gibbons in 1804 slept with the householders and two others in his party in a straw mattress on the floor, their home was preferable to the tavern Gibbons almost stayed at, which was a site of frequent robberies.<sup>87</sup> The press of people that court day brought into an area would often overload the local lodging infrastructure and flood into private homes.

Other travelers found themselves in need of food or shelter on a stretch of empty road or wilderness with no public house for miles around, be it because they were lost or just simply because they were far from town. "[Our landlord]," as one Moravian traveler noted in the Tennessee frontier in 1799, "makes his living, as do all the dwellers along the boarder, by the chase and gain from the sale of provisions to travellers."<sup>88</sup> For simple meals, travelers often found homesteads willing to part with food for cash. Nicholas Cresswell and his party in the wilds of West Virginia, gave an old German woman gunpowder in exchange for corn pudding. They thought to eat "till we had kiled ourselves...[but] the old Woman prudently took our Victuals away."<sup>89</sup> A Montgomery County, New York, farmer sold Castorland leaders Pharoux and Desjardins tea, pork, eggs, and maple syrup for a shilling a person, and was surprised to see them make onion soup for breakfast, blurting that "it was indeed true that all French people were

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<sup>86</sup>Johnston, "Ebenezer Hazard," 366.

<sup>87</sup> Walker, "Gibbons," 105.

<sup>88</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 519.

<sup>89</sup> Harold B. Gill and George M. Curtis, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1781*, (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 67.

cooks."<sup>90</sup> Hunger sometimes drove travelers to break the laws of hospitality. While still in West Virginia, Nicholas Cresswell stopped at the home of John Briscoe only to find the house empty. Instead of moving on, Cresswell felt entitled to stay, ransacking the garden until he found some potatoes to eat, and laying down for the night in the empty home.<sup>91</sup> For those who had more rarefied tastes, sometimes the food on the road was not to their liking. Joshua Gibbons stopped at the cabin of an Irish family in Ohio in 1804 and found the house so dirty that when the woman offered to make him bread, he flatly refused out of disgust. He begrudgingly ate some potatoes and bad milk, paid her, and went on his way.<sup>92</sup> While not all homes had the extra supplies to feed travelers, the ones who did took advantage of the opportunity to make some money from the strangers in their home.<sup>93</sup>

It was easy for a traveler to become lost along the roads. Especially in rural areas, roads were built by and meant for locals, and while they understood the paths, those traveling through often would not, even when provided with directions.<sup>94</sup> Moravian missionary John Ettwein was bringing the good word to Georgia in 1765 when he went down a rough road and quickly became very lost. Thankfully he encountered a boy who told him that since there was no other house, public or private, for the next twenty miles, led Ettwein to his home instead, where the boy's family welcomed him in for the evening.<sup>95</sup> Joshua Wellford and his party, after several rounds of wine in 1794 attempted to go to their planned tavern. However, being drunk and unfamiliar with Bedford County, Pennsylvania, they quickly became lost in the woods until they ran into a cabin

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<sup>90</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 16.

<sup>91</sup> Gill and Curtis, *A Man Apart*, 66.

<sup>92</sup> Walker, "Gibbons," 122.

<sup>93</sup> Brown, *Good Wives*, 268.

<sup>94</sup> Hofstra, "Private Dwellings," 214.

<sup>95</sup> George F. Jones, "Report of Mr. Ettwein's Journey to Georgia and South Carolina, 1765," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 91, no. 4, (Oct 1990): 254.

of a poor family. The family allowed them to sleep on the floor and Wellford and his friend "congratulated each other upon our good luck, as being far preferable to remaining in a wood... [at] the foot of a tree during a lengthy cold night."<sup>96</sup> Travelers could rely on the directions of previous sojourners through the area but that could prove perilous as well. The Baron von Closen warned his readers to not rely on his journal for directions as taverns and ferry crossings "have the bad practice of giving them the name of the MOMENTARY proprietors." Compounding the problem, said ferries and taverns "are often very distant from the villages," leading to the traveler becoming not only lost, but also in a place unable to find help easily.<sup>97</sup> Of course, lost travelers sometimes frightened or offput householders with their presence. When William Gregory finally found a cabin in the woods of Rhode Island, he "kicked at the door" until the family, "surprised to see me," invited him in. He turned them down in favor of directions back to the road.<sup>98</sup> Johann Schöpf in 1783 found himself in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, down the wrong road, far from a tavern, and in need to bate his horse. While the householder was a fellow German, the arrival of Schöpf 's party had scared him. There had been a string of robberies in the area blamed on a roving gang of Royalists; as a Tory, the man was convinced that Schöpf was there to arrest him.<sup>99</sup>

Night or the weather could interrupt the plans of even the most intrepid traveler and leave them in need of a quick place to stop. While travelling in western Pennsylvania, the modest Elizabeth House Trist and her party were attempting to reach a tavern but could go no further because of the extreme cold. They were led by a local man to a farm, instead, where they were

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<sup>96</sup> Robert Wellford, "A Diary Kept by Dr. Robert Wellford, of Fredericksburg, Virginia, during the March of the Virginia Troops to Fort Pitt to Suppress the Whiskey Insurrection in 1794," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 1, (Jul 1902): 14.

<sup>97</sup> Evelyn Martha Acomb, trans. and ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 131.

<sup>98</sup> Mary G. Powell, ed., "A Scotchman's Journey in New England in 1771," *The New England Magazine* 12 (March-August 1895): 348.

<sup>99</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 126-8.

greeted with a warm stove and a bed with thick curtains that Trist could undress behind.<sup>100</sup> Gerard Hopkins in 1804 was kept from crossing the Potomac River by the wind and cold, and thus his party rode to the home of a nearby farmer who took them in and treated them well.<sup>101</sup> Finally, there were the times where there were just no other options. Moravian missionaries Leonhard Schnell and Robert Hussey on their journey to Georgia through the backcountry in 1744 frequently encountered this problem. One day they went 25 miles through western Maryland before eventually finding the home of Abraham Mueller who reluctantly let them in. Another day saw them pass only two homes, whose owners were so destitute they had no food to feed themselves, let alone sell to Schnell and Hussey.<sup>102</sup> Even towards the end of their journey they encountered trouble finding a place to sleep; when crossing the Shenandoah they asked the ferryman to stay with him for the night as the two knew there was no other home in a 25 mile radius.<sup>103</sup> Roads and the weather could derail any travelers plans, and leave them at the mercy of needing to knock at the door of a private home asking for help.

Messieurs Pharoux and Desjardins, heads of their upstate New York settlement Castorland, found themselves on both ends of this, requiring at times succor from private homes and in others needing to offer it to other travelers. Travelling frequently between Castorland in Lewis County and Albany, New York, the pair found themselves staying at various homes in the countryside. A guide, eager to get to his own home, rushed them past the inn at German Flatts and instead landed them at a farm by the river, leaving them to eat corn meal while the guide

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<sup>100</sup> Trist, "Philadelphia to Natchez," 209.

<sup>101</sup>William H. Love, "A Quaker Pilgrimage; Being A Mission to the Indians From the Indian Committee of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting to Fort Wayne, 1804," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 4, no. 1, (Mar 1909): 3.

<sup>102</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, "Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia (Continued)," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 4, (Apr 1904): 372.

<sup>103</sup> Hinke and Kemper, "Moravian," 375.

continued to his home.<sup>104</sup> Another time, the party's bateau landed for the evening at a farm, and though there was "no meat, nor bed," they still stayed the night and paid a shilling each for milk and the shelter.<sup>105</sup> Back in Lewis County, Castorland occasionally received travelers as well. In the summer of 1795, a small group offered to pay them for some food. However, the pair informed them that "we were not keeping a tavern... having scarcely what was necessary to keep our own people fed," and turned down their money. However, they still allowed the party to stay at the settlement for breakfast before they went on their way.<sup>106</sup> Ultimately, householders may not have wanted travelers spending the night or eating their food, but if their house was the only place available for bed and board, they would find themselves soon swarmed regardless of their wishes.

Not all travelers were thrilled to stay in a private home, and not all householders were gracious hosts. Even when presented with the option of a certain home or staying in the woods, some travelers considered the latter to be the better option. Naturalist and aristocrat Luigi Castiglioni was forced to stay at a private home while his carriage was repaired in South Carolina in 1786. Castiglioni held the family- "forest dwellers" and "persons of the worst reputation" as he described them-in deep contempt and spent half of his time pestering the blacksmith to work faster, while his servant watched over their things at the home. To his disgust, he was obligated to sleep in their bed while the rest of the family slept on the floor instead.<sup>107</sup> While in Virginia, Englishman John Davis was directed by multiple people to the home of Mr. Violet, "a very honest farmer, who accommodated Travellers with a bed." Davis's contacts assured him that Violet's home was on par with some of the state's finest hotels.

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<sup>104</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 61.

<sup>105</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 16.

<sup>106</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 183.

<sup>107</sup> Castiglioni, *Viaggio*, 149-50.

However, after fighting his way through the rain, he was greeted by a nursing biracial woman who curtly told him that “we don’t keep tavern here.” Undeterred, he went inside only to find a couple quickly becoming intimate. He left to take his chances in the woods afterwards.<sup>108</sup> While men and woman brought travelers into their private home, they did not always do so welcomingly. Later in his trip, Castiglioni found himself stuck waiting for a flooded river to recede in Staunton, Virginia. While Captain A. welcomed Castiglioni into his home readily, Mrs. A on the other hand “hated strangers, and although it was very profitable for her... didn’t like to put them up.” The next two days were uncomfortable as Mrs. A “showed very clearly the annoyance caused by my visit.” Both sides were relieved when the flood waters receded, and the prickly Castiglioni could continue on his way.<sup>109</sup>

Besides receiving money, what was the benefit to the householder for letting a traveler into their house for the night? Often to the annoyance of the traveler, what their hosts wanted more than anything else was news from outside of their neighborhood. Rural colonists “hunger[ed] for information,” and would often accost travelers no sooner than they had entered their homes; a need for knowledge outweighing any concerns over privacy.<sup>110</sup> Sarah Kemble Knight, a woman travelling alone in 1704 New England, was often viewed as a curiosity by the people she encountered. One woman asked Knight so many questions that finally Knight reprimanded her for her rudeness.<sup>111</sup> Daniel Fisher, riding to Philadelphia in 1755, was disgruntled to be immediately ambushed by his landlord upon entering the tavern; “understanding I came from [Williamsburg]... gaped after the news.” Much to Fisher’s distaste, after he was picked clean for news, the landlord immediately neglected him afterwards and left

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<sup>108</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 246.

<sup>109</sup> Castiglioni, *Viaggio*, 302.

<sup>110</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 107.

<sup>111</sup> Wendy Martin, ed., *Colonial American Travel Narratives*, (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994,) 54.

Fisher asking constantly for his dinner to be served.<sup>112</sup> Johann Schöpf, coming off a tour of the backcountry in 1783, wearily noted that he hoped “to be somewhat less burdened with tedious questions, which, while in the mountains, one must submit to from every man,” with the mountain folk asking him about his occupation, personal life, and where he had been so far. Interestingly, Schöpf acknowledged that it was the very remoteness of the mountains that moved its inhabitants to so question travelers, though he grouched that “it can be hardly expected of the traveller that he should, with the patience of a saint, allow himself to be examined” at every waking moment.<sup>113</sup> Luigi Castiglioni was less generous than Schöpf and complained that North Carolinians asked him questions “by some deep seated malicious design” in comparison to Yankees who asked him questions because of “a desire to educate themselves.”<sup>114</sup> Even in later periods and near more urban areas, travelers would be asked for the latest news. Riding on a stage north of Boston in 1794, Henry Wansey noted that his landlord for the night was “very inquisitive to know what he could about the passengers.”<sup>115</sup> At another stop in Connecticut, even the naturally gregarious Wansey began to falter under the constant attention, with “people...ready to ask me more questions than I was inclined to answer.” In an attempt to satiate their hunger for information, Wansey gave the locals some newspapers he had brought over from England.<sup>116</sup> What travelers saw as an invasion of their privacy and an intrusion into their business was more a result of the “loneliness, isolation, and boredom” that rural life could entail.<sup>117</sup> Backcountry households, isolated from cities and towns, relied on travelers for news

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<sup>112</sup>Du Bellet, *Virginia Families*, 791.

<sup>113</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 312-313. Even worse, they would constantly repeat questions until he answered. For other inquisitions of Schöpf, see Schöpf, *Confederation*, 22 and 133.

<sup>114</sup> Castiglioni, *Viaggio*, 298.

<sup>115</sup> Wansey, *Excursion*, 54.

<sup>116</sup> Wansey, *Excursion*, 57.

<sup>117</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 108.

from the outside world; travelers were their lifeline, even when said traveler would much prefer to just fall asleep.<sup>118</sup>

Staying with a family sometimes meant getting involved in their business as well; to be invited in meant the ability to observe the private lives of the people within the home.<sup>119</sup> Some travelers found themselves in staying the night becoming involved in family disputes and secrets. The Marquis de Chastellux, traveling in New England in 1781, stayed at the tavern of Samuel Dorrance. While he was there, he noticed that one of Dorrance's daughters secluded herself in her bedroom. The daughter was pregnant out of wedlock, pregnant by a young swain who had promised to marry her before unceremoniously abandoning her. On his second time, he noted that Miss Dorrance had since had her baby.<sup>120</sup> The scandal, due to the contemporary printing of Chastellux's journals, spread not only through the colonies but through Europe as well. While some editions edited out Dorrance's name, other editions kept it in full.<sup>121</sup> Chastellux himself felt the need after the first 1781 printing to add multiple footnotes attempting to explain that he had no idea that both his private journals would be spread so widely, and that so many people would be scandalized by the story.<sup>122</sup> The reputation for the tavern lingered. A 1789 traveler noted wryly upon breakfasting at the same tavern that like Chastellux, "I could embellish too; for at the moment of my departure the girl overset and broke all the tea-equipage."<sup>123</sup> On another occasion,

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<sup>118</sup> For other instances of travelers being asked for news see Alexander Hamilton and Carl Bridenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 166; Julian Niemcewicz and Metchie J.E. Budka, trans. and ed., *Under their Vine and Fig Tree: Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805, with some further account of life in New Jersey* (Elizabeth, NJ: Grassman Publishing Company, 1965), 71, 172; Acomb, *von Closen*, 198; Powell, "Scotchman," 344.

<sup>119</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 89-91.

<sup>120</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 67, 231.

<sup>121</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 252.

<sup>122</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 253-5.

<sup>123</sup> Samuel Davis, "Journal of a Tour to Connecticut—Autumn of 1789," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 11 (1869): 27. Davis explicitly name dropped Chastellux in his journal, writing that "This is the inn which has been celebrated by the Marquis Chastellux in his travels."

de Chastellux met a woman named Mary Vining in Philadelphia whom he decried for her ridiculous hair and makeup, her spinsterhood, and for being “famous for her coquetry, her wit, and her spitefulness.”<sup>124</sup> Those words spread so that when Brissot de Warville, an Englishman traveling America in 1788, knew who she was when he came to her house in Wilmington, Delaware. By then the world knew about Miss Vining and Warville found that Chastellux’s remarks about her had wounded her deeply. Outraged, especially as Vining had exerted considerable effort and risk to house French soldiers during the Revolutionary War, Warville then spent two pages defending her honor.<sup>125</sup>

Other travelers, whose writings were not as widely disseminated as the Marquis’, still found themselves embroiled in family affairs. An anonymous peddler, staying at the home of Mr. Burk in Albemarle County, Virginia, came in at the same time as “a damned Scoundrel... a most dreadful Noise of Mu[r]der,” which turned out to be Mr. Burk engaged in a violent argument with his son. While the peddler tried to stop the argument by pointing out it would disrupt the rest of him and his partner, Downing, it did little good. The fight continued into the next morning, this time with Burk and his son teaming up against the peddler when he tried to dispute his charges. The peddler’s partner, Mr. Downing, was of no help to the matter as he had spent the stay propositioning Burk’s daughter.<sup>126</sup> Being welcomed into a family was not always this violent, however. John Davis wrote fondly in his memoirs about his several days stay with Mr. Strangeaway in Fairfax County, Virginia. What started as getting attacked by Strangeaway’s dogs while asking for directions soon stretched into a pleasant stay, where the children quickly “considered me as one of the family.” Davis marveled that the daughters of the family were

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<sup>124</sup> J.P. Brissot de Warville, *New travels in the United States of America*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 244.

<sup>125</sup> Brissot, *New Travels*, 337-8.

<sup>126</sup> Beeman, “Itinerant,” 178.

comfortable enough in his presence to go to bed while he was still in the room. Before leaving, he bought earrings for the pair of daughters to remember him by.<sup>127</sup> Obviously, not all travelers had the reach that Chastellux had. However, like Chastellux once they were in a household, they became temporarily part of the family, and as such, were able to observe the foibles and faults of said family.

Johann Schöpf, early in his travels in Virginia, was compelled to explain to his readers the situation he found while looking for lodgings, writing that,

“We spent a night at a plantation where, according to the custom here, travellers are lodged for a price, under the style of ‘Private Entertainment,’ but no tavern is kept. In the item of public houses Virginia and the other southern provinces are worse off than the northern. The distinction between Private and Public entertainment is to the advantage of the people who keep the so-called Private houses, they avoiding in this way the tax for permission to dispense rum and other drinks and not being plagued with noisy drinking-parties. Other public houses lacking, travellers are compelled to seek out these and glad to find them. Here, one eats with the family... drinks water at pleasure, is not free to demand and has no right to expect what he wants, but pays quite as much as elsewhere, in houses where he lives as he pleases, is better served and not obliged on coming and going to be very grateful for the reception.”<sup>128</sup>

Be it 1730 or 1830, if a traveler was far from a city or town, they were most likely going to spend the night in someone else’s home, be that home a public house or a private one. Contemporary ideas about domestic privacy allowed for the presence of strangers within one’s home to go relatively unremarked, and the nature of the ever-expanding backcountry in America ensured a constant stream of travelers and pioneers into areas with little or no established lodging infrastructure. Travelers could find in private homes not only a place to stay for the night but also food or a chance to rest during the day. Householders in turn received not only money from

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<sup>127</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 376-86.

<sup>128</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 35.

travelers but often news from outside the area. However, as can be ascertained from this chapter, travelers were not always appreciative of the hospitality that they found. The exacting standards of these travelers versus the conditions they found are also indicative of changing standards of privacy, as we will see in the next chapter.

### Chapter 3: “Beshrew the Traveller who would let fall a reflection over the dinner I here made:”<sup>1</sup> Genteel Travelers and Standards of Living

In 1797, Polish aristocrat Julian Niemcewicz accompanied his friend and patron, the famous Tadeusz Kosciuszko to the United States, following their imprisonment in a Russian prison and exile from Poland. However, when Kosciuszko abruptly went back to Poland the following year, Niemcewicz was left without a purpose, and began to travel through America.<sup>2</sup> A learned and sophisticated man, Niemcewicz appreciated refinement when he found it during his travels. The Tontine Tavern and Hotel in Albany, New York was rated highly by him, not only for the table and surroundings but because the hotel constantly kept in stock newspapers and encyclopedias. “This is a splendid idea,” Niemcewicz raved, “it relieves the traveler from carrying a library with him, and whatever his class the visitor... can use his spare time to advantage.”<sup>3</sup> An inn in Haverhill, Massachusetts, won his praise for the landlady, whose manners were so impeccable that she was “more like a Frenchwoman in her comportment than an American.”<sup>4</sup> However, these were the exception rather than the rule. While better natured about the woes of travelling than most men of his class, Niemcewicz still noted when his lodgings were not up to the standards he was used to. In 1798, he complained that in the inns, his door was perpetually unlocked and open, there was never a towel and water waiting for him to wash in his room, and no servant to pack his bag before the early morning stages. Indeed

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<sup>1</sup> John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, ed. A.J. Morrison (New York: H.Holt and Company, 1909), 129.

<sup>2</sup> Julian Niemcewicz, *Under their Vine and Fig Tree; Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805, with some Further Account of Life in New Jersey*, trans. Metchie J.E. Budka (Elizabeth, NJ: Grassmann Pub. Co, 1965), xix, xx, xxv, xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 181.

<sup>4</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 166.

“nothing makes me more impatient than having to take care of shirts, stockings, etc, to pack and unpack.”<sup>5</sup> On a return trip to America in 1804, he reasoned that the lack of privacy, furniture, and refinement in American inns were due to the nature of Americans themselves. “They do not travel, they do not roam about except on business. To them, just for sleeping, only a bed is necessary... they have very little baggage, elegance in amenities is unknown to them, they wash themselves and comb their hair outdoors...”<sup>6</sup> Travelers’ complaints are nothing new. However, Niemcewicz’s diary entries show vividly the divide between the expectations of upper-class travelers, and the realities that they encountered in inns, taverns, and private lodgings throughout America. Through these complaints, we can not only track changing standards of living among the rich and the rest but changing ideas and standards of personal privacy over the eighteenth century.

Most Americans in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century lived in houses that ranged between one to four rooms. As Richard Bushman writes, “when we imagine the entire population of houses scattered across the eighteenth-century landscape, we must see many small frame or log houses rising a half story or full story above the ground-floor room.”<sup>7</sup> One room houses were around twenty square feet, made of logs or wood framing. Occasionally the room was broken into two rooms, or there would be a loft accessible by a ladder. The fireplace, source of heat, light, and cooking, would take up one wall of the home. Windows were small, and as glass was expensive, the openings would be covered by oilcloth or wooden shutters. Shutters were instrumental in keeping homes warm on cold nights.<sup>8</sup> Others lived in slightly larger homes, with

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<sup>5</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 75.

<sup>6</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 274.

<sup>7</sup> Richard Lyman Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 108.

<sup>8</sup> David Freeman Hawke, *Everyday Life in Early America*, (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 48; Bushman, *Refinement*, 101-2.

two floors and two rooms on each floor; the footprint still about the same size as single-story homes. All two-story homes though would be divided into “hall rooms where work, eating, sleeping, and often cooking went on, and parlors, which were actually the best bedrooms and the location of the family’s finest furniture... [Second stories] were additional sleeping and storage spaces.”<sup>9</sup> There were some regional variations. Homes of the middling and wealthy in the South would often have their kitchen as an outbuilding, to keep the main home as cool as possible from the heat of the kitchen.<sup>10</sup> Northern homes had roofs that were both sturdier than in the South and steeper to better deal with the weight of snow. All Americans would deal with expanding families by adding lean-to rooms tacked on to the main house.<sup>11</sup> Wealthy families in the seventeenth century also lived in one to two room houses with “no sense of shame or undue confinement” associated with the one-room house.<sup>12</sup> Their wealth was instead indicated by better construction methods, porches, and the quality of the furniture within.<sup>13</sup> The homes of all American colonists shared in common a “single room, the hall, where cooking, eating, sleeping, and talking went on.” The key difference in privacy was if a house was a two room over one room house, as it allowed for private bedrooms for the parents, be it a partition from the main room, a loft above, or a second floor as allowed by a chimney. However, even then at night the room with the best bed would begin to fill with “supplemental pallets, mattresses, trundle beds, cradles, and cribs” to allow for care of infants and small children.<sup>14</sup> One to two cell homes remained the majority of

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<sup>9</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 103.

<sup>10</sup> John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580 to 1845*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 160-1; Bushman 103; Hawke, *Everyday Life*, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Hawke, *Everyday Life*, 51.

<sup>12</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 104.

<sup>13</sup> Mark R. Wenger, “The Central Passage in Virginia: Evolution of an Eighteenth-Century Living Space,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 2*, (1986): 137; Bushman, *Refinement*, 104.

<sup>14</sup> Elisabeth Donaghy Garrett, *At Home: The American Family 1750-1870* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 1990), 120-1.

American housing stock through the beginning of the nineteenth century and would be what the traveler would most frequently encounter.<sup>15</sup>

During a stop for tea in Delaware in 1762, Benjamin Mifflin was struck enough by the home he found himself in that he felt the need to describe it. The home was “a small Log House that serves for Kitchen, Parlour, Hall, & Bed Chamber.” That his uncle and aunt, as well as his small cousin all lived in a one room home was rather shocking to Benjamin Mifflin, accustomed to the comfort that his wealth brought him in Philadelphia.<sup>16</sup> It was in the eighteenth century that the homes of the middle class and well to do began to change drastically and rapidly. Behind the physical changes in the homes of the genteel was the idea of transformation, a moving away from dirty, dingy, and dark one room cabins into a light, airy, open, multi-roomed homes where gentle conversation and living could easily take place.<sup>17</sup> In the homes of the well-to-do, one to two rooms turned into multiple rooms, hewn boards replaced with brick, doors and window sills painted, windows made larger and of glass, and staircases transformed into large spaces meant for social display.<sup>18</sup> Fireplaces shrank down and chimneys introduced as to reduce the presence of the fireplace as well as the smoke from a cooking fire. Light came into the home through not only glass windows, but better-quality candlesticks, mirrors, and furniture meant to amplify the existing light in the room.<sup>19</sup> The key difference was two new spaces in wealthy homes—the parlor and the grand staircase. Unlike the halls of earlier homes, parlors were not meant for any practical purpose other than entertainment and displaying finery. Beds, cooking utensils, work

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<sup>15</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 108, 111.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Mifflin, *Journal of Benjamin Mifflin: The Record of a Tour from Philadelphia to Delaware and Maryland, July 26 to August 14, 1762* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1935), 16.

<sup>17</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 127.

<sup>18</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 112.

<sup>19</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 123-125.

tools were now removed by householders to the back of the home.<sup>20</sup> Staircases in these new mansions were no longer a ladder to a loft or there to serve only a utilitarian purpose but were meant for guests and family alike to process on and incite comment.<sup>21</sup> While there were other markers such as furnishings and building materials that could delineate between levels of wealth, it was these two rooms that were the base line delineation between the upper and middle classes, and everyone else.<sup>22</sup> Upper class men and women were aware of the transformative properties of a genteel house. Staying in an old Virginian mansion in 1777, Thomas Pinckney waxed on about good design in a letter to a relative. Pinckney had “frequently observed the different Effects of Habitations upon their Inhabitants, from whence we may conclude that nearly concerns every Man to consider well the plan and Aspect of the House he is going to build.” Failure to do so would result in “some ill disposition of Mind” of the family.<sup>23</sup> Ultimately, the purpose of the colonial genteel houses was “to transform life within its walls. The house hid the everyday vulgar activities of cooking and work in the back, in outbuildings, or in the cellar. In the front of the house were spacious rooms filled with light and warmth, where people stood or sat in conversation or at tea.”<sup>24</sup>

Travelling on the Kentucky frontier in 1821, JD Steele stumbled for the night upon a family’s one room cabin. Being a guest of the family, Steele got one of the two beds while the family—five in total—took the other bed. “I wish,” he wrote to his father, “to give you a specimen of the lower orders in this country and if it does not make you feel more thankful for

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<sup>20</sup>Bushman, *Refinement*, 120.

<sup>21</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 120.

<sup>22</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 114.

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Pinckney, (1750-1828) to Harriott Pinckney Horry, 31 January 1777, *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Rotunda, 2012.

<sup>24</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 127.

the blessings you enjoy it will at least served for you to laugh over.” Though the family had taken him in when he was lost and in danger of spending the night outside, their one room cabin still elicited scorn in Steele.<sup>25</sup> Elite travelers, now used to the more specialized home, would be taken aback when they encountered homes that were only one to two rooms. Joshua Gilpin thought he had come upon a good Inn in western Pennsylvania when he realized that the large room with a bed in it was “family eating and bed room.” When Gilpin was shown his bed in the loft above, it was enough to turn his estimation of the inn from “decent” to “indifferent.”<sup>26</sup> English soldier John Enys described the one room cabin he stayed in as a “hovel”, marveling that his party of five, two hunters, and the family all fit in a room “twelve feet square.”<sup>27</sup> Though these smaller homes were the experience of the majority of Americans through the eighteenth century, genteel travelers were now used to larger, grander homes.<sup>28</sup>

What was expected from a house, be it public or private, when a traveler came to stay? Lodgers would expect at the minimum a place to sleep and food to eat. A longer stay would mean potentially that the woman of the house would do the laundry as well, though that chore would take up so much time that it would leave her unavailable for other expected duties such as entertaining or cooking.<sup>29</sup> In line with the new and evolving standards of gentility of the eighteenth century, refined travelers expected their clothes to be laundered, their beds to be

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<sup>25</sup> Robert V. Remini, “A New York ‘Yankee’ in Tennessee, 1821,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 37, no. 3 (Fall 1978): 283.

<sup>26</sup> Joshua Gilpin, “Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia Thro the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 51, no. 4 (1927): 369.

<sup>27</sup> John Enys and Elizabeth Cometti, ed., *The American Journals of Lt. John Enys* (Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1976), 5.

<sup>28</sup> For other examples of travelers encountering one room homes see Antonio Pace, *Luigi Castiglioni's Viaggio: Travels in the United States of North America, 1785-1787*, (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983), 32; Henry Wansey, *Journal of an Excursion to the United States of North America in the Summer of 1794* (New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1969), 195.

<sup>29</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 113.

comfortable and covered in clean linen, food and drink up to their par, and silverware and plates on the table.<sup>30</sup> However, the expectations of upper class travelers for food and berth that met their high standards ran up against the main concerns of women who ran either private households or public houses. Rather than maintaining high levels of cleanliness or offering up delicate food and drink, they were more focused on making cloth, cleaning clothes, taking care of the sick, and ridding their homes of bugs<sup>31</sup>

Historian Kathleen Brown, in her book on cleanliness in America, *Foul Bodies*, notes that the travel narratives of genteel travelers “are less useful as snapshots of the ordinary travel experience than as evidence of travel’s impact on the formation of gentility.” While the social conventions of gentility required that they were polite to their hosts, “it also required that they make unambiguous distinctions between conditions that were disgusting, dirty, and impoverished, and those that were wholesome, clean, and comfortable.”<sup>32</sup> These distinctions were part of the performance of gentility. When Cornelia Randolph was traveling with her grandfather Thomas Jefferson, one house particularly earned her scorn. It was not just that the house was a small log cabin with the children only in “shifts and shirts” and their men without coats. It was that they did not address Randolph and her female friend correctly, “not even honouring us with the title of ladies but calling us young women.” Though they were friendly, and fed the party’s horses, the lack of respect for her class status, and their lack of resources was disarming to Randolph.<sup>33</sup> Charles Van Vleck and his family entered a Virginian hotel but realized

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<sup>30</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 247-82; Bushman, *Refinement*, 100-38; Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 119, 120-158.

<sup>31</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 145.

<sup>32</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 143.

<sup>33</sup> “Cornelia J. Randolph to Virginia J. Randolph (Trist), 17 August 1817, document 1 in a group of documents on Jefferson’s Trip to Natural Bridge, [ca. 13–17 August 1817],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0519-0002>. [Original source: *The*

too late they had “pulle[ed] up at a common, noisy, wagoner’s inn,” instead of the genteel hotel they were hoping for.<sup>34</sup> A failed attempt at gentility was no better. John Adams wrote of his landlord Jonathan Webb in Maine that Mrs. Webb “longs to be Genteel, to go to Dances, Assemblies, Dinners, suppers &c” but did not have the resources. The Webbs tried to live genteelly in their home but to Adams, the “fribbling Affectation of Politness... is to me completely ridiculous.”<sup>35</sup> Even if a lodging earned a traveler’s praise, the praise could be condescending, a gentle surprise that the host was not a complete savage. Writing in his journals, John Davis wrote that he enjoyed staying with people of a lower class than him “to mark the economy of their household, and compare their mode of living with that of the same class of people in my own country.”<sup>36</sup> As the traveler was invited into the family for the night, so could the entirety of a family’s lifestyle—the cleanliness of their lodgings, the quality of the food, the company kept within—was held up for inspection and often found wanting. The beginnings of a more ‘refined’ culture and changing mores around privacy and politeness that these travelers inhibited clashed against the reality that most colonial Americans were still living in.

Venturing into the Shenandoah in 1748, George Washington went to bed in his host’s home only to find that he was expected to sleep on a mound of straw, with no sheets and a blanket “double its Weight of Vermin.” Washington decided afterwards that he would prefer to

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*Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 11, *19 January to 31 August 1817*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 622–624.]

<sup>34</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, “Travel Journal of Charles A. Van Vleck, 1826: Journal of a Journey from Salem, N.C., to Bethlehem, PA, in October, 1826,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (April 1931): 198.

<sup>35</sup> “July 8. 1770 Sunday.,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0014-0004-0004>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 358–359.]

<sup>36</sup> Jennie Holton Fant, ed., *The Traveler’s Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), 66.

sleep outside than on a bed like that again.<sup>37</sup> One of the most frequent complaints of genteel travelers was the level of cleanliness in their lodgings, and the furnishings that they met with. For tired travelers, a bed that was lacking proved to be the first challenge to a good night's sleep. A good bed in the eighteenth century was one with a wooden frame with either wooden or rope slacks, a straw filled bottom mattress, then a feather-filled top mattress, covered then by a sheet, blankets, and of course pillows. Many bedframes also incorporated bed curtains, which not only kept heat in and bugs out, but provided privacy for the sleepers within. Even if the best bed was still in a room where others slept, one could draw the curtains and vanish from sight.<sup>38</sup> A large wooden bedframe with about sixty to seventy pounds of bedding and mattresses, however, was not the universal standard in colonial America.<sup>39</sup> When standard bedframes were lacking, travelers faced a variety of potential options. Hugh Finlay, missing a bed, "pass'd the night in a chair, often looking out for day."<sup>40</sup> Margaret Van Horn Dwight, a young woman traveling to Ohio in 1810, was presented with a mattress on the floor, and when she asked for a bedframe, the landlady instead provided another mattress.<sup>41</sup> Other travelers made do with animal skins provided by their hosts.<sup>42</sup> Finally, there was the last option for when all else failed, sleeping on the floor, though a blanket or mattress straw could be strewn across the floor to cushion it.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Diaries of George Washington: Volume 1, 1748-65* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1976), 42.

<sup>38</sup> Garrett, *At Home*, 109, 114-5.

<sup>39</sup> Garrett, *At Home*, 109-112.

<sup>40</sup> Hugh Finlay, *Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, surveyor of post roads on the continent of North America, during his survey of the post offices between Falmouth and Casco Bay, in the province of Massachusetts and Savannah in Georgia* (Brooklyn: F.H. Norton, 1867), 64.

<sup>41</sup> Margaret Van Horn Dwight, *A Journey to Ohio in 1810: as recorded in the journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight*, ed. Max Farrand (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1913), 31.

<sup>42</sup> John Fontaine, *The Journal of John Fontaine; an Irish Huguenot son in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719*, ed. Edward P. Alexander (Williamsburg, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 99; Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800: with introductions, annotations, and index* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928), 499.

<sup>43</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1781*, ed. Harold B. Gill Jr and George M. Curtis III (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 86; Malcolm Freiberg, "The Reverend William Gordon's Autumn 1776 Tour of the Northeast," *The New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (September

Sometimes the floor was because all the other beds were taken in the home. Augustine Prevost, staying at a home on a busy route to the western frontier in Pennsylvania found that there were only two beds for four separate traveling parties that contained at least two dozen people in total. Most everyone slept on the floor that night.<sup>44</sup> Timothy Bigelow attempted to share a bed in a New York tavern but found that the inhabitants “threatened us with a bloody reception if we attempted to repose there” so he and his party slept on the floor instead.<sup>45</sup> Not all travelers were put out by the lack of beds however. Desjardins and Pharoux, proprietors of Castorland, eventually began travelling with their own mattresses after having had to sleep on the floor one too many times.<sup>46</sup> Other travelers found that they were content just having a roof over their heads, as long as they had a blanket to soften their sleep on the ground.<sup>47</sup>

Bugs, particularly fleas, and other vermin served to plague many a sleeper. Abijah Hill, travelling in western Pennsylvania in 1799, was not pleased with the house he was planning on spending the night in. It was dirty, and there were holes in the roof. The deciding factor, however, that sent him on his way to look for another berth was his observation that the family “have the itch badly,” a sure sign of lice or other vermin. He drank his whisky and quickly left the home.<sup>48</sup> Ten years later in the same region, Rowse Taylor made the same excuses. After finding the beds at his tavern bug ridden, he went out and got another tavern. The landlord was “rather abashed”

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1992): 472; William A. Hunter, “John Ballodet’s ‘Journal of the time I spent in Stony creek glades,’ 1793-1794,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104, no. 2 (April 1980): 191.

<sup>44</sup> Augustine Prevost, “Turmoil at Pittsburgh: Diary of Augustine Prevost, 1774,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 2 (April 1961): 126.

<sup>45</sup> Timothy Bigelow, *Journal of a Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805* (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1876), 18.

<sup>46</sup> Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux, *Castorland Journal: An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Northern New York State by French Emigres in the Years 1793 to 1797*, trans. and ed. John A. Gallucci (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2010), 14-15, 156.

<sup>47</sup> Cresswell, *A Man Apart*, 86; Ballodet, “Journal,” 191.

<sup>48</sup> Thomas Hill, “A Journey on Horseback from New Brunswick, New Jersey, to Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, in 1799,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no. 2 (July 1890): 193.

as Taylor informed him that “my wife had discovered a few bugs in his beds, and that we had concluded to step into his neighbour’s.”<sup>49</sup> Bugs were inescapable, and the steps needed to rid a home of them could be arduous. One contemporary recipe required mixing turpentine and camphor and painting every square inch of linen and furniture. Others, either more desperate or unable to stand the smell of camphor for several days, would pour boiling water over the bed and linens trying to scald the bugs away.<sup>50</sup> Reverend Paul Hinkel, travelling with his wife through rural Ohio in 1806, wrote at length about his war against the fleas. One home he named in his journal “Fleaburg” as he found “more than a hundred bed-fellows” alongside him as he slept. Another night he “found that the hungry bedfellows were so numerous here, that in the middle of the night we were driven out, and made our escape to a hay stable.” Unfortunately for the preacher, the fleas clung to his clothing, and his itching continued.<sup>51</sup> And for floor sleepers, being on the floor brought one closer to the small animals that also dwelt in the home. The Baron von Closen and his party of fellow soldiers spent a memorable night in the straw being bitten by the rats.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Rowse Taylor, “A Journey by Carriage from Newport, Rhode Island, to Smithfield, Ohio, 1811, I,” *Bulletin of Friend’s Historical Society of Philadelphia* 8, no. 3 (November 1918): 97.

<sup>50</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 138-40.

<sup>51</sup> Rev. F.E. Cooper and Clement L. Martzloff, “Rev. Paul Henkel’s Journal: His Missionary Journey to the State of Ohio in 1806,” *Ohio History Journal* 23, no. 2 (April 1914): 168, 193.

<sup>52</sup> Ludwig, Baron von Closen, *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783*, trans. and ed. Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 181. For other examples of bugs bothering travelers see James C. Bonner, “Journal of a Mission to Georgia in 1827,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (March 1960): 81; “III. Thomas Lee Shippen to William Shippen, 15 September 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-17-02-0136-0004>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 17, 6 July–3 November 1790, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, pp. 464–466.]; William Whipple, “William Whipple’s Notes of a Journey from Philadelphia to New Hampshire, in the Summer of 1777,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 10, no. 4 (January 1887): 366; Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinsling, ed., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter Jr.* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1943), 277-8; Mifflin, *Journal*, 435; Wansey, *Excursion*, 54, 111.

In a Kentucky tavern, J.D. Steele felt that his bed was too dirty to sleep in. “I requested clean linen,” Steele wrote to his father, but “I was informed there was not such a thing in this house.”<sup>53</sup> Perhaps more pressing than the issue of vermin or lack of bed furniture to sleep in was the cleanliness of the bedlinen. Linen was particularly important in the act of being clean in eighteenth century America. Starting in the seventeenth century in Europe and in America, people in lieu of bathing would wipe themselves. True cleanliness was seen as being clothed in clean linens and underthings.<sup>54</sup> Of course, to maintain yards and yards of underclothes and bed linens *and* keep them at some level of whiteness took inordinate amounts of labor. The early Chesapeake suffered not only from a lack of linen and soap, but also the lack of female labor needed to maintain cleanliness of cloth. Laundry duty was so arduous that even at the end of the eighteenth century, in lieu of doing laundry weekly, most housewives dedicated a few weeks across the year to doing laundry instead. Once women washed and ironed the linen dry, it still needed to be “fitted, hemmed, and maintained.” Their other duties of insuring that their houses were clean, their families fed and nursed, were more important than the feelings of travelers who expected more out of their bedding.<sup>55</sup>

Thus, complaints about bad linen abounded.<sup>56</sup> Cornelia Randolph, traveling through the backcountry in Virginia, stayed at one home where she was sure that the sheets had not been washed in a month; accordingly, she and her friend wrapped themselves in the one piece of clean

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<sup>53</sup> Remini, “New York,” 284.

<sup>54</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 20, 40-1.

<sup>55</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 61, 111-3, 145.

<sup>56</sup> For general complaints on bad linen see James Birket, *Some Cursory Remarks Made by James Birket in his Voyage to North America, 1750-1751*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1916), 31; Ebenezer Hazard and Fred Shelley, “The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 62, no. 4 (October 1954): 402; H. Roy Merrens and Ebenezer Hazard, “A View of Coastal South Carolina in 1778: The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73, no. 4 (October 1972) 187; Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 60; Wright and Tinning, *Quebec*, 286.

linen they could find that “our skins at least should not be defiled by touching pitch.”<sup>57</sup> Another female traveler in Connecticut found that her “sheets... were so dirty I felt afraid to sleep in them.”<sup>58</sup> Other travelers were discomfited to find that their ‘clean’ linen was not as clean as they would have liked; many taverns and homes, due to the arduousness of laundry day, would only change the sheets once a week.<sup>59</sup> Roughing it in rural Virginia while surveying, William Byrd shuddered to find sheets that had stayed on the bed so long they were stained brown with sweat.<sup>60</sup> Margaret Van Horn Dwight was sure that her pillow case had not been changed in several years it was so filthy, while Timothy Bigelow in upstate New York was *not* relieved to hear that “our sheets were clean, for they had been slept in but a *few* times since they were washed.”<sup>61</sup> Some travelers were so disgusted by the conditions of their sheets that they chose the impolite option of sleeping in their outer clothes, rather than expose their underclothes to the filth of the linen underneath them.<sup>62</sup> Benjamin Franklin, finding his sheets in his bed in 1755 not only dirty but half frozen from being aired out in the winter cold, was “forced to wrap myself up in my great coat and woollen trowsers,” in order to sleep.<sup>63</sup> Elizabeth House Trist chose to keep “my cloaths on, to keep myself from the dirt off the bed cloaths” in her Pennsylvania tavern.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> “Cornelia J. Randolph to Virginia J. Randolph (Trist), 24 April 1821,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0155>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series, vol. 17, 1 March to 30 November 1821, ed. J. Jefferson Looney et al. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020, pp. 153–155.]

<sup>58</sup> Dwight, *Ohio*, 3.

<sup>59</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 12, 87.

<sup>60</sup> William Byrd II, *The Dividing Line Histories of William Byrd II of Westover*, ed. by Kevin Joel Berland (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 214.

<sup>61</sup> Bigelow, *Niagara*, 44; Dwight, *Ohio*, 59.

<sup>62</sup> The custom of polite people was to change before bed, to prevent dirty clothes from fouling the bed linens. Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 75, 146, 157-8.

<sup>63</sup> Benjamin Franklin, “From Benjamin Franklin to Deborah Franklin, 25 January 1756,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-06-02-0148>. [Original source: *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 6, *April 1, 1755, through September 30, 1756*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963, pp. 364–365.]

<sup>64</sup> Elizabeth House Trist, “The Travel Diary of Elizabeth House Trist: Philadelphia to Natchez, 1783-84,” in *Journeys in New Worlds*, eds. William Andrews, Annette Kolodny, Daniel B. Shea, Sargent Bush, and Amy Schrager Lang, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 205.

And knowing that the custom of the country in 1790s New York was to only change the sheets on Sundays, Pharoux chose to sleep in his clothes on top of everything rather than risk the bedlinen.<sup>65</sup> Some linen was so inexpressibly dirty that travelers went for the floor, with its attendant rats and bugs, rather than risk the bedclothes.<sup>66</sup> With personal cleanliness tied to the quality of one's linens, perhaps it is unsurprising that travelers expressed such discomfort about the quality of their sheets.

When the expectations of genteel guests were not fulfilled, their criticisms began to focus on the morality of the household, with the physical filth they observed standing in for the filth of the family within. The discourse around cleanliness and gentility during the period connected dirtiness in a home to a moral failing on the part of the householders, and travelers had no problem spelling out this connection in their writings.<sup>67</sup> John Adams drew multiple connections between the disorder of his lodgings and the perceived disorder of the family within. Staying with a college acquaintance in 1771, Adams noted that "his House is handsome without, but neither clean nor elegant within, in furniture or any Thing else." Rather than having many rooms with the furniture spread out, his friend's home was small enough that "his dining Room is crouded with a Bed and a Cradle," in the older style of living. Accordingly, Adams found their children "dirty and ill governed," and the oldest son a wastrel.<sup>68</sup> Cornelia Randolph also made

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<sup>65</sup>Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 87. For other mentions of travelers choosing to keep on their clothes rather than stripping to sleep, see Raymond A. Mohl, "A Scotsman Visits Georgia in 1811," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (Summer 1971): 266; Freiberg, "Gordon," 472.

<sup>66</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, 1793 Journal, 22<sup>nd</sup> July 1793 from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Pace, *Viaggio*, 189.

<sup>67</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 118-121.

<sup>68</sup> John Adams, "1771. Sunday, June 9th.," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0001-0005-0009>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 30–32.]

these connections during a trip to Natural Bridge in Virginia. After looking at the dirty clothing of one family she felt that “the place was polluted [and] I could not bear to touch any thing.”<sup>69</sup>

Women particularly were targeted for disdain if their homes were not up to snuff. James Auld wrote at length about “the Dirty Queen,” who served him off-colored butter and bread that was made from flour “ground at a hand mill” and baked “in a dirty manner at the fire,” while on the Virginian Eastern Shore.<sup>70</sup> While the Baron von Closen noted that his acquaintance Major Johnston was a slob, he laid the blame for the filth he encountered at Johnston’s wife, “a wretched woman who...left him to die of uncleanness and misery.”<sup>71</sup> The amount of dirt that Elizabeth House Trist saw at one home, both on the surface and ground into the skin of the children, was such that Trist laid the blame at the feet of their mother, writing that she was sure that none “of the children had been washed since they were born.” They were so dirty, in fact, that despite noting that there were multiple female children in the home, Trist ultimately referred to them as “beings,” their dirt effectively un-gendering the women.<sup>72</sup> Sexually based insults such as “slut” or “jade” were closely connotated with personal filth.<sup>73</sup> Philip Vickers Fithian, while working as a travelling minister, named “female sluttery” as the reason for poor hospitality he encountered.<sup>74</sup> William Ellery railed against one “Daughter of Lycurgus” by noting that “the

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<sup>69</sup> “Cornelia J. Randolph to Virginia J. Randolph (Trist), 30 August 1817, document 4 in a group of documents on Jefferson’s Trip to Natural Bridge, [ca. 13–17 August 1817],” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0519-0005>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 11, 19 January to 31 August 1817, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, pp. 628–630.]

<sup>70</sup> James Auld, “The Journal of James Auld, 1765-1770,” *Publications of the Southern History Association* 8, no.4 (July, 904): 275.

<sup>71</sup> Von Closen, *Journal*, 181.

<sup>72</sup> Trist, “Philadelphia to Natchez,” 204.

<sup>73</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 66.

<sup>74</sup> Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal, 1775-1776: Written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army Around New York*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1934), 165.

Avarice of this Mass of Filth was as great as her Sluttishness.”<sup>75</sup> There was a perceived correlation between race and dirt as well.<sup>76</sup> Julian Niemcewicz at one New York inn compared the biracial woman serving him to a dirty “kettle well blackened by smoke.” At another inn he wrote that the windows had been repaired by stuffing them with “the dirty petticoats of the negresses.”<sup>77</sup> While Ralph Izard disliked everyone in the crowded ferry house he waited in in 1815, it was only the Black women he singled out as “filthy.”<sup>78</sup> And when Harriott Pickney Horry stayed at an inn staffed only by the enslaved men and women of the innkeeper, she made sure to note that it was “miserable dirty” in the absence of the slaveholder.<sup>79</sup>

If the woman of house was not up to snuff, male travelers in the company of their wives or other female family members simply had them do the work instead. With his wife accompanying him on his missionary trip through Ohio, Reverend Paul Henkel put her to work at the many homes that he found lacking. At multiple homes, Mrs. Henkel was called upon to make breakfast or supper, prepare coffee for both her family and the family of their hosts, and even help with dishes.<sup>80</sup> Making the voyage from the Moravian compound of Salem, North Carolina to Bethabara, Pennsylvania, Charles Van Vleck brought not only his whole family, but a female servant, Sophia, as well. A few nights in, Sophia and wife Christiana asked to stop early “in order to fix and wash different articles.”<sup>81</sup> Over the Virginia line in the home of a bachelor,

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<sup>75</sup> William Ellery, “Diary of the Hon. William Ellery, of Rhode Island: October 20 to November 15, 1777,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 3 (October 1887): 327.

<sup>76</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 42-3, 68-71, 121, 345-6.

<sup>77</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 218, 236.

<sup>78</sup> George Izard, “Diary of a Journey by George Izard, 1815-1816,” ed. by Harold W. Ryan, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 2, (April 1952): 75.

<sup>79</sup> Harriett Pickney Horry, 1815 Journal, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 1815, from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>80</sup> Cooper and Martzloff, “Rev. Paul Henkel,” 163-4, 168-9, 183, 193.

<sup>81</sup> Fries, “Van Vleck,” 188.

Sophia was called “to preside and do the part of a landlady,” and handle dinner for the house.<sup>82</sup> The Van Vleck family also relied on Sophia for management of the trip and the households they encountered as well. One tavern Van Vleck was unable to order the enslaved servants; Sophie was “engaged in washing,” and was unable to organize matters for Van Vleck.<sup>83</sup> The majority of travelers did not have their women with them however and had to rely on the unreliable women in other homes. “Dirty old hag,” “ill-natured Scold,” “impudent:” when a traveler encountered a household that was not up to their standards of cleanliness they made sure to insult the woman in charge of the home.<sup>84</sup> Because women were responsible for the work of keeping a home clean, their body and their home were seen as almost one. If the home was dirty and unclean, then so must the woman who oversaw it.<sup>85</sup>

If allowing genteel guests into one’s home opened your standards of living to observation and criticism, so too did it allow for a landlord or lady to push back against the demands of their guests. Genteel travelers at the end of the day were still *guests* in the homes of their landlords and landladies, and thus under their rule, even if for the night. Elizabeth Drinker, travelling in rural Pennsylvania in 1777, demanded that her landlady change the sheets on their bed for clean ones. However, Drinker and her party soon found that “she pretend’d to comply, but to our mortification found she had taken the same sheets, sprinkled them, then Iron’d and hung em by the fire and placed them again on the Bed.”. William Ellery, in battle with “this Daughter of Lycurgus” in 1777, asked to put a clean napkin on her table at breakfast as he found it “so inexpressibly nasty.” The landlady, being the person who had to constantly do battle with the dirt

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<sup>82</sup> Fries, “Van Vleck,” 191.

<sup>83</sup> Fries, “Van Vleck,” 193.

<sup>84</sup> William Loughton Smith, “Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790-1791,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 51 (October 1917-June 1918): 54; Birket, *Cursory*, 31; Izard, “Journey,” 70.

<sup>85</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 87-88.

of frontier living and the ardor of laundry day refused as “the Coffee might dirty the Cloth.”<sup>86</sup> Reverend Paul Hinkel, after a night in “Fleaburg” sought to correct his landlord by complaining to him about “his domestics.” Rather than accept his criticism, the man instead “in a cool manner, with a cold heart... laments that they are so rude,” and then promptly took Hinkel’s pay and sent him on the way.<sup>87</sup> When guests disrespected the house and property of the householder, consequences would follow no matter how well-heeled the traveler. When a woman in Ferdinand Bayard’s party broke a drinking glass at a Maryland tavern, the landlady swore at her before serving dinner “with [the] worse grace.” The party chose to leave and go on rather than spend the night after that.<sup>88</sup> And when Ludwig Gall tried to leave his boarding house without paying for the damage to the floors done by his dog, his landlady called a constable who immediately took Gall to a justice of the peace who “let her swear to her claim and sentenced me to pay what she wanted plus court costs.”<sup>89</sup> Upper class travelers, with a sense of entitlement due their station, had their equilibrium thrown off when their host or hostess “would not do what I wanted done.”<sup>90</sup> While elite travelers performed gentility by making value judgements on the homes and accoutrement of the landlord or lady, they were still ultimately in the building at the householder’s pleasure. Travelers could not force their hosts to make them food, to clean their

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<sup>86</sup> Ellery, “1777,” 327.

<sup>87</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 168.

<sup>88</sup>Ferdinand Bayard de La Vingtrie, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia, with a description of Philadelphia and Baltimore, in 1791*, trans. Ben C. McCrary (Williamsburg, VA: self-published, 1950), 33. Bayard pointed out that part of the landlady’s ire was that it was not enough to pay for the glass; she would have to make a long trip into town to replace it.

<sup>89</sup> Frederic Trautmann and Ludwig Gall, “Pennsylvania through a German’s Eyes: The Travels of Ludwig Gall, 1819-1820,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105, no. 1 (January 1981): 55-6.

<sup>90</sup> Charlotte Newton, “Ebenezer Newton’s 1818 Diary,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (June 1969): 212.

rooms, or to treat them with deference. As one traveler noted, lodger complaints ultimately were answered with “if you do not like it you are at liberty to depart as soon as you please.”<sup>91</sup>

Comparing his Massachusetts inn to the ones he found at home in France, J.P. Brissot de Warville proclaimed that though it was still being established, it had “that look of cleanliness which delights because it indicates a material comfort [and] an excellence of morals.”<sup>92</sup> Not all homes that travelers found were hovels of sin and dirt in their eyes. Other homes and inns lived up to the standards of gentility that were beginning to prevail during the eighteenth century.<sup>93</sup> Just as cleanliness was linked to gentility and by extension morality, so was the quality and amount of furniture a home contained, which could elevate a home above the mere activities of eating and sleeping to a higher level of living.<sup>94</sup> Such refined homes would contain “handsom mahogany furniture,” “carpets [and] glasses,” or be so clean that “the Desk and Table shine like mirrors.”<sup>95</sup> Other refined homes moved past mere furniture into art and decoration. Samuel Davis

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<sup>91</sup> Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 410. For other instances of travelers facing retaliation see William Loughton Smith, “Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790-1791,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 51 (October 1917—June 1918): 54; Fithian, *Journal*, 92; Whipple, “Notes,” 370.

<sup>92</sup>J.P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 108.

<sup>93</sup> For travelers using the word “genteel” to describe their hosts or surroundings see “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 July 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0089>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 134–137.]; Anonymous, “Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies. 1765, II,” *The American Historical Review* 27, no. 1 (October 1921): 77; Simeon E. Baldwin, ed., “A Ride across Connecticut before the Revolution,” *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society* vol. 9 (1918): 162, 167; Ondine E. Le Blanc and Katharine Farnham Hay, “The Journal of the ‘Rebel Lady’: Katharine Farnham Hay’s Account of her Trip to New York City, 1778,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 109 (1997): 110; “Samuel A. Otis to John Adams, 16 October 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 232–235.]; William Campbell Scott, “Journal of Travels East in 1831: The same being the journal of Major Thomas Hart Shelby of Fayette County, Kentucky,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 65, no. 3 (July 1967): 169; Fithian, *Journal*, 9, 35.

<sup>94</sup> Bushman, *Refinement*, 127.

<sup>95</sup>John Adams, “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 3 July 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0084>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*,

noted with approval that his Massachusetts inn had such improving prints such as “an ‘Elegy on a Late Hurricane’ and ‘Handsome Harry, or the Decietful Young Man’” on the walls. Of another home with improving educational prints, Davis wrote that he “observed many traits of improved taste, very pleasant to meet amidst the wild... Wilbraham Mountains.”<sup>96</sup> Other inns managed to have wallpaper adorning their walls in lieu of plain whitewash.<sup>97</sup> Of course, beauty lay in the eye of the beholder, and the style of a house’s decoration could be occasionally off-putting; one Moravian travelling party, while admiring the lovely furniture of their Maryland inn, were uneasy at the amount of “paintings and many saints” that their Catholic landlord adorned the walls with.<sup>98</sup> Refinement of the home would be matched by the refinement of one’s hosts. In the same home with the fine prints, Samuel Davis was also presented with “new cheeses...inlaid with sprigs and flowers,” and was delighted at the decorated food on his plate.<sup>99</sup> Chastellux found that though the inn of Mrs. Spencer was rather bland on the outside, within was good accommodations and “a harpsichord and a guitar that [my] landlady’s daughter, Miss Saunders, plays excellently.”<sup>100</sup> Julian Niemcewicz was so charmed by the gracefulness and manners of his landlady in 1805 that as he watched her prepare dinner in her beautifully appointed house, that had he been younger and more able “I could not have borne to see her take so much trouble.”<sup>101</sup>

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Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 122–124.]; Francois Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780, 1781, 1782. Vol 2*, trans. Howard C. Rice, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 480; Joshua Gilpin, “Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia Thro the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 50, no. 1 (1926): 68.

<sup>96</sup> Samuel Davis, “Journal of a Tour to Connecticut-Autumn of 1789,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 11 (1869-1870): 11.

<sup>97</sup> Brissot, *New Travels*, 369; Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 448.

<sup>98</sup> Gotthold Benjamin Reichel, “A Journey to Bethlehem and Nazareth, in September and October, 1815,” *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society* 4, no. 3 (1892): 156.

<sup>99</sup> Davis, “Tour to Connecticut,” 11.

<sup>100</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 419.

<sup>101</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 235.

If a home that was dirty, crowded, and unkempt was a sure sign of immorality, so was a genteelly furnished one with mannered hosts a sign of the landlord's morality.<sup>102</sup>

Travelling in New Jersey in 1776 and looking for a place to stop for the night, Benjamin Franklin and John Adams were faced with tavern after tavern that was full up for the night. They finally found a place in New Brunswick. But there was one caveat; there was only one bed available so Franklin and Adams would have to share. Thus, began an uncomfortable night between the two men. Adams shut the window, being "an invalid and afraid of the Air in the night." Franklin promptly had Adams reopen the window, citing a fear of suffocation. Once they were in bed together, Franklin promptly launched into "an harangue, upon Air and cold and Respiration and Perspiration," the lecture of which Franklin fell asleep halfway through delivering.<sup>103</sup> It was not the first time that men even as famous as Adams and Franklin would have to share a room and bed, nor would it be the last. While homes with multiple rooms assigned for sleeping ensured that sharing was a thing of the past, the majority of American homes at the dawn of the nineteenth century were single story homes with one or two rooms.<sup>104</sup> The company, the food, the cleanliness of their lodgings... all of these paled in the face of the most daunting challenge of all for the genteel traveler; sharing a room or a bed with another person.

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<sup>102</sup> Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 118-120. For other instances of travelers praising their hosts for their genteel hospitality see Brissot, *New Travels*, 369; Fithian, *Journal*, 36, 116; Merrens, "Coastal South Carolina," 187; Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 246; Scott, "Travels East," 184; Taylor, "Rhode Island," 91; Wansey, *Excursion*, 195; Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 448.

<sup>103</sup> John Adams, "[Monday September 9, 1776.]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-03-02-0016-0187>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 3, *Diary, 1782–1804; Autobiography, Part One to October 1776*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 417–420.]

<sup>104</sup> Phyllis Whitman Hunter, *Purchasing Identity in the Atlantic World: Massachusetts Merchants, 1670–1780* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), 115-6. The survey in question dates from 1798 and showed that only 15% of Americans at the time lived in any kind of two-story building.

John Adams, travelling alone this time in 1777, was aggrieved. The place he was staying was “comfortable Lodgings,” a privilege that he acknowledged that not all Congress members were accorded. Yet he suffered, for his personal privacy was constantly invaded and he felt as if he could not think. “The House where I am is so thronged, that... I cannot have a Room as I used, and therefore cannot find Opportunities to write as I once did.”<sup>105</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century, the number of rooms in homes were beginning to not only increase but begin to have specific functions, rather than multi-purpose spaces. Bedrooms in particular were beginning to evolve, transforming into private personal spaces, where one could sleep and dress, write and read, relax, and quietly socialize with those closest to the occupant. By the end of the eighteenth century, bedrooms were part and parcel of the home for the upper middle class.<sup>106</sup> This change was reflected in some taverns beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, as travelers craved a private environment like that they had in their own homes, evidenced by the addition in some taverns of single beds, division of space into single rooms, and furniture that allowed for private seating in common areas.<sup>107</sup>

Writing to his father back in England, D.M. Erskine dwelled upon the room he had received in Philadelphia. What was strange to Erskine was that while “each of us have a bed room to ourselves, if we chuse” the majority of the house “seem to think so lightly of such an indispensable comfort” that he was only one of three who had a room for himself. It perhaps

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<sup>105</sup> John Adams, “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 28 October 1777,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-02-02-0290>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2, *June 1776–March 1778*, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 361–362.]

<sup>106</sup>Elizabeth Collins Cromley, “A History of American Beds and Bedrooms,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 4 (1991): 178.

<sup>107</sup> Susan Clair Imbarrato, “Ordinary Travel: Tavern Life and Female Accommodation in Early America and the New Republic,” *Women’s Studies* 28, no.1 (1998): 39-40; Daniel B. Thorp, “Taverns and Tavern Culture on the Southern Colonial Frontier: Rowan County, North Carolina, 1753-1776,” *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 4 (Nov. 1996): 383-4.

escaped Erskine's notice, coming from considerable wealth, that the majority of his house could not afford a room of their own.<sup>108</sup> For travelers, a room of one's own allowed for thought, relaxation, and respite from the road. JP Warville de Brissot was relieved in 1790 to have a room to himself to "meditate and write without interruption," especially as the rest of the inn was packed with travelers who spoke non-stop.<sup>109</sup> Katherine Hay, being escorted across war-torn Westchester County, New York, in 1778, pleaded for "an upper Room to myself" at one inn. However, well aware that her room could be shared at any moment, she hoped that for her next stop her escort would "find an asylum in some humble Cottage where I might pass the Dull round unheard of, & unknown."<sup>110</sup> Genteel travelers, used to having private quarters to themselves in their own homes, hoped to find the same in their lodgings on the road. However, this privacy was not always guaranteed, and many of these travelers would come in for a rude awakening.

Some travelers, particularly if they were able to plan their trips in advance, would attempt to receive a private room for themselves. Helping John Adams prepare for a trip to Philadelphia in October 1794, Samuel Otis first found Adams space at the hotel of John Francis. Francis' hotel, which would allow Adams two rooms to himself and another for his servant, was surely preferable than some "private logings [where] you will perhaps be obliged to sit down with some tradesman."<sup>111</sup> Two weeks later however, Otis changed his tune slightly. He had had no reply

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<sup>108</sup> Patricia Holbert Menk, "D.M. Erskine: Letters from America, 1798-1799," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (April 1949): 269.

<sup>109</sup> Brissot, *New Travels*, 134.

<sup>110</sup> Ondine E. Le Blanc and Katharine Farnham Hay, "The Journal of the 'Rebel Lady': Katharine Farnham Hay's Account of Her Trip to New York City, 1778," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 109 (1997): 119.

<sup>111</sup> Samuel A. Otis, "Samuel A. Otis to John Adams, 16 October 1794," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0147>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 232–235.]

from Adams but that was for the better; while Francis' Hotel would have offered Adams private rooms, he still would have had to "dine with a large Company and not the most respectable part of Congress." It was the private family of Caleb Alder that would give Adams not only the private suite a man of his station merited (and furnished in "a neat genteel Style" just for him) but also a private table for Adams' use alone.<sup>112</sup> The traveling party of Elizabeth House Trist in 1784 received in rural Pennsylvania an entire abandoned cabin set up for their use for the night and thus were "much better accommodated than we had a right to expect so far in the woods."<sup>113</sup> Only Thomas Jefferson could be shameless enough to not only ask a Charlottesville tavern keeper for "ever so small a lodging room to myself," but to also send his mattress and bedframe to the inn to be set up before even receiving an answer.<sup>114</sup> Other times, friends, acquaintances, and perfect strangers would offer travelers potential respite in the form of a private room in their own home. Richard Codman in Falmouth, Maine, in 1774 offered John Adams a room in his home but Adams demurred as he already had "a Chamber to myself."<sup>115</sup> Of course, there was no guarantee that if a traveler won a room all to themselves that it was going to be a *good* room. Lodging in a suite with Tadeusz Kosciuszko in Philadelphia in 1797, Julian Niemcewicz bemoaned his fate. His room was so small that it was only usable to sleep in. "There is nothing more dreary," he wrote in his journal, "than not having a place of your own, to be obliged to

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<sup>112</sup> Samuel Otis, "Samuel A. Otis to John Adams, 28 October 1794," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-10-02-0151>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 10, *January 1794–June 1795*, ed. Margaret A. Hogan, C. James Taylor, Sara Martin, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Gregg L. Lint, and Sara Georgini. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011, pp. 242–243.]

<sup>113</sup> Trist, "Philadelphia to Natchez," 207.

<sup>114</sup> Thomas Jefferson, "Thomas Jefferson to Allen Bernard, 30 July [1818]," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0184>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, vol. 13, *22 April 1818 to 31 January 1819*, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016, pp. 169–170.]

<sup>115</sup> John Adams, "John Adams to Abigail Adams, 9 July 1774," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0089>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 134–137.]

roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write.”<sup>116</sup> It was not enough to have a place to sleep; a genteel traveler needed room to ruminate and attend to their toilet. A room of one’s own then was not only key to a night of rest, but for attending to the life of the mind.<sup>117</sup>

J.B. Dunlop, travelling in Georgia in 1811, was astonished when he was shown to his room for the night. “There were seven beds and six of them occupied with people intirely Strangers to me.” There was no use complaining as “there was no alternative left but that of Sitting up all night.” Dunlop thus gracelessly took the dirty bed and managed to sleep soundly despite his disgust.<sup>118</sup> Upper class travelers were used to homes that by the eighteenth century had begun to not only have multiple single purpose rooms, but were buildings where servants or enslaved people were spatially separated from the family, and work increasingly took place outside of the home.<sup>119</sup> The private room, however, was the exception, and not the rule, and discomfited travelers more often than not had to share their bedrooms. Some of these shared rooms were akin to modern day dorms or hostels, with multiple beds set up in one room. Johann Schöpf compared the Richmond tavern of Mr. Formicola with its multiple beds as being “very like an eastern caravansary,” while Robert Hunter compared his six-bed room as being “like a

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<sup>116</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 33.

<sup>117</sup> For other examples of travelers desiring or receiving a private room see “John Adams to Abigail Adams, 6 July 1774,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/04-01-02-0087>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 1, *December 1761–May 1776*, ed. Lyman H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963, pp. 128–130.]; “To James Madison from Joseph Jones, 29 October 1795,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-16-02-0060>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 16, *27 April 1795–27 March 1797*, ed. J. C. A. Stagg, Thomas A. Mason, and Jeanne K. Sisson. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989, pp. 113–114.]; Davis, *Travels*, 41; Izard, “Journey,” 69.

<sup>118</sup> Mohl, “Scotsman,” 266.

<sup>119</sup> John Gilbert McCurdy, *Quarters: The Accommodation of the British Army and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 24-5.

hospital.”<sup>120</sup> Julian Niemcewicz once stayed in a room that impressively managed to fit eleven beds into one space.<sup>121</sup> Very often it was only the beds and side tables in the room, with no other furniture such as chairs or dressers provided.<sup>122</sup>

But even these were formal settings, compared to staying in one to two room homes. Genteel travelers, potentially no longer used to multi-purpose rooms in their own living quarters, made note of these many-use spaces when they were lodged in them. Joshua Gilpin thought he had run into a fine inn in western Pennsylvania, but was discomfited to find that it was both inn and home and as such the large room that had the bed in it was also “the family eating and bed room,” with their actual lodging being a loft space “not above 10 feet square with a bed made up of blankets.”<sup>123</sup> John Enys in rural New York noted how the cabin he was in had one room “a small part of which was divided off for the family,” and the rest of the room given over to travelers.<sup>124</sup> The Count Dal Verme, having spent the night mainly in “houses which pass for ordinaries” during his trips in the Carolinas, noted how “a room with a fireplace is the gathering place for everyone except the Negroes,” showing that these ordinaries were only one to two rooms.<sup>125</sup> Another Carolinian traveler, Jonathan Mason, was disgusted to find that his inn for the night was only one room and filled with the innkeepers’ crying children; so much so that he and his family attempted to sleep in their coach in the yard. When the coach proved to be too tight for

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<sup>120</sup> Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation Volume 2*, (Philadelphia: WJ Campbell, 1911,) 64; Wright and Tinning, *Quebec*, 120.

<sup>121</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 71.

<sup>122</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 401; Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 274.

<sup>123</sup> Joshua Gilpin, “Journal of a Tour from Philadelphia Thro the Western Counties of Pennsylvania in the Months of September and October, 1809,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 51, no.4 (1927): 369.

<sup>124</sup> John Enys, *The American Journals of Lt. John Enys*, ed. Elizabeth Cometti, (Blue Mountain Lake, NY: Adirondack Museum, 1976), 5.

<sup>125</sup> Francisco Dal Verme, Conte di Bobbio, *Seeing America and its Great Men: The Journal and Letters of Count Francesco dal Verme, 1783-1784*, trans. Elizabeth Cometti, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1969), 52.

everyone to lay down, they deigned to go inside but “it was really a laughable sight to see such persons seeking pleasure in such a hovel... to be confined and cooped with the refuse of creation.”<sup>126</sup> Mason, a prominent Bostonian and Congressman, was unused to such deprivation in his own life.<sup>127</sup>

A sense of disruption from the norm was not the only problem with sharing a room with others. Other travelers could prove to be uncouth, riotously loud, and otherwise ensuring a less than restful night for the traveler. In his eleven-berth room in Maryland, every time that Julian Niemcewicz almost fell asleep another person would come in with “shouts [and a] light thrust in my eyes,” as they tumbled into bed.<sup>128</sup> Dal Verme found that the crowded homes cum ordinaries of North Carolina made “enough noise to deafen a person ten miles away.”<sup>129</sup> John Enys, sharing a room with six other people, spent half the night awake, listening to two of the men argue about “the best manner of taking the Hives of the wild Bees that are found in this part of the country.” He was so sleep deprived that while their argument kept him from sleeping, “I could learn nothing by it.”<sup>130</sup> Elizabeth House Trist, upset at having to sleep in “a dark corner surrounded by pickling tubs” with ten other people in the room, was kept up all night by the sound of crying children.<sup>131</sup> John Adams in 1771 chose not to go to his normal tavern which caused the family, who knew him well, to be “very much grieved, and hurt.” However, Adams wrote that the noise and late hours kept by the Howland family was so injurious to his health he could no longer stay

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<sup>126</sup> Jonathan Mason, “Diary of the Hon. Jonathan Mason,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 22 (1885-6): 31.

<sup>127</sup> Mason, “Diary,” 5.

<sup>128</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 71.

<sup>129</sup> Dal Verme, *Great Men*, 52.

<sup>130</sup> Enys, *American Journals*, 5.

<sup>131</sup> Trist, “Philadelphia to Natchez,” 205.

with them.<sup>132</sup> Outside of the practical factor of waking a traveler, the noise of others reflected their lack of manners. The genteel body was a silent body-moving without stomping, speaking in level tones. The noisy home was therefore not only annoying, but it was also unrefined and out of order.<sup>133</sup>

Homes that had only one or two rooms could get uncomfortably crowded as hordes of travelers crammed in, and even the most patient of well-heeled travelers would become unnerved by the press of people in their personal space. While Joshua Gilpin thought that he had found a genteel inn in Western Pennsylvania, he quickly realized that he would not have the dinner table to himself but instead had to share with “the Landlord, his wife, children, workmen, and number of travellers, waggoners and... Dunkards.”<sup>134</sup> On their way to their new colony in upstate New York, the party of Pharoux and Desjardins stopped at a home which was so full of other travelers that there was not enough furniture or food to go around; thankfully they carried not only their own supplies but their own mattresses as well.<sup>135</sup> Travelling west in 1804, Joshua Gibbons was forced into crowded lodgings along with the hordes of people migrating to Ohio and beyond. In Western Pennsylvania he stayed at a house “so full [the landlady] did not know what to do with us.” Tempers were high due to crowding, as the other occupants looked at Gibbons’ party with “jealous eyes... as sorry to see us come as we were to find them there.” Gibbons eventually spent an uncomfortable night on the kitchen floor.<sup>136</sup> Another Pennsylvanian house was so crowded

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<sup>132</sup> “Wednesday. May 22. 1771.” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-02-02-0001-0004-0007>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 2, 1771–1781, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 15.]

<sup>133</sup> Daniel Johnson, “Profane language, horrid oaths, and imprecations’: Order and the Colonial Landscape in the American Mid-Atlantic, 1650-1750” *Social History* 46, no. 3 (August 2021): 255-69; Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 256, 260; Bushman, *Refinement*, 29, 62, 117.

<sup>134</sup> Gilpin, “Journal of a Tour,” 369.

<sup>135</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 15.

<sup>136</sup> Joseph E. Walker, “The Travel Notes of Joseph Gibbons, 1804,” *Ohio History Journal* 92 (1983): 142.

that he could not get a seat for “as soon as a seat was vacated there was 2 or 3 ready to seize it.”<sup>137</sup> When stagecoaches full of people landed for the night, the result could be tight, as John Davis found when his stagecoach stopped in Cecil County, Maryland. “For sixteen passengers there were only six beds; hence the large beds lodged three, and the small beds two passengers.” While he sought to avoid sharing a bed by sitting next to the fire all night, sleepiness soon got the better of Davis and he joined in the communal beds.<sup>138</sup> Even if a traveler was the only lodger that night, they would still be aware that they were, for one night at least, enmeshed into the life of another family. Staying with an elderly couple in rural Ohio in 1804, Joseph Gibbons quickly realized that his hosts were extremely devout Methodists; though he and his father retired to bed early, they were kept up first by hymn singing, then by a prayer pointedly aimed at them, before the couple entered their bedroom, undressed, and went to bed.<sup>139</sup>

For genteel women, the presence of others in a space that they would have usually had to themselves was discomfiting to one’s modesty. Elizabeth House Trist felt this acutely as she was making her way across western Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh. Faced with common sleeping spaces, Trist did her best to create privacy for herself. In one home she created a partition around her bed by hanging up her coats to block her bed from view. Another home thankfully already had curtains around the bed. In dressing, Trist would sometimes sleep in her traveling clothes to keep from exposing herself, or rise early and dress behind her self-made partition, both hiding herself from view and to not see others in various forms of undress.<sup>140</sup> As a gently reared single woman, Margaret Van Horn Dwight was horrified to find that she was to share a room in a Connecticut

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<sup>137</sup> Walker, “Gibbons,” 102.

<sup>138</sup> Davis, *Travels*, 357.

<sup>139</sup> Walker, “Gibbons,” 133. The prayer was “first that the Strangers who were cast upon them this Evening might be endued with All the Graces of the Spirit, that their Sins might be cast into the Sea of Obillion, that they might be preserved to return in Safety to their families....”

<sup>140</sup> Trist, “Philadelphia to Natchez,” 205-6, 209.

inn “without curtains or any other screen.”<sup>141</sup> The very mixed company of men and women eating and sleeping in one space could be distasteful for refined women, especially in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as American society began to move from heterosociability to that of homosociality.<sup>142</sup> “Some of the Women look upon a Woman as affected that makes any objection to it,” Trist noted in her diary after a few nights in mixed company. Perhaps even more embarrassingly, another woman told Trist that “she thought a Woman must be very in[s]ecure in her self that was afraid to sleep in the room with a strange man.”<sup>143</sup> Catherine Fritch, a Moravian travelling with a party of friends and family, was briefly discomfited when at dinner the men of the inn looked at her oddly due to her dress, but eventually put aside her “bashfulness” and enjoyed the meal.<sup>144</sup>

Margaret Van Horn Dwight’s 1810 trip is perhaps one of the best examples of the changed social mores in the Early Republic. Van Horn Dwight was acutely aware of the presence of men on her journey across Pennsylvania to Ohio, bemoaning against the actions of the German men and rowdy waggoneers that plagued her trip. Constantly she was kept awake by the sound of men in the inn drinking, singing, laughing, and swearing. She was afraid of the company she was sharing her lodgings with, writing one night that “I feel so uneasy I cannot sleep and had therefor rather write.” Another night, when a group of German settlers were carousing and pulling out a fiddle to dance, she felt “so afraid of them I dare hardly stay in the house one night, much less over the Sabbath.” She suffered from her fellow travelers gawking at her, and other nights felt that she could not change into her bedclothes from lack of privacy.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 3.

<sup>142</sup> Imbarrato, “Ordinary Travel,” 39-40.

<sup>143</sup> Trist, “Philadelphia to Natchez,” 206-7. Imbarrato, “Ordinary Travel,” 43.

<sup>144</sup> A.R. Beck, “Notes of a Visit to Philadelphia, Made by a Moravian Sister in 1810,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 36, no. 3 (1912): 352.

<sup>145</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 5, 15, 46, 59.

Ultimately, the main discomfort of sharing a room with strangers was that one could not choose the company one kept; by chance a traveler was thrust into a room with anywhere from two to twenty other patrons and could only hope to have a somewhat calm and quiet night.

In Connecticut in 1784, Francisco de Miranda had a close call. His landlord, despite his request, had put another guest into his room to share. However, de Miranda counted himself fortunate. “Thank god he was not put in my bed, according to the custom of the country!”<sup>146</sup> More intimate than sharing a room with a stranger was, of course, sharing a bed. In the eighteenth century, bed sharing was still the rule, not the exception. Most families would only have one or two beds, thus necessitating the act of sharing bed space. Even if the entire family did not share one bed, they would all share one bedroom, with parents having the bed, while children, servants, guests, and lodgers would sleep around them on straw mattresses, animal skins, piles of blankets, et cetera. Bed sharing was also an easy way to stave off the cold of the night, by sharing body heat and space near the fire. Because bed sharing was usually between family members, the idea of bed sharing as an invasion of privacy did not seem to cross people’s minds. There was more concern over the danger of infants and small children being suffocated by an adult rolling on them than with sleeping with a stranger.<sup>147</sup> This is not to say that some sense of differentiation did not exist; married couples would often claim the best or only bed, or put some curtains around their bed to give the marital bed some privacy from a crowded room

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<sup>146</sup> Francisco de Miranda, *The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84* trans. Judson P. Wood, ed. John Samuel Ezell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 126.

<sup>147</sup> As an example, when Augustine Prevost was staying in Pennsylvania in 1774 in an unlicensed house, the place was so crowded that someone accidentally “trod upon the baby” in one bed, causing the baby’s mother to curse them out. Augustine Prevost, “Turmoil at Pittsburgh: Diary of Augustine Prevost, 1774,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 2 (April 1961): 126.

(and much needed warmth.)<sup>148</sup> From the point of view of the tavern keeper, it made more economic sense to fit as many people as possible in the limited amount of beds that they had in the house.<sup>149</sup> It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that bed sharing was viewed with disdain, with upper and middle class Americans beginning to have access to not only private beds, but private bedrooms. Even travelling in the frontier, by 1810 enough time had passed that Margaret Van Horn Dwight would refer to the act of bed sharing as “the old stile.”<sup>150</sup> The clash between two sets of privacy norms thus made itself most readily apparent in inns, taverns, and other lodging places, where travelers used to their own space came in for a rude awakening.<sup>151</sup>

As Benjamin Mifflin listed out the ten ‘plagues’ or reasons he had a terrible night in an inn in 1764, the trouble began because he found himself in bed with not only another “Bedfellow” but “a very restless one” at that.<sup>152</sup> Once in bed with a stranger, what kind of sleep would a traveler used to their own bed face? Often their partner was just as ready to fall asleep as they were. The best bedmate would be like the one William Gregory had in 1771, “a man who came to bed to me and got up long before me so that I knew not what he was.”<sup>153</sup> However, other travelers endured bedmates who were talkative, sick, or otherwise disruptive in the small, enclosed space under the covers. Some bedmates insisted on making conversation into the late hours of the night. Bethiah Baldwin, a spinster travelling across Connecticut with a family friend and reverend endured an interrogation by her landlady as she was trying to fall asleep. “Be you

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<sup>148</sup> David Flaherty, *Privacy in Colonial New England*, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1967), 76-7.

<sup>149</sup> Imbarrato, “Ordinary Travel,” 37-8.

<sup>150</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 29.

<sup>151</sup> Flaherty, *Privacy*, 77-9.

<sup>152</sup> Benjamin Mifflin, “Journal of a Journey from Philada to the Cedar Swamps & Back, 1764,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 52, no. 2 (1928): 130.

<sup>153</sup> Mary G. Powell, ed., “A Scotchman’s Journey in New England in 1771,” *The New England Magazine* 12 (March-August 1895): 343.

going to have him?... How long has he courted you?... Is he a good preacher?" Despite Baldwin constantly answering that the man was only an acquaintance, every one of her answers was met with a "ah, girls will lie." Adding insult to injury, her bedmate woke her up before dawn.<sup>154</sup>

Robert Hunter, while having snagged a bed to himself for the night, could not help but overhear a long, drawn-out argument the next over between three strangers as to who would sleep in the middle of the bed. As soon as the argument finished, one of the men took a drink from a mug on the bed stand which had been previously used as a chamber pot, which further served to sour the mood in the room.<sup>155</sup> Other bedmates had personal hygiene that left much to be desired. Genteel raconteur Alexander Hamilton was horrified to see in 1744 that the men sharing a bed next to his seemed dressed only in their "long black beards... and not so much as half a nightcap betwixt them both."<sup>156</sup> On a trip escorting a friend's wife to New York, John Clitherall shared a bed one night with his "greasy landlord," and a few nights later slept with a man who was on year three of a persistent ague.<sup>157</sup> The plight of these sleepless travelers could perhaps best be summed up by Israel Angell. Angell far from his home of Rhode Island in a Maryland house, sharing a bed with the husband of his landlady, wrote "here the reader may judg wheather it was likely that I slep much... being 500 miles [away] among a people I knew not."<sup>158</sup>

Some travelers were fortunate enough to be travelling with family, friends, or other acquaintances. For them, bed sharing was slightly less onerous. Traveling partners or family

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<sup>154</sup> Baldwin, "Ride," 168.

<sup>155</sup> Wright and Tinling, *Quebec*, 227.

<sup>156</sup> Alexander Hamilton and Carl Bridgenbaugh, ed., *Gentleman's Progress: the Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1948): 93.

<sup>157</sup> James Clitherall, entries April 16th and April 25th, in the James Clitherall Diary, #159-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>158</sup> Dwight L. Smith, "Israel Angell and the West in 1788," *Rhode Island History* 22, no. 1 (January 1963): 11.

members were easily paired up with one another if only one bed was available.<sup>159</sup> The shy and retiring Margaret Van Horn Dwight, though she balked at sharing a bed with strangers, had no problem sharing a bed with her travelling partners the Wolcott family.<sup>160</sup> Even distant acquaintances were preferable to complete strangers. David Sewell, a Harvard undergraduate who accompanied faculty member Henry Flynt to New Hampshire in 1754 shared a bed with him several times over the course of the trip. Albeit it from a grumble from Flynt the first time they shared- “You will be keeping well to your own side”-the young man had no problem sharing a bed with the older man.<sup>161</sup> When another family joined their party, though Van Horn Dwight occasionally made snide remarks about the Jacksons, she still much preferred to sleep with Mrs. Jackson than any of the male strangers in the inn.<sup>162</sup>

Hosts, be they a tavernkeeper or a housewife with unexpected strangers staying in for the night, would attempt to better accommodate their guests by either giving up their bed or inviting them into the family bed. Riding in rural upstate New York on an errand, Castorland official Pharoux came into an inn that was filled to the gills with guests. However, one of those guests was a former worker of his and that guest a brother of the innkeeper. “With this protection,” Pharoux noted, “I obtained the only small bed that there was in the house.”<sup>163</sup> An officer in a North Carolinian party, noticing that James Clitherall was chaperoning ladies, gave up his bed in the tavern for her.<sup>164</sup> Not that all travelers were grateful for this beneficence. While a southern

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<sup>159</sup> Malcolm Freiberg, “The Reverend William Gordon’s Autumn 1776 Tour of the Northeast,” *The New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (Sept. 1992): 474; Taylor, “Rhode Island,” 99.

<sup>160</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 31. Said family consisted of the Reverend Wolcott, his wife, and their daughter Susan.

<sup>161</sup> David Sewall, “Of Father Flynt’s Journey to Portsmouth and back to Cambridge, AE80. Olim meminisse juvabit,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 16 (1878): 7, 9-10.

<sup>162</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 38.

<sup>163</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 196.

<sup>164</sup> Clitherall, entry April 16<sup>th</sup>.

Virginian family gave up their only bed for Chastellux to use, he was horrified to be offered a tin bowl that was used for dinner to do double duty as a chamber pot in the night. From his bed later, that night he saw one of the sons of the landlady getting medicine for ‘the itch.’ Unsurprisingly then Chastellux called the home “one of the worse lodging places in all America.”<sup>165</sup> Modest Elizabeth House Trist tried to appreciate that her landlady “was so kind as to part beds from her husband” in order to give Trist and her son a bed, but still spent an uncomfortable night “in a miserable dirty place.”<sup>166</sup> Despite his best efforts, Luigi Castiglioni was unable “to refuse the bed of my host” in South Carolina, and watched as the family stretched out on the floor in blankets for the night, giving the temperamental Italian count the bed.<sup>167</sup> Other times it was the hosts who were upset at having to accommodate their guest’s needs. Francisco de Miranda argued with his South Carolinian landlady until he “convinced her that a terrible bed, which she had intended for Mr. Tucker and myself to occupy together, should only be for only one of us.” De Miranda won his solitary bed, but as revenge, the landlady shoved two more guests into what was his private room.<sup>168</sup>

Describing travelling through Tennessee in 1799, Francis Baily discussed the act of bedsharing. To complain was futile because one would be “immediately silenced by that all powerful argument, the custom of the country.” However, Baily bragged that he was less bothered by bed sharing than perhaps “another person might in travelling from a more civilized part of the world;” it was still better than sleeping on the floor.<sup>169</sup> For some there was an awareness that the level of comfort and privacy they were used to in their daily lives would not

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<sup>165</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 401.

<sup>166</sup> Trist, “Philadelphia to Natchez,” 210.

<sup>167</sup> Pace, *Viaggio*, 149.

<sup>168</sup> De Miranda, *Democracy*, 16.

<sup>169</sup> Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 410.

be reflected in their travel lodgings. Johann Schöpf noted that lodgings were seen only as places to sleep and “thus travellers, almost anywhere in America, must renounce the pleasure of withdrawing apart... from the noisy, disturbing, or curious crowd,” a similar statement to that of Julian Niemcewicz almost twenty years later.<sup>170</sup> Travelers thus did their best to be patient. Joshua Gibbons in rural Ohio found himself in a “throng house” with thirteen people sleeping in one room, but “they were kind, did the best they could,” and his party slept just fine.<sup>171</sup> Robert Hunter derided his host’s Virginia cabin as “a dog kennel” but “the poor people were kind and civil to me and gave me all they had,” and slept soundly in a room full of rambunctious children.<sup>172</sup> Other travelers opted instead to look on the brighter side of life. Samuel Vaughan noted the attic rooms in the Sun Inn in Bethlehem “that are sometimes occupied by strangers” but was more enthused by the “profusion of good strawberries” that awaited him.<sup>173</sup> John Davis was delighted to run into a traveling entertainer in South Carolina who had in his train an elephant and monkey. He happily shared his bed with the elephant driver, and the next day left with him along the road, noting that “nothing shortens a journey more than good company on the road.”<sup>174</sup> Some travelers even actively sought to share their beds. Bethiah Baldwin actively longed for a bedpartner and became upset when the daughter of the ‘rancon’ tavernkeeper she was staying at opted not to share a bed with her, instead talking late into the night with Baldwin’s chaperone.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 64; Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 274.

<sup>171</sup> Walker, “Gibbons,” 110.

<sup>172</sup> Wright and Tinning, *Quebec*, 200.

<sup>173</sup> Samuel Vaughan, “Samuel Vaughan’s Journal or ‘Minutes Made by S.V. from Stage to Stage, on a Tour to Fort Pitt,” *The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 44, no. 1 (March 1961): 60.

<sup>174</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 65.

<sup>175</sup> Baldwin, “Ride,” 167; Flaherty, *Privacy*, 76.

Most instances of bed sharing instances were chaste, albeit annoying. Culturally, there was nothing untoward or risqué about sharing a bed. As Elizabeth House Trist's landlady told her, "[there was] nothing indelicate in the matter, and no man would take a liberty with a woman" unless otherwise encouraged."<sup>176</sup> However, bed sharing could also lead to more bawdy encounters. The practice of bundling, for example, demonstrates that Americans were well aware of this potential. Courting young couples would be permitted to share a bed, ostensibly with something between the two of them such as a sheet or a board to prevent full intercourse. Tacitly acknowledged in the practice, however, was the possibility of sex between unmarried young people. If a pregnancy resulted, the parentage of the child would at least be easily ascertained.<sup>177</sup> Thus travelers could find themselves either in the midst of amorous pursuits, or even taking advantage of being far from home to engage in them themselves. Desjardins and Pharoux encountered several amorous situations while traveling to their new New York home. On a boat ride up the Hudson River, the female members of their families were so scandalized to watch a merchant openly flirt with another woman on board, it kept them "from falling asleep." In the morning, the French party woke to see "these tender lovers, lying in turn on each other's breast, rid each other of lice in a way that could not have been accomplished more amorously." While this went against their "French sense of propriety," the men asked their womenfolk to try and "not act surprised at anything" they saw along the journey.<sup>178</sup> On another occasion, one of the pair stopped at the home of Baron von Steuben, where the servant laid out a mattress for him and his servant to sleep together. The commissioner, perhaps knowing about von Steuben's sexual preferences, asked the servant "if it was his custom to sleep with the Baron." Another mattress

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<sup>176</sup> Trist, "Philadelphia to Natchez," 206-7, Brown, *Foul Bodies*, 158.

<sup>177</sup> Richard Godbeer, *Sexual Revolution in Early America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 246-55; Flaherty, *Privacy*, 78-9.

<sup>178</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 8-9.

was quickly provided.<sup>179</sup> Mary Cushman, sleeping with her friend Peggy in upstate New York in 1796 was awoken when Peggy's "sweetheart" came in. He "asked [us] to lie farther so he could get in." Cushman, who could see where this was going, told him off by saying there was "no room for so impertinent a fellow," and Peggy's boyfriend quickly left.<sup>180</sup> Other travelers took advantage of the company they found within their lodgings. Nicholas Cresswell, while at first decrying that his landlord Valentine Crawford shared his mistress with his own brother and nephew, soon slept with the woman himself, writing that "last night Miss G. came to bed to me... The Flesh overcame the Spirit."<sup>181</sup> Travelling in North Carolina in 1783, Francisco de Miranda enjoyed "the company of Comfort and Constance, daughters of the innkeeper." After the house had all gone to bed, "one [daughter] had no embarrassment in coming at my request to continue the conversation in my bed."<sup>182</sup>

Not all amorous pursuits were welcome, however. Salome Muerer, travelling with other Moravians migrating to North Carolina, faced constant harassment from men intrigued by a large group of women on their own. Early in their journey, they were kept awake until two in the morning by drunk men who "were yelling and whistling" at the girls. "It was very unpleasant to hear," Muerer noted.<sup>183</sup> In Culpeper County, while camping outside, three men came to the group who "insisted on sleeping with us." "They tried everything to see if we would give in," Muerer wrote with irritation, "one of them said that he had never seen so many beautiful ladies. He

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<sup>179</sup> Desjardins and Pharoux, *Castorland*, 84. As much of the journal is written in the third person and by multiple people over time, it is hard to ascertain which of the pair stayed at von Steuben's.

<sup>180</sup> Jamie O. Shafer, "A Proper Yankee in Central New York: The Diary of Mary Bishop Cushman, 1795-1797," *New York History* 79, no. 3 (July 1998): 283.

<sup>181</sup> Cresswell, *A Man Apart*, 70.

<sup>182</sup> De Miranda, *Democracy*, 10. Which of the two daughters De Miranda slept with, however, he did not say.

<sup>183</sup> Aaron S. Fogleman, "Women on the Trail in Colonial America: A Travel Journal of German Moravians Migrating from Pennsylvania to North Carolina in 1766," *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 61, no. 2 (April 1994): 216.

thought he would have to take one of us for his wife.” Muerer and her friends managed to ignore the three men until their male escort came over to help them, but it took “quite a while” for him to get rid of the men.<sup>184</sup> While it is easy to take the narrative of Margaret Van Horn Dwight as that of an upper-class woman far out of her comfort zone for the first time in her life, she did face some genuine trouble during her 1810 journey. One night she was accosted by a drunken man while taking a break to look at the sky outside of her room who “put his arm round my neck and said something which I was too frighten’d to hear.”<sup>185</sup> Another night, sharing a bed with a female party member and dressed in only her underclothes, a third person joined Van Horn Dwight’s bed: a man. While her female bedmate did not care that there was a man in bed with them, Van Horn Dwight spent almost a half hour crying and pleading to the man to leave before he finally acquiesced, asking “not to take it amiss, as he intended no harm & only wish’d to become acquainted with me.”<sup>186</sup> While the night ended with no harm done to her, Van Horn Dwight remained tense the rest of her trip, worried that one of her actions may be construed as an invitation for nocturnal acquaintance.<sup>187</sup> Traveler’s reactions to bed sharing thus show the new, developing sense of personal and domestic privacy that was growing throughout the eighteenth century.

When Dr. Alexander Hamilton kept a travel journal in 1744, while he probably never imagined that it would be published, and read by millions in the far future, he *did* intend for it to be read by an audience; namely the crowd of bon vivants, bachelors, and men about town in his Annapolis social club, The Tuesday Club. His journal is thus an endless stream of witticism and

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<sup>184</sup> Fogleman, “Women,” 221.

<sup>185</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 35.

<sup>186</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 40. Imbarrato notes that the man’s actions “suggests that previous attempts to ‘become acquainted’ may have met with greater success.” Even if the man had no intention of forcing himself on Dwight, it certainly frightened her either way. Imbarrato, “Ordinary Travel,” 53.

<sup>187</sup> Dwight, *Journey to Ohio*, 40, 48, 59.

biting criticism against the hoi polloi with whom Hamilton rubbed elbows. One meal in Philadelphia found Hamilton gawking at “severall comicall, grotesque phizzes in the inn... which would have afforded variety of hints for a painter of Hogarth’s turn.” Unlike the learned conversation over punch, he and his compatriots had, these men “talked there upon all subjects... some tolerably well, but most of them ignorantly.”<sup>188</sup> It is easy to dismiss these comments, and the comments of travelers like Hamilton, as snobbishness. Indeed, there is some element of snobbery about them. But the snobbery was the point. When travelers encountered living conditions and a lack of privacy they were not accustomed to, they reacted with disgust. But the very act of doing so was also a way of reaffirming their own class status, and genteel standards, by putting them in opposition to their hosts. In doing so, no matter how hospitable their host was, they would more often than not be found wanting.

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<sup>188</sup> Hamilton, *Gentleman’s Progress*, 160.

## Chapter 4: “And no, or none, was the reply hee made us to our demands:” The Motives of Lodging Refusal<sup>1</sup>

Virginia, as described by its first historian, Robert Beverley, was a land of bounteous and plentiful hospitality. The only thing travelers needed to receive a berth was simply “being Human Creatures.” Virginians were so accommodating that when rich planters left their homes, they “order their Principal Servant to entertain all Visitors, with every thing the Plantation affords.” Even the poorest colonists would give up their bed or create one from nothingness “to make room for a weary Traveller.”<sup>2</sup> Yet despite this vaunted hospitality, not everyone in the colony was willing to welcome strangers into their private spaces. If most of this dissertation has focused on the welcoming of strangers into one’s home, this chapter examines how and why travelers were decidedly *unwelcome*, especially in private homes. Class, war, religion, gender, race; all these factors and more could play into tavernkeepers or householders’ decision to deny a traveler hospitality. For most of their travels, it was elite travelers who held the balance of power in their hands. The exercise of gentility was such that not only was there a cultural expectation on the part of the traveler that they should be able to marshal the resources of others for their own usage, but on the person providing accommodation that they should provide said resources. However, householders were not without power of their own; if they did not have enough resources to take care of their guests, or if their guests offended them, then they could quickly show any traveler the door.

In February 1783, Alexander Macaulay and his wife arrived in Williamsburg on the hunt for some oysters. They arrived at the house of Christiana Campbell; a local tavern keeper

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<sup>1</sup> Wendy Martin, ed., *Colonial American Travel Narratives*, (New York: Penguin Classics, 1994,) 98.

<sup>2</sup> Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia: 1740-1790*, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1982): 71.

renowned for her seafood. However, upon arrival, the house was cold and were greeted not by the white landlady but by her enslaved workers instead. When Campbell finally came to see who had entered her home, Macaulay put on the charm. Though he realized she no longer was a tavern keeper, they “could not resist the inclination ... to call and take a Family Dinner with you.” Surely it would be no trouble for Campbell to cook a round of oysters and to have her enslaved people start a fire in the room they were in. Macaulay was astounded when Campbell was unimpressed with his “Captial Speechification” and bluntly informed him that she had not ran a public house in several years.<sup>3</sup> Considering that he had already ordered his enslaved man to unhitch the horses from their carriage, Macaulay tried one more time to get Campbell to entertain them, appealing to her spirit of charity. Campbell refused. It was clearly rare that someone told Macaulay, a doctor and member of the planter aristocracy, “no” directly to his face. Macaulay and his wife walked out in a huff, making sure to say, “in an audible voice” that they “had come to a Damn’d bad shop.” On their way out, Campbell’s daughter Molly gave them directions to Mrs. Craig’s, who still kept a tavern, and gave the Macaulays the oysters they felt they deserved.<sup>4</sup> Though the night ended well for the Macaulays, why did they feel entitled in the first place to stay with Christiana Campbell and make demands of her time and pantry?

To answer this question requires some knowledge of how taverns operated in the South in particular. While taverns in the Southern colonies were not always readily available thanks to the dispersed population and a relative lack of towns, that did not mean this region was completely empty of them. Laws governing taverns began to appear in the books in Virginia in 1638. They required taverns to adhere to set rates for food and alcohol, prohibited unlawful gambling, and

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<sup>3</sup> Alexander Macaulay, “Journal of Alexander Macaulay,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (January 1903): 187.

<sup>4</sup> Macaulay, “Journal,” 188.

restricted them from serving African Americans and sailors.<sup>5</sup> Though the number of ordinaries and taverns increased throughout the century, many travelers would still end up staying in private homes throughout America, a fact which authors of the period frequently vaunted. As early as 1684, the amount of people doing so was such that John Clayton wrote dismissively of those who forsook taverns to instead “goe to a mans house for diet and lodgeings tho they have no acquaintance at all.”<sup>6</sup> Swiss migrant Francis Louis Michel in 1702 went so far as to say that it was “possible to travel through the whole country without money,” as the traveler would be welcomed into any home he passed.<sup>7</sup> In fact, to offer payment would be taken as a grave insult; the first few times Michel tried to pay he was rebuffed. Hospitality to travelers, Michel marveled, “was the custom of rich and poor.”<sup>8</sup> William Hugh Grove, having been entertained by multiple planters up and down the Mattaponi River in 1732 noted that “in places where there are no Ordinaries” one could approach a house and find “a spare bed and lodging and Welcome.”<sup>9</sup> Edward Kimber, after being cared for in one private home after a rough boat ride, sang the praises of American hosts: “All over the Colony an universal Hospitality reigns; full Tables and Open Doors, the kind Salute, the Golden Age...”<sup>10</sup> Even as late as 1802, English traveler John Davis noted that “every private house is a temple dedicated to hospitality, and open alike to

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<sup>5</sup> Patricia Ann Gibbs, “Taverns of Tidewater Virginia, 1700-1774,” (master’s thesis, William and Mary, 1968), 14-39.

<sup>6</sup> William Hugh Grove, Gregory A. Stiverson, and Patrick H. Butler, “Virginia in 1732: The Travel Journal of William Hugh Grove,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 85, no. 1 (January 1977): 30. (footnote 59)

<sup>7</sup> William J. Hinke, “Report of the Journey of Francis Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701-December 1, 1702, Part II,” *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24, no. 2 (April 1916): 114.

<sup>8</sup> Hinke, “Francis Louis Michel,” 115.

<sup>9</sup> Grove, “Virginia in 1732,” 30.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Kimber, *Itinerant Observations in America*, ed. Kevin J. Hayes (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 44.

Travellers of every description.”<sup>11</sup> Thanks to reports such as these, traveler’s expectations of American hospitality was very high.<sup>12</sup>

Certainly, the hospitality of private homes, especially that of the gentry, could be very generous indeed. For wealthy Southern men in particular, their hospitality was a way to flaunt their wealth and their patriarchal power by showing their guests the resources they could marshal for their comfort.<sup>13</sup> John Fontaine, fresh off the boat in Virginia in May 1715 was lent a horse by Mary Hewes after a chance meeting at church, so that he and the captain of his ship could join her for dinner that night. A few months later, when beginning a trip into the backcountry, Fontaine’s horse became loose and ran off from the house where he was staying. In response his host, Augustine Moore, lent him a horse so that he could ride to his next destination, and the following day had a servant return Fontaine’s found horse to him.<sup>14</sup> The Reverend Andrew Burnaby dismissed his servant for stealing from him while visiting Winchester, Virginia, in 1759. William Byrd III, whom Burnaby had only recently met, allowed Burnaby to stay at his lodgings and his enslaved people to attend Burnaby. Following his stay in Winchester, Byrd lent the

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<sup>11</sup> John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, ed. A.J. Morrison (New York: H.Holt and Company, 1909), 373. Davis further went on to explain that since so many private homes offered up hospitality to travelers, it explained why taverns in the South were few and far between, and of poor quality.

<sup>12</sup> For other travelers praising American hospitality, see J.P. Brissot de Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964), 109; Francois Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1780, 1781, 1782*, trans. Howard C. Rice, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 76; Ludwig, Baron von Closen, *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783*, trans. and ed. Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 179; Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal, 1775-1776: Written on the Virginia-Pennsylvania Frontier and in the Army Around New York*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1934), 150; Julian Niemcewicz, *Under their Vine and Fig Tree; Travels through America in 1797-1799, 1805, with some Further Account of Life in New Jersey*, trans. Metchie J.E. Budka (Elizabeth, NJ: Grassmann Pub. Co, 1965), 223; Samuel Cole Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, 1540-1800: with introductions, annotations, and index* (Johnson City, TN: Watauga Press, 1928), 417.

<sup>13</sup> Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 167-71.

<sup>14</sup> John Fontaine, *The Journal of John Fontaine: An Irish Huguenot Son of in Spain and Virginia, 1710-1719*, ed. Edward Porter Alexander, (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1972), 81, 83, 85.

reverend another enslaved man to travel with him the eighty miles to Burnaby's next stop, Mount Vernon.<sup>15</sup> Baron Von Closen and his traveling companions in 1782 were also lent horses; more specifically a four-horse carriage by Thomas Nelson, to enable their own horses to rest. They then proceeded to be taken in by multiple plantations up and down the James River, no small feat considering that their party consisted of at least thirteen people, not including their servants and horses who also needed to be fed and sheltered.<sup>16</sup> At Tuckahoe, their rooms "were worthy of a Prince's Palace," with mahogany furniture, plush beds, and mirrors everywhere.<sup>17</sup> In Mary Byrd's home, Westover, their quarters were so luxurious that Von Closen was stirred to write that "there is an affluence in this family that is rare in America and would be worthy of Paris."<sup>18</sup> An invitation to stay in a planter's home seemingly ensured that the traveler would be sleeping in untrammelled comfort.

"I had hitherto heard Virginia was famed for hospitality and politeness," Josiah Quincy wrote in 1773, "[but] It abounds with knaves and sharpers, and those who are adroit at Lord Bacon's left-handed wisdom."<sup>19</sup> Travelers, both foreign and domestic, quickly discovered that the promise of American hospitality was not always guaranteed on their travels. Food and drink cost money, and families either did not always have the ability to provide for free... or were simply unwilling to do so. On his way to Philadelphia in 1755, Daniel Fisher spent the night at Colonel Fendall's home in Charles County, Maryland, and received a small dinner from the

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<sup>15</sup> Andrew Burnaby, *Travels Through the Middle Settlements in North-America. In the Years 1759 and 1760. With Observations Upon the State of the Colonies*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), 43-44.

<sup>16</sup>Evelyn M. Acomb, "The Journal of Baron von Closen," *William and Mary Quarterly* 10, no.2 (April 1953): 218-23.

<sup>17</sup> Acomb, "Von Closen," 222.

<sup>18</sup> Acomb, "Von Closen," 223.

<sup>19</sup> Josiah Quincy Jr, "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Junior, 1773," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (June 1916): 467. The reference to Lord Bacon is most likely to philosopher Francis Bacon, but it is unclear what Quincy meant here.

enslaved staff. However, Fendall did not invite Fisher to dine with the family several hours later, which was especially galling to Fisher as they were serving strawberries and he wanted some. The next day, Fendall gave Fisher some food for the road, but when Fisher asked for corn for his horse as well, Fendall initially refused, citing low corn stores. Eventually he begrudgingly bid an enslaved boy to give Fisher some corn.<sup>20</sup> Nicholas Cresswell found himself in a similarly hungry position, as he was instructed to call upon the home of Mrs. Marsden in Maryland by the woman herself, in thanks for helping her son while they were at sea. Instead of the promised meat, however, he found “Mrs. Marsden drunk... the Scoundrel her husband in an ill humour,” and Cresswell left with an empty stomach.<sup>21</sup> The lack of inns and taverns that ostensibly gave rise to the best of American hospitality could also ensure that householders had the power to take advantage of the lack and charge for their hospitality instead of providing it for free.<sup>22</sup>

On his way North in 1745, William Logan noted while in rural Maryland that “there are no publick Houses so that Travellers are obliged to impose on gentlemen, a practice I cannot yet come into.”<sup>23</sup> Perhaps that discomfort was justified as the largesse of the rich was not always a given. Householders did not always feel comfortable admitting just anyone into the bosom of their homes, and travelers quickly found out that hospitality was often reserved for those whom householders knew personally. Moravian missionaries travelling in Tennessee in 1800 were almost denied boarding for the night at a plantation “until we stated that Jacob Klein had directed us to him.” Not only were they allowed to remain, but “the woman of the house... became so

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<sup>20</sup> Louise Pecquet du Bellet, *Some Prominent Virginia Families*, (Lynchburg, VA: JP Bell Company, 1907): 792.

<sup>21</sup> Nicholas Cresswell, *A Man Apart: The Journal of Nicholas Cresswell, 1774-1781*, ed. Harold B. Gill Jr and George M. Curtis III (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009), 150.

<sup>22</sup> Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 414.

<sup>23</sup> William Logan, “William Logan’s Journal of a Journey to Georgia, 1745,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 36, no. 1 (1912): 3.

obliging toward us.”<sup>24</sup> Johann Schöpf, during his two-year tour of America after the Revolutionary War noted that “the hospitality of Virginia was boasted of... [but] their doors were oftentimes closed on strangers.” Tellingly, he noticed that bounteous hospitality was restricted to friends or family of the host, or “those who are recommended.”<sup>25</sup> Schöpf spoke from personal experience, having been disappointed multiple times by what he found while travelling through Virginia. After getting lost in a swamp a local resident directed him to a home whose owner boasted stood “open to every traveller, and the man himself is obliged to strangers if they will call upon him.” While the owner did admit Schöpf, it was with very poor grace and he made sure to constantly remind Schöpf that he was not running a tavern throughout the night.<sup>26</sup> In Smithfield, he suffered through an evening of his host, Mr. Whitefield, and Whitefield’s friends bragging about the many virtues of the generous Virginian people before his host finally admitted that he only let in people he knew or were recommended by those he knew. Considering it was a twenty-mile trek from the road to Whitefield’s front door, this must have been particularly galling for Schöpf to hear. Mr. Whitefield defended himself however, by citing that strangers could be carrying smallpox on them.<sup>27</sup> The next night, Whitefield referred them to the house of a man famed in the Suffolk area for his hospitality. However, when Schöpf and his travelling partner arrived, they were interrogated for some time by the couple about how Schöpf found them and who had sent him. Eventually the householder allowed the pair inside, but with “many reminders that this was no public house.” Under the circumstances, Schöpf and his friend left early the next day.<sup>28</sup> Back in Philadelphia after his extended Virginia trip, Schöpf’s landlady

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<sup>24</sup> Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 534.

<sup>25</sup> Johann David Schöpf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784*, (Philadelphia: W.J. Campbell, 1911): 93; Paton Yoder, “Private Hospitality in the South, 1775-1850,” *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 47, no. 3 (December 1960): 423.

<sup>26</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 38.

<sup>27</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 91.

<sup>28</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 96.

noted that “people do not like to inconvenience themselves to oblige a stranger.”<sup>29</sup> Without personal connections, or the recommendation of those connections through letters of introduction or word of mouth, hospitality, especially in genteel or well-off homes, could be hard to come by.

Operating a tavern was hard, arduous work. Instead of money, the keeper was often left with IOU’s and debts that could never be collected. Those who decided to quit the trade would place ads in the paper like Maria Catherina Minskie’s that reminded the reader that “all Persons Indebted to her, to make speedy Payment, and thereby prevent her and themselves any further trouble.”<sup>30</sup> Maryland tavern owner Joshua Dorsey in 1756 announced that he was finished “public housekeeping,” at his ferry on the Patapsco River, but would still take in “Gentlemen Travellers... as Private Lodgers:” perhaps anticipating it would be easier to get coin from strangers rather than chasing down his neighbors.<sup>31</sup> It was perhaps unsurprising then that when travelers turned up these former keepers turned them away. One former keeper that Chastellux encountered in New York “at present... lodges only his friends [and] as I had not the honor to be of that number,” Chastellux had to keep moving.<sup>32</sup> Another former keeper Chastellux came to begrudgingly allowed him inside, but only because Chastellux begged to be let in. He repaid the favor by finding the room the landlady put together for their party “so wretched” that he sent a servant back to a previous inn to get squeezed in there instead.<sup>33</sup>

Alexander and Betsey Macaulay arrived at Christiana Campbell’s home knowing that she no longer maintained a tavern, and that her house had shifted from a public one to a private

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<sup>29</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 97.

<sup>30</sup> Henry C. Peden, Jr, *Colonial Tavern Keepers of Maryland and Delaware, 1634-1776* (Bel Air, MD: self-published, 2012), 86; *The Maryland Gazette*, July 19<sup>th</sup>, 1749, 4.

<sup>31</sup> Peden, *Colonial Tavern*, 39; *The Maryland Gazette*, April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1756, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 189.

<sup>33</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 227.

one.<sup>34</sup> Leisured men and women such as they had the cultural expectation of being able to come to any door, anywhere in America, and be taken in and served by obsequious tavern keepers in a manner that fitted their refined tastes. The reality, however, was that ordinaries and taverns fell short of travelers' refined expectations, and private householders did not necessarily feel the same compunction to take in every stranger who came to their door. Campbell, having served masses of politicians and planters for almost thirty years, was now an old woman. A fellow landowner and slaveholder, even if not to the scale of Macaulay, she felt no compunction about turning away her unwanted guests. And while they did so ungracefully complaining, the Macaulays were forced to leave and look elsewhere for food and lodging.<sup>35</sup>

An experienced Moravian missionary, Leonhard Schnell made multiple trips to the Virginia and Maryland backcountry during the 1740s preaching the word of the Lord. Everywhere he and his travelling partner went, they were generally welcomed by people starving for the attention of any kind of minister. They stayed in taverns, and in the private homes of German settlers scattered throughout the Shenandoah Valley. Even though Schnell was well liked by the community, it was not always easy for him to find a resting place.<sup>36</sup> Exhausted by a forty mile hike in 1744, and having to carry his companion for the last few miles, Schnell finally found a house in the Monocacy Valley, but Abraham Mueller "first refused to receive us, but finally yielded to our requests."<sup>37</sup> Another trip to the Shenandoah Valley in 1747 ended abruptly

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<sup>34</sup> Macaulay, "Journal," 187.

<sup>35</sup> "Christiana Campbell," Colonial Williamsburg, accessed May 1<sup>st</sup>, 2019, [https://www.history.org/almanack/people/bios/christiana\\_campbell.cfm](https://www.history.org/almanack/people/bios/christiana_campbell.cfm); Gibbs, "Tidewater Virginia," 152-4.

<sup>36</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, "Report and Observations of Bro. Gottschalk on his Journey Through Virginia and Maryland, Undertaken in March and April, 1748," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 3 (January 1904): 227.

<sup>37</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, "Extracts from the Diary of Leonhard Schnell and Robert Hussey, of their Journey to Georgia, November 6, 1743-April 10, 1744," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no.4 (April 1904): 372.

when people in the neighborhood warned Schnell and his partner that there was a warrant out for their arrest; while they initially stayed for another few days after the warning, they quickly crossed back into Maryland when a justice of the peace started looking for them.<sup>38</sup> Finally, in 1749, when Schnell attempted to preach at the house of George Daelinger, a man whom he had stayed with several times before, Daelinger turned him away. “Not for fifty pounds” would he allow Schnell back to preach and stay, as in the two years since Schnell last visited him, the community had turned against Daelinger for doing so.<sup>39</sup> Working as an itinerant preacher during the Great Awakening, as well as his membership in a ‘fringe’ dissenting denomination, the Moravians, ensured that however well-liked Schnell was by colonists, he was under scrutiny not only from the State, but from others within his ethnic community as well.

Schnell and his fellow missionaries were part of a concentrated effort by the Moravian Church to evangelize throughout the colonies with the use of itinerancy. Itinerant preachers were so organized that they had established circuits spreading out from their strongholds in Pennsylvania and North Carolina, complete with maps, safe houses in select places, and constant meetings between travelling pairs of missionaries to exchange information and support.<sup>40</sup> One example of this network building are reports that Matthias Gottschalk wrote upon his return from the Shenandoah Valley in 1748. Gottschalk noted private householders who would permit Moravians to preach from their homes: John Collins along the South Branch of the Potomac was amiable to having missionaries stay but wanted services in English, while the home of William Degart was too small to allow the community in to hear services. For communities that lived

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<sup>38</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, “Diary of the Journey of Rev. L. Schnell and V. Handrup, to Maryland and Virginia, May 29<sup>th</sup> to August 4, 1747,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 12, no 1 (July 1904): 60-1.

<sup>39</sup> William J. Hinke and Charles E. Kemper, “Moravian Diaries of Travels Through Virginia,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no 2 (October 1903): 128.

<sup>40</sup> Fogleman, *Female*, 116.

along the tributaries of the Potomac, it would be best to visit them in the summer while the rivers and creeks were fordable. Oliver Craemer, who lived on the North Branch of the Potomac was an especially valuable host for the Moravians as he was able to “give the best information where and at how many places we can preach” in the neighborhood, but also could publicize the services to them.<sup>41</sup> Even as Schnell was rejected or faced other troubles from the colonists he tended to, it was still valuable information to the Moravians to further aid their outreach campaign.

However, despite the picture that Schnell painted at times in his journals, he and his fellow Moravian missionaries were not the only ones seeking the religious attention of the German settlers of the backcountry. Their main adversary during these trips was the Reverend George Samuel Klug, a Lutheran minister who lived and preached in Augusta County and would come a few times a year over the mountains to preach in the Shenandoah Valley. Klug lived in a style akin to Anglican priests in the Tidewater, with his congregation in Hebron supplying him with a church building, farm land, and enslaved men and women.<sup>42</sup> He was derided by some of his congregants in the Valley, not only for his absence, but for his excessive drinking; one episode in particular ended with Klug loosing “his saddle, coat, and everything from the back of his horse,” on his way home.<sup>43</sup> However negligent he may have been towards his backcountry congregants, he still had some influence over them. In July 1747, Leonhard Schnell, on a trip with Vitus Handrup, preached at George Daelinger’s home on the Shenandoah River, with the visit going apparently well.<sup>44</sup> However, when Matthias Gottschalk came through the following

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<sup>41</sup> Hinke and Kempe, “Bro. Gottschalk”, 226-7; Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 80.

<sup>42</sup> John B. Frantz, “The Religious Development of the Early German Settlers in ‘Greater Pennsylvania’: The Shenandoah Valley of Virginia,” *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 68, no.1 (Winter 2001): 84.

<sup>43</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 70.

<sup>44</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 60.

March, Daelinger revealed that he had been punished by his community, “because he did not only not arrest [Schnell], but allowed him to preach and even helped him along with his horses.”<sup>45</sup> When Schnell was turned away by Daelinger in 1749, Daelinger explained that Reverend Klug had warned Daelinger “not to permit himself to be led astray” by the Moravian missionary.<sup>46</sup> Klug’s efforts to turn the Valley against Schnell and his companion became more evident during their December trip. Stephan Schmidt, a Catholic, also warned the pair that Klug had told the neighborhood to be on their guard against them, though he hastened to reassure them that they would always be welcome in his home. After a sermon at Caspar Funk’s house, one of Funk’s sons related that Klug himself had come the fourteen miles from his home parish to personally “ask them not to permit us to preach.”<sup>47</sup> Though the colonists considered Klug to be an absentee pastor, when a challenge came in the form of Schnell and his fellow Moravians, Reverend Klug was moved to action to prevent their incursion into his parish.

It was not only rivalry from other dissenting Protestants that Schnell and his travelling companions faced. They were also under scrutiny from the colonial government due to their status, in the eyes of the state, as itinerant preachers. Itinerant preachers were perceived as a threat to the social and religious status quo, not only for the various denominations that they spread to the colonists of Virginia, but also by dint of their transient nature. Itinerant preachers did not respect the boundaries of preexisting parishes and entered where there were already established churches. Their mobility offered the idea of a world outside of parish boundaries, and tied perfectly into a time of rapid expansion into the backcountry.<sup>48</sup> In 1747, Governor William

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<sup>45</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 69.

<sup>46</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” 128.

<sup>47</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” 130.

<sup>48</sup> Timothy D. Hall, *Contested Boundaries: Itinerancy and the Reshaping of the Colonial American Religious World*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), 29-40, 75-80, 116-127.

Gooch made a proclamation requiring Virginian sheriffs “to discourage and prohibit... all Itinerant Preachers, whether New Lights, Moravians, or Methodists, from teaching, preaching, or holding any meetings in this Colony.”<sup>49</sup> Though this proclamation did not deter Schnell, Gottschalk, and their fellows from preaching, it still caused some trouble for them. While staying in Orange County in November 1747, Schnell stopped for the night at the home of an English colonist. Though they offered their home freely to Schnell, the atmosphere quickly turned hostile. Their host demanded to see Schnell’s passport, which he refused to do. In response, Schnell’s host alerted his neighbor who came to the home early the next morning and “escorted us to the justice [of the peace] with rifles.” Fortunately, the justice of the peace let them go without comment once he examined their passports.<sup>50</sup> By 1748, there was awareness of Gooch’s proclamation in the backcountry. Virginians warned Schnell and his partner twice that their arrest was imminent; one community member mentioned that he saw a copy of Gooch’s order at the courthouse while another hesitated to let them in, citing “an injunction ... against strange preachers.”<sup>51</sup> Matthias Gottschalk was a little more proactive in protecting himself on his 1748 trip. At the home of longtime host Jonathan Haeger’s in Hagerstown, Maryland, when his host and friends expressed concern that Gottschalk would be going into hostile territory, he referenced a recent Act of Parliament that recognized the Moravians, though “they thought... it would not benefit me much in Virginia, and pitied me.”<sup>52</sup> Unlike Schnell, Gottschalk did not face the same legal troubles. When he refused to marry a couple in Frederick County, Virginia, the groom thought it was due to the proclamation. The groom *could* arrest Gottschalk on the spot and send him to prison, “but we do not pay attention to the proclamation issued against you.” Gottschalk

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<sup>49</sup> Hinke and Kempe, “Bro. Gottschalk”, 228.

<sup>50</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “Moravian Diaries,” 379.

<sup>51</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 60.

<sup>52</sup> Hinke and Kemper, “L. Schnell and V. Handrup,” 64.

responded with some bravado that he did not care that he was at risk for arrest; he could not marry the couple simply because he did not know them well enough to do so.<sup>53</sup> While this was the closest to legal trouble that Schnell and Gottschalk came to, their contemporaries in other Mid-Atlantic States were not so lucky.<sup>54</sup>

It was not surprising that Schnell, Gottschalk, and their fellow missionaries received mixed receptions from the people they ministered to in the backcountry. In the eyes of the colonial government, they were part of the larger problem of religious disruption brought about by the Great Awakening. Within the German communities of the Shenandoah Valley, there was opportunity to appeal to fellow German speakers who sought not only basic religious tending but the potential for education and healing, as the main Moravian communities in Pennsylvania were well known for.<sup>55</sup> However, even within these communities, there was still a battle amongst separatist denominations for their attention. While Schnell and his fellows were mostly welcomed in the Shenandoah Valley, these forces would occasionally interfere in their lives and their quests.

The peddler and his travelling companion, Mr. Downing, were having a rough time in November 1807. Having lost their way in Henry County, Virginia, they stumbled over hills, rocks, and logs before happening upon a cabin in the dark night woods. At first knock, no one answered. A second knock produced a female voice from inside the house, who reluctantly bid them come in. Inside was an unnamed woman, all alone except for her children, curled up under the blankets on a cold night. A tense exchange then occurred which the peddler made note of.

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<sup>53</sup> Hinke and Kemper, "L. Schnell and V. Handrup," 67.

<sup>54</sup> Fogleman, *Female*, 225-8.

<sup>55</sup> Fogleman, *Female*, 125-6.

“addressing himself to Her requested to Know if she Could give him a little Corn and admit him to rest by the fire. She refused replying that she Acted for another, and that she had never done so—all the entreaties that him or myself could make use of Could not persuade her to Comply at. Said Mr. Downing observing that she had No Companion in Bed with Her, and had a Couple of Children, My dear Madam said he where is your Husband perhaps he may relieve us by Granting Our Request. She made reply that he was not at Home. Well My sweet Madam said he do you not lay very Cold Without the Company of your Good man, his presence ought to be agreeable on such a Night. I am sorry both for your Sake and for my Own that he is not here, Downing Swagged, giving three or four turns round the little hutt eying her and a Hoe Cake by turns that lay on a Shelf near the Bed—I viewed him, and Could not tell Whether of the two he wished for—but Concluding that she was not Handsome and his being within my Knowledge Hungry guessed the Cake would be his Choice—But Certain am I that he would Give her a drive for the Cake, and if within his power another for a feed of Corn,—She However drew the few Clothes on the Bed around her and directed us to a Major Red’s within about a mile.”<sup>56</sup>

Acting as a deputy husband in the absence of her own, the woman made it clear to the peddler and his companion that she refused to provide them food or shelter. Mr. Downing’s expectations of hospitality were so great that in face of this refusal he offered the threat of violence: both physical in that his companion worried that he would try to take food from her home by force, and sexual in that Downing prowled around her bed several times, his gaze lingering on the woman, in her nightclothes and without a man to protect her. Somehow, through force of personality, she was able to defuse the situation and send them on the way to a wealthier neighbor down the road.<sup>57</sup>

The unnamed woman and her children were extremely vulnerable; her husband was not around to protect her, and her home was physically isolated from her neighbors. Henry County in 1807, while not as remote as it was in the eighteenth century, was still a part of the Virginia backcountry, the vast lands stretching beyond the fall lines of the James and Potomac Rivers.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Richard R. Beeman, “Trade and Travel in Post- Revolutionary Virginia: A Diary of an Itinerant Peddler, 1807-1808,” *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 84, no. 2 (April 1976): 182.

<sup>57</sup> Beeman, “Itinerant,” 182-3.

<sup>58</sup> Martin, *World of Goods*, 197-201.

Though there were roads and a courthouse, one misstep was enough to send Downing and his fellow peddler reeling into the deep woods. Help in the form of other people would have been few and far between, as both peddlers were aware. The two men did not know the woman in the cabin, but they felt no compunction in asking her for food and shelter. Yet despite her misgivings, she felt some compulsion to let them into her home. Why did the woman let them in? Had Downing pressed his issue, what danger was she in from these travelers?

Even in private homes, women were expected to provide hospitality to guests, be they acquaintances, friends and family, or complete strangers. In the absence of their husbands, to offer hospitality could be seen as acting the role of deputy husband. When greeted by a travelling party of Moravians in route to North Carolina in 1780, though her husband was away in North Carolina, and her children were sick, Mrs. Shelton of southern Virginia opened her home to them, giving them “four beautiful double beds” and sheltering them from a stormy night.<sup>59</sup> The woman the peddlers met thought of herself as such; when declining their request, she said that “she Acted for another.”<sup>60</sup> For elite women, feeding, clothing, and entertaining was part of reinforcing their social status. Even as it was enslaved women or female servants who carried out the hard work of hospitality, a tidy house with clean sheets and good food reflected well on a refined woman. Though the wealthy owner of Snowden’s Iron Works was not at home, Daniel Fisher in 1755 “craved a Night’s Lodging of his Lady, Who granted my request” and put Fisher up for night in her husband’s stead.<sup>61</sup> However, even lower-class women would be called upon to provide provender to strangers and acquaintances alike.<sup>62</sup> If a woman felt threatened, or did not

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<sup>59</sup> Newton D. Mereness, *Travels In the American Colonies*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916): 593.

<sup>60</sup> Cynthia A. Kierner, “Hospitality, Sociability, and Gender in the Southern Colonies,” *The Journal of Southern History* 62, no. 3 (August 1996): 454, Beeman, “Itinerant,” 182.

<sup>61</sup> du Bellet, *Prominent*, 811.

<sup>62</sup>Brown, *Good Wives*, 270; Kierner, “Hospitality,” 449.

want to entertain travelers, her role as a deputy husband could also encompass denying travelers by claiming it was the wishes of her husband to do so. At a Connecticut tavern in 1811, Rowse Taylor and his party attempted to stop for the night but the landlord was not at home and his wife “appeared to be rather shy to Quakers,” and denied them entry.<sup>63</sup> When travelling in the Tennessee frontier, Francis Baily stopped at the home of the Kerby’s to find Mrs. Kerby at home alone. She refused to let him in as “her husband was one out... and he would be very angry if she suffered any one to sleep there when he was absent.”<sup>64</sup>

Opening their homes to travelers exposed women to potential danger in the form of sexual violence. Society viewed women in the eighteenth century as both predisposed to uncontrollable sexual desire and lust but also responsible for maintaining their sexual purity. Men were allowed to be aggressive in seeking sex, so the use of physical force did not automatically make a sexual act rape, according to contemporary thought. The combination of the two allowed for men to claim that a woman consented to sex, and little recourse for a woman to be believed otherwise. As well, claims of rape would often be dismissed in the community as a woman seeking to absolve herself of responsibility for her misdeeds.<sup>65</sup> Sexual violence in colonial America was most often perpetuated by someone the victim knew, be it a family member, a neighbor, or a master. White men used their role as the head of the household, the shared social relationships that brought them into contact with women, as well as the privilege afforded to them by society to engage in sexual violence and construct their own narrative of women consenting to their rapes. The patriarchal authority imbued in white men granted them

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<sup>63</sup> Rowse Taylor, “A Journey By Carriage From Newport, Rhode Island, to Smithfield, Ohio, 1811-1,” *Bulletin of Friends’ Historical Society of Philadelphia* 8, no. 3 (November 1918): 92.

<sup>64</sup> Williams, *Early Travels*, 416.

<sup>65</sup> Sharon Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 11-12, 17-8, 37-8.

access to female bodies, especially those of enslaved women and women of a lower class than the man.<sup>66</sup> Compelled by social niceties to feed and succor visitors, the fear of violence would not have been far from the minds of women in public houses and private homes.

Women were aware of the danger that traveling men could present to their bodies and reputations. To Daniel Fisher, lost in Baltimore County in 1755, the women who emerged from their home to give him directions had “rude speech and... rather churlish behavior,” going back inside as soon as they told him where to go.<sup>67</sup> Baron Comot du Borug, on his way back to camp during the Revolutionary War, approached a house in Prince George’s County, Maryland, in 1781 to ask for directions. However, the only people home were a woman and her five children “whom we frightened terribly.” Considering this was the middle of the Revolutionary war and there were at least ten men in their party overall, her trepidation was not surprising. Comot and his traveling companion, the Baron von Closen, eventually persuaded her to not only tell them where they could stay for the night, but to ride with them in the dark for a mile to the house.<sup>68</sup> “Trembling like a leaf,” she led them for several hundred feet through thick bushes until they could see the lights of the home she was guiding them to. From there “she refused absolutely” to go any further with the party. Recognizing her terror, Comot and von Closen gave her some money for her guidance.<sup>69</sup> John Lincklaen, while out in the New York backcountry in 1791, sought to meet the family of a Native man who lived in the area. However, “as soon as his wife saw us she took flight,” hiding herself and her children in the corn. Considering themselves now “masters of her house and housekeeping,” Lincklaen’s party of white men went inside to gawk at

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<sup>66</sup> Block, *Rape*, 18-28, 54-8.

<sup>67</sup> Pecquet du Bellet 810

<sup>68</sup> Baron Cromot du Bourg, “Diary of a French Officer 1781,” *The Magazine of American History* 4 (1880): 442; Von Closen, *Journal*, 126-9.

<sup>69</sup> Von Closen, *Journal*, 127.

her home before moving on.<sup>70</sup> Even if male travelers did not offer them overt violence, their entitlement to a woman's time and space was unnerving, a reminder of men's power in a patriarchal society.

Other women used societal expectations of female behavior to their advantage. One Connecticut traveler discovered that the man of the house was not at home and that "his wife would be much embarrassed to receive us." The traveler explained it away as "American women are very little accustomed to give themselves trouble... the care of their children, that of making tea, and seeing the house clean, constitute the whole of their domestic province." More likely was that Mrs. Seymour either felt unsafe entertaining an unknown man, or did not have the resources to provide entertainment, and feigned 'embarrassment.'<sup>71</sup> Women could also cite their other responsibilities to decline helping male travelers. Daniel Clitherall was disgruntled when the landlady at a North Carolina inn told him that breakfast would not be ready as she was "taking care of her child," and that if his party did not feel like waiting they could keep going down the road.<sup>72</sup> The extra work involved in taking care of guests occasionally pushed women to their breaking point. In 1758, John Adams recorded an argument that his mother and father had over boarding more people in their home. When Adams Senior refused to say how much he was charging for board, Susanna Adams erupted, crying "I won't have all the Towns Poor brought here, stark naked, for me to clothe for nothing. I won't be a slave to other folks folk for nothing." The work of caring for extra men and women on top of their own families could be crushing.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> John Lincklaen, *Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York, and Vermont: Journals of John Lincklaen, Agent of the Holland Land Company* (New York: GP Putnam's Sons, 1897), 55-6.

<sup>71</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 81.

<sup>72</sup> James Clitherall, entries April 17th, in the James Clitherall Diary, #159-z, Southern Historical Collection, The Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

<sup>73</sup> It is likely in this example that the boarders in question, Dolly, an unnamed girl, and a potential third boarder by the name of Judah, were servants of the Adams family. However, Adams' diary provides no

Pregnancy and childbearing could also keep women from acting the hostess. A South Carolinian man denied Ebenezer Hazard entry to his home as his wife “had just lain in” and was unable to provide board for Hazard.<sup>74</sup> While in a Maryland tavern, Charles Van Vleck saw that the landlord was overwhelmed, not only from the large number of drunks coming from horse races in Baltimore, but that “the landlady had been confined two weeks since.” While there were other women in the house to help, “the supper gave evidence of the disordered state of things, being cold and unpalatable.”<sup>75</sup> Overall, while society may have pressured them to do so, ultimately the women who these travelers met on the road were not obligated to provide hospitality to them. Exercising caution and what limited power they had, women limited their interactions with these strange men accordingly.

Male travelers, away from home and by extension from people who could offer even some small censure to them, took advantage of their passing through to engage sexually with the women they met. Both Patrick M’Roberts and Hipólito José da Costa noted carefully on their journeys in the mid-Atlantic where the prostitutes could be found in a city.<sup>76</sup> When Scottish doctor Alexander Hamilton was travelling with friends in New York in 1744, one member of his party, Parker, tried to impersonate a doctor in order to woo a sick girl he met in a tavern. Parker's

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other context in the entries before or after to fully confirm this. “Saturday [30 December].,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/01-01-02-0003-0003-0008>. [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, vol. 1, 1755–1770, ed. L. H. Butterfield. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 65–66.]

<sup>74</sup> H. Roy Merrens, “A View of Coastal South Carolina in 1778: The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73, no. 4 (October 1972): 179.

<sup>75</sup> Adelaide L. Fries, “Travel Journal of Charles A. Van Vleck, 1826: Journal of Journey from Salem, N.C. to Bethlehem, PA, in October 1826,” *The North Carolina Historical Review* 8, no. 2 (April 1931): 200.

<sup>76</sup> Patrick M’Robert and Carl Bridenbaugh, “Tour through Part of the North Provinces of America,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 59, no.2 (April 1935): 139; Robert C. Smith, “A Portuguese Naturalist in Philadelphia, 1799,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 78, no. 1 (January 1954): 80. These were the only two explicit mentions of prostitution that I found in my own research. However, it is important to note that prostitution was widespread in the eighteenth century, especially in urban areas. Personal writing during the colonial era was done with an eye towards sharing with others, so it is possible that writers were self-censoring what they did in the city.

friends dragged him away before anything untoward could happen, and the next night the sick girl was forgotten, as Parker met “three buxom girls” serving at their tavern” to whom [he] made strenuous courtship.”<sup>77</sup> Other men, while not engaging in explicitly sexual acts with women, still felt the right to intrude on their bodies and space. During a stop on their 1728 expedition to survey the Virginia/North Carolina boundary line, a member of William Byrd’s party invited a servant who suffered from yaws to drink with them, and then proceeded to “examin[e] all her hidden Charms.” The man, Richard Fitzwilliam, tore “several Scabs as big as Nipples” off the woman’s body; as her hands were lame, she was unable to fight Fitzwilliam off.<sup>78</sup> Male travelers, secure in the knowledge that they were at a location only temporarily, could indulge in acts they would be unable to do at home. For male travelers, particularly elite ones, exercise of power over subordinates was part of their display of status.

Ostensibly, their sexuality under the control of the male head of household, the daughters, wives and female servants of landlords would be safe from travelers. However, that was not always the case. Even if their travels were resolutely non-salacious, men often took note of the appearance of the female family members of the lodgings they stayed in. William Ellery, grabbing a meal in a tavern just outside of Philadelphia in 1778, was struck by the “well sized daughters” of the landlord.<sup>79</sup> John Davis wrote that the daughter of his Virginian landlord had a figured that “resembled one of those protuberant figures which Reubens loved to depict.”<sup>80</sup> Going through the great plantations of Virginia in 1780, Baron Von Closen took note of the daughters he met: Mrs. Randolph’s daughter was “rather pretty, but not very amiable,” the

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<sup>77</sup> Hamilton, *Gentleman’s Progress*, 90-1.

<sup>78</sup> Berland and Byrd, *Dividing Line*, 365.

<sup>79</sup> William Ellery, “Journal of Route and Occurrences in a Journey to Philadelphia from Dighton, Begun Oct. 24<sup>th</sup>, 1778,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 12, no. 2 (July 1888): 195.

<sup>80</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 244.

daughters of Mrs. Byrd were the “most notable” part of Westover, and he made sure to pocket a silhouette of Colonel Cary’s daughter, Mary.<sup>81</sup> Not all observations were so kind. Staying with a German family in Western Pennsylvania in 1799, Thomas Hill admired the eyes of their toddler, but decided that by the time she was “ten, she will lose all her beauty and look like one of Shakespears witches.”<sup>82</sup> At one stop in Virginia, when Charles Van Vleck attempted to order his landlady’s daughters to do a chore for his family, “they would stand motionless like statues.” Irritated that they would not act as servants for him, Van Vleck wrote that they had a “stupid and unmannerly gaze.”<sup>83</sup> The attention that men paid to the bodies of the women serving them was constant, and the female members of the house must have been aware of it.<sup>84</sup>

Some travelers went a step further and engaged in sexual acts with or against female members of the households they were staying in. For some of these encounters, it is hard to say what level, if any, of coercion there was involved. There was an imbalance of power, between travelers who were white, male, and middle or upper class, and the female servants and family members they had sex with; society prioritized the needs, wants, and commands of these men over everyone else. Young women would have been viscerally aware of this imbalance, and the possibilities of denying these men. John William Devereux, wryly noted in 1799 when his friend

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<sup>81</sup> Acomb, “Von Closen,” 218, 221-3.

<sup>82</sup> Thomas Hill, “A Journey on Horseback from New Brunswick, New Jersey, to Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, in 1799,” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 14, no.2, (July 1890): 192.

<sup>83</sup> Fries, “Journal,” 197.

<sup>84</sup> For more instances of travelers commenting on the physical appearances of the female inhabitants of a home, see Timothy Bigelow, *Tour to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805*, (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1876), 21; William Black, “Journal of William Black, 1744 (Continued),” *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1, no. 4 (1877): 407; John Breathitt, “Commencement of a Journal from Kentucky to the State of Pennsylvania--&c March 28<sup>th</sup> 1805,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 52, no. 178 (January 1954): 6; George Izard, “Diary of a Journey by George Izard, 1815-1816,” ed. by Harold W. Ryan, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 3 (July 1952): 160; Jonathan Mason, “Diary of the Hon. Jonathan Mason,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2 (1885-1886): 6; H. Roy Merrens, ed., “A View of Coastal South Carolina in 1778: The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard,” *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73, no. 4 (October 1972): 187; Mary G. Powell, ed., “A Scotchman’s Journey in New England in 1771,” *The New England Magazine* 12 (1895): 344; Fithian, *Journal*, 71, 77.

Captain Thompson was “well acquainted” with both the serving girl and the landlord’s daughter at the New Jersey tavern at which they were staying. The night before, Devereux saved Thompson from a faux pas involving another landlord’s daughter and a female French boarder, stopping him from pursuing both women in front of the landlord.<sup>85</sup> After landing in Charleston, South Carolina, Francisco de Miranda moved rooms during his stay there “in the expectation of obtaining the benefit of an agreeable amorous enterprise” with a Miss Melar.<sup>86</sup> In North Carolina, de Miranda spent his dinner flirting with the two teenage daughters of his landlord; after the house had retired “one had no embarrassment in coming at my request to continue the conversation in bed.”<sup>87</sup> William Dunlap’s fellow boarder in Boston, Mr. Dance, “in attempting to persue the servant” fell out of the window drunkenly and fractured his skull.<sup>88</sup>

Other sexual encounters, however, were explicitly acts of sexual violence, such as those engaged in by the members of William Byrd’s expedition during their surveying tour. Early in the tour, Byrd and the surveyor ‘Puzzlecause, ’entered the home of a Native American woman. Puzzlecause began to run hands over the woman, and she tried to get away, which according to Byrd made “her Admirer more eager.” Had Byrd not been in the room Puzzlecause “wou’d have been in Danger of carrying his Joke a little too far,” and raping the woman.<sup>89</sup> Stopping at William Kinchen’s house in September, William Fitzwilliam and another party member engaged in sexual acts with a woman working in the kitchen. The woman ostensibly gave her consent, but since it

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<sup>85</sup> John William Devereux and O. Douglas Weeks, “My Journal of One of My Trips to New York (June 23- November 18, 1799),” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 15, no. 1 (March 1931): 65.

<sup>86</sup> Francisco de Miranda, *The New Democracy in America: Travels of Francisco de Miranda in the United States, 1783-84* trans. Judson P. Wood, ed. John Samuel Ezell (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 18.

<sup>87</sup> De Miranda, *New Democracy*, 10.

<sup>88</sup> Dorothy C. Barck, ed., *The Diary of William Dunlap, 1766-1839: The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1930), 177.

<sup>89</sup> Berland and Byrd, *Dividing Line*, 364.

was that or being because “ravish[ed] if her timely consent had not prevented the violence,” the act truly could not have been consensual. More tellingly, not even Kinchen’s wife felt safe, and barricaded herself in her bedroom with a chamber pot full of menstrual blood to defend herself with.<sup>90</sup> The daughters of the men they stayed with were not safe from their attentions either. At Major Speight’s plantation, Fitzwilliam had sex with one daughter, Ruth, while his servant tried to rape her sister Rachel. Though the traveling party intervened, and Rachel’s rape was prevented, it was only “to keep the shameful secret from those, whose Duty it wou’d have been to punish such Violations of Hospitality.”<sup>91</sup> While Byrd was aware that the daughters of the man of the house were off limits that did not keep him from kissing Rachel, who almost was the victim of sexual violence, the day of their leaving.<sup>92</sup> Elite men were elite because they were able to exercise control and power over those lower than them. If they felt they could get away with it, if they judged the landlord to be lesser than them, then not even the social norms regarding hospitality would protect the women of the house.

When the peddler and his companion came to the cabin in Henry County in the middle of the night in 1807, they presented to the woman the threat of sexual violence. In the case of Mr. Downing, she would not have been amiss in assuming that he had amorous pursuits on his mind. The anonymous diarist noted that Mr. Downing had a predilection for the “Dulcenas,” the diarist’s term for the young ladies Downing went to visit.<sup>93</sup> At the beginning of their sales journey, Downing abandoned the diarist for several hours to visit some of his lady friends in Albemarle County. Outside of Charlottesville, Downing picked up a woman from the side of the road and gave her a ride, though he then “drop[ped] his Load of live Lumber being ashamed to

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<sup>90</sup> Berland and Byrd, *Dividing Line*, 390.

<sup>91</sup> Berland and Byrd, *Dividing Line*, 373

<sup>92</sup> Berland and Byrd, *Dividing Line*, 376

<sup>93</sup> Beeman, “Itinerant,” 176

bring Her before our Hostess.”<sup>94</sup> When they went into a tavern where the landlord and his son spent most of the night in a violent argument, Downing still found the time to “paw about” another young woman in the room.<sup>95</sup> As Kathleen Brown notes, women alone signified to male travelers that “she lacked male protection” and were fair game for exploitation.<sup>96</sup> Yet bound by the constraints of hospitality, the woman in the lonely cabin had to answer the door, and hoped that her encounter with these travelers would end well.

As a Quaker in Philadelphia in 1777, Elizabeth Drinker must have known, deep down, that eventually she would be forced to quarter soldiers, as ‘payment’ for her family’s religious neutrality. She put up a good fight, deterring soldiers from entering her home for a few months by citing the fact that her “Husband was from me, and a Number of Young Children round me,” which worked for a time.<sup>97</sup> But one officer in particular, Major Cramond, was persistent, saying that “it was a necessary protection at these times to have one in the House,” and more menacingly, that he would be back again in a day or two.<sup>98</sup> After another two weeks of persistent knocking, Drinker finally gave in and allowed Cramond to quarter with her late in December 1777.<sup>99</sup> Thankfully, Major Cramond was kind, well mannered, and unlike many soldiers, paid for his lodgings right away. However, his presence added to the already heavy load of stress that Elizabeth Drinker was undergoing. He came with a large retinue; “3 Horses 3 Cows 3 Sheep and 2 Turkeys... 3 servants... [and] at Night, he has 3 Hessians who take their turns to wate on him.”<sup>100</sup> Considering that Elizabeth herself had several children, an unmarried sister, and

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<sup>94</sup> Beeman, “Itinerant,” 177

<sup>95</sup> Beeman, “Itinerant,” 178.

<sup>96</sup> Brown, *Good Wives*, 276.

<sup>97</sup> Elizabeth Drinker, *The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker*, ed. Elaine Forman Crane (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991), 475.

<sup>98</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 497.

<sup>99</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 497.

<sup>100</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 504.

multiple servants of her own to manage, the domestic pressure must have been intense. He took up quite a bit of room, at one point using “the two front Parlors, a Chamber up two pair of stairs for his baggage, and the Stable wholly to himself” in addition to being able to use the kitchen.<sup>101</sup> He constantly entertained other officers until past midnight or went out on the town into the wee hours of the morning.<sup>102</sup> When he finally left after six months in her home, all Drinker said in her diary was that he was “very dull at takeing leave,” though the household waited to watch the regiments go by at their door, and saw Cramond wave to them as he went by.<sup>103</sup> Considering that Drinker hosted both friends and strangers over the long course of her life, what was it about hosting Cramond so objectionable? What made quartering so distasteful to Americans was that rather than being able to choose to admit them as guests, these were men who were thrust upon the householder with little to no choice in the matter.

Civilians “objected to the invasion of his home... the presence of his family made the home different from another building.”<sup>104</sup> While the quartering of soldiers in homes goes back centuries, it was the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that saw householders objecting against this practice, articulating that a private home was no place for a soldier<sup>105</sup> While the seventeenth century saw the beginning of protests against quartering in America, for the most part these complaints were due solely to the inconvenience of housing soldiers, rather than the idea of a home as a sacrosanct place. As mentioned time and time again throughout this dissertation, the home in this period was for most Americans only one or two rooms, with both room and furniture serving multiple functions, and privacy obtained outside of the home rather

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<sup>101</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 507

<sup>102</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 504, 511, 513, 515, 516, 525, 545.

<sup>103</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 549.

<sup>104</sup> John Gilbert McCurdy, *Quarters: The Accommodation of the British Army and the Coming of the American Revolution*, 2.

<sup>105</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 2.

than within.<sup>106</sup> Changes in the home over the long eighteenth century, where rooms began to have more specialized purposes and the separation of wage labor from the household began to create the idea of the home as a sacrosanct place.<sup>107</sup> Reflecting these ideas about domestic privacy, of home as a place “where the family was protected against violent intrusion,” Americans sought in the 1750s and 1760s to house British soldiers in barracks in lieu of having them in their homes. Once colonial governments built barracks, they had the effect of reinforcing the idea that the home was a protected space, one not subject to “state intrusion.”<sup>108</sup> In the American mind by midcentury, soldiers belonged in the barracks, or in public houses or large camps. Quartering then was an act of power by the state, an intrusion from the government into a person’s private home. When householders were asked to quarter soldiers then they often refused. When they were then forcibly quartered without householders’ permission, trouble ensued.

Some householders were able to resist, either for a time or all together, the burden of soldiers being billeted in their homes. Three years after quartering Cramond, Elizabeth Drinker was able to keep soldiers out of her home for good; aided perhaps this time by the presence of her husband Henry who discussed “the imposition” of hosting soldiers in their home.<sup>109</sup> Elsewhere in Pennsylvania, Robert Morton and his friend were almost denied a bed for the night, being mistaken by the householder for military officers, “but upon scrutinizing us he found we made a different appearance” and then gladly welcomed them in.<sup>110</sup> Some householders did not have the choice to even deny entry to one army or the other; Stephen Chambers found in

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<sup>106</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 14.

<sup>107</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 14-20.

<sup>108</sup> McCurdy, *Quarters*, 8.

<sup>109</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 672.

<sup>110</sup> Robert Morton, “The Diary of Robert Morton,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1, no.1 (1877): 3.

Pennsylvania that the British had taken the step of breaking “the Window[s] and Doors of the houses, least we should lodge our Soldiers in them.”<sup>111</sup> Of course, many householders found that their protests were in vain, and soldiers were forced upon them anyways. The control they had over who could and could not enter their home, or stay the night, was taken away, and householders found themselves dealing with the shock of unwanted strangers forcing their way in. John Buyers in 1780 had initially allowed two officers to quarter in his Pennsylvania home. However, after an argument with the officers, their commander as retaliation quartered on Buyers “half a Dozen of Soldiers the greatest Devils he had or could find in his Regiment.” Buyers soon found him and his family holed up in one room while the soldiers not only ran wild through the rest of the house, but almost burnt it down on accident.<sup>112</sup> As mentioned above, Quakers in particular were targeted by the American forces for quartering due to their neutrality, and contemporaries at the time knew it, with one person whose home was used noting in a letter to Washington that “it being a little remarkable that this violence by the Officers was only committed and persisted in upon 3 or 4 Families whose relig[ou]s principles it was well known.”<sup>113</sup> While many householders would quarter only a few soldiers, some had to bear the load of far more; one citizen in 1776 complained that up to 70 soldiers had been slammed into his home and that “my House is now become A mere Hospital Noise and Disturbance day and

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<sup>111</sup>Stephen Chambers, “To George Washington from Captain Stephen Chambers, 12 March 1778,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0123>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 14, *1 March 1778–30 April 1778*, ed. David R. Hoth. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004, pp. 156–157.]

<sup>112</sup>John Buyers, “To George Washington from John Buyers, 18 May 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-26-02-0053>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 26, *13 May–4 July 1780*, ed. Benjamin L. Huggins and Adrina Garbooshian-Huggins. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018, pp. 74–77.]

<sup>113</sup>Samuel Allinson, “To George Washington from Samuel Allinson, 31 March 1780,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-25-02-0165>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 25, *10 March–12 May 1780*, ed. William M. Ferraro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017, pp. 252–256.]

night.” Adding to the sense of alienation within his own home, the soldiers had nailed up the doors between their sections of the man’s home and the rooms he had been allotted.<sup>114</sup>

One reason that householders balked at quartering was that the cost of providing food, linens, and cleaning could quickly become overbearing. While ostensibly they would be compensated for quartering soldiers, the reality proved to be more complicated, as letters written to George Washington show. Loammi Baldwin wrote in 1775 asking for barracks to be built in Chelsea, Massachusetts, as the townspeople were “vastly distressed and impoverished” by both the war and the cost of quartering soldiers.<sup>115</sup> One New York resident wrote to Washington in 1783 asking for a quartermaster to help spread out the load of soldiers in his neighborhood, as he and a few others suffered from “the Indiscriminate Billeting of the Soldiers.” Considering that the night before he wrote the letter he started with nineteen soldiers in his home, and ended the night at thirty, the cost of feeding everyone must have been astronomical.<sup>116</sup> Petitioner Samuel Allinson noted that when an officer took up multiple rooms in his home, his “Wife was at the expence of cleang both.”<sup>117</sup> Another letter to Washington from William Smallwood pertained to the housing of the wives of British officers in Philadelphia: as they were gentlewomen Smallwood boarded them in homes that would meet their refined standards. However, Smallwood was disgruntled to find that the householders “have repeatedly called on me for the

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<sup>114</sup> Anonymous, “To George Washington from an Anonymous Citizen, 4 August 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-05-02-0422>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 5, 16 June 1776–12 August 1776, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993, p. 557.]

<sup>115</sup> Loammi Baldwin, “To George Washington from Lieutenant Colonel Loammi Baldwin, 1 September 1775,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-01-02-0289>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 1, 16 June 1775–15 September 1775, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1985, pp. 396–397.]

<sup>116</sup> Pelatiah Haws, “To George Washington from Pelatiah Haws, 14 February 1783,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-10642>.

<sup>117</sup> Allinson, 31 March 1780.

Money” and found himself liable for the charges, rather than a public purse.<sup>118</sup> There was the possibility of redress, however, in these letters. Other householders were not so lucky, both in terms of remuneration and what they faced when soldiers entered their homes.

The stress of warfare, plus the responsibility on the part of American soldiers for sourcing their own supplies lead to tense encounters between quartered soldiers and householders. Accusations of theft ran rampant. One tavern owner came back to find his house cleaned out down to the very books, leaving himself “without a Second Bed and Scarce a Change of Cloaths for himself” or his family.<sup>119</sup> Another farm owner complained that not only were sick soldiers being lodged in his home without consent, but that they had stolen all of his bedding as well when they left, to say nothing of the ongoing and continuing theft of his horses.<sup>120</sup> Sometimes the theft was more metaphorical. Elizabeth Drinker was horrified to find that one of her servants had run off with an American soldier; “stole... over the Fence” as she put it in her diary. When she ran into the young man sometime later she demanded that he “very soon pay me for my Servants time... [as] it was thee that stole her.” Adding credence to the possibility that the young woman ran off willingly, the soldier claimed to not know where she was presently and walked away from the confrontation “seemingly confus’d.”<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> William Smallwood, “To George Washington from Brigadier General William Smallwood, 3 March 1778,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-14-02-0036>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 14, *1 March 1778–30 April 1778*, ed. David R. Hoth. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004, pp. 51–52.]

<sup>119</sup> Miles Oakley, “Petition from Miles Oakley, 9 November 1776,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-07-02-0090>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 7, *21 October 1776–5 January 1777*, ed. Philander D. Chase. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1997, pp. 127–128.]

<sup>120</sup> John Johnston, “To George Washington from John Johnston, 9 June 1778,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-15-02-0380>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 15, *May–June 1778*, ed. Edward G. Lengel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006, pp. 366–368.]

<sup>121</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 497, 504.

More frightening than theft was the disrespect and possibility of violence and destruction that had walked into the home. Both men and women faced the potential of physical violence, and for women in particular, there was the fear of sexual abuse.<sup>122</sup> Amongst her own fight to keep soldiers from her home, Drinker reported hearing about Friends in the community who were forced to enter their own homes through the alley rather than their front doors... or lost their front doors by the strike of a sword after attempting to deny entry.<sup>123</sup> The experiences of Samuel Allinson, another Quaker, perhaps best demonstrates the mix of disrespect and violence that householders had reason to fear. Though his wife had just given birth and was still in childbed, Allinson and his family had to scramble to quickly accommodate Lt. Samuel Kearns. Eventually Kearns left... but with his luggage still in Allinson's home, there was some expectation on Kearns' part that he would return and that the home would need to be kept up indefinitely for him. When Kearns came back to find 'his' bedroom turned back into Allinson's office, and the door barred to him, he retaliated by beating Allinson with a thick cane in Allinson's garden. Kearns beat Allinson so badly that he was unable to dress himself for some time.<sup>124</sup> The fear of violence was such that when William Ellery and his traveling partner heard that soldiers might be coming to stay in their New York tavern, they decided to borrow a pair of guns from the householder to put under their pillows, nailed the windows down, and blocked the

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<sup>122</sup> "From George Washington to William Livingston, 3 March 1777," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-08-02-0524>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 8, 6 January 1777–27 March 1777, ed. Frank E. Grizzard, Jr. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998, pp. 500–502.]; McCurdy, *Quarters*, 186–188.

<sup>123</sup> Drinker, *Diary*, 497.

<sup>124</sup> Samuel Allinson, "To George Washington from Samuel Allinson, 31 March 1780," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-25-02-0165>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Revolutionary War Series, vol. 25, 10 March–12 May 1780, ed. William M. Ferraro. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2017, pp. 252–256.].

door... all of which proved unnecessary, or at least for that night.<sup>125</sup> Ultimately, quartered soldiers were unwelcome intruders in a household. Soldiers were often hosted under duress, they consumed food and drink that the householder was under no guarantee of getting refunded for, and any acts of physical or sexual violence they committed would potentially go unpunished.

Julian Niemcewicz was spending the night at John Crow's inn in Buffalo, New York, when a Native American man who was the chief of his local tribe came in, accompanied by a younger man and woman. To Niemcewicz's "great astonishment, the innkeeper forgetting the respect due his majesty" kicked the party of three out of his tavern without serving them.<sup>126</sup> Race played a large role in denying travelers a place to stay for the night. For people of African descent, both free and unfree, there was a concerted effort to criminalize their mobility. Mobility was recognized by both white and Black people as key to Black freedom. Black mobility was a threat, and one that white Americans both in the South and in the North sought to curtail.<sup>127</sup> One way to do this was to deny Black patrons' access to travel infrastructure such as inns, ordinaries, and taverns. Lawmakers were concerned about "unfree people who might enter these spaces as patrons, gaining access to the drink and services that taverns promised."<sup>128</sup> In the slaveholding colonies, concerns over slave rebellion influenced laws banning Black people from entering taverns and ordinaries. After the 1741 slave rebellion in New York City, laws in Pennsylvania and New York specifically targeted and forbade Black patrons in taverns.<sup>129</sup> Laws banning Native Americans from taverns were more concerned about their perceived inability to handle

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<sup>125</sup> William Ellery, "Diary of the Hon. William Ellery, of Rhode Island: October 20 to November 15, 1777," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 11, no. 3 (October 1887): 322.

<sup>126</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 252.

<sup>127</sup> Elizabeth Stordeur Pryor, *Colored Travelers: Mobility and the Fight for Citizenship before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 1-9.

<sup>128</sup> Vaughn Scribner, *Inn Civility: Urban Taverns and Early American Civil Society* (New York: NYU Press, 2019), 94.

<sup>129</sup> Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 94-96.

any type of strong liquor.<sup>130</sup> Thus, on paper, it would seem that taverns, public houses and ordinaries did not have people of color among their patrons. The reality was vastly different.

As one could probably guess, laws denying entry to guests of color were often completely and blatantly ignored; not out of basic decency but because paying guests were still at the end of the day, paying guests. Concerns over alcohol aside, it was accepted that there were legitimate reasons that brought Native Americans to stay overnight in an inn or tavern.<sup>131</sup> Politics brought such guests as “an Indian colonel” or a large party of Cherokee chiefs in contact with white tavern patrons.<sup>132</sup> Others came as neighbors to a home; such as Joachim Falkenberg who often had local tribesmen in his house in New York come to call, or the Dutch farmer whom Julian Niemcewicz witnessed a visit by a young woman with her child on her back in a papoose.<sup>133</sup> Not all white travelers handled the presence of Native guests well: Philip Vickers Fithian had a small breakdown when two Native children came into the Pennsylvania home in which he was staying. His partner spoke to the larger party of Native Americans that came in after the children while Fithian went to bed in a fit of nerves to describe in his diary the hordes of “naked Indians and children” that were plaguing him.<sup>134</sup> African Americans, both free and enslaved, also were guests in inns, ordinaries, and public houses, despite laws that would seek to bar them from entry as customers. Robert Hunter slept at one Virginian inn in the same room as “half a dozen children or Negroes in it,” while at a New York hotel Niemcewicz noticed that a group of friends both black and white were amusing themselves in the building.<sup>135</sup> One

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<sup>130</sup> Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 97-98.

<sup>131</sup> Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 97.

<sup>132</sup> Dal Verme, *Seeing America*, 12; Davis, *Four Years*, 229.

<sup>133</sup> Smith, *Four Rivers*, 52; Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 251.

<sup>134</sup> Fithian, *Journal, 1775-1776*, 82.

<sup>135</sup> Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, ed., *Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786: Being the Travel Diary and Observations of Robert Hunter Jr.* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1943), 200; Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 236.

particularly rowdy inn in York County saw hordes of people “black and white” come to drink and revel, much to the distress of the diarist staying there.<sup>136</sup> Their presence as guests would deter at times white guests whose racist distaste kept them from staying in the same inn overnight. A pioneer party travelling from Pennsylvania to Kentucky found one inn so crowded “with Frenchmen and negroes” that they chose to sleep rough in their wagons instead.<sup>137</sup>

Ideally, “[colonial] leaders expected enslaved peoples to enter the tavern only as servile workers.”<sup>138</sup> Indeed, oftentimes the people of color that travelers met or interacted with were those working in taverns and ordinaries. Niemcewicz, encountered in New Jersey “a nymph, the result of a union between an Indian woman and a negro,” who served him dinner.<sup>139</sup> Travelers often correlated poor service with not just workers of color, but enslaved workers in particular. Johann Schöpf complained that because the enslaved workers of his Edenton, North Carolina, tavern were so busy with other tasks “nothing was attended to, unless one saw to it himself.”<sup>140</sup> The Marquis of Chastellux noted that the enslaved workers of his landlady seemed to do nothing until her husband came home and provided the authority that Chastellux thought his landlady lacked.<sup>141</sup> Some travelers were able to correlate the poor service they received with the poor treatment that enslaved people worked under. John Davis observed his South Carolinian landlord yelling at his enslaved worker Syphax, already suffering from a recent whipping, to stoke the fire higher, which led him to “lament the inequality of conditions in the world.”<sup>142</sup> Most travelers,

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<sup>136</sup> Margaret Van Horn Dwight, *A Journey to Ohio in 1810: as recorded in the journal of Margaret Van Horn Dwight*, ed. Max Farrand (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1913), 15.

<sup>137</sup> Mary Dewees, “Journal from Philadelphia to Kentucky, 1787-1788,” *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 28, no. 2 (1904): 186.

<sup>138</sup> Scribner, *Inn Civility*, 96.

<sup>139</sup> Niemcewicz, *Vine and Fig*, 218.

<sup>140</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 116.

<sup>141</sup> Chastellux, *Travels*, 81.

<sup>142</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 64. Of course, Davis had this realization while smoking a very lovely cigar in front of the newly stoked fire and reaping the benefits of this inequality.

however, lacked that introspection. Thomas Hart Shelby blithely noticed that the West Virginian tavern he was in was “scarce of servants...for although in Virginia they border so nearly on Ohio that slaves will not stay with them.”<sup>143</sup> Dr. Alexander Hamilton made a note of a landlord who was screaming orders and swearing at the enslaved workers in his inn; but what bothered him more was the noise rather than the cruelty.<sup>144</sup> Another traveler in New York could not comprehend why the tired woman who let him in immediately “resumed her slumbers on an old rug spread before the embers of the kitchen fire” rather than giving him bed and food.<sup>145</sup>

A few taverns were operated almost completely or totally by people of color. Some slaveholders preferred to leave the running of a house to their enslaved. A tavern owned by Elizabeth Stiles in 1794 in Harford County, Maryland, was operated by an unnamed enslaved man.<sup>146</sup> The little documentary record we have of him focuses not on his tavern keeping, however, but on his attempt to save another enslaved man, Austin, from drowning during a river crossing. While he was able to pull Austin from the water, unfortunately Austin passed in a matter of hours, having struck his head on the way down into the water.<sup>147</sup> Some slaveholders set

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<sup>143</sup> William Campbell Scott, “Journal of Travels East in 1831: The same being the journal of Major Thomas Hart Shelby of Fayette County, Kentucky,” *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 65, no. 3 (July 1967): 165.

<sup>144</sup> Hamilton, *Gentleman's Progress*, 185.

<sup>145</sup> Richard Smith, *A Tour of Four Great Rivers: The Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna and Delaware in 1769, being the Journal of Richard Smith of Burlington, New Jersey* ed. Francis W. Halsey (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 30.

<sup>146</sup> John Holland Barney, “John Holland Barney to Bartholomew Dandridge, Jr., 20 December 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-17-02-0205>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 17, 1 October 1794–31 March 1795, ed. David R. Hoth and Carol S. Ebel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, p. 294.]; Herman Stump, “To George Washington from Herman Stump, 20 December 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-17-02-0206>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 17, 1 October 1794–31 March 1795, ed. David R. Hoth and Carol S. Ebel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, pp. 294–296.].

<sup>147</sup> Thomas Archer, “To George Washington from Thomas Archer, 22 December 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-17-02-0210>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 17, 1 October 1794–31 March 1795, ed. David R. Hoth and Carol S. Ebel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, p. 303.]; John

their enslaved people up for failure; dal Verme complained of one such inn where no one bothered to leave keys for the workers and “consequently everything had to be obtained by breaking the door.”<sup>148</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry encountered another such tavern in Petersburg, Virginia, writing that “neither master or mistress of the house appearing and everything left to the negroes,” including collecting payment from her party.<sup>149</sup> Margaret Adams, a Black woman who ran an unnamed tavern in Bladensburg, Maryland, is a special case, for she ran the tavern in her own right, on land that she herself owned. Hers was referred to as “the best house in town,” by one diarist, who noted that her success had brought both George Washington and his family to her door, but also the animosity of her neighbors as they tore down “her temple of Cloacina” out of jealousy.<sup>150</sup> Charles Wilson Peale, another guest of note, loved her cooking so much that he wrote down her recipe for pickled fish, taking up two whole pages in his diary describing the process.<sup>151</sup> Towards the end of her life, the powerful Calvert family, her neighbors, pressured her to buy her land but she refused, as the price was too low.<sup>152</sup> White travelers stayed with Native Americans as well. A party of Moravians travelling through Tennessee in 1799 stayed at a Native

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Carlile, “To George Washington from John Carlile, 21 December 1794,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-17-02-0207>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 17, 1 October 1794–31 March 1795, ed. David R. Hoth and Carol S. Ebel. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013, pp. 296–297.]

<sup>148</sup> Francisco Dal Verme, Conte di Bobbio, *Seeing America and its Great Men: The Journal and Letters of Count Francesco dal Verme, 1783-1784*, trans. Elizabeth Cometti, (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1969), 53.

<sup>149</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, 1815 Journal, May 26<sup>th</sup> 1815 from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>150</sup> Thomas Lee Shippen, “III. Thomas Lee Shippen to William Shippen, 15 September 1790,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-17-02-0136-0004>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 17, 6 July–3 November 1790, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, pp. 464–466.]

<sup>151</sup> “The Enigma of Margaret Adams,” University of Maryland at College Park, accessed September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2022, <https://exhibitions.lib.umd.edu/bladensburg/bladensburg-reinvented/adams>

<sup>152</sup> Steven Sarson, “It cannot be expected that I can defend every man’s turnip patch:” Embargoes, the War of 1812, and Inequality and Poverty in the Chesapeake Region,” *Revue française d’études américaines* no. 139 (2014): 25. Perhaps unused to being stood up to by a person of color, Rosalie Calvert uncharitably referred to Adams as an “ill-natured shrew” in her writings.

trader's house, where they somewhat condescendingly marveled that "the house is like that of other white people and everything was in good order."

Ultimately however, denial on the basis of race was a frequent experience for travelers of color. Native Americans in particular seemed to be denied entry more often.<sup>153</sup> Stereotypes of drunkenness often kept Native guests barred from homes. One Virginian taverner refused a group of Cherokee from entering his tavern due to them being "an idle, drunken lot."<sup>154</sup> Another Pennsylvania tavern would not serve Native guests any more after they did not "willingly conform to...[the laws] that no Indian should be given more than half a gill of rum, and then only on payment of the cash money."<sup>155</sup> African Americans were denied housing as well; one North Carolinian traveler noted that the great room in the home "is the gathering place for everyone except the Negroes" though their children would usually be allowed in.<sup>156</sup> One particularly stunning example saw a white traveler denying the Black couple who offered him a roof for the night. English traveler John Davis was exploring South Carolina on foot when he found himself in need of lodging; a hard task considering it was December and most of the homes were filled with Christmas parties and revelers. Finally, someone pointed him to the house of a man named Billy, though they cruelly noted "do you think a white man would bemean himself to take up his quarters with" a black man. When Davis finally came to Billy and his wife's house, though it was very late at night, they immediately gave him water, laid out a

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<sup>153</sup> In my sources the majority of travelers denied due to race seem to be Native American rather than African American. It could be that African American travelers did not try as often to berth in a house due to the presence of racialized slavery in American society, or that my diarists did not feel the need to comment on the denial of African Americans like they did Native Americans. I do not have enough evidence one way or the other to feel comfortable making a hard conclusion.

<sup>154</sup> George Izard, "Diary of a Journey by George Izard, 1815-1816," ed. by Harold W. Ryan, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 53, no. 2, (April 1952): 69.

<sup>155</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 158.

<sup>156</sup> Dal Verme, *Seeing America*, 52.

blanket for him before the fire, and prepared to make him dinner. Yet Davis's pride as a white man was too much, and he found that "I could not overcome my prejudices... [my pride] courted the rigours of the night rather than descend to become the guest... of a slave." He thanked them and eventually slept outside in the cold next to some waggoneers rather than share a black man's fire.<sup>157</sup>

There was also a myriad of more mundane reasons that travelers were denied entry into a lodging for the night. Often the dearth of lodging places plus the press of travelers meant that landlords simply could not accommodate another person into their home. Court days in particular meant that outsiders who happened to be travelling through were out of luck, as the entire county converged around the courthouse for a week. Harriott Pickney Horry arrived in Albany just in time for court and as both the main tavern and the boarding houses were full, they instead were forced to stay in a "miserable and dirty" tavern that was "full of young lawyers."<sup>158</sup> Similarly, when the legislature was in session, the taverns and inns in the capitol would become too full of lawmakers to accommodate anyone else.<sup>159</sup> Private homes in the backcountry were often the only option for travelers, and people who arrived too late found themselves out of luck. While Joshua Gibbons managed to stay the night at Graham's Tavern in Western Pennsylvania, he found the place to be "a throng house 4 men and 3 women occupied the Parlour into which we were

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<sup>157</sup> Davis, *Four Years*, 133-143.

<sup>158</sup> Harriott Pickney Horry, 1793 Journal, 27<sup>th</sup> July 1793 from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>159</sup> Tobias Lear, "Tobias Lear to Clement Biddle, 17 August 1790," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-06-02-0129>. [Original source: *The Papers of George Washington*, Presidential Series, vol. 6, 1 July 1790–30 November 1790, ed. Mark A. Mastromarino. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1996, pp. 272–275.]; James Madison, "From James Madison to Eliza House Trist, 31 January 1790," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/01-13-02-0013>. [Original source: *The Papers of James Madison*, vol. 13, 20 January 1790–31 March 1791, ed. Charles F. Hobson and Robert A. Rutland. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981, pp. 11–12.]; Jonathan Mason, "Diary of the Honorable Jonathan Mason," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* 2 no. 22 (1885-1886): 18.

ushered” and more throughout the house. Their landlady could not help but exclaim that “the house was so full she did not know what to do with us.”<sup>160</sup> Another visitor to Western Pennsylvania found himself starved of options; two of the potential places he could stay were filled with “waggoners” and then “drovers”; working men busy on the route from Pittsburgh to the eastern seaboard. The other places he found did not suit him either being in order, filled with bugs, having a “most sorry appearance by moonshine”, a drunk landlord, and the last surrounded by the deepest mud. Rather than sleep in a packed inn, the traveler decided to take his chances with the shabby tavern.<sup>161</sup>

Even if room was available, the fear of contagion or a lack of supplies could keep travelers at bay. Travelers could be refused in order to prevent illness from entering the home. In 1794, having recently arrived in America, a female member of Moreau de St. Mery’s travelling party became ill. Though the party had made previous arrangements with the landlord at their Norfolk lodging, when they attempted to bring the woman, Mille. De Marle, in on a stretcher, the landlord “flew into a rage and absolutely refused to take her in.” Despite St. Mery protesting that her illness was not contagious, the man refused to even give St. Mery a “day, at least, in which to find lodgings. He refused me even an hour.” St. Mery and his party were turned out with their dying friend onto the street.<sup>162</sup> Luigi Castiglioni, upon entering his lodging in South Carolina in 1784, was asked if he had been to Augusta, Georgia, where a smallpox epidemic had been raging. When he replied yes, the other lodgers almost ran him off the property, but “on the basis of my protestation that I had visited no diseased individual,” he was allowed to stay the night.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> Joseph E. Walker, “The Travel Notes of Joseph Gibbons, 1804,” *Ohio History Journal* 92 (1983): 142.

<sup>161</sup> Taylor, “Journey by Carriage,” 99.

<sup>162</sup> Moreau de St. Mery, “Baltimore as Seen by Moreau de St. Mery in 1794,” *Maryland Historical Magazine* 35, no.3 (September 1940): 35.

<sup>163</sup> Luigi Castiglioni, *Luigi Castiglioni’s Viaggio: Travels in the United States of North America, 1785-87*, trans. and ed. by Antonio Pace (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1983): 147.

During his unpleasant stay in Virginia, Schöpf's hosts admitted in front of him that "for fear of the small-pox... their doors were oftentimes closed on strangers."<sup>164</sup> Though medical knowledge was rudimentary, some form of disease contagion was understood by colonial Americans. In addition to fears of illness, colonial Americans faced a reality in which supplies were often barely enough to support their own families, let alone strangers. A Connecticut traveler in 1771 came to a ferry house for breakfast but was told by the landlady that "the fire was out, and there was no water in the house" for her to cook with.<sup>165</sup> Another man in rural Tennessee tried to stay with an old woman outside of Nashville but she informed him that as "the settlement was but just formed...she could afford us no shelter nor provisions."<sup>166</sup> While these exigencies were understandable, it was still undoubtedly frustrating to travelers who were tired and looking only to rest.

There were multiple reasons that travelers would be denied a berth for the night. Gentlemen would host guests... of their own class, and even then, that was often dependent on who the guest knew, or the whim of the gentry. Members of fringe religions found that their beliefs could get them ostracized out of the tavern and into the dark. Women were torn between the duty of their gender to be a good hostess and the potential for sexual violence from strangers. Wartime householders tried their best to deny berths to soldiers but were often overruled through force. Criminalized and policed by the color of their skin, the movements of African and Native Americans were tightly controlled, including where they slept. And even if one was a white, male traveler of means, they were still subject to the whims of the householder. Householders and tavernkeepers faced a deluge of travelers at their door. While colonial hospitality culture

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<sup>164</sup> Schöpf, *Confederation*, 93.

<sup>165</sup> William Gregory, "A Scotchman's Journey in New England in 1771," *The New England Magazine*, 12 (1895): 350.

<sup>166</sup> Williams, *Tennessee Country*, 409.

ensured they would allow people in, the patriarchal power held by the head of the household plus the often-isolated locations of homes ensured that they had the power to eject anyone they did not want in their home. Elite travelers were accustomed to entitlement, but even they would have to leave if they were asked. Just as moving through early America could be a trial, so was obtaining a place to stay for the night.

## Conclusion: “Everything calculated for convenience:” The Rise of the Hotel<sup>1</sup>

On a trip to Niagara Falls from New York City in 1829, editor William Stone found the backcountry of New York state to be vastly different from the memories of his rural boyhood upbringing. No more did this come out than in his observations of the rapidly growing towns all along the length of the Erie Canal. In Rochester, he gawked “upwards and around upon splendid hotels and rows of majestic buildings,” so different from the “desolate, poverty-stricken, woody country” that he had known as a child.<sup>2</sup> Leaving one hotel at Auburn, he marveled at the even grander one arising, five stories tall, fifty feet long on each side and “which will be one of the most extensive and elegant establishments in this country.”<sup>3</sup> Stone’s stays in these hotels were equally pleasant. One had a direct view of Niagara Falls from his window, so close that Stone could feel the building vibrate with the force of the nearby water.<sup>4</sup> Another hotel, Rathburn’s, had a cupola where Stone and his family were able to climb up to and look at Buffalo and the surrounding countryside. He was so impressed with Rathburn’s that he declared it “the best ordered, the best arranged, the neatest and best kept” hotel outside of New York City. “The landlady,” Stone effused, “ought to establish a seminary for teaching new beginners in this important branch of the science of political economy.”<sup>5</sup> In Stone’s narrative, where there was progress, so were there hotels ready to serve the oncoming rush of tourists and businessmen out to the West. Purpose built to accommodate travelers, and in a fine style, there was no longer a

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<sup>1</sup> Harriett Pickney Horry, 1815 Journal, 8<sup>th</sup> June 1815 from *The Papers of Eliza Lucas Pickney and Harriott Pickney Horry Digital Edition*, ed. Constance Schulz, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> William L. Stone, “A Trip from New York to Niagara in 1829,” *The Magazine of American History* 20 (1888): 321.

<sup>3</sup> Stone, “Niagara,” 323.

<sup>4</sup> Stone, “Niagara,” 489.

<sup>5</sup> Stone, “Niagara,” 492.

need for the wayfarer to knock at the door of a private family home or sleep fifteen in a room in a dingy tavern in this new, civilized, New York state. At the dawn of the nineteenth century, “social status was expressed through physical separation and personal appearance,” and the two were encompassed in one building: the hotel.<sup>6</sup>

Beginning in the early nineteenth century, there was a shift from the cobbled together lodging infrastructure of taverns, ordinaries, public houses and private homes to the era of hotels. A.K Sandoval-Strausz, in his history of the American hotel, points to several reasons suggested by the historiography for the move to a formal travel infrastructure. The movement was kickstarted by George Washington’s wildly publicized tours throughout America, which highlighted the rough, uncomfortable conditions of many travelers’ lodgings. On a larger scale, the hotel in the early Republic was part of the nation’s nascent state building project, the virtues and values the young nation sought to embody taken in the form of the hotel. Economically, taverns housed the ever-growing numbers of business travelers and helped to increase the value of the land around them. Culturally, they dealt with the inherent tension of an ostensibly egalitarian and republican society by establishing differing levels of public space for different classes of the public. As the project of state building began, the hotel was key as representatives of the republic were called to travel to central locations for months at a time.<sup>7</sup> The hotel “symbolized the desire for a nation that was urban and commercial; supplied new spaces for social display and stabilized social hierarchies; and were designed to reallocate political power by restructuring political space.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Andrew K. Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel: An American History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 36.

<sup>7</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 15, 20, 33, 36, 42.

<sup>8</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 43.

However, key to the emergence of the hotel was also the rejection of the older system of expectations for hospitality, one that bore within it ideas about elite privilege. There was no longer a need for genteel travelers to demean themselves by staying in a private home; hotels were not only more comfortable, but they were also a way for the wealthy to show their status. Gentility could now be exhibited through a stay in an expensive hotel suite, instead of judging the surroundings of one's host family for the night. Conversely, there was no longer a societal expectation that private homes should host strangers for the night. The changes in labor and gender roles created by the Industrial Revolution ensured that the home was now a sacrosanct place, where women created a private space as a refuge from the world outside.<sup>9</sup> Hospitality became reserved for friends and family; and householders were well within their rights to deny entrance to the potentially corrupting strangers at their doors.

Nation building was not the only reason that saw the rise of the hotel; the early nineteenth century also saw the beginning of a nascent tourist industry. The mid to late eighteenth century saw some proto-tourists, a few elite families that had "the time, financial resources, and interest to make life more genteel, pleasurable, and healthful."<sup>10</sup> These first tourists would make their way to the beaches of Rhode Island to take in the healthy sea air. Those who made the trek to Rhode Island were few in number; where the industry really began were the towns that had

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<sup>9</sup> This is of course, a broad generalization. Working class women and women of color were not afforded the niceties of this new style of protected womanhood. While private homes were often turning inwards, public houses- particularly brothels, were becoming more common, especially in large cities. As Clare Lyons shows in her book about Revolutionary era Philadelphia, brothels and bawdyhouses were very public places, where the community knew what happened there, who was engaging in sex work, and who was taking advantage of the sex workers within. Clare A. Lyons, *Sex Among the Rabble: An Intimate History of Gender and Power in the Age of Revolution, Philadelphia, 1730-1830* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 279-86.

<sup>10</sup> Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16.

something even healthier and more tangible than sea air: mineral springs.<sup>11</sup> Places such as Saratoga Springs and Ballston Spa in New York or Berkeley Springs and Red Sulphur in West Virginia had mineral rich water that one could drink and bathe in copiously, to cure a large range of ailments from rheumatism to gastrointestinal upset to malaise and more.<sup>12</sup> The technological arrival of steamboats and trains made it easier for the well-heeled to reach these resorts, and the numbers of visitors swelled, all of them needing a place to stay. The modest taverns and inns soon grew to large hotels, to house the growing number of invalids and their families. Harriott Pickney Horry found her 1815 hotel, the Sans Souci in Ballston Spa, to be an “immense establishment.... drink[ing] tea with 150 persons, a great part of which are from Carolina. In this house are 77 bed chambers besides servants rooms.”<sup>13</sup> At another medicinal spring hotel, this one in Pennsylvania, Horry noted that the hotel had beds that were purposely designed to be easily cleaned and changed, to accommodate large crowds.<sup>14</sup> Another Saratoga Springs visitor in 1805 noted that his hotel could hold up to 130 people though at the time it only had 40 guests. Two other hotels in town, however, were fully booked, with 200 guests each; a far cry from the days of one room inns and guests under bear skins on the floor.<sup>15</sup> Of course, the ever-expanding number of rooms was not always enough to house every single person who wanted to come for relaxation and a cure to their ailments.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Aron, *Play*, 16. I am being slightly facetious; seaside resorts were also a part of the nascent tourism industry in America.

<sup>12</sup> Aron, *Play*, 18-21.

<sup>13</sup> Horry, 7<sup>th</sup> August 1815.

<sup>14</sup> Horry, 27<sup>th</sup> June 1815. In Horry's words, “I liked the construction of the cots here the Bottoms wch being railed they can be taken off in a minute and wash'd.”

<sup>15</sup> Timothy Bigelow, *Journal of a Trip to Niagara Falls in the Year 1805* (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1876), 12.

<sup>16</sup> Aron, *Play*, 20.

Large crowds came in part for the healing properties of the springs and the seaside, but more and more, to also be entertained. Many sought less of a cure for a specific ailment and more a general healthy atmosphere to escape the unhealthy summer air in their homes. As well, invalids often came with caretakers. Both groups had time on their hands and “savvy resort proprietors learned quickly to cater to clients who hoped to combine recreation with recuperation.”<sup>17</sup> There were billiards and cards for the men, and nine-pins for both men and women. In the evenings there were often fine dinners followed by dances and parties; so much so, in fact, that these healthful resorts soon came to be known for their opportunities for the children of the gentility to meet each other, flirt and talk in a safe environment, and potentially become engaged.<sup>18</sup> Though an early example, the experience of Ferdinand-Marie Bayard in the town of Bath, Virginia, in 1791, covers in details the delights and amusements of the mineral springs.<sup>19</sup> Bayard noted that above the springs the owners had made a sitting area for people to sit and talk, exchanging news, and sermons on Sundays. Women challenged each other to horse races.<sup>20</sup> Tea parties of the most exquisite furnishings and refinement were held daily, followed by singing from one of the guests. At one point a party of travelling players put on a play for the resort guests, and the arrival of a professional gambler was met with approval by the bathers, much to the shock of Bayard.<sup>21</sup> While the word ‘vacation’ would not come into contemporary use for recreational travel until after the 1850s, the idea began in the cottage industry surrounding mineral springs and the oceanside.

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<sup>17</sup> Aron, *Play*, 24.

<sup>18</sup> Aron, *Play*, 25-27.

<sup>19</sup> Bath, Virginia is now the present-day Berkeley Springs, West Virginia.

<sup>20</sup> Ferdinand Marie Bayard, *Travels of a Frenchman in Maryland and Virginia, with a description of Philadelphia and Baltimore, in 1791: or, Travels in the Interior of the United States, to Bath, Winchester, in the valley of the Shenandoah, etc., etc., during the summer of 1791*, trans. and ed. by Ben C. McCary (Ann Arbor, MI: Edwards Brothers, 1950), 40.

<sup>21</sup> Bayard, *Frenchman*, 48-52.

Finally, hotels catered to the rise in standards of gentility and more importantly, the need for personal privacy. The two, of course, were tied together. As traditional markers of status in America were eroded by the Revolutionary War and the Market Revolution, “people turned to style, décor, behavior, and other visual cues to demonstrate their social standing.”<sup>22</sup> In hotels, this not only led to fine decorations, but the establishment of assembly halls, public restaurants, and large lobbies where one could see and be seen exhibiting manners and taste.<sup>23</sup> One did not even need to spend money on a room to partake in the pleasures of the hotel: lobbies, lounges, and parlors filled with “well-upholstered furniture, elegant paintings, and drapery, and gaslight” were open for those who were dressed and behaved enough not to attract the negative notice of the hotel staff.<sup>24</sup> For the rooms themselves, guests hoped at the minimum to have a good sized room with a window facing the street to let the light in that was on the lower levels to limit the amount of stairs one had to walk.<sup>25</sup> A well-heeled hotel would offer in way of furnishings “a proper mattress, bedclothes, a chair or two, and a mirror” and an even finer hotel would include “a table and chairs... an upholstered couch, a carpet [and] window drapes.” All hotels, regardless of status, would at least offer a bed and bedlinens of some kind.<sup>26</sup>

What would have come as a relief for many of the travelers in this dissertation had finally arrived; hotels with “private bedchambers shield[ing] guests against strangers or other objectionable people who might otherwise have shared their rooms or beds.”<sup>27</sup> It helped that hotels, rather than trying to adapt a private home building into a public one, like taverns and inns

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<sup>22</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 33.

<sup>23</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 33-34.

<sup>24</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 65. It goes without saying that this privilege was reserved for white patrons only.

<sup>25</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 157.

<sup>26</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 163.

<sup>27</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 36

had done for centuries beforehand, instead custom built their buildings to accommodate many people, in a distinctively different manner. Not only were bedrooms individualized and their number increased, but they were actively separated from the public areas of the hotel all together, with bedrooms on the upper floors, and the public facing ones on the lower ones.<sup>28</sup> The presence of private rooms in hotels provoked the owners of smaller inn and tavern buildings to try and promise the same; publicans realizing that the private room had become a class marker, and a way to distinguish themselves from lesser houses.<sup>29</sup>

Ironically, as hotels provided bedrooms for personal privacy, the rest of the hotel was specifically set aside as public space, where one could see and be seen, and take place in civic society. In addition to the aforementioned lobbies and parlors, one could eat at the hotel restaurant, drink at the hotel bar, see a show in the exhibition room, shop in the stores on the first level, or enter the occasional library located within without ever having to actually pay to spend the night.<sup>30</sup> For the guests, though they had their rooms for private retreats, meal times were still a communal affair, so much so that guests who asked to be served in private in order to not endure “the social mixing and jostling of the common dining table” were often refused, their request seen as thoroughly undemocratic.<sup>31</sup> The expectation of hoteliers and guests alike was that they would spend little time in their private rooms, and the majority of it either in the town or within the public parts of the hotel.<sup>32</sup> Perhaps the most interactive among these public spaces was the dining room, where everyone would eat together at a set time; the expectation was such that board was automatically included in the bill and food would not be charged a la carte into well

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<sup>28</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 143-5.

<sup>29</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 43.

<sup>30</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 45; 65.

<sup>31</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 67.

<sup>32</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 165

into the twentieth century. Local residents would enter into the mix, enjoying the atmosphere and the food of the hotel alongside the guests, and meals became “a large scale event that could be enjoyed in common by dozens or hundreds of people.”<sup>33</sup> Despite the presence of private rooms one could retreat back to, not everyone enjoyed the almost enforced sociability of hotel life, with European travelers being discomfited by this peculiarly American form of hospitality. Their complaints echo those of travelers disturbed to find themselves sharing bed and table space from past centuries.<sup>34</sup> The majority of hotel residents, however, appreciated a room to themselves for when they wanted privacy, and embraced hotel life for the way it brought people together.<sup>35</sup>

Another factor that led to a “retreat into a private world” was the Market Revolution, and with it the rise of “a voluminous body of popular literature...labeled the ‘cult of domesticity.’”<sup>36</sup> During this period, work left the home and into the public sphere. New white-collar workers would leave to work in office buildings, and shops and taverns that were once housed within the home now were in custom built buildings for that purpose. Factories also disrupted the old methods of work, by destroying artisan-based trades in exchange for dangerous, dirty, and low paid work. Work was becoming less collective and more individualized, and Americans began to be concerned over what such pressures would do to the working man’s soul. Not only was the public sphere becoming more associated with business, and the moral dangers to workers that it brought, there was also the dangerous heterogeneity of society brought on by new waves of immigration that brought large amounts of Germans and Irish Catholic families to America. Tied to these new kinds of work were new social values such as more intensive childrearing, and

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<sup>33</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 168-171.

<sup>34</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 173-4.

<sup>35</sup> Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel*, 184.

<sup>36</sup> Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York City: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 146.

bodily self-control in the forms of temperance and sexual restraint.<sup>37</sup> Home became the space for restoration and relaxation, sacrosanct and above all a place to be protected from strangers.

Though the nineteenth century saw the birth of the hotel, this was by no means the end of the traveling conditions discussed in this dissertation. As settlers continued to displace Native American tribes and spread west, so did the frontier conditions of colonial America replicate themselves over and over again as new states were settled and formed. Until an area was settled enough to produce the monetary and material conditions for a hotel, travelers were once again destined to share beds in one room homes and complain about bad food and big bugs. Even in areas where hotel infrastructure was in place, there was the question of where those who could *not* afford or was not *allowed* to stay in a traditional hotel would spend the night. Enslaved men and women were legally prohibited from the type of movement that would entail paying to spend the night somewhere, and free people of African descent were denied berths by hotelkeepers because of the color of their skin. Meanwhile, part of the charm and appeal of hotels was their air of exclusivity, which entailed prices that only a few could afford. Thus, even in the cities and settled areas, boarding houses, taverns, ordinaries, and private homes that flew under the radar were there, continuing to take those who were barred from or could not afford the rarified atmosphere of a hotel. And when all else failed, there was camping.

My goal was to demonstrate that travel, and more specifically lodging, could showcase changing concerns over personal privacy and living standards over the course of the long eighteenth century. In urban areas, while travelers could and did stay at taverns for the night, for those seeking a greater measure of privacy, they chose the boarding house. For the majority of

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<sup>37</sup> Ryan, *Cradle*, 145-55.

travelers in colonial America, the tavern or inn was often times either the same building type as a personal home or was being run unlicensed out of someone's home; the distinction between public and private was not so thoroughly delineated or as important as it would come to be. When discussing the standards of travelers and the standards of lodging keepers, we can see how disagreements over food, cleanliness, and sleeping arrangements demonstrate the rising levels of gentility in American culture, and what was practiced by only a few at the time would eventually disseminate into the whole by the nineteenth century. This is not to say that lower class travelers were not also discomfited by the presence of bad food or an odd person in their bed, but that it was less surprising and egregious to them than someone used to the comforts of their home. Finally, while people were usually willing to host strangers in their homes for the night (albeit at some cost usually), there were still some things that could get a person barred or kicked out of their lodging, such as religion, sexual harassment, or sheer lack of room among many other things.

There were some challenges I faced as I wrote my dissertation. As I state in the introduction, this is a dissertation necessarily colored by the fact that most of my sources are from middle- and upper-class white men writing about their travelling experiences. While I was able to find more female sources than I had originally anticipated, male travelers remain the vast majority of the available source material. Outside of the 1808 anonymous diary of a traveling Irish peddler, and a few pioneer diaries, I found very little about lower class travelers and where they stayed, and nothing on the movements of enslaved and free Africans. I know that people often camped in lieu of paying potentially high tavern fare bills, however I only found a few scattered references here and there. Unaccompanied women, the poor, and people of color were not able to travel in ways that white men were able to, and the ways they were able to do so were

glimpsed secondhand in the writings of other travelers. The account books of inn and tavern keepers were also not as helpful as I anticipated, being mainly an accounting of the food and alcohol tabs of the people who lived in the area, rather than transient travelers. Going forward, if this dissertation were to become a book project, I believe I could add some of these voices to the project by looking outside the narratives described in diaries and letters, and instead through plantation records, newspaper articles, church records, et cetera. I would also incorporate Native Americans into my project, which is one area that is sorely lacking in the current project. Lastly, I would include a chapter in the beginning or dedicate the introduction to comparing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England to America in terms of its travel infrastructure, in particular the road network which was well established with regular coach service and enabled a robust Penny Post throughout the country. I think that some of the tension I saw while doing the research is perhaps also in part due to the knowledge of what infrastructure was capable of being in England, and the lack thereof in America.

My dissertation ties several historiographies-travel, tavern culture, privacy, gentility-into a coherent discussion with each other, showing that the three are actually linked. In discussing changing standards of privacy over the long eighteenth century, I was able to use Flaherty's work as a baseline for all of colonial America, not just New England, and put him in conversation with Bushman and other authors who discuss gentility and domestic culture to show how rising standards of taste and living also meant new and changing definitions of personal privacy. While tavern monographs by Salinger, Conroy, Vaughan, and Thompson look at the social and cultural importance of drinking and eating at the tavern, my dissertation focuses solely on the tavern as a site of rest for travelers; something that these authors discuss but very little.

Travelers, even as they complained about their surroundings, were not unaware of the tropes they were using in their own writing. For European travelers, in particular, it was de rigueur to include some passage explaining that while of course other writers often said the same five things about America, they themselves were immune from that problem. English traveler John Davis made sure to note in his preface that he would neither “make no mention of my dinner” nor “never complain of my bed, nor fill the imagination of the reader with... nocturnal pests.”<sup>38</sup> And as was common for personal writing in the eighteenth century, letter and journal writers were often writing not only for themselves, but for friends, family, and potentially beyond. The Baron von Closen, while keeping a private diary, was somewhat aware that it was probably going to be read by a wider audience at some point, noting that it should not be used “for information about inns or river crossings” as both change names when the proprietor changed.<sup>39</sup> And of course the writings of the Marquis de Chastellux had spread that even as early as 1789, a mere six years later, Samuel Davis visited an inn that was “celebrated by the Marquis Chastellux.” Cattily he added, “I could embellish too; for at the moment of my departure the girl overset and broke all the tea-equipage.”<sup>40</sup> Perhaps then, writing for an audience, these men and women exaggerated their complaints and their discomforts, seeking to entertain their audience and rendering most of my claims a moot point. However, I do not believe that. Bed bugs and bad food, cold floors and leaky roofs, shared rooms and shared beds; all are glimpses in time like a fly in amber at the lived reality of most colonial Americans. The letters and diaries travelers left behind, in turn, showcase a changing world, where a new material culture, a language of

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<sup>38</sup> John Davis, *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802*, ed. A.J. Morrison (New York: H.Holt and Company, 1909), 5.

<sup>39</sup> Ludwig, Baron von Closen, *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783*, trans. and ed. Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 131.

<sup>40</sup> Samuel Davis, “Journal of a Tour to Connecticut-Autumn of 1789,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 11 (1869-1870): 25.

gentility, and developing ideas of personal privacy would soon make that lived reality one of the past.

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