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A comparative study of urban space
in Newcastle upon Tyne
and Charleston, South Carolina, 1740-1840

Sarah E F Collins

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the
University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the
Faculty of Arts, Design & Social Sciences

March 2019

ABSTRACT

The thesis considered the development of urban space in two mercantile cities in the British Atlantic between 1740 and 1840. A comparative approach was adopted by examining Newcastle upon Tyne, and Charleston in South Carolina. Existing models of eighteenth and early-nineteenth century cities lack research foregrounded in urban spatial analysis. Discussion has been limited to ‘improvement’, or spatial generalisations based on textual descriptions. Such methods have failed to understand the complex and intertwined character of different forms of urban space, or how the relationship of spatial systems impacted city participants.

The thesis undertook an ambitious review of source material in Newcastle and Charleston for spatial content. A historic geographic information system (GIS) was compiled for each city that established mapping-epochs. Cartographic sources supported spatial analysis and ten thousand geospatial records were created using trade directories, rate books, and census data that produced an understanding of change over time. Letters, diaries, travel journals, and newspapers supplemented the spatial analysis to understand human interaction in space alongside physical development and land-use change.

The research identified several findings that have importance for the field moving forward. Firstly, the spatial development of Newcastle and Charleston formed complex adaptive systems in which the various functions of space created inter-connected and complicated relationships. Complexity is a common attribute that has importance in establishing the dynamism present in mercantile communities, but such observations go undetected within focused studies. Secondly, it demonstrated that within two cities normally associated with strong social hierarchy, elites failed to significantly control urban space, which counters top-down models of urban development. Finally, three phases of broadly similar urban change were observed, redefining the analysis of transition, highlighting spatial conflict, and establishing concepts of urban planning. Such findings demonstrated that sources can be combined to create micro-geographies of urban space and experience in case-studies of the pre-modern city.

CONTENTS

Abstract	i
List of Contents	ii
List of Tables and Figures	v
Acknowledgements	x
Author's Declaration	xi
Introduction: Towards a spatial understanding of cities, 1740-1840	1
Current objectives within urban spatial studies	3
A theoretical framework for spatial studies: Complex Adaptive Systems	9
GIS and the 'spatial turn'	16
Thesis methodology	19
Chapter 1: Macro to micro development in Charleston and Newcastle	29
Comparative hinterlands	31
A morphological over-view of Newcastle, 1740-1840	42
A morphological over-view of Charleston, 1740-1840	52
Newcastle's and Charleston's street-systems	61
Newcastle's and Charleston's plot-layout	70
Conclusion	75
Chapter 2: Controlling physical change and spatial use: landownership factors and the rise of urban corporations after 1783	77
Newcastle Corporation and its corporate officers	78
Newcastle corporation's landownership, 1740-1840	82
Newcastle corporation's property portfolio and fiscal policy, 1809-1840	93

Charleston Corporation and its corporate officers	100
Charleston corporation's landownership, 1740-1840	101
Spatial, social, and racial legislation in Charleston after 1783	106
Charleston: the rise of physical improvements	110
Conclusion	115
Chapter 3: Reclaiming residential space for urban history	117
Architectural history	119
The impact of population on residential planning	123
Charleston's 'desolating conflagrations'	130
Newcastle's Pilgrim Street: a case study in residential development	142
Conclusion	161
Chapter 4: Places of social interaction, networking, and entertainment	163
The Social Enlightenment	164
Newcastle's network of social places	165
Charleston's recreational places of private enterprise	182
Conclusion	195
Chapter 5: The emergence of the modern city: polycentric shopping cityscapes	197
Spaces of consumption: Monocentric versus polycentric models	198
The Consumer Revolution	200
Consumer ports in Newcastle and Charleston, before 1790	202
Inland shopping hubs in Newcastle and Charleston, 1790	209
The complexity of commercial space in 1790: necessary goods and foodstuffs	226
Shopping after 1800	236
Conclusion	245
Conclusion: Interpreting urban spaces through complexity	248
Broader implications for urban spatial history	253
Appendix One: Cartographic Source Material	261

Appendix Two: Newcastle Characterisation Methodology	281
Appendix Three: The Relative Morphological Scales of Newcastle and Charleston	286
Appendix Four: Newcastle's Plot-Layout	289
Bibliography	290

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

1.1: Geographic area and population size in Newcastle and Charleston, 1740-1830	30
2.1: Land belonging to Charleston Corporation, 1783	103
3.1: Population and housing capacity in Newcastle between 1781 and 1821	125
3.2: Population and housing capacity in Charleston between 1790 and 1840	125
4.1: Meeting rooms belonging to Newcastle's trade guilds	167
A1.1: Cartographic and trade directory sources by date	261
A1.2: Cartographic sources for Newcastle	263
A1.3: Cartographic sources of Charleston	263
A2.1: Newcastle characterisation database attribute list	283
A4.1: Plot and Street Frontage sizes in Newcastle, 1830	289
A4.2: Plot Size and Street Frontage dimensions	289

FIGURES

0.1: Urban space as a complex adaptive system	14
1.1: Urban competition in Newcastle's hinterland and beyond, 1790	34
1.2: Urban competition in Charleston's hinterland and beyond, 1790	38
1.3: Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1746	43
1.4: Back-lots on lower Pilgrim Street and the Side, 1746	46
1.5: Redevelopment of back-lots on lower Pilgrim Street and the Side, 1770	46
1.6: The insertion of Mosley and Dean Streets, 1788	48
1.7: Period of last change within each land unit shown on Thomas Oliver's map, 1830	51

1.8: Bates-Leland 1698 reconstruction	55
1.9: Charleston's 1788 street system in comparison to the grand modell	55
1.10: Ichnography of Charleston, 1788	58
1.11: Location of Harleston Village, 1802	60
1.12: Charleston's graded street-system, 1788	64
1.13: Newcastle's graded street-system, 1788	65
1.14: Newcastle's graded street-system, 1830	67
1.15: An over-lay of Charleston in 1739 set against the reconstructed Grand Modell	71
2.1: Land portfolio of Newcastle Corporation	83
2.2: Land belonging to St Mary the Virgin Hospital and Mary Magdalene Hospital	86
2.3: The development of the Forth lands: Forth, Orchard and South Streets, 1823	89
2.4: Improvement of Eldon Square and Blackett Street	91
2.5: Corporation income, 1809-1840	95
2.6: Corporation expenditure, 1809-1840	98
2.7: Known locations of property belonging to Charleston Corporation, 1782	104
2.8: Plat of Parsonage Lane	114
3.1: Detail of 'Charles-Town the Metropolis...', 1739, B. Roberts	120
3.2: Detail of 'The South Prospect of Newcastle upon Tyne...', 1745, Samuel Buck	121
3.3a: All fire events in Charleston between 1740 and 1838	131
3.3b: Charleston fire events by event date	132
3.4: Population density of Charleston using the United States Census of 1790	135
3.5: Ratio of enslaved population in contrast to free inhabitants in Charleston, 1790	137
3.6a: Period of last change, 1740	144
3.6b: Period of last change, 1830	145

3.7: Sir Walter Blackett's residence, head of Pilgrim Street, 1707	146
3.8: The properties of alderman Fenwick and Mr Fenwick Lambert, 1723	148
3.9: Blake Tenements, Courthouse Square, 1772	149
3.10: Residential development along upper Pilgrim Street, 1746	150
3.11: Residential development along middle and lower Pilgrim Street, 1788	153
3.12: Residential development, Pilgrim Street and its environs, 1830	156
3.13: Residential and population density in lower Pilgrim Street, 1830	160
4.1: Plummer Tower 1742	168
4.2: Places of elite culture in Newcastle, 1788	175
4.3: Location of Dock Street Theatre, Ichnography of Charles-Town, 1739	185
4.4: The Charleston Theatre, Broad Street, 1790	186
4.5: Charleston Theatre and the French Theatre, 1790	188
4.6: Population density of white residents, 1790	190
5.1: Shop locations in Charleston, 1782	204
5.2: Newcastle's luxury goods, necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1778	206
5.3: Distribution of luxury goods in Charleston, 1790	212
5.4: Distribution of luxury goods in Newcastle, 1790	213
5.5: Distribution of luxury goods surrounding St Nicholas Cathedral, Newcastle, 1790	216
5.6: Thomas Marley's linen shop on the Side	219
5.7: Distribution of fashion services within Charleston, 1790	221
5.8: Distribution of luxury consumption on and near to King Street, 1790	224
5.9: Charleston's necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1790	230
5.10: Newcastle's necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1790	231
5.11: Charleston's King Street, 1790	233

5.12: Newcastle's commercial hub around St Nicholas Cathedral, 1790	236
5.13: Newcastle's grocers and fashion services, 1829	239
5.14: Charleston's grocers and fashion services, 1840	239
5.15: Distribution of necessary goods and foodstuffs, Market Street, 1840	242
5.16: Distribution of necessary goods and foodstuffs, Sandgate, 1829	244
A1.1: Newcastle, John Speed, 1610	264
A1.2: Newcastle, James Corbridge, 1723	265
A1.3: Newcastle, Henry Bourne, 1736	266
A1.4: Plan of Newcastle, Isaac Thompson, 1746	267
A1.5: A plan of Newcastle, Charles Hutton, 1770	268
A1.6: Newcastle, Ralph Beilby, 1788	269
A1.7: Plan of Newcastle, L. A. Kidd, 1802	270
A1.8: Newcastle, John Wood, 1827	271
A1.9: Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver, 1830	272
A1.10: Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver, 1838	273
A1.11: Plan of Charles Town, Edward Crisp, 1704	274
A1.12: Ichnography of Charleston, Roberts and Toms, 1739	275
A1.13: Sketch of the Operations before Charlestown, Henry Clinton, 1780	276
A1.14: Ichnography of Charleston, Adam Petrie, 1788	277
A1.15: Plan of the City of Charleston, G. Ronson, 1802	278
A1.16: Plan of the City of Charleston, J. S. Nixon, 1842	279
A1.17: Map of the City of Charleston, Bridgens and Allen, 1852	280
A2.1: Newcastle Characterisation Database	282
A2.2: Newcastle polygon layer	285

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work. I also confirm that this work fully acknowledges opinions, ideas and contributions from the work of others.

Ethical clearance for the research presented in this thesis has been approved. Approval has been sought and granted by the Faculty Ethics Committee on 25/06/2015.

I declare that the Word Count of this Thesis is 75, 672 words.

Name: Sarah Collins

Signature:

Date: 27/03/19

INTRODUCTION

Towards a Spatial Understanding of Cities, 1740-1840

British Atlantic cities are a frequent focus of the urban historian due to the rich historical sources associated with them. Yet the focus of much of this research has been on social or economic aspects of these cities, with the period between circa 1700 and 1850 seen as broadly transitional.¹ As a result, urban history of a given city in the British Atlantic tends to focus on a dominant character or activity relative to its role in the early modern and modern periods in a linear evolutionary process. Such approaches bypass both the complexity of urban space and the fundamental transitions that occurred within spatial development. Due to the richness of sources, and the emphasis in those sources placed on utilitarian improvements of cities, there is excellent potential to enhance our understanding of urban space.

Detailed analysis of urban space, using Charleston in South Carolina and Newcastle upon Tyne as case studies, reveals the complexity of urban function and social interaction in cities developing between 1740 and 1840.² Newcastle's and Charleston's historical sources revealed a dramatic transition from 1740 to 1840 that should be assessed in its own light, rather than an end of the early modern city, the start of the modern city, or a bridge between the two. These historic sources formed the basis of analysis using a Geographic Information System (GIS) that established micro-geographies of Charleston and Newcastle.

The promotion of knowledge and progress within the British Enlightenment, and its offshoots in North America, have contributed to the historical impact of this period. British Atlantic cities provided the intellectual atmosphere and built environment to experiment with

¹ Peter Borsay (ed.), *The Eighteenth-Century Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1688-1820* (London: Longman, 1990), pp. 4-38; Joyce Ellis, *The Georgian Town 1680-1840*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 7-24; and, Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1999), pp. 1-9.

² Charlestown was shortened to Charleston in 1783 at the end of the Revolutionary War. I use 'Charlestown' in this thesis to refer to the settlement's initial history at Albemarle Point and the immediate years following its relocation to Oyster Point (as outlined in Chapter One).

different forms of spatial arrangement. However, these spatial arrangements have been treated differently because of divisions in ‘old world’ versus ‘new world’ space. There can be no question that Charleston and Newcastle developed different spatial strategies in response to factors such as landownership patterns, inherited built-form, and individual human action. Comparison of these two cities, however, highlights the continued misunderstanding that Charleston had an advantage as a blank space in North America that facilitated ‘better’ design ideals.³ In reality, the arrangement of activity in Charleston and Newcastle was complicated in two ways. Different urban functions formed highly complex spatial interactions as physical manifestations of the social and economic competition present in these two mercantile communities. Also present therefore, was complex mixing of social and economic groups in space that counters top-down models of urban hierarchy. The establishment of interactive and dynamic urban environments reveals contradictions in the view that historians have of Newcastle and Charleston as cities where the elite economic class dominated development.⁴

The complex and intertwined character of the different forms of urban space, and the influence of spatial systems on city participants, has not been well served within a single study. The transitional city (in this study) is presented as a complex adaptive system that recognises that urban space forms a system. Morphology is studied alongside various types of space, such as administrative space, commercial space, recreational space, and residential space. These different spatial elements were complimentary but also competitive, which

³ Thomas D. Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan: The Founding of Carolina and the Origins of Southern Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), p. 426, Kindle edition.

⁴ Joyce Ellis’ definition of elite has been applied in this study because it matches most closely with the social structures found in Newcastle and Charleston between 1740 and 1840. See Ellis, *The Georgian Town 1680-1840*, pp. 68-71. Elites consisted of the upper classes who owned landed property within the hinterlands surrounding Newcastle and Charleston and were referred to as the landed gentry and planters, respectively. Within an urban setting however, elites also referred to a resident, and typically propertied, upper class that included wealthy men and women involved in trade or the professions. Both the landed upper class and the urban propertied class were involved in local politics from which their personal interests could be acted upon. Additionally, in Newcastle, membership of a guild elevated social status, sometimes without the requirement of wealth. For others, wealth was a fundamental requirement for inclusion within Newcastle’s and Charleston’s elite circles. Between 1740 and 1840 elites in Newcastle and Charleston were more inclusive than several other cities of the same period, but wealth was crucial and as the middle classes expanded there is evidence to suggest movement by elites towards greater exclusion after 1800.

produced tension and adaptability within each urban system. By considering spatially-rich data within GIS it is possible to advance the spatial understanding of cities developing between 1740 and 1840. The analysis of quantitative sources such as trade directories populates urban space establishing spatial relationships that move beyond generalisations from textual-only studies of historic source material. The study considers place within space through a spatial range that includes activity at the building, street, area, parish and city scales within GIS, thus rejecting current perceptions that developing cities of the long eighteenth century are limited to only broader geographic analysis.

Current objectives within urban spatial studies

Patrick Joyce has linked the emergence of statistics and the map with the ‘coordination of incredibly complex systems’ by nineteenth century administrators.⁵ However, the use of spatial understanding by civil society endured from Enlightenment principles of knowledge sought by eighteenth century urban residents. Awareness, understanding, and value of spatial concepts such as location or distance increased with urbanisation after 1740. In part, this increase coincided with increased population densities, present in cities, that required greater geographic knowledge to navigate. However, polite society was also engaging in the growing production of topographical literature that included travel writing, local guides, and histories.⁶ Authors also included cartographic representations within such texts, which became important products in their own right. Such spatially rich literature, when combined with trade directories, street signage, and improvement commissions, is indicative of a growing awareness that the ability to locate humans and functions was a necessary part of rapidly developing urban centres. Why therefore, is the study of eighteenth-century urban space not

⁵ Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 25.

⁶ Ibid, pp. 190-191, 198; Rosemary H. Sweet, ‘Topographies of Politeness’, *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 12 (2002), p. 358.

foregrounded as a primary research topic? As early as 1966, the Urban History Group (a collection of historians, geographers, sociologists, and urban specialists) provided direction for the discipline, and encouraged complex and multi-disciplinary spatial understandings of urban case studies.⁷ This agenda continued to flourish during the 1970s, resulting in new journals in urban history. Yet more than fifty years later, spatial understanding still forms a primary objective within the future direction of research agendas because it is still not fully understood or applied as part of the historic process.⁸

Existing research on British Atlantic cities has provided a platform from which to understand the social, political and economic histories of a range of cities within the United Kingdom, British North America, and the United States. Some cities have attracted more attention than others, and most research focuses on single cities in one nation. Geographic location has typically been embedded in these urban narratives either in general terms by locating history, or through the examination of distinct urban areas, such as the port.⁹ These approaches have validity, but researchers are often limited by the availability of source material, and those cities with an abundance of source material can represent a life's work. This approach has resulted in the downgrading of urban spatial analysis to a secondary point of interest, rather than as a separate research agenda. For example, studies of the eighteenth century have been particularly poorly represented in spatial understanding (in comparison to

⁷ The proceedings of this conference can be found in: H. J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968).

⁸ Elizabeth Bloomfield, 'Review: The Urban History Yearbook – Interdisciplinary Forum or Indispensable Research Tool', *Urban History Review*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1987), pp. 75-77; Harold James Dyos, 'Editorial', *Urban History Yearbook* (1974), pp. 5-6; Michael B. Katz, 'From Urban as Site to Urban as Place: Reflections on (Almost) a Half-Century of U.S. Urban History', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2015), p. 563; Michael Frisch, 'Comment on Michael B. Katz, "From Urban as Site to Urban as Place: Reflections on (Almost) a Half Century of U.S. Urban History"', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2015), p. 597; Richard Rodger and Roey Sweet, 'The changing nature of urban history', created February 2008 by the Institute of Historical Research, <https://www.history.ac.uk/ehr/Focus/City/articles/sweet.html>; Richard Rodger, 'Putting the economy back in to the city', *Urban History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (2015), pp. 165-166; Richard Rodger, "State of the Discipline: Obstacles, Opportunities, Prospects", Keynote Lecture, *Cities@SAS: New Researchers in Modern Urban History*, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, London, July 4, 2016.

⁹ See, for example, the work of Harry Kyriakodis on Philadelphia in which he traced the development of the city's waterfront from its establishment in the 1680s until the impact of the I-95 in the second half of the twentieth century. Harry Kyriakodis, *Philadelphia's Lost Waterfront* (Stroud: The History Press, 2011).

the nineteenth or twentieth centuries) because of the perception that source material can only contribute to broad observations, at the parish or whole city scale, owing to inconsistencies in postal addresses. The pioneering influence of the ‘Chicago School’ at the University of Chicago, and Harold James Dyos in Britain led to calls for cross-disciplinary research in the 1960s that still has relevance today.¹⁰ Urban history is widely regarded by practitioners as a field that draws from multiple approaches including, but not limited to, geography, archaeology, and sociology, in order to understand the complexities of economic, political and social history. What continues to link these approaches is the emphasis placed on understanding the totality of the city and its context, rather than the methods that each researcher uses.¹¹ Inevitably such a broad approach leads to classification questions regarding the nature of ‘urban’, something that Richard Rodger challenged scholars to address in 2003.¹² Recent scholarship has started to re-engage with questions concerning ‘what is urban history’ with the production of introductory text-books accessible to a wide readership, but the nature of ‘urban’ remains more elusive.¹³ Definitions are fraught with difficulty because administrative boundaries or demographic scales rarely reflect reality, and in consequence many interpretations are necessarily vague so as to encompass as broad a spectrum of ‘urban’ as possible.¹⁴

For the purposes of this thesis, ‘urban’ in relation to Newcastle and Charleston can be more specific. Both cities provided a dense built environment that, for much of the period of

¹⁰ Detailed discussions of the impact of the Chicago school and Dyos can be found in, Rodger and Sweet, *The changing nature of urban history*; and Shane Ewen, *What is Urban History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2016), pp. 16-22. For Dyos’ original agenda on cross-disciplinary urban history see H. J. Dyos, ‘Agenda for Urban Historians’, in H. J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), pp. 2-3.

¹¹ Ewen, *What is Urban History*, p. 22.

¹² Richard Rodger, ‘Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History’, *Urban History Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (2003), p. 60.

¹³ Earlier examples include Dyos, *The Study of Urban History*, and Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983). A more recent update has been provided by Ewen, *What is Urban History* which includes new research strands such as environmental and transnational urban history.

¹⁴ Colin G. Pooley, ‘Living in Liverpool: The Modern City’, in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), p. 174; Rodger, ‘Taking Stock’, p. 60.

this study, had physical or man-made barriers separating the urban space from the surrounding hinterland. Population size and geographic scale, between 1740 and 1840, were found to be unnecessarily prohibitive as a defining feature of ‘urban’, but part of the identification relied on the administrative demarcation of Newcastle and Charleston as urban, and as ‘cities’ within the primary and secondary literature.¹⁵ The charter granted to Newcastle in 1400 by Henry IV, for example, was a symbolic and real separation of the city from the surrounding counties of Northumberland and Durham.¹⁶ Similarly, Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, first Earl of Shaftesbury, denoted the difference of Charleston from its surrounding landscape by elevating the role of urban space over rural space.¹⁷ To this definition we can also add the abundance of spatial source material that was produced by each city’s inhabitants, such as maps, trade directories, and local histories. These products brought necessary order to cities as ‘disordered places’ by spatially recording the city and giving it distinction from the spatially cognitive rural community.¹⁸

Although the study of American and British urban history has parallels, the separation of research along national boundaries has had implications for research and publication trends. Rodger’s ‘stock-taking’ exercise in 2003 developed a multi-period agenda for the British context.¹⁹ An evaluation of the annual Urban History Group conference from 2005 through to the present demonstrates that some of these themes have received further

¹⁵ Current secondary literature that features eighteenth century urban case studies typically favour the term ‘town’ to distinguish the pre-modern environment from later industrialising centres of the nineteenth century that favour ‘city’. City has been used consistently within this thesis because it would be unnecessarily complicated to transition to the use of ‘city’ after 1800. Furthermore, the primary source material consistently refers to Newcastle and Charleston as cities, particularly within administrative documents relating to each city’s charter.

¹⁶ Eneas Mackenzie, ‘The Corporation: Grants and Charters’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 601-611. *British History Online*, accessed March 13, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp601-611>.

¹⁷ Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan*, p. 1798, Kindle edition.

¹⁸ Peter Hall, *Cities in Civilisation: Culture, Innovation, and Urban Order* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1998), p. 611.

¹⁹ Rodger, ‘Taking Stock’, pp. 54-63.

attention.²⁰ However, British urban history of the eighteenth century remains heavily dominated by thematic approaches undertaken during the 1990s, approaches that dealt largely with the social history of English towns.²¹ Such approaches have been important in demonstrating the greater contextualisation to be gained from a national perspective, but the approach has been difficult for American scholars to match. In British North America the diversity and size of the thirteen colonies has resulted in an absence of anything mirroring a national thematic approach, and those researching cities of the early republic and beyond have been no better off because of the relatively small number of case studies available.²² As a consequence, historical narratives that chronicle the evolution of a single built environment are more typical, although research such as that conducted by Billy G. Smith on Philadelphia has highlighted broader issues associated with the urban experience including wealth and poverty, gender, politics, and authority within a single urban narrative.²³ The difficulty with these approaches, as with their British counterparts, has been the lack of international context. In America, David S. Shields' edited volume has made inroads into contextualising American cities such as Charleston and Savannah within the broader British Atlantic world, but there is a vital need to extend this type of contextualisation by providing like-for-like comparisons between transatlantic cities.²⁴

²⁰ For example, 2013's programme examined the sensory city that Rodger identified as a possible line of enquiry.

²¹ Examples include Borsay, *The Eighteenth-Century Town*; Ellis, *The Georgian Town 1680-1840*; and, Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840*.

²² Thematic studies that focus on late nineteenth century American cities have been more popular. These studies have compared a range of factors such as, urbanisation, industrialisation, and immigration for a range of cities. Examples of thematic urban studies that focus on religious groups, such as Mormon's, within American cities was provided by Michael P. Conzen, 'The Study of Urban Form in the United States' *Urban Morphology*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (2001), p. 6.

²³ A good example of the historical narrative approach described here is offered by Russell F. Weigley (ed.), *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1982). In comparison thematic approaches to a single city have been offered by scholars such as Billy G. Smith. See Billy G. Smith (ed.), *Life in Early Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

²⁴ Two examples within David S. Shields edited volume include: Emma Hart, 'Building Charleston: The Expansion of an Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic Town', in David S. Shields (ed.), *Material Culture in Anglo-America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 202-220; and Carl R. Lounsbury, 'Christ Church, Savannah: Loopholes in Metropolitan Design on the Frontier', in David S. Shields (ed.), *Material Culture in Anglo-*

Comparative urban history has been identified as an area for further research.²⁵

Scholarship that accepts that there can be similarities between cities nationally and internationally can identify common solutions to similar problems, or consider when local differences create divergence.²⁶ Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin argue that it would be impossible to study the history of a city without a comparison with other cities.²⁷ They suggest that direct comparison should be embraced because it provides a platform from which to problematise specific units of analysis that are located directly within the urban landscape.²⁸ The use of comparison within port cities has often been limited to those where direct links can be established because of the emphasis on trade networks, rather than spatial systems. For British Atlantic comparisons the dissemination of a common culture through items of trade has identified the two-way process of British Atlantic culture.²⁹ In part therefore, this thesis has a transatlantic approach in order to better compare responses to the development of urban space within two settlements that shared some of the same characteristics.³⁰ Yet, comparison of cities that only shared direct links has limitations in understanding elements of local distinction. The consideration of two cities that were developing as simultaneous processes within the same culture, but separate from one another, allows greater consideration of pre-determination in the way that port cities were developing

America: Regional Identity and Urbanity in the Tidewater, Lowcountry, and Caribbean (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), pp. 58-73.

²⁵ Rodger, ‘Taking Stock’, pp. 57-58; and Nancy Haekyung Kwak, ‘Research in urban history: recent theses on international and comparative urban history’, *Urban History*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2008), p. 317.

²⁶ Ibid; and Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin, “‘Every Time I Describe a City’: Urban History as Comparative and Transnational Practice”, in Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin (eds.), *Cities Beyond Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Urban History* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015), pp. 6-7.

²⁷ Kenny and Madgin, “‘Every Time I Describe a City””, p. 4. Similar assertions were made by Dyos during the 1966 Urban History Group round-table discussion. See Dyos, *Agenda for Urban Historians*, p.8.

²⁸ Kenny and Madgin, “‘Every Time I Describe a City””, p. 8.

²⁹ Daniel Maudlin and Bernard L. Herman, ‘Introduction’, in Daniel Maudlin and Bernard L. Herman (eds.), *Building the British Atlantic World: Spaces, Places, and Material Culture, 1600-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), pp. 1-28.

³⁰ Transatlantic should not be confused with transnational. Transnational history has been on the rise since the 1990s and has been discussed in volumes such as Nicolas Kenny and Rebecca Madgin (eds.), *Cities Beyond Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Urban History* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015). While two nations are discussed in this thesis, the intertwined nature of the shared national history at the beginning of the period of study was considered sufficiently complex to exclude a transnational approach.

between 1740 and 1840.³¹ We might also consider that while not directly competing, Newcastle and Charleston were developing during a period of comparison. Topographic literature, such as travel guides, pitted cities against each other by making judgements, often in comparison to London, that centred on economic success and cultural display. Comparison is relevant as it questions the methods with which each city sought out modernity through physical alteration. By emphasising research questions centred on urban space it is possible to analyse similar characteristics of space within Charleston and Newcastle despite local distinctions. However, such an analysis relies on the contribution of spatial theory and the spatial turn that has been so applicable to urban-based research.

A theoretical framework for spatial studies: Complex Adaptive Systems

Debate over spatial theory must begin with the definition of the difference between place and space. Sociologists have interpreted place as a position within space that has meaning because of repeated interaction with it.³² Observations from the 1970s through to the present agree that space has the potential to be transformed into place as humans assign it meaning: the perception of difference by users of place, from the space around it, creates an important distinction from the more abstract concept of space.³³ The emphasis on the importance of place has been criticised by some sociologists who fear that the reduction of place to a position has decreased the value of space to be little more than ‘outside of place’.³⁴ Space is not valueless. The urban theorist Kevin Lynch posits the interrelation of place within

³¹ The term ‘simultaneous process’ is attributed to Bronwen Everill. Bronwen Everill, “Slavery and Urban Life: New Orleans and Saint-Louis in the Eighteenth Century Imperial Atlantic”, EAUH 2018, Roma Tre University, Rome, August 30, 2018.

³² Lineu Castello, *Rethinking the Meaning of Place* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 4-10; Anthony M. Orum and Xiangming Chen, *The World of Cities: Places in Comparative and Historical Perspective* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), p. 1; Doreen Massey, *for space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 5-6; and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 6.

³³ Edward S. Cassey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), p. 204; Castello, *Rethinking the Meaning*, p. 2; and Tuan, *Space and Place*, pp. 6, 122, and 136.

³⁴ Massey, *for space*, pp. 5-6.

a whole spatial system.³⁵ While it might seem fastidious, scholars should consider the difference between place and space so that the latter is not downgraded or ignored. The interdisciplinary nature of urban history has embraced space/place theory, but there can be confusion if the terms are conflated within the broader discipline of history.³⁶ Spatial analysis, such as that applied in this study, considers the role of place and space equally, and GIS provides a complementary tool for such analysis because point data (place) is understood within the broader geography of the city (space).

The study of space has often been interpreted using urban morphology that concerns itself with the formation and transformation of spatial structure. Aspects of analysis have included a breadth of study that develops an understanding of the whole city.³⁷ Within the discipline of urban morphology there has been considerable discussion regarding planned and unplanned typologies.³⁸ The problem with this approach has been that it tends to categorise pre-industrialised cities as unplanned, and industrialised cities as planned. Furthermore, morphological change depends on the frame of reference taken: if architecture is a consideration then it would be difficult to determine that any city has ever been wholly planned. In addition to typology, morphology has also contributed to an understanding of urban growth, but this too presents difficulties because of the restrictive interpretations of growth based on horizontal expansion. In pre-industrial cities such as Charleston and Newcastle it was common for growth to include the re-development of pre-existing space, or

³⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (London: The MIT Press, 1960), p. 108.

³⁶ Rosalind Carr provides a case in point through her examination of ‘improving spaces’ or ‘spaces of polite sociability’ that actually reference specific forms of Enlightenment place. See Rosalind Carr, *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 102-141.

³⁷ Karl Kropf, ‘Aspects of Urban Form’, *Urban Morphology*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2009), p. 108.

³⁸ Planned cities are designed or created and set down in a single moment by an overseeing authority, whereas unplanned cities are perceived to be more organic with a longer evolutionary process. See Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991); and, Anthony Edwin James Morris, *History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolutions: Third Edition* (Harlow: Longman Group Ltd, 1994), pp. 43-44.

vertical expansion via architectural designs that offered new building heights (such as Edinburgh's tenements).

As with many of its disciplinary incorporations, urban history has been selective in the inclusion of urban morphology as scholars have attempted to locate people within spatial arrangements.³⁹ Scholars have drawn from Henri Lefebvre in considering how human activity is linked to urban space in similar ways to those ideas suggested by the 'Chicago School' and Dyos in which space was more than a passive backdrop for the exploration of history.⁴⁰ Lefebvre suggested that the spatial features of societies could be examined by three elements: spatial practices, representations of space, and representational spaces.⁴¹ The theory combined an understanding of spatial products such as maps, which are a portrayal of societies' perceptions regarding space, with an understanding of how people interact in space and the symbolic and cultural constructions that were formed by them in that space. This notion relied heavily on hierarchy because those within the dominant class were the ones that could reconfigure space to their advantage.⁴² As mercantile cities, Charleston and Newcastle are good case studies for examining space from the perspective of hierarchy, but Lefebvre's approach can over-emphasise the role of economic space over other spatial forms. In 2015, Rodger published an appraisal of urban research that concluded that economic space has been insufficiently researched within urban history.⁴³ An incorporation of Lefebvre's principles would certainly produce a welcome economic contribution through an examination of space, but the bibliographic analysis conducted by Rodger also highlighted the limited production of outputs that focus on administrative and demographic understandings of urban history.⁴⁴ This thesis promotes, therefore, analysis of cities as a complex adaptive system that includes

³⁹ Kropf, 'Aspects of Urban', p. 108, and Lynch, *The Image*, p. 48.

⁴⁰ Rodger and Sweet, 'The changing nature of urban history'; and, Ewen, *What is Urban History*, pp. 16-22.

⁴¹ Orum and Chen, *The World of Cities*, pp. 34-36.

⁴² Ibid; and Rodger and Sweet, 'The changing nature of urban history'.

⁴³ Rodger, 'Putting the economy back', p. 162.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

multiple variables of space, and provides a richer understanding of those complex elements of space that had the greatest impact on those living and working in cities.

Complex systems theory has not yet been applied to the historic development of cities, but the flexibility of its approach has proved beneficial within various academic fields.⁴⁵ It should not be confused with the theoretical framework of systems analysis in the 1980s that considered the possibility of networks between cities.⁴⁶ Instead, complex adaptive systems have been used by development theorists, such as Samir Rihani, to understand the varying scale of systems.⁴⁷ The research came out of questions regarding ‘top-down’ management structures within development practices of twentieth- and twenty-first-century cities, whereby attempts to predict development were impossible with so many external ‘actors and influences’.⁴⁸ The research found that, when the constituent parts of a complex adaptive system were assembled, they produced unexpected properties that were unobservable when studying just one function. Rihani uses the metaphor of water in a bath-tub to illustrate his point: the system is made up a three-elements, tap, water, and plug that are under constant localised order, chaos, and self-organisation that can shift the system into change.⁴⁹ Rihani uses complex adaptive systems to promote a new understanding of the way that nations develop, but in this study I use the complex adaptive system to understand how cities developed between 1740 and 1840.⁵⁰

Complex adaptive systems can be used to consider the development of urban space through four main principles: complexity, adaption, systems, and external influence. Consideration of complexity accepts that, while space represents a broader concept than

⁴⁵ The application of complex systems theory has been far-reaching, having been applied in the sciences such as biology and chemistry to explain relationships, as well engineering, complex economics and politics, and linguistics.

⁴⁶ Jan de Vries, *European Urbanisation 1500-1800* (London: Methuen, 1984).

⁴⁷ Samir Rihani, *Complex Systems Theory and Development Practice: understanding non-linear realities* (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 1-17.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 7.

⁵⁰ Ibid, pp. 1-17.

place, it is also made up of several spatial functions or elements. These spatial functions did not exist in isolation, and although they can be studied independently, they were reliant on each other. For example, while commercial and residential space is often treated distinctly, they complemented each other in complex patterns of interchange. If one type of spatial function changed it had the potential to create a chain-reaction within the system and so adaptation was introduced. In part, then, the application of a complex adaptive system is a test of how well the spatial system incorporates adaption, especially as the theory accepts the significant role that history plays in determining results. ‘Social space’, as theorised by Lefebvre, is incorporated through the relationship of people in space via external influences.⁵¹ Like Lefebvre it considers both the individual and the collective human response by those overseeing change that typically occurred through mixed levels of planning within each city’s administrative structure. In addition, the human relationship with space is considered within complex adaptive systems through the impact of external influences such as agents and events. The first of these, *agents*, parallels Lefebvre’s ‘lived space’, because agents effected change by assigning meaning to space.⁵² However, greater emphasis is placed within a complex adaptive system on change in all its forms, and from factors other than human intervention. It goes further by acknowledging that unexpected actions of everyday life – events such as war or weather – can cement spatial form, or radically alter it within short time-frames.

This framework can be used to understand that urban space can form a system made up of multiple elements that are the driving processes through which change has been created. Cities developing between 1740 and 1840 were made up of different elements of competing and complimentary spatial uses, such as administrative, residential, commercial, and

⁵¹ Chris Butler, *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 39-40.

⁵² Ibid.

recreational. These were four of the most forceful spatial needs that were susceptible to change from each other, but also from local circumstance. Events such as war, or weather, and agents in the form of human interaction, influenced the balance that existed between these different forms of spatial use, which could then impact the whole system. The nature of this complex relationship has been recreated in Figure 0.1.

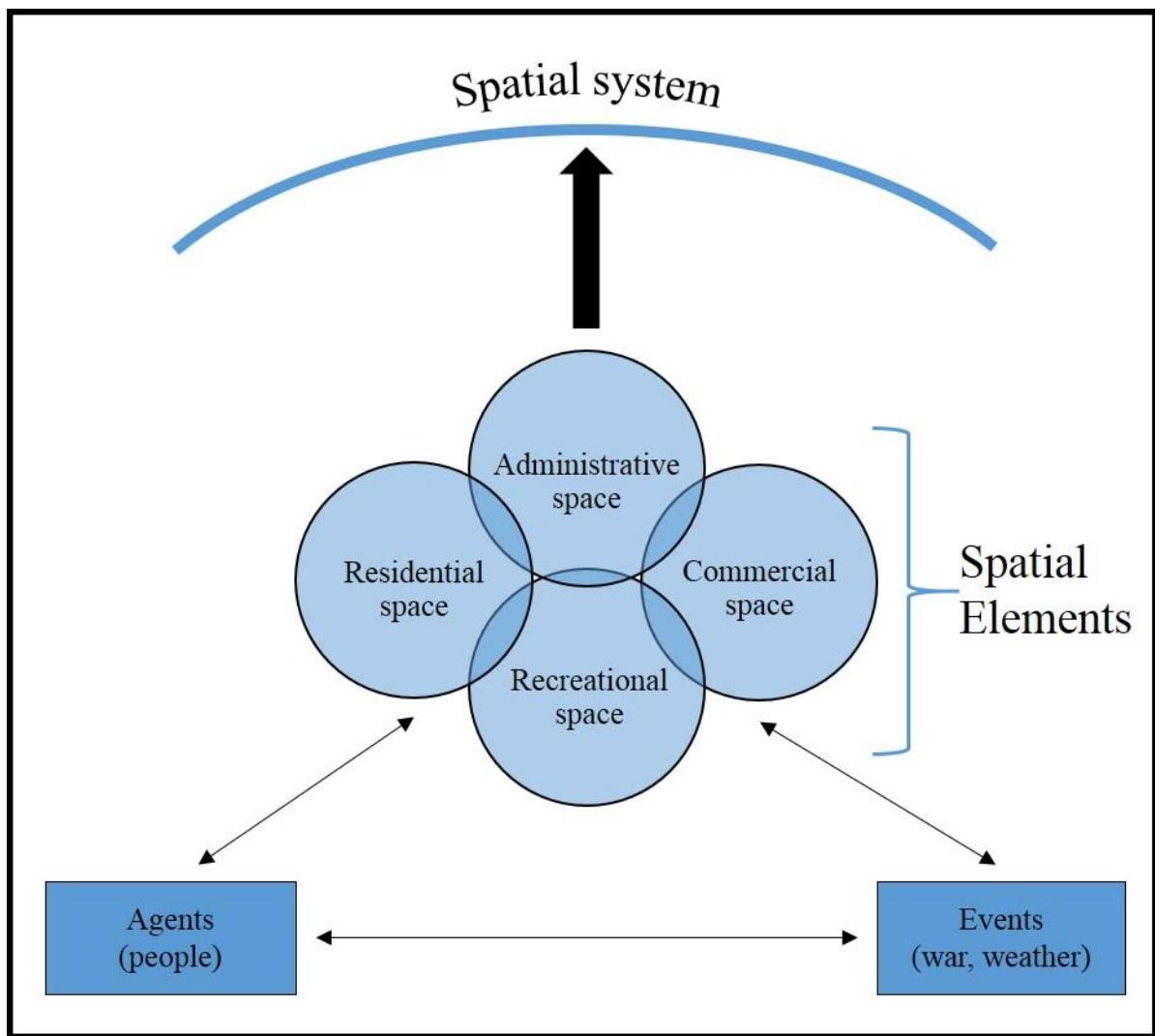


Figure 0.1: Urban space as a complex adaptive system

In figure 0.1 the complexity of an urban spatial system can be observed. The number of spatial uses in the centre could be expanded considerably to include further complexity through other forms of space such as agricultural, industrial, or religious, but for the purposes of this study four elements were chosen that had the greatest impact on the largest number of city users. The central elements of administrative, residential, commercial and recreational space interacted with each other to create balance for the whole spatial system. If any one of these elements altered, as of the result of localised circumstance, then the balance between the elements changed, producing positive or negative results. The entire spatial system was subject to additional pressures in the form of agents and events that created a reciprocal relationship of influence. While the reciprocal relationship created complexity, complexity also existed within, and between, each spatial element. It is the interrelation of these different spatial uses, and how or why humans adapted them that is important. Accepting that each spatial use was complex, this thesis complicates geographically-led spatial segregation.⁵³ The method relies on detailed analysis of the micro-geography of urban space that is increasingly being applied using a variety of methods by urban historians.⁵⁴ For the purposes of this study, GIS was crucial in determining the mixed nature of the spatial urban experience. While the application of GIS within historical studies is still narrow, in comparison to other approaches, there is an increased collection of secondary source material to draw on that has engaged with GIS methodologies and best practice within the humanities.

⁵³ For geographically-led spatial segregation models see Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2005), p. 185; John Langton, 'Residential Patterns in Pre-Industrial Cities: Some Case Studies from Seventeenth-Century Britain', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No. 65 (1975), pp. 1-2; John P. Radford, 'Testing the Model of Pre-Industrial City: The Case of Ante-Bellum Charleston, South Carolina', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1979), pp. 392-394; Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1960); and, James E. Vance, Jr., 'Land Assignment in Precapitalist, Capitalist, and Postcapitalist City', *Economic Geography*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (1971), pp. 101-120.

⁵⁴ A conference session in 2018 highlighted the growing numbers of scholars involved in creating micro-geographies using a variety of methods. Alida Clemente, Dag Lindström, and Jon Stobart, 'Micro-Geographies of the City, c. 1600-1900: Spaces and Places, Practices and Representations', *EAUH 2018*, Roma Tre University, Rome, August 31, 2018.

GIS and the ‘spatial turn’

The influence of spatial theory from scholars such as Lefebvre led to greater spatial awareness within urban history. Geographic principles increasingly motivated scholars from other fields, including urban history, but a pivotal turning point for the humanities more broadly came with the retrospection offered in Barney Warf and Santa Arias’ *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (2009).⁵⁵ This edited volume shed light on two decades of conceptual and methodological influence that has since led to increased incorporation of space into humanities disciplines. The recognition of spatial studies has coincided with the wider utilisation of GIS as a tool for visualising, presenting and analysing spatially rich data. Unlike conventional statistical-only databases, a GIS database attaches locational information.⁵⁶ Linking data with a coordinate system allows researchers to identify patterns of change that occur simultaneously over time and space.⁵⁷ The modification of a tool that was not originally constructed for academic research has allowed comparative analysis of multiple datasets of varying geographic and chronological scale.⁵⁸

Standard in all GIS-based studies has been the analysis of distribution patterns that reveal concentrations of features such as housing types, or activities such as commerce. Distribution measurements have allowed researchers to develop hypotheses about the social, economic, political and cultural activities as they relate to spatial information and these have

⁵⁵ Barney Warf and Santa Arias (eds.), *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009); and, Peta Mitchell, ““The stratified record upon which we set our feet”: The spatial turn and the multilayering of history, geography, and geology”, in Michael Dear et al. (eds.), *GeoHumanities: Art, history, text at the edge of place* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 71-72.

⁵⁶ Donald A. DeBats and Ian N. Gregory, ‘Introduction to Historical GIS and the Study of Urban History’, *Social Science History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2011), p. 445; and, Robert M. Schwartz et al. (eds.), ‘Railways, population change and agricultural development in late nineteenth-century Wales’, in Michael Dear et al. (eds.), *GeoHumanities: Art, history, text at the edge of place* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 251.

⁵⁷ Douglas Richardson, ‘Geohistories’, in Michael Dear et al. (eds.), *GeoHumanities: Art, history, text at the edge of place* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 210; and Schwartz et al., Railways, population change, p. 251.

⁵⁸ Lynn Hollen Lees, ‘Michael B. Katz’s “From Site to Place” and Urban History in Europe and Beyond’, *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (2015), p. 593; and, Robert M. Schwartz and Thomas Thevenin, ‘Railways and Agriculture in France and Great Britain, 1850-1914’, in Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes (eds.), *Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS and Spatial History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), pp. 7-8.

been related directly to archival sources.⁵⁹ The challenge lies in combining a data-driven method with research that questions the available spatial information rather than just reconstructing historic space.⁶⁰ Humanities scholars well versed in the use of GIS have been quick to criticise an over-emphasis on the production of a resource or visualisation, rather than constructing projects around specific research questions that they feel have resulted in limited interpretation outputs.⁶¹ The most successful projects are those that move beyond GIS as a visualisation tool to those that use cartographic material in order to ask ‘how was it where something happened’, although there has been recognition that the transitional period was necessary to develop the correct approach to data integration and spatial interpretation.⁶²

Urban history has been successful in integrating GIS methodologies. Edinburgh, for example, has benefitted from research-led GIS projects such as the analysis of 1820s urban improvement schemes.⁶³ The mapping of gas lighting was combined with questions regarding the nature of economic versus administrative priorities.⁶⁴ The rich supply of source material and the strong tendency for physical and psychological boundary formation at different spatial

⁵⁹ Richard Rodger, ‘When History Meets Geography: The Visualising Urban Geographies Project’, in Susanne Rau and Ekkehard Schonherr (eds.), *Mapping Spatial Relations, their Perceptions and Dynamics: the City Today and in the Past* (London: Springer, 2014), p 6.

⁶⁰ DeBats and Gregory, ‘Introduction to Historical GIS’, p.446; Richardson, ‘Geohistories’, p. 210; and, Benjamin N. Vis, ‘Mapping Socio-Spatial Relations in the Urban Built Environment Through Time: Describing the Socio-Spatial Significance of Inhabiting Urban Form’, in Susanne Rau and Ekkehard Schonherr (eds.), *Mapping Spatial Relations, their Perceptions and Dynamics: the City Today and in the Past* (London: Springer, 2014), p. 46.

⁶¹ Vis, ‘Mapping Socio-Spatial Relations’, p.46. Vis cites the project ‘Mapping Medieval Chester’ as an example of the creation of highly historically accurate reconstructions. Vis questioned the project’s main publication output that he felt failed to significantly engage with analysis of the GIS mapping. See also Katz, ‘From Urban as Site to Urban as Place’, p. 563. Katz cites Colin Gordon’s *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* that produced GIS maps to support a narrative of decline of a major American city but failed to ask fundamentally new questions.

⁶² Alexander Von Lünen and Wolfgang Moschek, ‘Without limits: ancient history and GIS’, in Michael Dear et al. (eds.), *GeoHumanities: Art, history, text at the edge of place* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 249; Sam Griffiths, ‘GIS and Research into Historical “Spaces of Practice”: Overcoming the Epistemological Barriers’, in Alexander von Lünen and Charles Travis (eds.), *History and GIS: Epistemologies, Considerations and Reflections* (London: Springer, 2013), p. 154; Ian N. Gregory and Alistair Geddes, *Toward Spatial Humanities: Historical GIS and Spatial History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), p. xi; and Vis, ‘Mapping Socio-Spatial Relations’, p. 52.

⁶³ Rodger, ‘When History Meets Geography’, p. 7.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

scales resulted in the city being an ideal environment for spatial analysis, and one of the city's greatest spatial assets has been the predominance of mapping outputs.

Maps form an integral part of any GIS project. The two-dimensional representation of space, and licensing concerns presents users with challenges, but this need not present any greater limitation than other accepted sources.⁶⁵ The scarcity of GIS projects that focus on the eighteenth century, in comparison to the nineteenth or twentieth, can be attributed to a relative reduction in spatially accurate source material that limits those cities that can be studied using a spatial approach. Cartographic material of the eighteenth century was not subject to the same mathematical precision as later mapping: researchers must geo-reference map data to assign a coordinate system and it is not uncommon for images to become skewed during this process.⁶⁶ Researchers have to accept a level of inaccuracy, but interpretations by historians may prove advantageous in this regard because they are less focused on mathematical precession that would be favoured in the earth sciences, and it also negates licensing issues of maps still under copyright.⁶⁷ Researchers have created new ways of modifying a tool that was not originally constructed for academic research. GIS humanities specialists have helped to highlight a spatial agenda that combines technical data-driven methods with the investigation of complementary sources that increasingly include non-qualitative images and media.⁶⁸ Complementary sources should not be overlooked: projects need to combine research questions with a data-driven approach.⁶⁹ To this end, the shift in terminology from 'Historical

⁶⁵ For a discussion of two-dimensional representation of space see, Gregory and Geddes, *Toward Spatial Humanities*, p. xi; and Vis, 'Mapping Socio-Spatial Relations', p. 57. Rodger ('State of the Discipline'), outlined the challenges of licensing constraints for those conducting spatial analysis of late nineteenth- and twentieth-century map sources. Rodger advocates the use of OpenStreetMap (used by the project *Mapping Edinburgh's Social History*) that eliminates copyright issues when using Ordnance Survey data.

⁶⁶ Geo-referencing is a process used within GIS to ascribe a coordinate system to a map or image that has none. Reference points are established between known points on a modern map or aerial photograph that correspond with historic reference points. Historic buildings are a good example of those reference points: for example, the corner of a church or castle that has remained unchanged. The reference points need to be distributed across the image to achieve better accuracy, which is a time-consuming process and, coupled with the technical skill required, might be off-putting.

⁶⁷ Gregory and Geddes, *Toward Spatial Humanities*, p. xiii.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. xi.

⁶⁹ Schwartz and Thevenin, 'Railways and Agriculture', p. 27.

GIS' to 'spatial history' would be a useful one because it places emphasis on a form of history that acknowledges the merit of geographical thinking, rather than a technologically-driven method.

Thesis methodology

Two historical GIS were produced for Charleston and Newcastle that drew on the historical methods outlined above as well as influences from within the fields of historical geography and archaeology. Part of the challenge when considering a comparison of Charleston and Newcastle is the form of data, data availability, and data quality, so adopting different analytical techniques was an advantage. Three types of analysis output were undertaken: morphological change (such as changing plot boundaries or street redevelopment and creation), the construction of a coordinate system to locate source material within each case study, and the creation of characterisation-style time-slice, mapping that grouped features of similar characteristics together. This thesis drew on a wide-range of topographic source material that became increasingly prominent in eighteenth-century cities. Cartographic documents formed the base for much of this work, but other spatially-rich sources such as trade directories were also mapped. As historic source material is not a design component of GIS there has always been a degree of creativity in its use. Spatial datasets, such as trade directories, form databases from which other sources relate: for example, the United States census of 1790 does not provide spatial evidence, but the names listed can be cross-referenced with those contained within Charleston's 1790 trade directory to produce a spatially accurate distribution of the 1790 free and slave populations. To these distribution analyses I have added complementary sources such as administrative records like commissioner's accounts and rate books, diaries, letters, and travel literature.

As characterisation-style mapping forms a crucial component of the analysis of Newcastle's spatial system it is worth detailing the method further. Characterisation adopts two approaches to landscape interpretation: M. R. G. Conzen's geographical town-plan analysis, and Historic England's historic landscape characterisation (HLC).⁷⁰ Both approaches drew from methods in morphology that used cartographic material to understand changes to the physical form of landscapes through time. Conzen's work tied into the adoption of cross-disciplinary and spatially-focused studies conducted during the 1960s that included the 'Chicago School', Dyos, and Lynch's contributions to urban theory.⁷¹ HLC was developed in the mid-1990s. The method-designers aimed to incorporate archaeological understanding of the whole landscape within local planning decisions, which resulted in GIS quickly becoming a central component of the work.⁷² Both approaches used mapping to break up landscapes into their constituent elements, which is useful within complex adaptive systems that also recognise the constituent spatial elements of the system.

Characterisation methods have hierarchical structures for understanding landscape: the landscape is divided into broad and narrow categories. Conzen's approach utilised five general categories, three narrow categories, and three specific categories with the aim of identifying street, plot and building patterns.⁷³ HLC also divided the landscape into categories, but in a simpler format: each HLC project divided parcels of land into broad and

⁷⁰ M. R. G. Conzen, 'Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis', *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, No. 27 (1960); Oscar Aldred and Graham Fairclough, *Historic Landscape Characterisation: Taking Stock of the Method* (Taunton: English Heritage & Somerset County Council, 2003); Jo Clark et al., *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation* (London and Preston: English Heritage and Lancashire County Council, 2004); Graham Fairclough et al., *Yesterday's World, Tomorrow's Landscape: the English Heritage Historic Landscape Project (1992-94)* (London: English Heritage, 1999); and, Sam Turner, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: a landscape archaeology for research, management and planning', *Landscape Research*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (2006), pp. 385-398.

⁷¹ Conzen was part of the invited contributors to the 1966 Urban History Group round-table conference at which he presented his town-plan analysis.

⁷² Roger M. Thomas, 'Mapping the Towns: English Heritage's Urban Survey and Characterisation Programme', *Landscapes*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2006), pp. 69-71; and Sam Turner, 'Landscape Archaeology for the Past and Future: The Place of Historic Landscape Characterisation', *Landscapes*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2007), p. 43.

⁷³ J. W. R. Whitehand, 'British urban morphology: the Conzenian tradition', *Urban Morphology*, Vol. 5, No. 2 (2001), p. 104.

narrow landscape types within GIS polygons.⁷⁴ The number and complexity of these broad and narrow types varied, but researchers aimed to divide landscape into its smallest constituent part.⁷⁵ For example, the broad type ‘settlement’ formed the basis of a series of specific terms such as ‘detached’, ‘semi-detached’, or ‘terraced’.⁷⁶ Conzenian and HLC methodologies relied on built-form having recognisable physical differences that could be distinguished from one another at the mapping level. In theory, practitioners could differentiate between landscape forms from their physical appearance; commercial space looked different from residential space.⁷⁷ Both approaches promoted the incorporation of function into analysis. Character-style mapping accepted that physical form and function do not always match when change over time is considered; a building footprint may stay the same but building use changes.⁷⁸ The adoption of retrogressive analysis from mapping, field-walking, and complementary source material, such as planning records, promoted a better understanding of landscape use, an understanding that was different from landscape form. This vital distinction has relevance within a study of eighteenth-century space because the interpretation of physical form from historic maps could be deceptive, especially within historic cores such as in Newcastle, where the retention of morphological form from the Middle Ages has already been used to imply lack of change.⁷⁹

This thesis places value on the incorporation of character-style mapping, but several academics have criticised HLC for the lack of consideration of primary and secondary source

⁷⁴ A polygon is a closed shape in GIS that has a connected sequence of x, y coordinates, and forms an area. See ‘GIS Dictionary’, Esri support. Accessed March 9, 2018, <https://support.esri.com/en/other-resources/gis-dictionary/term/polygon>. An image of the polygon system used has been included in Appendix Two.

⁷⁵ Thomas, ‘Mapping the Towns’, p. 83; and Stephen Rippon, ‘Historic Landscape Characterisation: Its Role in Contemporary British Archaeology and Landscape History’, *Landscapes*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2007), p. 2.

⁷⁶ The use of GIS has been advantageous to HLC because of the ability to integrate further attributes to each polygon to assist final analysis, such as plot information in relation to specific housing types. See Rippon, ‘Historic Landscape Characterisation’, p. 2.

⁷⁷ J. W. R. Whitehand, ‘The structure of urban landscapes: strengthening research and practice’, *Urban Morphology*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2009), p. 6.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 9; and Whitehand, ‘British urban morphology’, p. 106.

⁷⁹ Thomas Faulkner, ‘Architecture in Newcastle’, in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp. 220-221.

material, a criticism that is well placed and has hampered research-led investigation.⁸⁰ Both approaches were primarily concerned with historical survival rather than reconstruction, which favoured industrial and post-industrial landscapes that can be interpreted using modern maps. The limitation of excluding complementary source material resulted in removal of human interaction from the morphological analysis.⁸¹ As a consequence, this study's methodology has combined the greater understanding of street system, plot pattern, and building pattern found in Conzen's town-plan analysis with the visual and analytical capabilities of HLC, while also including a greater assessment of complementary source material, both within GIS and as a supplement to it.

At its core, the thesis methodology is reliant on a wide-range of topographic source material that became increasingly prominent in eighteenth-century cities. Charleston and Newcastle produced a range of cartographic outputs between 1740 and 1840: a total of ten maps formed the basis of spatial analysis, but a further seven were consulted as additional sources outside of the specific date range.⁸² Each of these map dates formed a mapping-epoch from which other spatially rich data could link for comparison. This method assisted in organising data in meaningful ways around several specific dates within a century of history, rather than attempting to understand every record with a spatial link. The late 1780s and early 1790s provides a useful example of how the method was applied because it formed a beneficial cluster of directly comparable data outputs that included: *A Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne by Ralph Beilby* (1788); *Ichnography of Charleston* (1788); *Whitehead's Newcastle*

⁸⁰ Rippon, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation', p. 5; Tom Williamson, 'Historic Landscape Characterisation: Some Queries', *Landscapes*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2007), pp. 64-71; and Jonathan Finch, "Wider Famed Countries": Historic Landscape Characterisation in the Midland Shires', *Landscapes*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (2007), pp. 50-63. Sam Turner has defended the method by suggesting that it would have been impossible to incorporate primary source material on the national scale envisioned by Historic England in the 1990s, but he agrees that intensive research development at smaller geographical scales would improve interpretation (Turner, 'Landscape Archaeology', p. 44).

⁸¹ Whitehand, 'British urban morphology', p. 107

⁸² Each map has been reproduced in Appendix One. They are grouped by city and in chronological order. Those that were geo-referenced have been displayed with the overall residual error that provides some indication of accuracy to modern coordinate systems.

Directory (1790); the *Charleston Directory* (1790); the rate books of All Saints and St. Nicholas parish in Newcastle (1790); and the United States Census (1790).⁸³ The ability to compare spatial data-sets within each city and between the two case studies was a crucial means of understanding how space developed in similar and contrasting ways between 1740 and 1840.

The quality of the cartographic sources varied considerably and that complicated the treatment of the spatial source material within GIS. Although documents such as the *Ichnography of Charleston* were high-quality outputs, cartographic sources did not reach similar levels of accuracy as those found in Newcastle until 1852.⁸⁴ As a consequence, character-style GIS mapping within Charleston was of little benefit because building and plot surveying was sporadic and unreliable making determination of character from built-form problematic.⁸⁵ Charleston's GIS was formed instead from the creation of three shapefiles using the city's trade directories for 1782, 1790, and 1840.⁸⁶ The 1790 data-set was cross-

⁸³ A *Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead by Ralph Beilby*, 1788 (D.NCP/2/8), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne; *Ichnography of Charleston*, South Carolina by E. Petrie, 1788 (22), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC; William Whitehead, *Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory, For 1790* (Newcastle upon Tyne: D. Akenhead, 1790); Jacob Milligan, *The Charleston Directory and Revenue System* (Charleston: T. B. Owen, 1790); *All Saints Poor Rate Assessment Book*, 1790 (183/1/43), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne; *St. Nicholas' Poor Rate Assessment Book*, 1790 (183/1/448), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne; The United States Census, South Carolina, Charleston, 1790, Ancestry.com. Accessed February 3, 2018, https://www.ancestry.com/interactive/5058/4185996_00174?backurl=https%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.com%2fsearch%2fdb.aspx%3fdbid%3d5058%26path%3d&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnBrowsing.

⁸⁴ The *Ichnography of Charleston* was one of the earliest post-Revolution urban maps to be produced in the United States and was created by the Phoenix Fire-Company (based in London). The map detailed public buildings and streets and included ninety-nine private and commercial buildings. Further information can be found in Walter W. Ristow, *American Maps and Mapmakers: Commercial Cartography in the Nineteenth Century* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1985), pp. 44-45. The accuracy of the map has been questioned within this study because the motivations of the Phoenix Fire-Company remain unclear. The published map was taken from a survey by E. Petrie, but it is ambiguous whether Petrie was working for the company and, if so, were all properties surveyed or only those that they insured?

⁸⁵ Charleston is treated slightly differently because of the difference in the use of space. The greater geographic area resulted in expansion within the peninsula, rather than vertical adaption that was typical in Newcastle as the city attempted to stay within a limited core. Charleston also had several fires that affected the longevity of building footprints and resulted in limited building variation in terms of style.

⁸⁶ John Tobler, *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanack, for the year of Our Lord 1782* (Charlestown: R. Wells and Son, 1782); Milligan, *The Charleston Directory*; and T. C. Fay, *Charleston Directory, and Strangers' Guide, for 1840 and 1841* (Charleston: T. C. Fay, 1840). A shapefile stores the geometric location and attribute information of geographic features that can comprise of points, lines or polygons. In this instance the trade directories were converted into point data. See 'ArcGIS for Desktop', Esri support. Accessed March 12, 2018. <http://desktop.arcgis.com/en/arcmap/10.3/manage-data/shapefiles/what-is-a-shapefile.htm>.

referenced with the United States Census for further information on demographics, and additional trade directories were consulted. The city's collection of trade directories was remarkable. Between 1735 and 1840 a total of sixteen directories were compiled, testament to the high turnover of business. Collectively, the three data-sets created four thousand six hundred and nine records within independent databases that recorded names, occupations, number and street addresses.⁸⁷ The trade directories are comprehensive indicators of activity in the city because, in addition to listing businesses, they included residential addresses and those with no occupation such as widows. The inclusion of women provided useful information on the role of gender for comparison with Newcastle. Women made up fourteen percent of the 1790 directory and twenty-three percent of the 1840 directory. In addition, the 1840 trade directory recorded free people of colour, who represented eight percent of the total distribution. The quality of the data within the trade directories was such that it provided accurate spatial awareness of changes to social, economic and administrative space over time that was combined with morphological understanding of the city using the cartographic source material.

Newcastle also benefited from GIS distribution maps using city trade directories for 1778, 1790 and 1829.⁸⁸ Five thousand four hundred and eighty-two records were created within three shapefiles to the same standards outlined above. In addition, a character-style mapping project was created for an area comprising the Sandhill and Side, Mosley and Dean

⁸⁷ A confidence rating was assigned to each record to indicate the accuracy of the mapping, but there were some records that were illegible or for which a coordinate could not be established. Charleston's street numbering has changed over time so modern numbering cannot be used to determine historic numbering. In addition, some addresses were provided without a number so only the street could be determined. Despite these issues the percentage of mapping was high. As an indication, ninety-eight percent of the 1790 directory was mapped, and seventy-six percent of the 1840 directory was mapped. For further information on Charleston's street numbering see the pamphlet, Nicholas Butler, *The Street Numbers of Peninsular Charleston* (Charleston: Charleston County Public Library, 2010).

⁸⁸ William Whitehead, *The First Newcastle Directory* (Newcastle upon Tyne: W. Whitehead, 1778); Whitehead, Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory, for 1790; and Whitehead, Whitehead's Newcastle; and J. Pigot, *Directory for Northumberland: Detailing the principal towns and villages* (Newcastle upon Tyne: J. Pigot, 1829).

Streets, Pilgrim Street and its eastern environs.⁸⁹ The characterisation was made possible because of a comprehensive survey carried out by Thomas Oliver in 1830.⁹⁰ Oliver accurately charted every building and plot in the city, and included an accompanying guide of property ownership.⁹¹ The level of detail offered by Oliver, and longevity of building footprints between each mapping epoch, resulted in an excellent case study for assessment by characterisation. An access database was created for Newcastle that linked with a geodatabase in GIS to facilitate spatial analysis.⁹² Each database record linked to a polygon within GIS to create a unique record that recorded landscape change from six mapping-epochs: 1746, 1770, 1788, 1802, 1827, and, 1830. In contrast to other character-based methodologies, the analysis accepted that each unit of landscape might have multiple forms of spatial use. The database could record multiple uses by assigning each character to different floors within a building thus providing a nuanced analysis of varied building use that was vitally important for understanding Newcastle's vertical space. The approach benefited Newcastle without penalising Charleston because the quality and treatment of space in Charleston meant that the same questions could be asked of the data without the need for characterisation. The greater reliance on vertical space in Newcastle, coupled with a greater diversity of building styles that played a specific role in class segregation, resulted in characterisation contributing to an understanding of space in meaningful ways that were not necessary in Charleston.

The acceptance of sometimes differing methodologies for comparative studies is necessary when using GIS. Although direct source comparisons can be made, what works for

⁸⁹ The area chosen covered a large section of the eastern part of the original walled city but excluded the chares that were restrictive to mapping because of the very small size of properties. The city streets were also characterised. A figure of the area characterised using polygons has been included in Appendix Two.

⁹⁰ Thomas Oliver's *Plan of Central Newcastle*, 1830 (L/4126), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne.

⁹¹ Thomas Oliver, *Reference to a plan of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the Borough of Gateshead, with their respective suburbs; shewing every public building and private property contained therein* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Thomas Oliver, 1831).

⁹² The database has been detailed in Appendix Two. It consisted of tab fields of detailed information from the six sources of historic mapping. A character type was assigned to each polygon that included a hierarchical relationship consisting of *Class, Family, Type*. For example, *Commercial, Shops, Ironmonger*. Each polygon was assigned further attributes that provided better understanding of the building in relation to the plot.

one city may not work for another. Researchers need to accept some flexibility in the creation of meaningful GIS data-sets for analysis. If urban historians have come to accept that what links urban history is the emphasis placed on understanding the totality of the city, rather than the individual methods, then it stands to reason that adaptable methodology can be part of a single study providing that emphasis is placed on comparison of common themes. Kenny and Madgin advocate the disruption of urban comparisons by categorisation: we should be able to consider very different cities and GIS provides a method with which to approach similarities and difference regardless of which ‘box’ a city has been defined as belonging to.⁹³ This thesis places itself within this paradigm by embracing the use of similar source material, but with differing methodologies, in order to understand the development of space within two mercantile cities between 1740 and 1840.

In order to study the spatial development of Charleston and Newcastle in a new way the thesis begins, in Chapter One, with an examination of inherited morphology before 1740, as well as physical changes between 1740 and 1840. Both cities had already moved beyond their early modern appearance in which fortifications were important for protection. Morphological change was a key feature of urban development as these cities edged towards modern status and this is detailed in reference to the urban hinterland, street-system, and plot layout. This chapter provides insight into the physical structure of these urban systems before detailed analysis of administrative, residential, recreational, and commercial space takes place in the following chapters. Chapter Two examines the role of Newcastle and Charleston’s urban Corporation’s after the reconfiguration of Charleston’s administrative structure in 1783. As both Corporation’s were dominated by wealthy white males, the chapter establishes the motivations and means of elite residents to shape the direction of urban change from the late eighteenth century onwards. The differing administrative histories of Newcastle and

⁹³ Kenny and Madgin, “‘Every Time I Describe a City’”, pp. 14-15.

Charleston were crucial to how development would take place, which is highlighted with reference to reactive and proactive spatial transformations in each city. Turning to the role of residential space, Chapter Three critiques the dominance of architectural history that has seen the broad patterns of residential use between 1740 and 1840 ignored in favour of individual building histories. Consideration of the micro-geography of residency reveals the complicated inter-mixing of social groups in Charleston and Newcastle that were acceptable within mercantile communities. The historical GIS for each city reveals consistent patterns of reinvention of urban living spaces, rather than the current emphasis on residential migration as urban space expanded. Chapter Four considers the role of place in the form of social interaction and elite entertainment. The upper classes of Charleston and Newcastle increasingly engaged in enlightened cultural pursuits after 1740, which ensured the production of a range of venues including coffee houses, theatres, and music halls. The influence of such venues within the wider spatial system is difficult to establish because of the dominance on ‘place’ instead of space. However, analysis of the impact that they had within Newcastle and Charleston reveals important distinctions in the way they formed conflicting places of social inclusion and exclusion. The impact of the consumer revolution on the creation of commercial space is examined in Chapter Five. The application of GIS highlighted important distinctions about how consumer revolution studies are normally considered. Firstly, commercial space did not simply expand from the waterfront. Instead, polycentric shopping hubs were created from the late eighteenth century onwards which provide important clues regarding spatial determinacy in cities developing simultaneously rather than as a cultural exchange from one to another. The chapter recognises the highly mixed nature of the urban shopping experience that has been hidden because of over-emphasis of identification of luxury consumption at the expense of other commercial functions. The Conclusion reconsiders the role of complexity and adaptability within both cities by advocating an approach that considers multiple spatial functions. The identification of no

distinct micro-geography of spatial function, or social segregation, is an important step in reconsidering the ability of elites to control the development of daily life and activity in the city, far beyond what current histories of Charleston and Newcastle have acknowledged.

CHAPTER ONE

Macro to Micro Development in Charleston and Newcastle

Cities developing between 1740 and 1840 are typically discussed with reference to ‘improvement’, which has become synonymous with the high levels of change occurring during this transitional period.¹ But reference to ‘improvements’ fail to do justice to the complexity of development that was occurring in these two port cities. Current scholarly work on Charleston and Newcastle relies too heavily on textual source material that only offers generalisations, rather than direct analysis of urban space. This has been coupled with cartographic observations that emphasise the preservation of the built environment to validate arguments about the retention of early-modern historic and social practices in Charleston and Newcastle. Identifying the points of divergence (through urban morphology) offers a different perspective by analysing the physical form of urban areas, and how this changed over time.² Morphology brings coherence to the multiple spatial attributes that make up a city.³ Buildings, plots, and streets all lend cohesion to an urban concept. Such attributes form part of the historical record, but they also have a great influence on subsequent generations of morphological creation and change.⁴ The differing scales of spatial systems are considered from macro to micro by examining: each city within its hinterland; the street-system within

¹ Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 22; Margaret C. Jacob, *The Enlightenment: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2001), p. 207; Ronald S. Love, *The Enlightenment* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), pp. 3-7; Alexander Murdock, ‘A crucible for change: Enlightenment in Britain’, in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 104 and 113; Anthony Paged, *The Enlightenment and why it still matters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 8-12; Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000), p. xxii; J. R. Pole, ‘Enlightenment and the politics of American nature’, in Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Enlightenment in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 199; David Spadafora, *The Idea of Progress in Eighteenth Century Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 1-20; Rosemary H. Sweet, ‘Topographies of Politeness’, *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 12 (2002), p. 361; and Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp. 31-32.

² For a definition of urban morphology see Karl Kropf who cites J. W. Goethe’s work on morphology from 1952. Karl Kropf, ‘Aspects of Urban Form’, *Urban Morphology*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2009), p. 107.

³ Olgı Çalışkan and Bardia Mashhoodi, ‘Urban coherence: a morphological definition’, *Urban Morphology Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (2017), pp. 123-141.

⁴ J. W. R. Whitehand, ‘The Physical Form of Cities: A Historico-Geographical Approach’, in Ronan Paddison (ed.) *Handbook of Urban Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), p. 69.

each city; and the plot system within each street-system. This system is important because each scale provides a more nuanced understanding of the various spheres in which urban change operated, and, crucially, those who operated within those spheres between 1740 and 1840.

At first examination, a comparison of Newcastle and Charleston seems incongruous. These cities were separated by 4,000 miles and had vastly different founding histories and chronological development. Their geographic scale and population sizes were starkly different throughout most of the eighteenth century, although they became comparable after 1810.

Table 1.1 below shows a rudimentary comparison of figures for the two urban centres in c.1740, c.1788/90, and c.1830 (drawing on estimates and census data).⁵

Table 1.1: Geographic area and population size in Newcastle and Charleston, 1740-1830

Geographic Area			Population Size		
	Newcastle	Charleston		Newcastle	Charleston
c.1740	92 hectares	109 hectares	c.1740	21,000 (est.)	6,300 (est.)
1788	104 hectares	173 hectares	c.1790	30,000 (est.)	16,359
c.1830	158 hectares	234 hectares	c. 1830	42,760	30,289

The geographic area of Charleston was larger than Newcastle throughout the long eighteenth century, although the estimates for both cities included undeveloped space.⁶ The large amounts of open space in Newcastle (including Carliol Croft and the Nuns Field)

⁵ Data for geographic area was calculated using cartographic sources in GIS and as such are estimates only. The population data was compiled from the following sources: Mike Barke, ‘The People of Newcastle: A Demographic History’, in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle Upon Tyne: A Modern History* (London: Phillimore, 2001), p. 136; *Tables of the Revenue, Population, Commerce, etc. of The United Kingdom and its Dependencies: Part III. From 1820 to 1833, both inclusive: compiled from Official Returns* (London: William Clowes, 1834), p. 420; Benjamin L. Carp, *Rebels Rising: Cities and the American Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 225; “Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods”, accessed 16 March 2018, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/00165897ch01.pdf>; Campbell Gibson, “Population of the 100 largest cities and other urban places in the United States: 1790 to 1990”, accessed 16 March 2018, <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tabc02.txt>; and <https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tabc06.txt>.

⁶ See Appendix Three for further details on the relative morphological scales of Newcastle and Charleston.

provided sufficient undeveloped land that could be built upon, which kept the city compact.⁷ In comparison, Charleston was able to engage in outward expansion within the peninsula, and problems with flooding ensured that land reclamation became part of the early colonial strategy for the city. Population statistics provide a better guide for comparison, although these too had discrepancies. Table 1.1 indicated that Newcastle's population outstripped Charleston's considerably during the eighteenth century, but the greater geographic area of Charleston would have proven more favourable for human-to-spatial density ratios. From about 1810 Charleston's population became more directly comparable, having increased quickly. By 1830 the population had multiplied five-fold, whereas Newcastle's figures had only doubled. Although it remains important to acknowledge such figures, the difficulty with relying on geographic area and population size is that neither accurately reflected the status of Newcastle and Charleston. Instead, economic success, and societal and political aspirations, driven by the urban and hinterland populations, provided a much better indication of how these cities might be compared.

Comparative hinterlands

Newcastle and Charleston benefited from the physical and social geography of the vast regions that they served. Both cities were dependent on the trade of a small range of commodities that were in sufficient abundance to make both cities uniquely prized by the large trading environment of London. The dominance of exports at both locations meant that there was a close connection between the urban environment and its hinterland. Both the landed elite and the merchant class benefitted from a close relationship that created wealthy

⁷ The Nun's Field established in the twelfth century, and Carliol Croft established in the fifteenth century were both approximately two hectares and formed the largest remaining open spaces in Newcastle by the eighteenth century. The Nun's Field was located behind properties lining the east-side of Newgate Street and was bounded by High Friar Street on its north boundary placing it close to the north wall. Carliol Croft was sandwiched between the east wall and the gardens of properties lining the east-side of Pilgrim Street, but this also placed it within the northern walled limits of Newcastle.

individuals who were happy to mix socially and reinvest in the city. The contribution of a city's hinterland should not be overlooked. Rosemary Sweet has suggested that the nature of the relationship between a city and its hinterland, especially the landed elite who resided there, was crucial for increasing polite status.⁸ Directly and indirectly the hinterland contributed to the economic, political, and social opportunities of those residing in Charleston and Newcastle. Despite the separation of 4,000 miles, the shared values of these cities' hinterlands demonstrated the drive and ability to create spatial change within the urban setting.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Newcastle was well known for its dominance over the English coal trade.⁹ The 'Grand Lease' that secured the lease on all collieries in Gateshead and Whickham was awarded to Newcastle in the sixteenth century and created a monopoly for a select group of Newcastle merchants over trade on the River Tyne.¹⁰ Newcastle's Corporation controlled this monopoly, as well as the government of the city. The Corporation became the driving force behind improvement, and that was possible because of the financial returns that were received annually from coal. Accounts of Newcastle from 1794 recorded that coals exported from Newcastle paid upwards of fourteen shillings per 'chaldron' weight in duty.¹¹ Economic analysis by Joyce Ellis has suggested that, by 1800, well over one and a half million tons of coal was exported from Newcastle annually, representing a significant profit for the Corporation.¹² In addition, the city supplemented the coal trade with exports that were drawn from a large hinterland. Salt, butter, glass, lead,

⁸ Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', p. 361.

⁹ Newcastle shifted its primary commodity from wool to coal following an agrarian recession during the thirteenth century. Several periods of plague had drastically reduced the hinterland's ability to keep up with demand. See, Diana Newton and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *Newcastle and Gateshead before 1700* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), pp. xix-xx.

¹⁰ Control already extended to Northumberland mines by this period, but the Grand Lease provided further advantage to Newcastle merchants over their neighbours in Gateshead, those settlements closer to the Mouth of the Tyne at Tynemouth, and the Shields. *Ibid*, p. xxiv.

¹¹ Jane Harvey, *A Sentimental Tour through Newcastle; By a Young Lady* (Newcastle: D. Akenhead, 1794), p. 22, (Cowen Tracts, v.68 n.8), Special Collections, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.

¹² Joyce Ellis, 'The 'Black Indies': The Economic Development of Newcastle, c.1700-1840', in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), p. 5.

grindstones, wool and textiles, tallow, and tobacco were controlled through a small group of landowners that surrounded Newcastle, and the merchants within Newcastle.¹³ Newcastle's port was an economic draw for these landowners, but the city also provided a social and political base for the landed elite who were directly involved in Newcastle government and the promotion of the city in national politics. It was this type of interaction that Sweet has identified as being important for urban status because the presence of elites elevated Newcastle and motivated the push towards modernity.¹⁴

The influence of the polite hinterland on the formation of a polite city can be observed through Newcastle's imports. From the late seventeenth century, visitors such as Celia Fiennes spoke complimentarily of the city's shops that she likened to London in terms of quality produce.¹⁵ Such comparisons were made possible because of growing imports of wine and luxury consumer goods alongside necessary items such as grain. Ellis has suggested that the emphasis on industrial export produced a counter-need for agrarian import on a scale not seen in other English cities.¹⁶ The reliance on London for import as well as export meant that elites, and Newcastle's increasingly wealthy merchant classes, emulated fashion and luxury observed in the capitol and were able to access these goods through trade. Newcastle's commercial space grew significantly throughout the period: fifty-six grocers in 1790 had more than doubled forty years later.¹⁷ Such was the demand for luxury goods that Newcastle became the centre of a vast region that attracted custom from as far west as Cumbria and as far south as North Yorkshire, and this draw for the city was important in generating wealth for elites, merchants, and eventually the emerging middle classes. Newcastle was lucky because it

¹³ Ibid, p. 7; and Newton and Pollard, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, p. xxi.

¹⁴ Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', p. 361.

¹⁵ Christopher Morris (ed.), *The Illustrated Journeys of Celia Fiennes c.1682 – c.1712* (Exeter: Webb & Bower Ltd, 1982), p. 176.

¹⁶ Ellis, 'The "Black Indies"', p. 5.

¹⁷ William Whitehead, *Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory, for 1790* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Akenhead, 1790), pp. 78-80; A. Richardson, *Directory of the towns of Newcastle upon Tyne and Gateshead, for the year 1838* (Newcastle upon Tyne: M. A. Richardson, 1838), pp. 206-207.

remained relatively unchallenged by other large urban population centres (see details for 1790 in Figure 1.1).

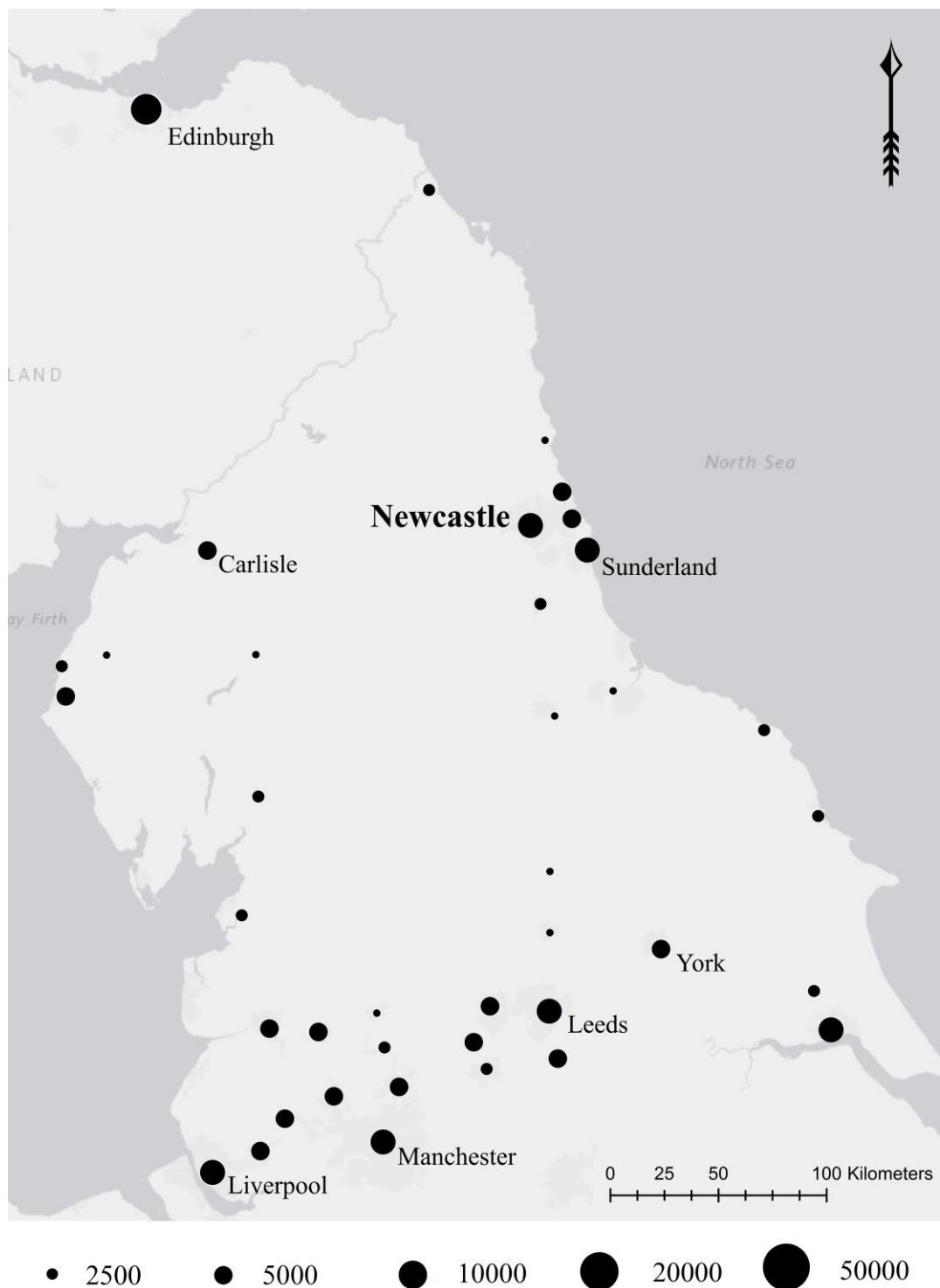


Figure 1.1: Urban competition in Newcastle's hinterland and beyond, 1790

*adapted from P. J. Corfield, *The Impact of English Towns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), figure 2, p. 13.

Central to Newcastle's trade structure was its connection to London. Newcastle merchants preferred to invest in coastal rather than overseas trade for several reasons. Aside from the north-east coastal location, Newcastle manufacturers seem to have settled for production of low-quality goods that were aimed at the national mass market, rather than foreign markets.¹⁸ Those merchants that did attempt overseas trade with markets including France, Spain and British colonies along the American eastern-seaboard recorded mixed results.¹⁹ The less risky route of selling to London, which then acted as a 'middleman' space for lucrative overseas trade, was more favourable, and by the mid-eighteenth century such strategies resulted in Newcastle becoming the fourth largest port in England. The port acted as a central meeting point between hinterland and city, but the port was not a separate space from the wider settlement. The general population of Newcastle engaged in the hinterland/urban relationship through speculative trade investments that integrated port trade more directly into the lives of Newcastle's population and economy.²⁰ Advertisements from the *Newcastle Courant* from 1771 provided one of many examples of the shares available in ships such as the Royal Exchange, the Mary, and the Jenny that were available to the highest bidders at the Custom House coffee house on Newcastle's quayside.²¹ Those who could invest found themselves at the centre of trade networks that had the potential to make them very wealthy, but it was Newcastle merchants that benefited most significantly.

Newcastle's merchants seized political opportunities for first-born sons by investing wealth back into Newcastle infrastructure. Meeting rooms and schools proved particularly

¹⁸ Ellis has suggested that approximately one third of trade was overseas, but even this trade was concentrated on less risky routes such as Holland or the western Baltic. See Ellis, "The "Black Indies"" , pp. 3 and 23.

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 6. Ralph Carr was one of few Newcastle merchants that attempted shipments of coal to ports such as Boston, and Philadelphia in the 1760s. Correspondence between Carr and Samuel Hughes in 1760 explained the mixed results of a shipment of coal, tar, and York Ale. See, Letter from Ralph Carr & Co., Newcastle upon Tyne to Samuel Hughes, Boston, MA, 15 February, 1760, (ZCE/E/3/5/1/14/1251), Northumberland Archives, Woodhorn Museum, Ashington.

²⁰ Ellis, "The "Black Indies"" , p. 2

²¹ *Newcastle Courant*, January 19, 1771, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17710119/010/0003>.

important as places from which merchant control of Newcastle spread. Corporate officials, from families such as the Blacketts, Claytons, Cramlingsons, Forsters, and Surtees, had all climbed the political ladder during the early and mid-eighteenth century.²² In addition, merchants and their families privately invested and partook in a range of formerly elite cultural pursuits, such as the theatre or assembly room. Crucially, the development of a polite market broke down barriers by creating places of spatial integration in which elites from the hinterland interacted with urban resident elites in the city. What started as social integration soon spilled over into commercial and residential integration that produced more complicated mixing within different spatial forms and between them. Newcastle's hinterland was important because the merchant class emulated the landed elite within it. Directly changing the morphological structure of place and space within Newcastle produced a city that the landed elite sought to engage in. Furthermore, a pattern emerged in which the wealth, political control, and engagement in polite society within the hinterland was copied by merchants within the city and created opportunities for social interaction that would not have been possible without the city.

Like Newcastle, Charleston relied on a small range of exports that were traded almost exclusively with London. South Carolina's Fundamental Constitutions (1669) outlined the structures of government for the whole colony and made the establishment of urban settlements obligatory.²³ The hierarchical framework of the colony would prove important to the development of Charleston. The first Earl of Shaftesbury and John Locke set out an idealised society in which an enlightened nobility would generate wealth and provide

²² Examination of the various offices of the Corporation demonstrates the progression through the Corporation for such families with some family members eventually becoming Mayor. See C. H. Hunter Blair, *The Mayors and Lord Mayors of Newcastle upon Tyne 1216-1940, and the Sheriffs of the County of Newcastle upon Tyne 1339-1940* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumberland Press Ltd, 1940), pp. 65-115.

²³ Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), p. 22; M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), p. 15; Thomas D. Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan: The Founding of Carolina and the Origins of Southern Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), p. 1798, Kindle edition.

successful leaders, thus securing the lives of the masses through economic, social and political stability.²⁴ The model was never about equality so much as providing a better way of life for all, and urban settlements were thought to provide the best environment in which to achieve this ideal.²⁵ The model was not dissimilar to hierarchical relationships between the landed-elite and urban merchant classes found in England. Shaftesbury deliberately avoided the class disharmony that had occurred in Virginia, or the diverse societies that had occurred in New England that he associated with the lack of planned urban centres.²⁶ Unplanned, informal settlements were not allowed and, as an incentive, urban monopolies were created on the landing of imported goods.²⁷ Shaftesbury understood the relationship between urban centres and their hinterlands: Charleston provided access for the hinterland to market, but it also created necessary relationships between farmers, landed elites, and merchants.

Part of Charleston's advantage lay in its geographic location. It lay slightly inland, rather than at the river mouth, but its establishment at an inlet between two tidal rivers gave it much better access to overseas trade, as well as access to the intracoastal waterway running along the Atlantic Seaboard. The hinterland could be accessed via an extensive watershed that included smaller rivers such as the Stono and Wando, that connected to the Ashley and Cooper rivers, and via Native American trade routes that ran up Charleston Neck all the way to Philadelphia.²⁸ Charleston's location was also advantageous because, like Newcastle, it was unthreatened by nearby urban centres (Figure 1.2). Shaftesbury restricted the creation of ports to avoid direct competition within the colony. Only one urban settlement was allowed per navigable river and, consequently, Charleston had a massive draw as the largest port south of Philadelphia. The South Carolina Governor, William Bull, reported in 1770 that the annual

²⁴ Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan*, pp. 2127-2137.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 1404.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 2253.

²⁸ George, C. Rogers Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p. 8.

production of rice matched that of the Georgia colony, and tobacco from plantations two hundred miles north of Charleston were being sold there at a good profit.²⁹



Figure 1.2: Urban competition in Charleston's hinterland and beyond, 1790

²⁹ William Bull reported that emigrants from Virginia had relocated to cultivate tobacco further south, probably in North Carolina, because of the benefits of a better climate. Despite being a bulky product to transport they made sufficient profit through Charleston to make the expense of carriage worth it. See William Bull, 'Governor William Bull's Representation of the Colony, 1770', in H. Roy Merrens (ed.), *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774: Tricentennial Edition, Number 7* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 265.

In a similar way to Newcastle, Charleston was successful because of the monopoly it held over its hinterland. Colonists were encouraged to produce exports that were desirable to London and, as the colonies' principal trading port, Charleston benefited significantly.³⁰ Governor James Glen's report from the 1750s emphasised the range of produce available within South Carolina that would not interfere 'with the product of the mother country'.³¹ England had no interest in trading for goods that could already be produced cheaper and easier on its own soil. As a result, Charleston exported a range of important agrarian goods that continued after independence: it remained in Charleston's interests to export goods that were in demand to foreign markets including London. Charleston strategically reinvented its export industry several times. The early deerskin trade was replaced with rice and indigo, that was extremely profitable, and later these were replaced with cotton.³² As with Newcastle, a range of supplementary products including tar, corn and peas, leather, timber, hemp, flour, silk, olives, wine, and tobacco was controlled by a restricted group of landed elites and wealthy merchants.³³ As the financial hub for the colony Charleston benefited financially with trade providing the economic means through which urban improvements could be financed.³⁴

Of even greater value was the hinterland/urban relationship that was formed through the slave trade. Charleston's slave economy would prove far more beneficial than any agricultural product. From the early eighteenth century, independent traders brought ever increasing numbers of enslaved peoples to Carolina through Charleston, and, by 1770, Bull

³⁰ L. H. Roper, *Conceiving Carolina: Proprietors, Planters, and Plots, 1662-1729* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 48.

³¹ James Glen, 'Evaluations of the Scene, 1751-53', in H. Roy Merrens (ed.), *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774: Tricentennial Edition, Number 7* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 178.

³² In 1757 Dr Alexander Garden commented that exports of indigo from Charleston to London amounted to £150,000 per annum. See, Alexander Garden, 'A Letter from a Scientist, 1757', in H. Roy Merrens (ed.), *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774: Tricentennial Edition, Number 7* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 123.

³³ Glen, 'Evaluations of the Scene', pp. 180-184.

³⁴ R. C. Nash argued that the rapid development of early Charleston should be attributed to the rice trade going through a single colonial market. R. C. Nash, 'Urbanisation in the Colonial South: Charleston, South Carolina, as a case study', *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1992), pp. 3-29.

reported imports of three to four thousand slaves in the city per annum.³⁵ Slavery impacted the urban environment with slave quarters making up part of the planned space of many urban housing plots, but it had even greater significance within Charleston's hinterland. Slavery made the formation of rice plantations possible by maintaining low production costs, as well as high and fast profits.³⁶ Post-independence saw even greater reliance on enslaved populations after the introduction of cotton production and export. Cotton replaced earlier crops as a more lucrative low production versus a high profit export. Slavery was the key factor in the production to export chain that kept production costs down. It also facilitated the creation of the planter class who became wealthy and influential in Charleston through economic, political and social action.³⁷

The overseas trading relationship with London was essential. As with Newcastle, the close relationship with London resulted in the emulation of London fashions by Charleston's elite who wished to participate in luxury and display. In 1752 advertisements from the *South Carolina Gazette* listed imports such as dried fruits, sugar, tea, cheese, spices, cloth, shoes, hats, rolled tobacco and snuff.³⁸ By the late eighteenth century, the city had a growing number of shops through which Charlestonians could engage in polite consumption. Such was the investment in display that, in 1830, the visitor James Stuart sat down to a dinner attended by slaves in livery serving turtle-soup, venison, mutton, turkey, ham, and duck that was accompanied by Champagne, Madeira, sherry, port and claret.³⁹ Charleston society had

³⁵ Bull, *Governor William Bull's*, p. 265.

³⁶ George C. Rogers suggested that it was independent merchants, such as the Wragg family during the 1730s, which broke through the monopoly of the Royal African Company to establish South Carolina's dependency on a slave economy. Rogers, *Charleston in the age of the Pinckneys*, pp. 9-10.

³⁷ S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 13-52; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760-1808* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), pp. 9-46; and Nash, 'Urbanisation in the Colonial South', pp. 3-29.

³⁸ *South Carolina Gazette*, November 20, 1752, accessed April 14, 2016, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

³⁹ James Stuart Esq., 'Devil in Petticoats, 1830', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 194.

quickly embraced a class structure that Shaftesbury had not fully envisaged with the top tiers of society filled by wealthy merchants and planters. Hereditary titles found within Newcastle's hinterland were not necessary given the prestige that soon became associated with the planter class.⁴⁰ Charleston's social order has been characterised, within the secondary literature, by rigid hierarchy wherein elites were resistant to change.⁴¹ However, such assessments have been taken from the perspective of comparison to America's northern cities where such structures were overturned. When compared with Newcastle, the social hierarchy had similar opportunities for upward mobility for those who were prepared to take a degree of financial risk. Social interaction also increased in similar ways through investment in a range of participatory engagements such as local educational provisions or recreational activities. Those citizens who became rich would reinvest in the urban fabric of Charleston. The fact that such investments served to reinforce social hierarchy was no different than Newcastle's improvement strategy for much of the eighteenth century that concentrated infrastructure within the city as the elite regional centre. Yet Charleston's historical GIS demonstrates that the physical reaction to social hierarchies resulted in greater diversity between social groups than current historiographies of Charleston suggest.

Newcastle and Charleston were at the economic centre of vast regional networks with resulting individual wealth that could not be easily matched by other urban centres. Not all eighteenth-century cities of the British Atlantic could make such claims. Geographically, Newcastle's closest economic competitors were Edinburgh and Hull. For Charleston the distance was greater still, with Philadelphia being the closest economic east coast competitor. Independent wealth created the desire for upward mobility and the creation of an elite urban class. It was this new urban elite that possessed the finances and power to create real change

⁴⁰ Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 2005), p. 91.

⁴¹ Ibid.

within the urban setting, but it is worth reflecting upon the physical form of each city in 1740 before considering various design phases.

A Morphological over-view of Newcastle, 1740-1840

Many of the physical features observed in mid-eighteenth-century Newcastle can be attributed to phased planning occurring between the late twelfth and sixteenth centuries.⁴² A plan of Newcastle from 1746 portrayed a city still largely enclosed within its walls.⁴³ Religious houses such as Black Fryers were still extant. Town houses were in evidence with long burgage plots still in use behind them.⁴⁴ When these were combined with areas of open space, such as Carliol Croft or the Nuns Field, it created the impression of a city open to the north that contrasted with dense settlement at the waterfront. These features can be observed in Figure 1.3.

⁴² There is no definitive date for the establishment of a settlement on the River Tyne. Eneas Mackenzie and S. Middlebrook cited the creation of a bridge by the Emperor Hadrian in the second century A.D. See S. Middlebrook, *Newcastle Upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle Journal and North Mail, 1950), p. 6; and Eneas Mackenzie, 'Historical events: To 1584', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), 1-22. *British History Online*, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp1-22>. Recent archaeological investigations have strengthened hypotheses for an earlier settlement. A late Bronze Age round house alongside Pilgrim Street may link up with other known prehistoric enclosures on the line of the Great North Road in Durham and Yorkshire. See D. H. Heslop, 'Newcastle and Gateshead before A.D. 1080', in Diana Newton and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *Newcastle and Gateshead before 1700* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), pp. 1-8. It was likely that a settlement that saw sustained growth was not established until the twelfth century when the castle was rebuilt and planned waterfront reclamation took place. Further information can be obtained from: Barbara Harbottle, 'The Medieval Archaeology of Newcastle', in Diana Newton and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *Newcastle and Gateshead before 1700* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), pp. 23-30.

⁴³ Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne by Isaac Thompson, 1746 (141/92626) Newcastle Library Map Collection, Newcastle upon Tyne. Newcastle.

⁴⁴ The term burgage plot had been in use in England from at least the thirteenth century and referred to an area of rental property owned by a King or Lord. It usually comprised of a dwelling contained within a long narrow plot of land. By the eighteenth century many of these plots were held by private owners, but the term burgage was retained to describe their history and shape, that was distinctly different from newer, smaller plots.

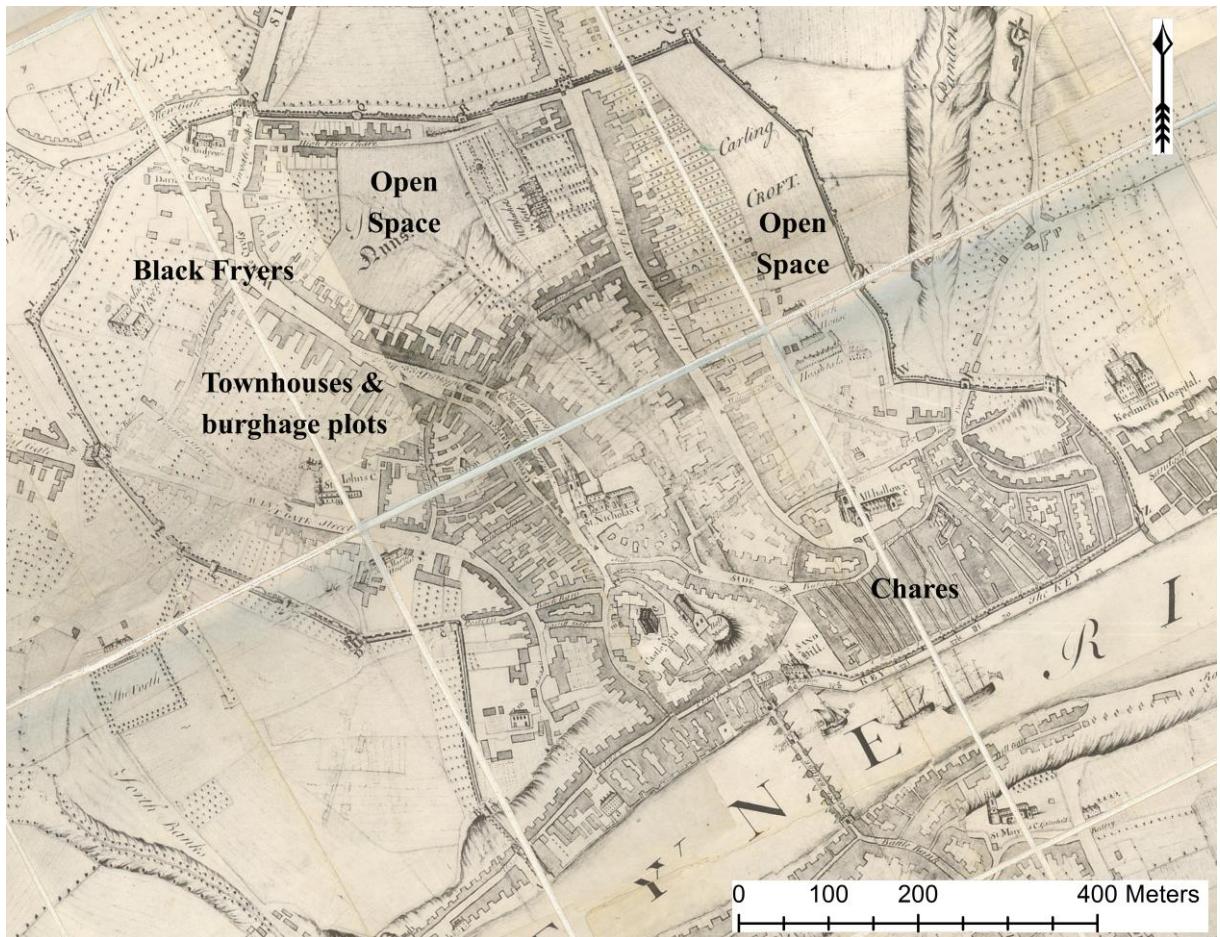


Figure 1.3: Plan of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1746

The features highlighted in Isaac Thompson's plan of 1746 were broadly comparable to maps produced earlier in the century and bear some similarity to John Speed's map of the city from 1610. Little wonder then that the city has been described, in recent scholarship, as retaining its character since the Middle Ages. The problem with such interpretations are that they rely on the perception of two-dimensional visualisations as accurate reflections of urban space without populating the physical environment. As Kevin Lynch has observed, there is a danger of creating ambiguous descriptions of physical space that blur the lines between the building and its activity if the spatial arrangements of 'persons doing things' are not considered.⁴⁵ Analysis of historic sources within GIS reveal that by 1746 Newcastle had already started to adapt to the needs of a changing society.⁴⁶ Such observations are important

⁴⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (London: The MIT Press, 1960), p. 349.

⁴⁶ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

because they alter our perception of the development of the city through considering human use in addition to physical form.

Newcastle's military installations provide a case in point. The establishment of Newcastle's walls began in the mid-thirteenth century and continued through to the fifteenth century. The circuit consisted of just over two miles interspersed with twenty-four towers and gates. The walls had become largely redundant by 1746, although the Jacobite Rebellion in 1745 had necessitated their re-use and was a possible motivation for the creation of Thompson's plan the following year. Despite this military show of action, these installations had already been undergoing a process of change since the early seventeenth century. The building footprint remained, but several towers and gates had been converted into meeting rooms for the city's various trade guilds. The evidence for change of use highlights the need to consult additional historic sources when using cartographic evidence so that the longevity of building footprints is not mistaken for lack of change.

Newcastle did not benefit from a founding development plan in the way that Charleston did, but three phases of re/development can be identified between 1740 and c.1840, both planned and unplanned:

- Between approximately 1740 and 1780, Newcastle's walled city underwent piecemeal redevelopment of privately owned land;
- Between 1780 and 1810, larger scale projects began that were funded through private and corporate subscriptions;
- From c.1810, Newcastle's Corporation initiated a range of corporate-funded improvement projects.

Many of the early phases of redevelopment were intramural, but, by the early nineteenth century, new development areas were created outside of the north and west walled limits of the city. These contrasted with other British cities that created 'new towns' separate

from historic cores. Newcastle opted for the incorporation of new developments within the city's overall scheme, that was achieved through the systematic removal of former military installations in the nineteenth century. Spatial analysis identified that a century or more of continual redevelopment was occurring in Newcastle before the larger scale alterations by Richard Grainger and John Dobson. Such observations are important in understanding that Grainger's and Dobson's restructuring of the city was not in isolation. Rather, it was part of a natural progression of change. It also lends further appreciation to why Dobson continued to favour a classical architectural style for developments as late as the 1840s. Aside from his obvious personal preference for the style, he, like Grainger and members of the Corporation, was part of a generation that had never fulfilled their aspirations for Newcastle's improvement during the eighteenth century.

A GIS characterisation of Newcastle allows a more nuanced understanding of the changes that occurred to the city's physical development between 1740 and 1840.⁴⁷ Only through a comparison of each mapping epoch can such changes be observed, especially as it considers less common perspectives such as the redevelopment of back-lots. Closer observation of the burgage plots identified on Thompson's plan of 1746 reveals a pattern of continual small-scale redevelopment of these privately-owned plots when compared with Charles Hutton's plan of 1770. The GIS characterisation broke the landscape up into class, family, and type. Analysis of the broadest category of class identified the general landscape uses across an area of the city that included the lower end of Pilgrim Street and the Side. In 1746 the back-lots behind buildings consisted of areas characterised as non-urban space, but by 1770 these were consistently replaced with new uses such as commercial, or industrial. The difference can be observed in Figures 1.4 and 1.5.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

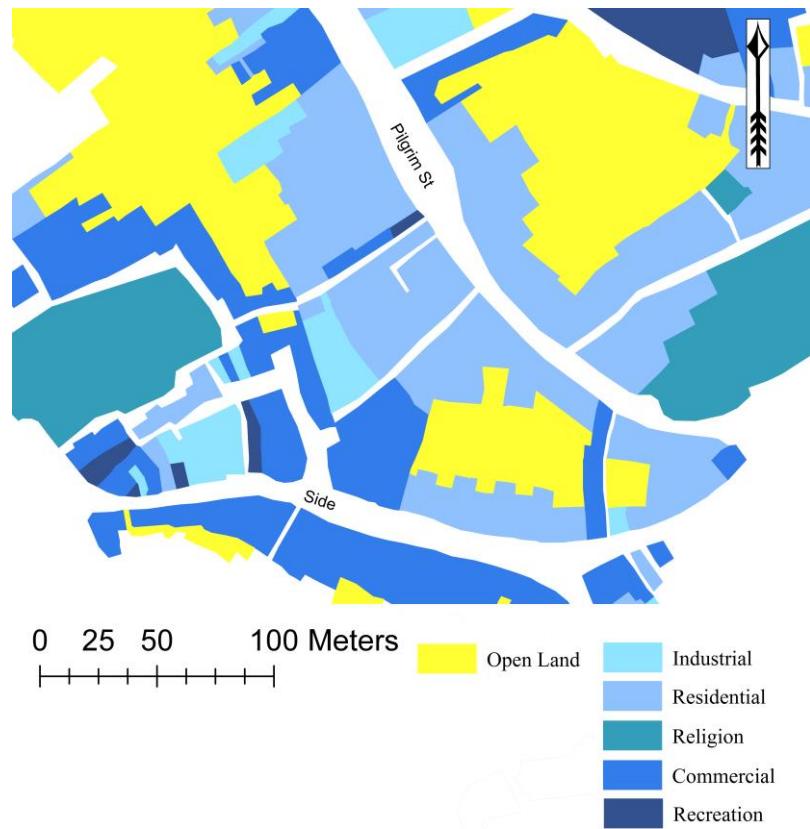


Figure 1.4: Back-lots on lower Pilgrim Street and the Side, 1746



Figure 1.5: Redevelopment of back-lots on lower Pilgrim Street and the Side, 1770

Figure 1.4 highlights areas of open land at the backs of buildings on lower Pilgrim Street and the Side that were a consistent characteristic of the physical form of Newcastle in 1746. This open land, shown in yellow on Figure 1.4, was areas of former burgage plots that consisted of long narrow plots of land behind street-fronting buildings. In some areas of the city such as upper Pilgrim Street, where single-family town-houses survived in their original form for much of the eighteenth century, these plots formed gardens that Henry Bourne described as ‘affording a great deal of pleasure’ in 1736.⁴⁹ Lower Pilgrim Street and the Side represented areas of the city with very different priorities. Here, plots were divided, and new properties created that had access to the street via lanes running between properties. Figure 1.5 highlights the reduction of this open land by 1770. New uses included commercial expansion, industrial purposes (either through conversion to yards or workshops), and residential uses with buildings extended into the back-lot to form rooming houses (shown as a blue colour-ramp in Figure 1.5). Such internal redevelopment was common: M. R. G. Conzen demonstrated similar back-lot redevelopment in Alnwick to ensure that the settlement remained compact.⁵⁰ This evidence demonstrates that, during this first phase of redevelopment, Newcastle prioritised intramural change over expansion. There was not sufficient adhesion to a spatial plan, as would be seen in Charleston, to ensure that the plot as a land-unit was respected. Instead, although street systems remained intact, private landowners made better use of existing space behind buildings. The development of plots demonstrates that, in less than thirty years, there was an increased detachment from local agrarian production, and a shift to valuing land for commercial, industrial and residential purposes.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, the Ancient and Present State of that Town* (Newcastle upon Tyne: John White, 1736), p. 81.

⁵⁰ M. R. G. Conzen, ‘Alnwick, Northumberland: a study in town-plan analysis’, *Transactions and Papers (Institute of British Geographers)*, No. 27 (1960), p. 56.

⁵¹ This is not to suggest that burgage plots were only used for agrarian production, rather that there was a recognisable shift to the use of land for development instead of former uses.

Newcastle's second development phase occurred from the 1780s onwards. Several subscription-based improvement projects were undertaken that saw the creation of places of Social Enlightenment such as the theatre and assembly rooms (as will be outlined in Chapter Four). During the same period, the Corporation began its first large-scale project that would reshape the physical landscape of Newcastle. During the 1780s the Corporation undertook the construction of Mosley and Dean Streets, which were first visualised on a plan of Newcastle by Ralph Beilby dating from 1788. The GIS characterisation of the broadest category – class – from 1788 has been highlighted in Figure 1.6.⁵²

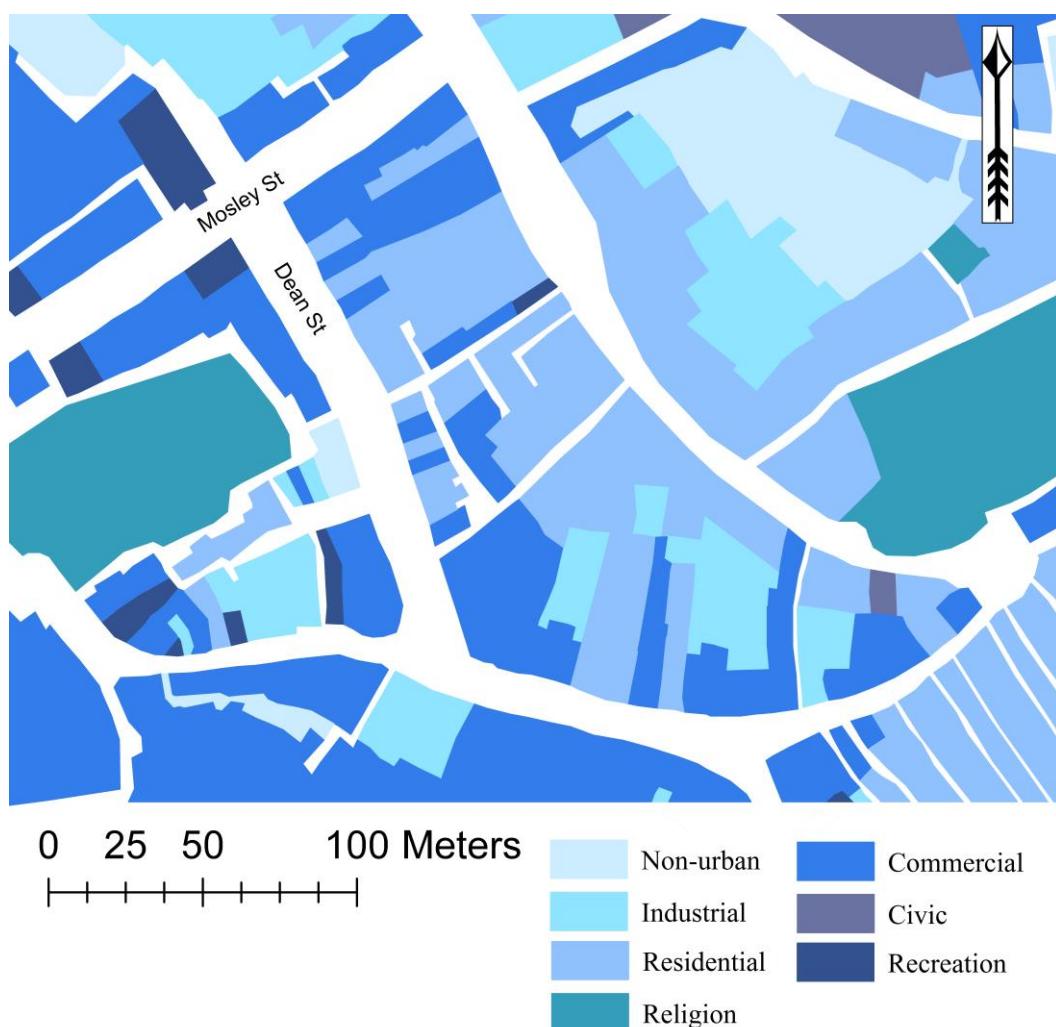


Figure 1.6: The insertion of Mosley and Dean streets, 1788

⁵² Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

Mosley and Dean Streets were the brainchild of Edward Mosley who was mayor of Newcastle three times.⁵³ Mosley was supported by the Town Clerk, Nathaniel Clayton, who held office between 1785 and 1822. Mosley and Dean Streets can be seen on Figure 1.6 cutting through the former open land and built fabric between St. Nicholas Cathedral and Pilgrim Street. The streets created a central communications route that linked the Bigg Market, directly north of the cathedral, with Pilgrim Street. They replaced the burgage plots, commercial and industrial space that could be found to the east of St. Nicholas Cathedral in 1770. The production of the new streets highlighted two important agendas for the Corporation. Economically the streets expanded the city's commercial space through the introduction of new street fronting properties. The creation of new streets with pavements, new forms of architecture and the new Theatre Royal ensured that Newcastle could compete with other English cities attempting to appeal to the fashionable elite. The movement of commercial businesses away from the Sandhill and the Side following the construction of Mosley and Dean Streets was testament to the desirability of the new location.⁵⁴ Less discernible, but just as significant, was the implications that these street insertions had in the form of political control. The insertion of rationalised space by the Corporation – within the same area that had undergone so much piecemeal development – set a precedent for the development of Newcastle moving forward that would see the city developed by the Corporation and less by private enterprise as seen in previous decades.

After 1810, corporation-based improvement projects increased in keeping with other English cities that sought out improvement acts to make changes to urban space and infrastructure. These corporation-led projects ranged in scale from relatively quick removals of unsightly buildings, such as those around St Nicholas Cathedral, to significant investment

⁵³ Edward Mosley was mayor of Newcastle in 1767, 1773, and 1781. See Hunter Blair, *The Mayors and Lord Mayors of Newcastle upon Tyne*, pp. 97-100.

⁵⁴ Evidence for the relocation of trade to Mosley and Dean Streets will be discussed in Chapter Five where I detail the impact of commercial space in Newcastle.

in the installation of street lighting. Much of the work undertaken was civic in nature and while it benefited more than just corporate officials, the projects were balanced in favour of benefiting elites and the middle class. The early nineteenth century was a period in which some form of planning project was being undertaken on an annual basis because, like other British cities, intervention in one area created opportunity and stimulus for alterations elsewhere.⁵⁵ For example, the creation of the Jubilee School in Newcastle took place in 1810, the creation of the new County Courts and the enlarging the Quay in 1811, and the installation of new street lighting began in 1812. With the publication of accurate corporate accounts for the first time in 1809, burgesses could assess how much the Corporation was spending on improvement projects (this resulted in criticism during the 1820s which I will discuss in Chapter Two).⁵⁶ However, the balance of power had already shifted, and the Corporation was increasingly able to dominate the city via its physical land-holdings. The formerly large areas of open-space, such as Carliol Croft, were remodelled into areas dominated by hospitals, schools, workhouses and jails.

The GIS characterisation exercise provides evidence to counter the position that Newcastle's physical development remained largely unchanged before Grainger's and Dobson's improvements of the mid-nineteenth century. The analysis included assessment of the period of last change within each landscape unit (Figure 1.7).⁵⁷ Assessment of each land unit either side of Pilgrim Street, including Carliol Croft, indicated that, in contrast to Newcastle's street system, most of its land units had undergone some form of change during the modern period.

⁵⁵ Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 246-251.

⁵⁶ *A Report of the proceedings of the burgesses of Newcastle, assembled in guild, Monday, January 19, 1824: William Wright Esq., Mayor* (Newcastle: E. Walker, 1824), (Cowen Tracts, v.67 n.16), Special Collections, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.

⁵⁷ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

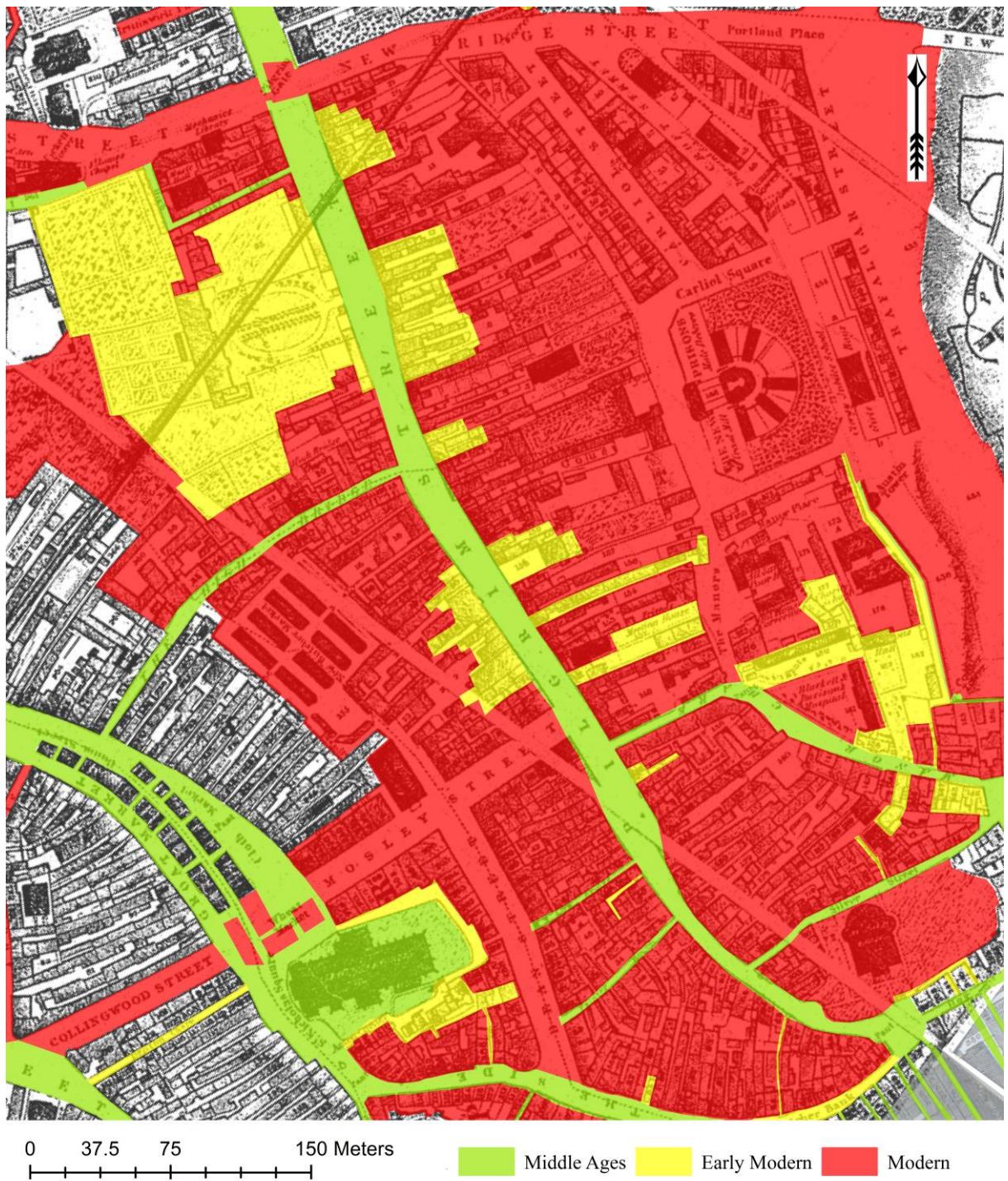


Figure 1.7: Period of last change within each land unit shown on Thomas Oliver's map, 1830

(*) Middle Ages: c.500-1500; Early Modern: c.1500-1700; Modern: c.1700-1830

The GIS characterisation produced a traffic-light colour system of the historic period in which each parcel of land along Pilgrim Street and its environs had last changed. Green represents areas of space unchanged from at least 1500, such as streets and churches. Yellow represents unaltered space from approximately 1500 to 1700. Red represents areas that had undergone change post-1700, with specific dates established using cartographic date ranges. For example, red on Figure 1.7 indicated that change had occurred on Pilgrim Street and its environs at some point between the earlier mapping epoch of 1802 and Thomas Oliver's map of 1830. Newcastle's GIS is important in demonstrating that by 1830 most land-units had been redeveloped or were subject to a change of function.

A Morphological over-view of Charleston, 1740-1840

Charleston's physical development was less phased than Newcastle's, although there was some correlation when individual spatial forms were considered. Some of Charleston's differences occurred as a consequence of shifting administrations. Proprietary ownership, Royal colonial control, and finally Independence had some impact on the practical application of change within the city, but each of the administrators can still be defined through a shared ambition to expand the city. From its outset as an idealised city development, it soon shifted to the practical application of consolidating and expanding the urban space. By the mid-eighteenth century, Charleston was subject to the same problems as Newcastle with inherited and problematic space that needed improvement. Nevertheless, there is value in understanding how the settlement's early history informed its further development.

There can be no doubt that Charleston's physical development was, in part, a product of the Grand Modell established by Shaftesbury and Locke in the seventeenth century. The High Steward's Court was responsible for overseeing permission to establish settlements that included site selection, town planning, approval of public buildings, drainage/sewerage,

improvement of waterways, and compensation to property owners.⁵⁸ The original concept for Charlestown required land to be equally distributed within six hundred-foot blocks with streets orientated to the cardinal points of the compass within a grid system. A breadth of eighty foot was to be kept clear between river front properties and the water for the creation of a wharf and public space by the river. All the elements that made up the walled city were precisely recorded. Street-widths, lot and house sizes, and property encroachment were all included so that the plan was not compromised.⁵⁹ As a consequence, as with other North American settlements such as Philadelphia, Charlestown has been favourably compared with plans drawn up by Richard Newcourt for London.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the establishment of the city's infrastructure required quick assembly: residents had to lay foundations on purchased lots within a year, with the whole house completed within two years.⁶¹ When adhered to, this system created an incredibly efficient programme that left a legacy on the city's physical development, but distant leadership resulted in divergence from the model. Within a complex adaptive system, multiple local factors became difficult to control because the 'creator' was not on site: land agents rarely shared the same idealised vision and applied on-hand experience with factors such as local geography.⁶²

Susan Baldwin Bates and Harriett Cheves Leland conducted a survey of Charlestown's early lot distribution between 1678 and 1698, at Albemarle Point, and the relocated settlement at Oyster Point. Bates and Leland produced a reconstruction of the Grand Modell and concluded that a period of confusion followed 1698.⁶³ In 1722 William Bull and

⁵⁸ Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan*, p. 1545.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 2278.

⁶⁰ Newcourt's plans were never carried out, but Shaftesbury, like William Penn, would have been privy to all the plans drawn up for London following the fire in 1666. Ibid, pp. 2050-2059.

⁶¹ Ibid, pp. 2278-2331.

⁶² Samir Rihani, *Complex Systems Theory and Development Practice: understanding non-linear realities* (London: Zed Books, 2002), p. 13.

⁶³ Susan Baldwin Bates and Harriett Cheves Leland (eds.), *Proprietary Records of South Carolina: Volume Three. Abstracts of the Records of the Surveyor General of the Province, Charles-Towne 1678-1698* (Charleston: History Press, 2007), p. 33.

John Herbert were commissioned by the South Carolina legislature to carry out a new survey that would replace the earlier Grand Modell, but it was never officially adopted by the British Authorities when Carolina became a Royal colony.⁶⁴ As a result, the physical infrastructure of Charleston went through a period of instability. In a similar way to the caution required when considering Newcastle's change of use within preserved building footprints, equal caution must be applied to the Grand Modell: it was a guide rather than the principal instruction of urban layout. The effect of these corruptions can be observed by comparing the Bates-Leland reconstruction with the GIS of Charleston's 1788 street system, shown in Figures 1.8 and 1.9 respectively.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, illustration 13; and Ichnography of Charles-Town, South Carolina by B. Roberts and W. H. Toms, 1739 (11), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.



Figure 1.8: Bates-Leland 1698 reconstruction
(*) note the lack of city walls that were not part of the original seventeenth century plan

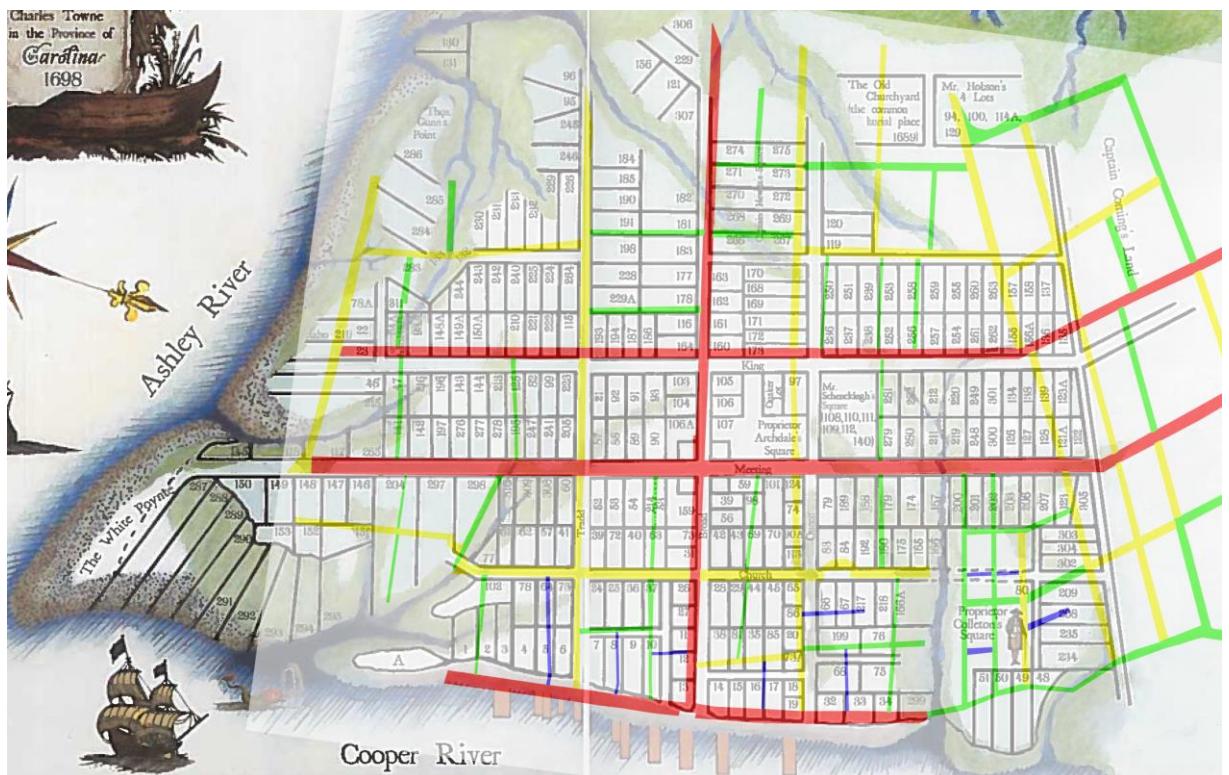


Figure 1.9: Charleston's 1788 street system in comparison to the Grand Modell

Figure 1.8 shows the recreated and idealised plan for Charlestown in the seventeenth century. The planned layout paid little respect to local geography, with straight streets and lots laid out over the top of the peninsula's waterways. These waterways would cause ongoing problems for the settlement and would require investment in land reclamation before lots could be laid out. The plan also excluded the city walls, which were removed to the north, west and south in 1717, but while their presence was short-lived they did influence the city's infrastructure.⁶⁶ The positioning of St. Philip's Church was a case in point. The church had served as a visual terminus at the end of Church Street, blocking the north city walls from view.⁶⁷ When the walls were removed, the church remained in place as a reminder of this earlier morphological feature. Church Street was forced into a narrower path around the church before straightening again as the city expanded north. The history of this street encroachment provides a good example of conflicts that occurred between the desires of city officials versus the power of local agents. When a fire destroyed the church in 1835, suggestions that the building be realigned and Church Street straightened were met with positive support from the Council, but would eventually be squashed by St. Philip's congregation and those individuals that held power within the Commissioners for street improvements.⁶⁸ A compromise would lead to the street being widened rather than straightened, but the case would not be the first time that greater inclusivity within Charleston's administrative structure would result in tension over the development of urban space.

St. Philip's was not the only structure to encroach on the original street plan. Figure 1.9 demonstrates that Charleston's 1788 street system was well out of alignment with the cardinal points of the compass, but such alterations had occurred early in the settlements

⁶⁶ The date of the walls' removal was provided by Roberts and Toms on the 1739 map.

⁶⁷ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 114.

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 115.

history. A meeting of the Commons House in 1733 observed that too many houses had been allowed to encroach onto Queen Street.⁶⁹ By the time the original street system was extended west, surveyors had to make adjustments to compensate for these errors. Furthermore, Figure 1.9 highlights the additional back lanes (blue) and occupation streets (green), close to the waterfront that were not part of Shaftesbury's and Locke's vision. Examples within the walls included the poor alignment of what is now State Street, and additional insertions such as Unity Alley, and Chalmers Street. Outside the walls these additions grew exponentially. Understanding that Charleston had already shifted from its idealised plan by the mid-eighteenth century is important because it demonstrates that the city was not significantly better off than Newcastle: there were still improvements to be considered as urban space was developed in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Moving forward, Charleston's planning was much more dependent on the ability to reclaim or purchase land in order to make changes. The continued expansion of Charleston to the south, west and north from the original walled city had always been intended, as evident by the recreated Grand Modell. Between 1740 and 1810 one of the greatest challenges to such outward expansion was caused by the peninsula's low-lying land. The peninsula was dominated by several creeks that posed a threat during high tides. As a walled city Charleston had avoided Daniel's Creek to the north and Vanderhorst Creek to the south, but development after 1740 had to address these areas. Figure 1.10 highlights the improvement that had been made to these creeks by 1788.

⁶⁹ Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records of South Carolina*, p. 34.

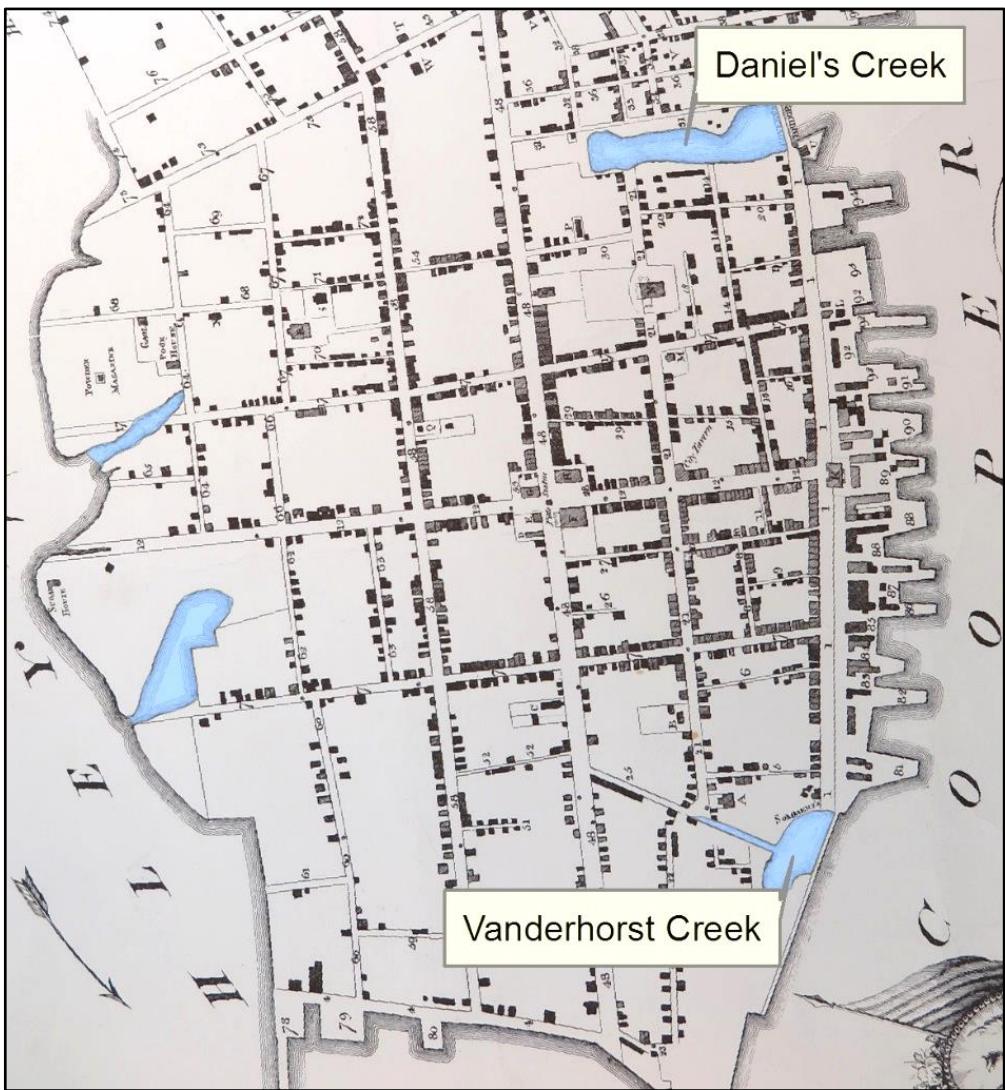


Figure 1.10: Ichnography of Charleston, 1788

Between 1739 and 1788, considerable effort had been deployed to reclaim and consolidate these lowland watercourses, but, although reduced, they still represented areas of open water at high tide. By the nineteenth century, the impact that such standing water and low-lots had on the population's ill-health was better understood and new improvements were implemented to correct the problem during the 1830s.⁷⁰ The challenges of correcting Charleston's geography were often a long process and Daniel's Creek provides a good example of the patience required for improvement. Daniel's Creek formed part of the land

⁷⁰ Charleston City Council, *Address of Robert Y. Hayne, Intendant, The City Council of Charleston* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1836), pp. 6-9, (PAM 975.71), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC.

holdings of several Charleston residents of which General Charles Pinckney held the majority share.⁷¹ The land was transferred to the ownership of the City Council in 1788 but attached to the compulsory cession was the condition that, within two years, the land would be drained, and a public street created for a market. By 1804 Pinckney complained that the land was still undeveloped and following further immobility he pursued legal action in 1825 that forced the Council to improve the land and create Market Street.⁷² In a similar way to the tension that would surround the reconstruction of St. Philip's Church a decade later, Market Street emphasised the tension that existed between the Council's strategies and local agents who held power. Despite the appearance of greater freedom to develop uninhabited land, Charleston's administrators were subject to the same limitations as those in Newcastle. For example, in 1777 Newcastle's Corporation was criticised for failing to purchase the land of Sir Robert Blackett because it was financially prohibitive.⁷³ In Charleston the purchase of land in 1788, without the further ability to create change, led to similar criticism.

By 1800 any sense of the Shaftesbury and Locke plan continuing to influence the city's physical structure was totally removed as Charleston expanded west and north. A plan produced by G. Ronson in 1802 indicates that Charleston had already expanded to its northern boundary line at Boundary Street.⁷⁴ The development of Harleston Village, starting at Coming Street and running west between Boundary Street and Beaufain, provided an important area for expansion (highlighted in Figure 1.11).

⁷¹ Report of the City Council and Agreement relative to the creation of Market Street, 24 April 1804, Pinckney Family Papers, 1765-1804 (495/15), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC; and Pinckney vs. City Council of Charleston, January 1825, Pinckney Family Papers, 1805-1825 (495/15), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Wilkes and Dodds suggested that the failure to purchase this piece of prime real estate at the top of Pilgrim Street set the development of Newcastle back until changes could be made by Richard Grainger and John Dobson during the 1830s. Lyall Wilkes and Gordon Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton* (London: John Murray, 1964), p. 11.

⁷⁴ G. Ronson, 'Plan of the City of Charleston South Carolina', in J. J. Negrin, *Directorial Register & Almanac, 1802*, (23), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC. Boundary Street is now Calhoun Street.



Figure 1.11: Location of Harleston Village, 1802

Affra Harleston Coming was responsible for deeding seventeen acres of this area to the parish of St. Philip's to be used as a glebe in the 1770s and the area was subsequently divided into lots.⁷⁵ John Harleston inherited the remaining lands from his aunt and began the process of subdividing the area into lots in the late eighteenth century, but the development of both portions of land was slow because of flooding. Between 1800 and 1840 much greater development took place thanks to Thomas Bennett and Daniel Cannon who developed lumber mills at West Point, creating large tidal ponds in Harleston that controlled flooding.⁷⁶ In

⁷⁵ A further area was known as the Free School Lands, which would become the site of the College of Charleston. See, Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 479-482.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

addition, greater land reclamation took place along the banks of the Ashley River to the west of the peninsula which reduced pressure to further sub-divide the more densely populated east bank. The early nineteenth century was defined as much by expansion as the previous century had been. Unlike Newcastle, Charleston saw to it that human-to-land ratios were not compromised by redevelopment. According to the statistics presented in Table 1.1 at the beginning of this chapter, Charleston expanded by approximately sixty hectares every forty years. By the 1830s the increased population had resulted in human-to-land ratios reaching over one hundred people per hectare, but this was still less than half of Newcastle's ratio. We will see in later chapters that the value placed by Charlestonians on land would define some of the administrations strategies on how best to control the use of that space.

The broad development patterns of Newcastle and Charleston demonstrate that both cities were under constant redevelopment, which was essential for the application of spatial analysis and inquiry of systems theory. Morphological analysis can do more than look at broad trends. Conzen advocated a three-pronged approach to understanding the urban plan: street, plot, and building.⁷⁷ Street system and plot distribution were particularly relevant to the development of Newcastle and Charleston. By the mid-eighteenth century, both cities were investing in improvement and part of this strategy was a series of street development and widening schemes that reveal important distinctions between each city's founding history, and the response by administrators to development.

Newcastle and Charleston's street-systems

Newcastle and Charleston both experienced problems with the design and quality of city street-systems during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. On the whole,

⁷⁷ M. R. G. Conzen, 'The Use of Town Plans in the Study of Urban History', in H. J. Dyos (ed.), *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), p. 117.

residents were prepared to over-look poor street systems, but visitors were more critical. Daniel Defoe labelled Newcastle ‘exceedingly unpleasant’ in 1727, and descriptions of narrow, gloomy and unimproved streets that contained raw sewage were typical before the 1780s.⁷⁸ Eneas Mackenzie, writing in 1827, described the necessary improvements that had been achieved over the last century because of the awkward, crowded and inconvenient nature of the city’s street and plot system.⁷⁹ Charleston’s streets were also criticised. In 1808 John Lambert complained about the inconvenience of unpaved and dusty streets.⁸⁰ Lambert found the streets, apart from Meeting Street, Broad Street and East Bay, narrow and confined.⁸¹ Thirty years later the conditions were little better. A traffic accident caused by a combination of mud streets with very little pavement, and poor street lighting made for a bad first impression for Harriet Martineau visiting Charleston in 1835.⁸² As a consequence, Newcastle’s and Charleston’s Corporation’s elected to make costly street improvements and additions by the early nineteenth century.

Analysis of Newcastle’s and Charleston’s street-system was achieved through a four-part street hierarchy within GIS.⁸³ Each city was ordered into categories: *major, residential, occupation, and footpath*. Major streets were usually the oldest and widest because they

⁷⁸ Daniel Defoe, *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain: Volume III, Letter 9*, in Pat Rogers (ed.) (London: Penguin Classics, 1971), pp. 535-537; Kenneth Morgan (ed.), *An American Quaker in the British Isles: The Travel Journals of Jabez Maude Fisher, 1775-79* (Oxford: The British Academy, 1992), p. 50; Nathaniel Spencer, *The Complete English Traveller; or a New Survey and Description of England and Wales* London: J. Cooke, 1772), p. 571; Eneas Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), 160-182. *British History Online*, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp160-182>.

⁷⁹ Eneas Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Improvements projected or effected’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), 197-203. *British History Online*, accessed April 11, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp197-203>.

⁸⁰ John Lambert, ‘Look to the Right and Dress!, 1808’, in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers’ Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 95.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Harriet Martineau, ‘Many Mansions There Are in This Hell, 1835’, in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers’ Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 207.

⁸³ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016; and Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

carried the greatest amount of traffic. In Newcastle, major streets accounted for communication routes from the surrounding rural countryside into the economic core and waterfront. Charleston's major streets fulfilled a similar purpose. King Street provided a direct route into South Carolina's interior, but East Bay, Broad and Meeting Streets were also major streets linking the interior to Charleston's economic hub at the waterfront. It was major streets that would prove crucial for the development of commercial space in both cities.⁸⁴ Residential streets were narrower than major streets, but still important as they connected traffic to residential plots. Occupation streets provided subsidiary access to major and residential streets and were narrower still, and linking all categories were footpaths that included back lanes and stairs that were most suitable to foot traffic only. The layout of each city's street plan in 1788 was produced in GIS and is detailed in Figures 1.12 and 1.13.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Commercial space will be explored in Chapter Five.

⁸⁵ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016; and Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.



Figure 1.12: Charleston's graded street-system, 1788



Figure 1.13: Newcastle's graded street-system, 1788

The GIS street hierarchy reveals greater differences between Charleston and Newcastle than visual observation that distinguishes only an ordered grid-pattern from an unordered gradual development. Charleston's grid-pattern was not ordered to the extent of other American cities such as Philadelphia or Savannah. The major streets, shown in red, provided regularity, but, beyond these, Charleston's strength lay in the high number of residential streets (yellow) that offered additional structure for regular, spacious, plots on wider streets. Even the city's occupation streets offered greater potential for development than

Newcastle's. The greater balance in the hierarchical structuring of Charleston's street pattern marked an important distinction in its founding character. Newcastle's multiple charters emphasised the economic benefit of the city's urban character.⁸⁶ Shaftesbury's desire to 'plant in towns' served both economic and social needs.⁸⁷ In consequence, residency was always a stronger part of Charleston's founding history, making it different to cities in the northern United States. This distinction was important to how Charleston would continue to develop because the population protected residential space from the threat of redevelopment from other spatial uses, or denser residential forms. Such actions were intended to reinforce elite and wealthy residential habits within Charleston's single-house form, but also related to the greater power of private land-holders to shape the direction of residential space (which will be discussed in Chapter Three).

Newcastle's street-system developed over the course of hundreds of years and put the city at a disadvantage, but this also made the city more adaptable to physical change. Very little of Newcastle's street-system was devoted to residential and occupation streets. Instead, residency occurred along major streets, or within the city's footpaths such as the chares that ran perpendicular to the waterfront. The affect resulted in sporadic plot growth and greater variance in plot size and building style, although that was not abnormal for a British settlement of this age. Such was Newcastle's short-fall in residential provision that part of the improvements of the early nineteenth century included greater provision of residential streets. The GIS street-system for 1830 is shown in Figure 1.14.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Eneas Mackenzie, 'The Corporation: Grants and charters', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 601-611. *British History Online*, accessed April 13, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp601-611>.

⁸⁷ Hart, *Building Charleston*, p. 22.

⁸⁸ Charleston increased its residential street provision post-1800, but the difference was less pronounced. Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.



Figure 1.14: Newcastle's graded street-system, 1830

The GIS in Figure 1.14 highlights the significant increase in new street insertions to the north and east of the city, outside of the original city walls, in comparison to Figure 1.13. Between 1746 and 1788, Newcastle's Corporation only added one residential street to the city's street-system. By comparison, between 1788 and 1830 the Corporation added an additional thirty-six purpose-built residential streets, most of which were inserted after 1820. Newcastle's improvements post-1800 included the greater provision of residential streets more so than any other type, and it was in these areas that classically styled townhouses

would be constructed increasing the city's residential space. The increase would serve as a significant improvement for some Newcastle inhabitants, although as Chapter Three demonstrates there was greater complexity to Newcastle's residential space than simply outward expansion. Many of these street insertions were about reinventing space at the urban core as much as increasing residential space, thus reinforcing the continued primacy of urban economics from earlier charters.

In addition to increasing the number of streets, both cities improved the width of streets in the early nineteenth century. In Newcastle, the standard width of newly constructed major streets rose from forty-five feet during the early modern period to sixty feet after 1800. The dense nature of settlement made widening pre-existing streets a greater challenge. Mackenzie reported in 1827 that most of the older buildings along the Side had finally been removed and the street widened to thirty feet, but as the principal route from the markets down to the waterfront it was far from ideal.⁸⁹ Along other major roads the situation was even worse: a bottle-neck had been created at the entrance to the market streets resulting in a width of less than ten feet that Mackenzie attributed to the 'drowsy' forward planning of the Corporation.⁹⁰ What these alterations highlighted was the continued piecemeal nature of spatial change in Newcastle that continued well into the nineteenth century when the Corporation was attempting to steer urban planning decisions. Newcastle Corporation's failure to properly organise street improvements differed from the systematic approach of Charleston's Commissioners of Streets and Lamps, newly formed in 1806.⁹¹

The first mapping epoch in Charleston, from 1739, indicated that the ideal street widths stipulated by Shaftesbury and Locke in 1669 had already broken down within the original walled city. The GIS supports the conclusions offered by Bates and Leland that a

⁸⁹ Mackenzie, *The present state of Newcastle*, pp. 197-203.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783 to July 1818* (Charleston: E. Miller, 1818), pp. 43-59.

period of confusion followed the abandonment of the Grand Modell.⁹² This confusion resulted in far greater piecemeal development, instead of the plan providing a ‘tidy template for future growth’.⁹³ More importantly it seems likely that the breakdown of the original plan occurred whilst the Grand Modell was applied, not just during the confusion that followed. ‘Principal’ streets should have been eighty feet wide, ‘secondary’ streets sixty feet wide, and ‘back alleys’ thirty to forty feet.⁹⁴ Charleston’s maps and plats in the later eighteenth century demonstrate that there was discrepancy between the original planned street width and the actual street width.⁹⁵ In 1787, East Bay measured sixty-nine feet at its widest point when it should have been eighty, and in 1792 Church Street measured fifty when it should have been sixty.⁹⁶ Such discrepancies may have been caused by building encroachment, contrary to Locke’s and Shaftesbury’s instructions, or more likely, surveyors never fully adhered to the city’s development plans in the first place. The problem was reinforced as new streets were laid out to the west of the peninsula resulting in the narrow and confined streets encountered by Lambert in 1808.⁹⁷

In 1806, Charleston’s Corporation introduced a new programme of street reform to make corrections to the city’s street widths. Charleston’s Commissioners of Streets and Lamps was established as a statutory body made up of thirteen Commissioners, elected annually by the City Council.⁹⁸ No building work to any property, including laying

⁹² Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records of South Carolina*, p. 33

⁹³ Ibid; Hart, *Building Charleston*, p. 1; Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan*, pp. 270-438, and p. 2404.

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 2278.

⁹⁵ ‘Plat’ is a North American term used to denote a plot of land or a survey of a piece of land. Many of Charleston’s historic plats survive and the term has been used throughout the thesis to distinguish these documents from city maps.

⁹⁶ *Plan of East Bay Street in the City of Charleston and State of South Carolina*, 1787, (17), South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC; and 71 Church Street, *The Colonel Robert Brewton House, Charleston, South Carolina*, accessed April 14, 2016, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, SC.

⁹⁷ Lambert, ‘Look to the Right and Dress!’, p. 95.

⁹⁸ The Commissioner role was considered an important duty as part of citizenship and accounts of meetings indicate the seriousness with which Commissioners viewed their decisions. Technically, any white male citizen over the age of twenty-five was subject to election, although the regular usage of ‘Esq’ following the names of Commissioners within meeting minutes would be indicative of a social demographic that favoured the planter and merchant classes within these roles. Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783*, pp. 43-44.

foundations, or street alterations could take place without their prior approval. The application of the ‘Streets and Lamps’ programme indicates that, in terms of urban-planning, Charleston was directly comparable with the experiences of English cities where improvement measures were necessary during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Despite the ability to develop ‘blank’ space, the actions of Charleston’s early inhabitants demonstrated that some self-determinacy was always present in relation to the development of space, even when a design policy was put in place. In 1679, Shaftesbury admitted that no settled government existed in the Carolinas, and, as a consequence, Carolinians consistently opposed the proprietors’ land and settlement policies.⁹⁹ The actions of people on the ground, whose experience of settlements were predominately in the English tradition, were more likely to produce results that made small variations to known development principles than total adhesion to a new urban plan by distant proprietors. What this resulted in was similar urban spatial problems caused by similar urban development, which is why an examination of Charleston’s urban space is better compared to British settlement history.

Newcastle and Charleston’s plot layout

The influence on the design by local agents was also important when city plots were considered. Given Locke’s and Shaftesbury’s attention to detail of the street-system, it was no surprise that similar guidance was provided for plot design. The 1669 instructions specified three standardized sizes. Five-acre plots were for the sole development of the proprietors, and two further plot sizes consisted of seventy-five by two hundred and eighty feet, or sixty by two hundred and eighty-five feet: these were designed to produce development squares of six-

⁹⁹ Shaftesbury’s admission took place during the trial of John Culpepper, former surveyor general to South Carolina, although Culpepper’s trial related to his actions during a rebellion in North Carolina, and not in relation to any actions in Charleston. See Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), p. 47.

hundred-foot between a street grid.¹⁰⁰ In theory, the plan allowed approximately eight or ten plots of two-plot depth within each development square. Back alleys lay behind each row of plots, but that assumed that streets were laid out accurately. The difference between the planned layout on the Grand Modell and the reality in 1739 can be observed in Figure 1.15.



Figure 1.15: An over-lay of Charleston in 1739 set against the reconstructed Grand Modell

In Figure 1.15, the 1739 map (highlighted in gold) by B. Roberts and W. H. Toms is superimposed over the reconstructed Grand Modell by Bates and Leland. It has already been established that there was a breakdown following the abandonment of the plan during the early eighteenth century, but comparison with Roberts and Toms' map reveals tensions that

¹⁰⁰ Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan*, p. 2278.

existed prior to this abandonment. Much has been made of the influence of the Grand Modell on Charleston, but this had already been adapted from the 1669 instructions. By 1671 it was established that Oyster Point would make a better permanent location for Charleston and a letter from Shaftesbury in the same year gave general instructions on how this new settlement should be laid out.¹⁰¹ Crucially these instructions differed from those of two years previously.¹⁰² The eventual permission from the Lord Proprietors did not arrive in South Carolina until 1680, at which point John Culpeper as surveyor general had already begun laying out the new settlement.¹⁰³ Within this 1680 letter the only guidance afforded was that surveyors should ‘take care to lay out the Streets broad and in straight lines’.¹⁰⁴ Within approximately ten years, settlers had received three contradictory and increasingly vague sets of instructions in addition to relocating. It was little wonder then that the new surveyor general, Maurice Matthews, reported, in 1680, the creation of four large streets of sixty-foot width each, but gave no further observation regarding the size of development blocks, or individual lots.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, Matthews was under pressure to adapt the plan because of local geography. In 1681 he reported squeezing together the plots of three other settlers to make further room for river-fronting properties because of the restrictions of marsh land.¹⁰⁶ The reconstructed Grand Modell in 1.15 was already an adaptation of Locke’s and Shaftesbury’s original vision by Culpeper, an adaptation that occurred well before any confusion following the plans abandonment in the early-eighteenth century.

Examination of Figure 1.15 highlights further tension between the Grand Modell and Charleston’s built form as represented by Robert and Toms’ 1739 map. The map verified a

¹⁰¹ Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records of South Carolina*, p. 22.

¹⁰² Ibid. Shaftesbury suggested that principal streets should be no less than one hundred feet, lesser streets no less than sixty feet, and back alleys between eight and ten feet. He also suggested development squares of three-hundred-foot square rather than six hundred.

¹⁰³ Henry A. M. Smith, ‘Charleston: The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers’, *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1908), pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁴ Bates and Leland, *Proprietary Records of South Carolina*, p. 23.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 24.

painting of Charleston's waterfront, also by B. Roberts from 1739.¹⁰⁷ Both map and painting reflected an earlier built environment before the city experienced its first significant fire in 1740. Roberts depicted the terraced nature of settlement along East Bay that was visualised by solid blocks on the map. Architectural analysis of Roberts' painting by Gene Waddell attributes the row houses depicted to at least 1709, well before the new plan drawn up by Bull and Herbert in 1722.¹⁰⁸ Such early establishment of terraced property, rather than the intended single units within each lot, further supports the suggestion that the Grand Modell was not a wholly effective tool for planning Charleston during proprietary ownership of South Carolina, let alone in the years that followed. In fact, Charleston's plot layout showed greater similarity to English burgage plots of the early modern period.

Lot 57, better known as Colonel Robert Brewton's House at present day 71 Church Street provides a good example of the adoption of English plot measurements. A plan from 1792 detailed the preserved 1680 layout of lot 57: it had a street frontage of thirty-five feet width, and plot depth of two hundred and thirty-eight feet.¹⁰⁹ What lot 57 demonstrates is that, contrary to previous instructions, Charleston's surveyors preferred plots with small street frontages and lengthy back-lots. The result saw considerably more plots laid out than should have been. One might suppose that given the peninsula's size, lot sizes would also increase once settlement moved away from the waterfront, but the establishment of the popular single-house style, of which Brewton's is believed to be the earliest, helped to fossilize this plot style throughout Charleston, regardless of date or location. Charleston's plot history should have been similar to Savannah, established in 1733. Instead it would end up being vastly different from this later planned settlement, where the original plan was adhered to and remained

¹⁰⁷ B. Roberts' 1739 painting was reproduced in Gene Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture 1670-1860* (Charleston: Wyrick and Company, 2003).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, pp. 44-46.

¹⁰⁹ Properties already existed on lot 57 when Brewton's father purchased the lot. The current house is believed to date from between 1715 and 1733. See *71 Church Street, The Colonel Robert Brewton House, Charleston, South Carolina*, accessed April 14, 2016, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, SC.

largely intact until the late nineteenth century.¹¹⁰ Charleston provides a compelling argument for the influence of English plot layouts by those surveying the city in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which counters the architectural identity of the city that is more typically attributed to influence from Barbados.¹¹¹ Instead, surveyors were influenced by the history of burgage plots in English towns and laid out Charleston according to similar principles. The depth of lot 57 for example, compared favourably with burgage plot depths in pre-1770 Newcastle that ranged between two hundred and four hundred feet.

By comparison, in Newcastle, the lack of a single residential building style, and a long history of plot development resulted in much greater variety, although there was a general tendency towards much smaller plots than those found in Charleston. Newcastle's characterisation exercise recorded the dimensions of plot size and street frontage from large to very small.¹¹² Twelve possible combinations of plot size and street frontage were produced.¹¹³ The data demonstrated that small, or very small plots, were overwhelmingly favoured by 1830. Almost forty percent of the GIS area contains plots that were small/very small, with small/very small street frontages. With measurements of less than half the plot size and street frontage of Charleston's plots, and in an area two-thirds the size of Charleston, density became a real issue for Newcastle, resulting in much more creative use of vertical space.¹¹⁴ It was only those plots that backed onto the city walls that had managed to maintain larger plot depths by the 1830s because of the predominance of plot sub-division at the core. Even in newly created streets that were dominated by Georgian architecture there was still a large

¹¹⁰ The plan for Savannah was first implemented in 1733 by James Oglethorpe who laid out his plan with assistance from William Bull, the same Bull who had been tasked with the new plan of Charleston in 1722. Thomas D. Wilson, *The Oglethorpe Plan: Enlightenment Design in Savannah and Beyond* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), pp. 63-84, and 102.

¹¹¹ Katherine Pemberton and Karen Emmons, oral conversation with author, April 4, 2016. Simon Keith Lewis, oral conversation with author, April 5, 2016.

¹¹² Plot size: large was a footprint of more than 1000sqm; medium a footprint between 500-1000sqm; small a footprint between 100-500sqm; and very small was a footprint less than 100sqm. Street frontage: large was greater than 20 metres width; medium, 10-20 metres; small, 5-10 metres; and very small was less than 5 metres width. Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

¹¹³ The full table of these results have been recorded in Appendix Four.

¹¹⁴ The issues surrounding Newcastle's density problems will be discussed in Chapter Three.

amount of small or very small plot boundaries with small street frontages. The evidence supports the importance of economic space in Newcastle as its primary purpose. The Corporation continued to favour development of small plots in which residential space was compromised to better suit the needs of the commercial city.

Conclusion

Despite the differing sizes and demographics of these two cities, there remains much to link the spatial histories of Newcastle and Charleston between 1740 and 1840. Balanced spatial observation that combines cartographic material and quantitative data analysis within GIS, with consideration of primary source material, is advocated in preference to overly generalised spatial observations from textual sources alone. The morphological assessment demonstrated that, by 1740, both cities had inherited physical space that had, and would continue, to be subject to high levels of piecemeal and private development by its citizens. Newcastle's evidence dismisses observations that have unfairly critiqued the eighteenth century in terms of limited development because of failings to consider re-development. By 1830, very little urban space in Newcastle could still be categorised as early modern as a result of physical or functional change. Charleston's appearance as a planned settlement from its earliest development has also been dismissed. Charleston was much more closely matched with the development history of English cities such as Newcastle during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Whether Charleston's development broke from this English tradition following the successful break with Britain following American independence will be considered in reference to different forms of functional space in subsequent chapters.

While an assessment of the morphological development of Newcastle and Charleston is necessary to indicate the level to which these cities changed between 1740 and 1840, it does

not always achieve the level of human interaction with space that has been advocated by urban historians. Crucial to the physical development of Newcastle and Charleston was the role of humans as agents of change, or not. It was the reaction of individuals within the space of the city that was often prohibitive to broader design plans. Thus, it is important to consider how the development of space was controlled, and by whom. The ability of administrators within corporations to develop these cities to a design of their choosing, however, reveals complicated objectives and limitations based on land-ownership patterns and citizen resistance.

CHAPTER TWO

Controlling Physical Change and Spatial Use: Landownership Factors and the Rise of Urban Corporations After 1783

The administrative histories of Charleston and Newcastle impacted on how development occurred between 1740 and 1840. During the long eighteenth century, urban governments were made up of various formal and informal structures.¹ In Newcastle and Charleston, urban corporations were established that gave rights to elected officials to engage in decision-making, particularly within the common, or city council. Incorporated status had formed the basis of Newcastle's chartered government since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The Corporation's large land-holdings allowed corporate administrators such as the Mayor to dominate physical restructuring of urban space. Charleston, however, was unable to establish an urban corporation until after 1783. Consequently, the Charleston Corporation's limited land-assets produced a creative approach to the manipulation of spatial use and behaviour in space through legislative control. The actions of local administrators working on behalf of the urban corporation reveals the indirect impact of human intervention in urban space. Administrative positions were dominated by wealthy white males so understanding how, or whether, the dominant class was able to advance power over their larger administrative domains has importance within two cities commonly associated with a strong social hierarchy. Furthermore, the approach of Henri Lefebvre argues that the spatial arrangement of civic structures advanced the power of the dominant class by establishing patterns of significant places such as exchange buildings, hospitals and schools.² Newcastle and Charleston's Corporations placed importance in civic structures and administrators

¹ Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom: Liberalism and the Modern City* (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 106-107; and Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1999), p. 27.

² Edward S. Cassey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 34-35; and Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), p. 136.

understood the wider implications of space beyond these significant places. As these corporate bodies transitioned into modern planning departments during the early nineteenth century they increasingly created opportunities to manipulate the urban populace within the city at large. The limited success of these actions had important implications for the disruption that could be caused to complex spatial systems by outside agents and forces.

Newcastle Corporation and its corporate officers

Two Royal charters issued in 1600 and 1604 respectively, formed the terms under which Newcastle was governed throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century, until administrative reform during the 1830s.³ The charter established government by a ‘corporation’, composed of an elected common council that acted on its behalf. The Common Council consisted of the mayor, a sheriff, ten council members (aldermen), and twenty-four ‘commoners’ that were freemen, and therefore guild members of the city, known as burgesses.⁴ In addition, the Corporation paid salaries to several non-elected positions, the most important of whom was the town clerk who represented Newcastle in legal matters. The system of election to Newcastle’s Common Council was extremely complicated and a source of ridicule by radical politicians active in seeking greater democratic representation during the early nineteenth century.⁵ Burgesses within Newcastle’s twelve guilds presented two

³ Some of these rights pre-dated Elizabeth’s Great Charter and could be traced to charters from the thirteenth century. Eneas Mackenzie, ‘The Corporation: Grants and charters’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 601-611. *British History Online*, accessed April 30, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp601-611>; Fortunatus Dwarris Sir, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation into the affairs of the Municipal Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne, before his Majesty’s Commissioners, F. Dwarris and S. A. Rumball, Esqrs* (Newcastle upon Tyne: John Hernaman, 1834), Edwin Clarke Local 423, Special Collections, Newcastle University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne; and The Book of Oaths, Newcastle City Council Papers, 1797-1823 (MD.NC/D/3/2), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne, p. 7.

⁴ Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 30; and Mackenzie, ‘The Corporation: Grants and charters’, pp. 601-611.

⁵ Tim Tunbelly, *The Letters of Tim. Tunbelly, Gent. Free Burgess, Newcastle upon Tyne on the Tyne, the Newcastle Corporation, the Freemen, the Tolls, to which is prefixed, A Memoir of his public and private Life* (Newcastle upon Tyne: W. A. Mitchell, 1823), pp. 1-4.

members each year to form a voting cohort of twenty-four called the *former electors*. The former elector's role was to elect the old mayor and three aldermen to the cohort of *first electors* to which was added seven aldermen and one former sheriff forming twelve. Each of the guilds then sent an additional member each, from which the *first electors* chose six, creating eighteen. The fifteen by-trades undertook a separate election to produce a further twelve candidates from the ranks of freemen of the city, and the *first electors* choose a further six establishing a new annual election group of twenty-four that elected the new year's common council.⁶ Each of these positions, elected and non-elected, can be understood as having administrative functions and powers.⁷

Voting and administrative positions were limited to Newcastle's burgesses resulting in a highly oligarchical governing structure. Nevertheless, this structure was typical of British cities: the eighteenth-century civil service was 'neither civil nor a service' because it was subject to patronage, political motivations, and ever changeable.⁸ In Newcastle, it was common for mayors to hold office several times. Between the years 1740 and 1833 (the year of his Majesty's official investigation) ten local and wealthy families dominated the office.⁹ There were, however, advantages to such an administrative monopoly because it created a dominant group of local figures that acted together, bringing long-term stability. The longevity of the charters meant that successive generations of Newcastle's Corporation had succeeded in gaining physical control of the urban landscape through property ownership.

⁶ Eneas Mackenzie, 'The Corporation: Officers', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 611-627. *British History Online*, accessed September 12, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp611-627>.

⁷ Patrick Joyce has highlighted that British administration was highly decentralised. It relied on amateur and voluntary service, but it was still intensive government. See, Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 104.

⁸ *Ibid*, p. 103.

⁹ Blackett, Clayton, Cramlington, Forster, Mosley, Reed, Smith, Sowerby, Surtees, and Ridley were well-known family names because they had dominated Newcastle's Corporation for forty-seven years out of the ninety-three years considered in this thesis. Analysis was undertaken using C. H. Hunter Blair, 'The Mayors and Lord Mayors of Newcastle Upon Tyne 1216-1940 and The Sheriffs of the County of Newcastle Upon Tyne 1399-1940', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fourth Series, Vol. 18 (1940), pp. ix-167.

However, increased scrutiny of the Common Council's expenditure in the early nineteenth century threatened to damage the Corporation's increasing power-base. A sequence of events fractured the relationship between Newcastle's burgesses, and members of the Common Council, most especially the position of town clerk held first by Nathaniel Clayton and then his son John Clayton. Superficially, the argument related to expenditure on 'improvements' made possible because of the Corporation's landholdings, but at its heart the conflict resided in who held power over urban decision-making.

The power and finances of the burgesses in guild had gradually decreased through the early modern period.¹⁰ By 1800, guild meetings acted as a quality control mechanism, and, in 1809, the Common Council was accused of mismanagement of public money because city auditors had been signing off the general account without examining bills and receipts.¹¹ Burgesses focused on three issues within the accounts: rent arrears on corporation property; increased expenditure on public works; and, policies concerning borrowing.¹² In consequence, the accounts were published annually, but with increased bureaucracy came increased questioning of the Corporation's property management.¹³ Radical politicians within the burgesses ranks became sufficiently emboldened to question directly the role of improvement during the disastrous Christmas Guild meeting of 1824 in which John Clayton was accused of

¹⁰ Eneas Mackenzie reported that nine companies were extinct by 1827. Eneas Mackenzie, 'Incorporated Companies: Merchant Adventurers', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 662-670. *British History Online*, accessed May 16, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp662-670>.

¹¹ Prior to 1809, the accounts only listed total receipts, total payments, and an end of year balance, but amateur bureaucracy was not unusual. See, Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, p. 104. For further details on the events of 1809 see, Joseph Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors of the accounts of the Corporation of Newcastle upon Tyne: published agreeably to a resolution of the Court in Guildhall, on Michaelmas Monday, in the year 1809* (Gateshead: John Marshall, 1809), pp. 11-12, Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne controlled access, Newcastle upon Tyne; and Eneas Mackenzie, 'The Corporation: Chamberlains and auditors', in *Historial Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 636-641. *British History Online*, accessed May 9, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp636-641>.

¹² Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors*, pp. 11-18.

¹³ The publication of the records was a partial compromise between the burgesses and the Common Council. The burgesses had resolved to advertise the rent arrears owed to the Corporation in the newspaper, but this made the Common Council very nervous as some of those who owed money were from ancient or wealthy families. *Ibid*, pp. 12 and 29.

denying the burgesses their ‘rights’.¹⁴ The early nineteenth century was a turning point in the urban political control of Newcastle that would lead to reform, but the actions of the burgesses also served to strengthen the position of the Common Council. Improved accounts provided accurate data of income and revenue sources that, in turn, allowed for identification of prospective opportunities and investment in new projects. Burgess aggression caused disconnect from the decisions of the Common Council, whose members froze out the burgesses from urban development decisions that had previously been joint ventures during the eighteenth century. This shift in power matched national trends that saw administrators governing through ‘knowledge’, or bureaucracy, in the early and mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵

The ‘closed, secret and corrupt’ nature of many municipal institutions caused national resentment.¹⁶ Newcastle would be one of several urban administrations investigated by Royal Commissioners in 1833. Clayton, whose appointment in 1822 was not popular, represented the Corporation during the investigation.¹⁷ Both Claytons did understand however, the critical role that improvement played in advancing the power and wealth of the Corporation, and arguably their own.¹⁸ During this 1833 investigation, Clayton answered questions regarding corporate income and expenditure, the management of city property, and the urban development, all of which demonstrated his commitment to Newcastle’s improvement. Such was the strength of the Corporation that despite reform measures that would break down the

¹⁴ *A Report of the proceedings of the burgesses of Newcastle, assembled in guild, Monday, January 19, 1824: William Wright Esq., Mayor* (Newcastle upon Tyne: E. Walker, 1824), (Cowen Tracts, v.67 n.16), pp. 2, 10-11, Special Collections Cowen, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.

¹⁵ Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 109.

¹⁷ The fracturing of relations between burgesses and the Corporation started with Nathaniel Clayton, although it was made worse by his son John Clayton. Nathaniel Clayton refused to give up information during the 1809 review because he reported only to the Common Council. He was also accused of corruption having invoiced the Corporation more than he should in the pursuit of his role. Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁸ John Clayton had a successful legal practice on Pilgrim Street that he inherited from his father. When Newcastle was redeveloped in the 1830s by Richard Grainger and John Dobson, Clayton represented the interests of both the Corporation as town clerk, and his client, Grainger. While such practices were not considered corrupt for the time, Clayton was able to establish himself as the go-between in all urban development and made significant personal profit in the process. By the late nineteenth century he was able to purchase considerable landed property in Northumberland and participate in costly antiquarian endeavours.

oligarchical nature of the Corporation, fiscal and improvement policy saw little change following the investigation. In fact, many of these strategies would continue, with improvement and associated borrowing increasing exponentially.¹⁹

Newcastle Corporation's landownership, 1740-1840

The strategy that Newcastle Corporation pursued in terms of development improvements between 1740 and 1840 would not have been possible without the establishment of a large land and property portfolio. Assessment of landownership was made possible because of a complete survey of Newcastle undertaken in 1831 by Thomas Oliver.²⁰ Oliver's assessment included a map of the city and accompanying guide that numerically catalogued the freehold owner of every property, including the Corporation, parish and ecclesiastical holdings. The Corporation had already sold some 'ancient' property during the early-nineteenth century, although they strongly favoured leasehold arrangements, so Oliver's survey provides a minimal replication of the extent of the Corporation's land holdings during the previous century.²¹ A replica of the Corporation's property portfolio was produced in GIS for the period 1740 to 1830 (figure 2.1).²² The fewest holdings were in St Nicholas' and St

¹⁹ Nineteenth-century critics suggested that John Clayton's influence was even greater within the new Corporation than it had been in the old. See Lyall Wilkes and Gordon Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton* (London: John Murray, 1964), p. 53.

²⁰ Thomas Oliver, *Reference to a plan of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the Borough of Gateshead, with their respective suburbs; shewing every public building and private property contained therein* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Thomas Oliver, 1831); and Thomas Oliver's *Plan of Central Newcastle, 1830* (L/4126), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne.

²¹ Examples of building sites that had been sold included property on the Side, every year, between 1819 and 1822, which generated an income of £1715 for the Corporation. See Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, pp. 90-91.

²² The total landholdings per parish were: St Nicholas' parish, 14,777 square meters; St John's parish, 70,529 square meters; St Andrew's parish, 30,869 square meters; and All Saints parish, 246,063 square meters. Corporate holdings were much larger outside of Newcastle's built environment: for example, the early eighteenth-century glassworks at Ouseburn to the east of the city, almost doubled this figure. Greater still was the four hundred hectares of public grounds that had been granted to the burgesses during the fourteenth century. The Town Moor, Castle Leazes, and Nun's Moor were fiercely protected by the burgesses from the Common Council over fears that the Common Council wished to enclose and profit from these holdings. See, Select Committee of Burgesses, *Report of the Select Committee of Burgesses of Newcastle upon Tyne, relative to the intended Act of Parliament for the improvement of the Town Moor, Castle Leazes, and Nun's Moor: with a copy of the draught [sic] of the intended Bill, and a copy of the existing Act of Parliament for the management of the*

Andrew's parishes where the Corporation only held small areas made up of individual properties, such as the mansion house on the Close.²³ By contrast, sizeable holdings were held in All Saints and St John's parishes, especially in those areas just within the city walls such as Carliol Croft, or those just outside such as the Forth. It was these areas that had been, or soon would be, subject to further residential development.

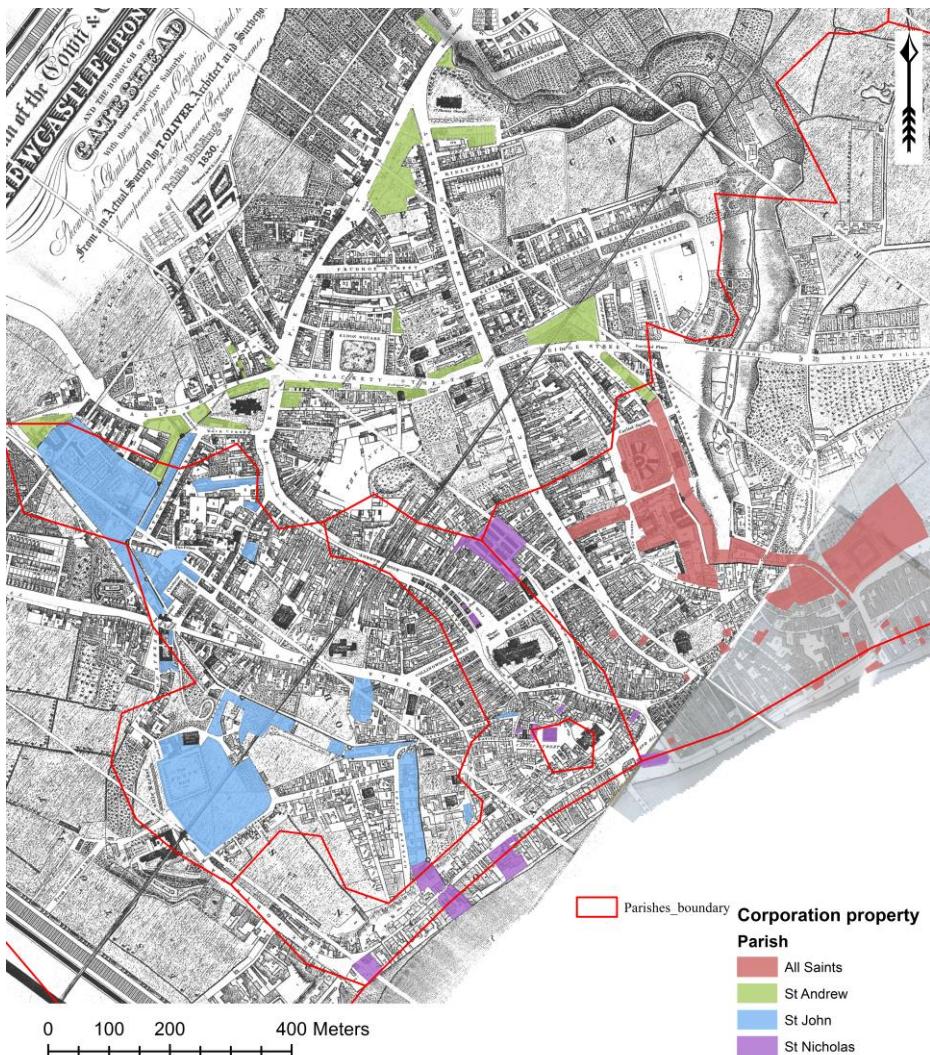


Figure 2.1: Land portfolio of Newcastle Corporation

Moor (Newcastle: M. Angus and Son, 1811), Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne, Newcastle upon Tyne. Data produced in, Sarah Collins, *Corporation property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 5, 2017.

²³ The land on which the mansion house resided had been in the Corporation's ownership from at least 1683 when the decision was taken to rebuild a hospital here and provide a house in public ownership for the residence of the Mayor. See, Eneas Mackenzie, 'Public buildings: The Mansion House', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 232-234. *British History Online*, accessed May 2, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp232-234>.

Newcastle Corporation owned approximately twenty hectares of land and property within the city limits, representing one eighth of Newcastle's built environment, but this ratio was lower than it had been during the eighteenth century. Conservative assessments based on accounts of sales within existing corporate records suggest a property portfolio of approximately twenty-five percent of Newcastle's built environment during the 1740s, dropping to twenty percent during the 1780s. It had reduced because of a combination of corporate land sales, and urban growth that increased the freehold property of the city. Such high land and property ownership was important because it provided additional income, but it also accounted for the ability to physically shape Newcastle's urban environment. The benefit was plain when compared to Gateshead on the south bank of the River Tyne. There, divided property ownership left freeholders at a distinct disadvantage because no dominant landholding authority had taken up the mantel of development.²⁴

In addition to its own holdings, the Corporation benefited from a loop-hole following the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Two monastic properties, St Mary the Virgin Hospital and Mary Magdalene Hospital, had been left with the right to maintain land holdings in the city because of an administrative oversight in 1540.²⁵ As a consequence, the Corporation could present a master to the bishop of Durham as if the property had not been dissolved and both hospitals could maintain land holdings in Newcastle and receive rent from them.²⁶ The charters of Elizabeth I and James I established the mayor and burgesses of

²⁴ Gateshead's waterfront was clogged with private property, leaving no room for a quay to land goods. Gateshead merchants had little choice but to unload at Shields on the coast, or at Newcastle. Both locations involved paying dues to Newcastle Corporation. See Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 47.

²⁵ The legal charge within the 1540 statute was not made to the auditors of the County of Northumberland so rent was not made to the King's receiver at the court. Eneas Mackenzie, 'Religious houses: St Mary's hospital', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 137-145. *British History Online*, accessed May 22, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp137-145>; and Eneas Mackenzie, 'Religious houses: The hospital of St Mary Magdalen', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 145-149. *British History Online*, accessed May 22, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp145-149>.

²⁶ Ibid.

Newcastle as patrons, giving them control, if not out-right ownership.²⁷ The Corporation appropriated the hospital buildings of St Mary the Virgin in 1600 and converted these into the Royal Free Grammar school under terms laid out within the 1600 charter.²⁸ Of even greater value were the land-holdings of these hospitals that fell outside the walled city in St Andrews and St Johns parishes. Collectively these accounted for a larger land-mass than the Corporation's own holdings, and, as patrons, the Corporation would use this land for development during the early nineteenth century. The position of the hospital land-holdings is shown in Figure 2.2.²⁹

²⁷ Newcastle Corporation was accused in 1809 of profiting directly from rents due to St Mary's Hospital that should have been spent on charitable contributions aimed at assisting ageing burgesses. Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors*, pp. 9-14.

²⁸ Eneas Mackenzie felt that it was unlikely that this action was what was intended in the directions of the charter. The charter stipulated that a new body-corporate for the school had the legal right to purchase land and erect new buildings for the school, not appropriate established buildings. See Eneas Mackenzie, 'Institutions for Education: The Royal Free Grammar School', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 415-443. *British History Online*, accessed May 4, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp415-443>.

²⁹ Sarah Collins, *Magdalene Hosp_property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 13, 2017; Sarah Collins, *Virgin Mary Hosp_property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 12, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *Corporation property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 5, 2017.

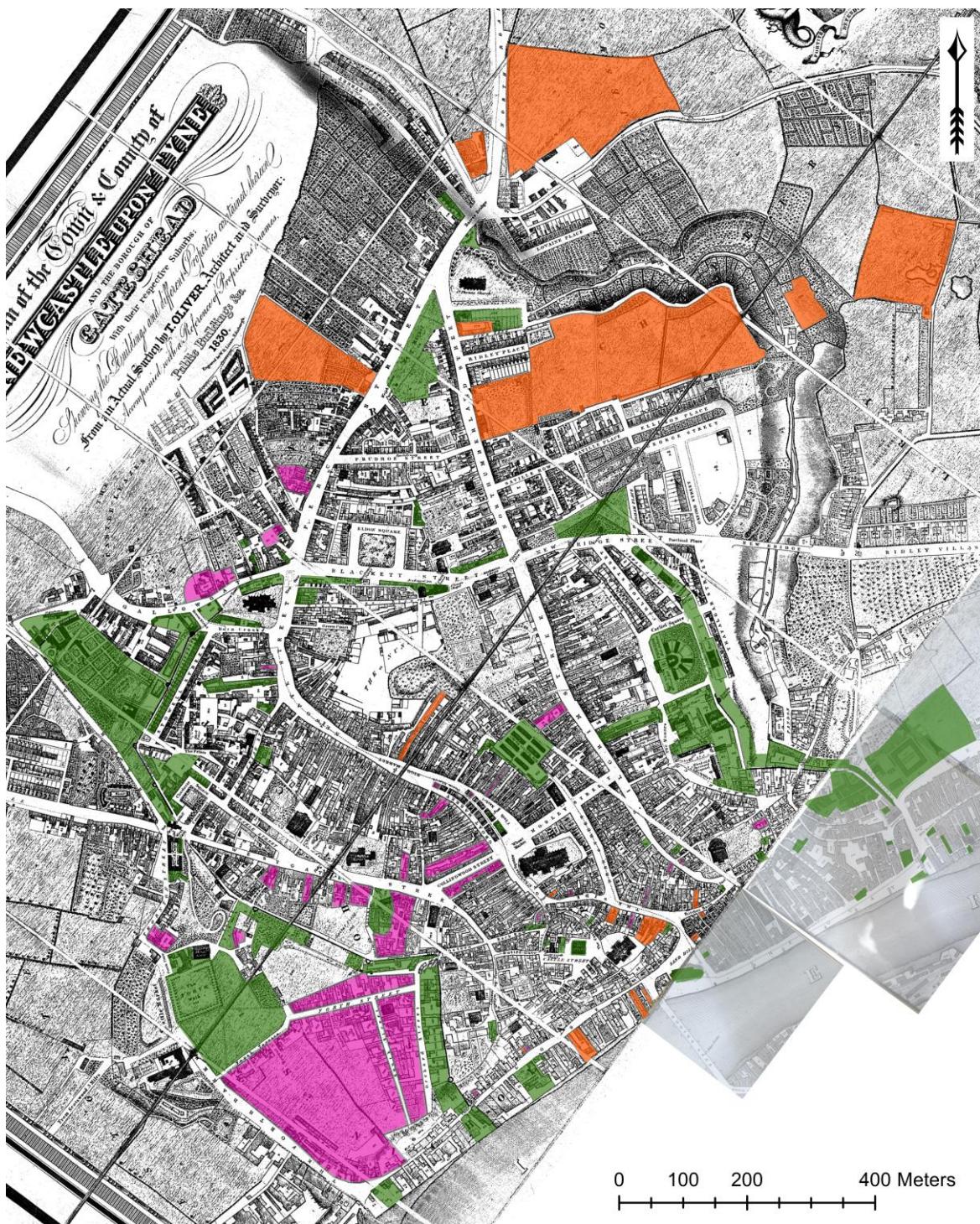


Figure 2.2: Land belonging to St Mary the Virgin Hospital and Mary Magdalene Hospital

* St Mary the Virgin (pink); Mary Magdalene (orange); the Corporation (green)

The property portfolios of St Mary the Virgin (pink) and Mary Magdalene (orange) hospitals collectively added a further twenty-two hectares of land under corporate development control.³⁰ Similar, to the Corporation's own holdings (green), it was likely that these ecclesiastical estates had been subject to reduction during the early modern period, rather than expansion. For example, evidence from a 1547 rental document belonging to St Mary the Virgin Hospital showed more extensive property within the city's ancient streets, such as the markets, chares and around St Nicholas' church yard.³¹ These were not noted in Oliver's survey, leading to the conclusion that parts of the estate had been sold shortly after Henry VIII disbanded the monasteries, and this practice may have continued.

Repeated criticism was targeted at the Corporation for the unplanned nature of development.³² The last chapter highlighted piecemeal development, indicative of the period 1740 to 1780, which continued, causing difficulties that the Corporation then had cause to react to through improvement projects. This process had occurred within the walls, with reactive projects such as the insertion of Mosley and Dean Streets in the 1780s. Yet there were distinctions between intramural and extramural improvement. Until 1800, corporate officials were possessed of an abiding desire to improve the existing fabric of the city. That meant redeveloping inside the city walls, rather than establishing a 'new town' on the outskirts. The commitment to remodelling was especially unusual given the amount of land under the Corporation's control. Between its own holdings and those of the ecclesiastical properties, the Corporation had access to approximately one third of Newcastle's built-environment. In theory, it would have been easier and cost-effective to expand earlier in the city's history. The fact that they continued to make purchases of open-spaces, such as Carliol

³⁰ Mary Magdalene Hospital had the second largest land holdings within Newcastle consisting of 135,348 square meters St Mary the Virgin consisted of 83,310 square meters.

³¹ Mackenzie, 'Religious houses: St Mary's hospital', footnote 7, pp. 137-145.

³² Eneas Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: Improvements projected or effected', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 197-203. *British History Online*, accessed May 5, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp197-203>; and Tunbelly, *The Letters of Tim. Tunbelly*, pp. 40-44.

Croft, as late as 1823 hinted at the continued value placed by city officials on Newcastle's historic core.

In many ways, intramural development was always likely to be reactive. Newcastle had a lengthy settlement history in which the Common Council of the Corporation had relied on individual development by freehold property owners. Furthermore, the Corporation's own holdings strongly favoured Newcastle's extramural space. Once greater improvement became necessary in the eighteenth century, they had cause to react to the piecemeal development that had taken place in order to assert corporation-led development. Yet intramural development was sufficiently advanced by 1800 that extramural improvements increased, and this allowed the Corporation to be proactive because it owned, or controlled, larger portions of land beyond the city walls. These undeveloped, blank spaces allowed the Corporation to shape the urban landscape in the direction of its choosing, which contrasted with the less-regulated, private development, of land across the entire Charleston peninsula. In addition, the patronage of the ecclesiastical estates saw the creation of new streets, such as Forth, Orchard, and South, with minimal impact on the Corporation's own holdings. These streets were created in 1823 on the Forth lands: approximately eleven acres of recreational space outside the west walls.³³ Forth House was made suitable for elite entertainment in 1682, and was surrounded by gardens, lime-tree walks, and a bowling green.³⁴ By the 1820s the trees were degraded, and the Corporation wished to develop the gardens and recreational walks for industrial space including factories and workshops that had been squeezed out of the walled city.³⁵ Forth House belonged to the Corporation, as did a strip of gardens adjoining the west wall, but in-

³³ Eneas Mackenzie, 'Public grounds', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 709-714. *British History Online*, accessed May 22, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp709-714>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

between these was land belonging to St Mary the Virgin. The development of the Forth is shown in Figure 2.3.³⁶

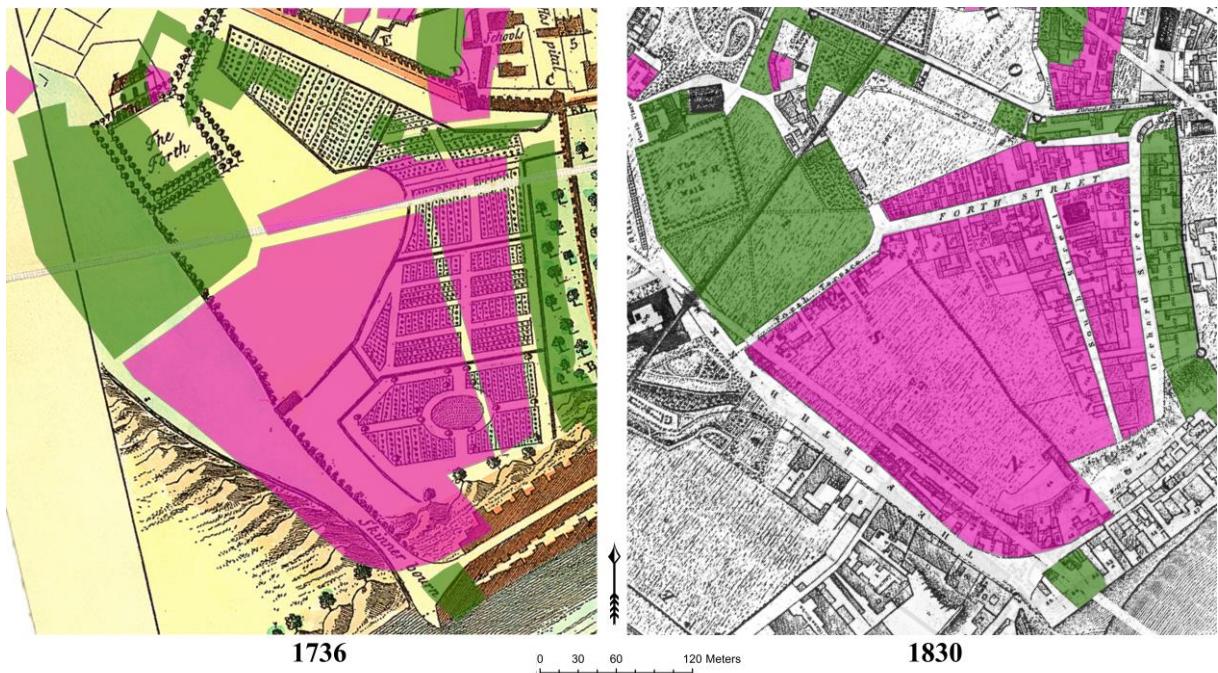


Figure 2.3: The development of the Forth lands: Forth, Orchard and South streets, 1823

The Corporation's own land became the east side of Orchard Street. In addition, the Corporation used its patronage of St. Mary the Virgin's land to create the west side of Orchard Street, Forth Street, and South Street. The decision was financially advantageous for the Corporation, which was especially important during the political clashes of the 1820s when Newcastle's burgesses were increasingly scrutinising corporate expenditure regarding improvement. By developing the ecclesiastical estate in addition to their own, the Common Council could argue for improvement of the built-environment of the city with little impact to the Corporation's/city's ancient property. What's more, corporate expenditure was reduced because no additional land had been purchased. Development costs were off-set by the establishment of leasehold property and avoidance of legal fees associated with having to alienate the freehold property back to the inhabitants of Newcastle. The Corporation could

³⁶ Sarah Collins, *Virgin Mary Hosp_property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 12, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *Corporation property*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, May 5, 2017.

also demonstrate its continued commitment to the patronage of the ecclesiastical property. The land-value increased in consequence of development and generated long-term income through leasehold property, the distribution of which was ultimately under corporate control. The Common Council repeated the pattern of land transformation within the city's landholdings. During the 1820s the Corporation used improvement acts to purchase land adjacent to 'ancient' property and made public improvements of both pieces of land in one go. Once an improvement was made the Corporation then had the choice of whether to retain and let the newly purchased property, or transfer the freehold, which was preferred so that freehold property was not diminished within the city.³⁷ During a time of local political tension it was unlikely that moves to increase the Corporation's monopoly of the city would be acquiesced willingly. Furthermore, as improvement came at a significant cost that had resulted in increased borrowing, it was better to recoup and potentially make additional profit. There were however other motivations for the consistent strategy of land acquisition and improvement. By improving the value of adjacent land, they increased the value of the city's 'ancient' property, often with very little correction to the city's holdings.

The process was observable in the Corporation's development of Eldon Square in 1825. Land was purchased outside of the city's north walls, between New Gate and Ficket Tower, for three thousand pounds through an improvement act.³⁸ The difference between the undeveloped land and the establishment of Eldon Square has been reproduced in Figure 2.4. The purchased land consisted of a field of almost three acres, part of which was in use as a manure depot at the time, making the terms very favourable for the Corporation. Sandwiched between the city walls and this field was a small stretch of ancient property that consisted of cottages backing onto the walls. In creating Eldon Square, the Corporation was also able to introduce a new east to west route, Blackett Street, between New Gate and Pilgrim Gate. It

³⁷ Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 91.

³⁸ Ibid, p. 118.

allowed for the removal of the northern walls and improvement of property on the anciently held land.

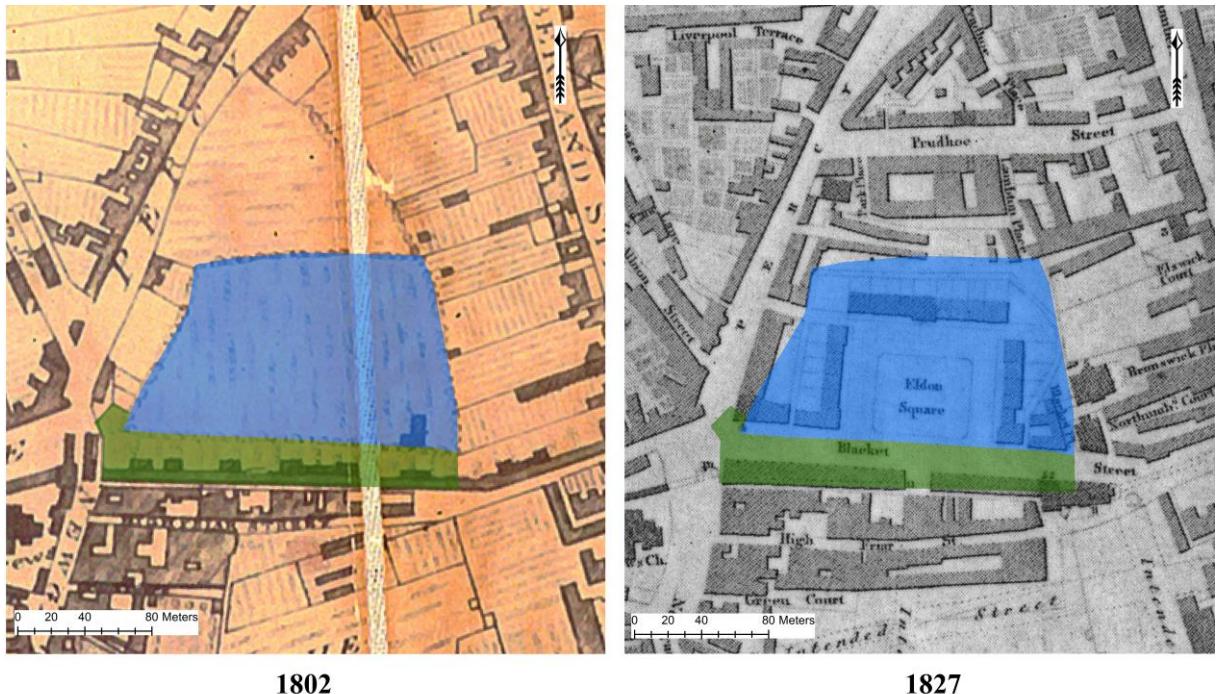


Figure 2.4: Improvement of Eldon Square and Blackett Street

* Corporation land represented in green, purchased land in 1825 in blue

Eneas Mackenzie described Blackett Street in 1827 as ‘one of the most important improvements ever effected by the corporate body’.³⁹ From someone who was often a critic of the Corporation’s lack of development planning, such a statement was testament to the achievement that had been made in the creation of Blackett Street and Eldon Square. The Corporation resisted pressure to alter the plans of John Dobson, instead requiring all houses to be erected with stone fronts.⁴⁰ Once Dobson drew up the plans the building sites were sold to the public by auction and private contracts, and by 1827 only three sites remained to be sold.⁴¹

³⁹ Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Improvements projected or effected’, pp. 197-203.

⁴⁰ The original plans were drawn up and presented to the Common Council by Thomas Oliver, but alterations were encouraged by the architect John Dobson who was asked to create his own plan with these adjustments. See, Thomas Oliver, *A new picture of Newcastle Upon Tyne; or, an historical and descriptive view of the Town and County of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Gateshead, and environs, presenting a luminous guide to the stranger on all subjects connected with general information, business, or amusement* (Newcastle: T. Oliver, 1831), p. 97; and Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Improvements projected or effected’, pp. 197-203.

⁴¹ Ibid.

The project increased freehold property that was always in high demand, but it did so on terms agreeable to the Corporation. Corporate revenue was increased through the sale of building sites that had approved corporate planning. Furthermore, Blackett Street was created on ancient property, which established new real-estate for the Corporation. These properties were granted leasehold contracts of twenty years that included a covenant of renewal for a term of one hundred years, at which point the property reverted to the Corporation. Although these provided only nominal rents it was more than they had received for the whole piece of land prior to improvement.⁴²

Newcastle Corporation established an effective management strategy for advancing an agenda that increased corporate finances. By using corporation capital to purchase land, and legal status to promote urban planning, a precedent was set regarding future development of Newcastle by the Common Council. Such a strategy was not successful, however, until after approximately 1810, which raises questions regarding the ability of individual corporate members to shape the future direction of Newcastle's built environment between 1740 and 1840. As corporate membership, and therefore political positions, was restricted to such a small portion of Newcastle's citizens, elites had the potential to influence Newcastle's transition into a modern settlement, but there were three major hindrances. Firstly, annual term-limits restricted the opportunities of most political positions making it difficult to maintain long-term momentum that was needed for planned change. Secondly, the location of most of the Corporation's land assets were outside of the city walls, which limited the Common Councils' influence over the more necessary upgrades to the urban core. As a consequence, the period 1740 to 1810 was characterised by reactive urban change within the urban core as the Common Council sought to rectify piecemeal changes by private individuals, and proactive change only after 1810 when the Common Council utilised land

⁴² Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 91.

assets outside of the city walls. Thirdly, the Corporation entered a difficult period after approximately 1810 as Newcastle's burgesses reacted to the more proactive approach of the Common Council and the appointment of Clayton as town clerk in 1822. Yet, it was also the longevity and confidence of the Clayton dynasty that established individuals that shaped the direction of urban change in Newcastle after the mid-1830s. It is worth considering this period of turmoil because it related to the Common Council's improvement and fiscal policies that paved the way for more dramatic changes that would include functional and social segregation.

Newcastle Corporation's property portfolio and fiscal policy, 1809-1840

During the early nineteenth century the previously good relationship between the burgesses and the Corporation broke down. In 1833, Clayton attributed the cause to those who sought reform that were different from 'the aristocratic portion of the electors'.⁴³ Leadership of Newcastle had become increasingly fractured and this directly impacted on the development of space. Whereas the Common Council had sought development as a joint venture between themselves and the burgesses during the eighteenth century, through subscription projects, they now sought to control change within the closing ranks of a common council dominated by Clayton. The partnership of Clayton, Richard Grainger, and Dobson during the late 1830s saw Newcastle's core over-hauled by commercial property and fashionable residential districts relocated to the urban periphery. Such actions would not have been possible without the relinquishment of spatial control to the Common Council during the early nineteenth century and this relinquishment is best demonstrated by examining the Corporation's fiscal policy in relation to its property portfolio.

⁴³ Ibid, p. 11.

Newcastle's burgesses classified the Common Council's role as a property manager, acting on their behalf. Clayton testified in 1833 that the Corporation was not in the habit of selling the ancient property of the Corporation, yet sales had taken place.⁴⁴ Examination of corporate accounts between 1809 and 1830 suggest that the Corporation had sold property in excess of ten thousand pounds, causing controversy among the burgesses.⁴⁵ Of greater concern to the burgesses, was the mismanagement of the city's leasehold property following the report into the proceedings of the auditors in 1809. Rents on corporation property was found to be eighteen years in arrears, because they had not been collected following lease renewals.⁴⁶ Clayton was forced to admit in 1833 that instances of mismanagement continued even after the administrative shake-up of 1809.⁴⁷ Properties were frequently rented at extortionate terms for the tenants, or in other cases seriously undervalued. This situation had occurred in the example of 'the Circus', a riding school built by public subscription in 1789 on corporation land at the Forth. By 1833 burgesses were critical that it was underlet at only ten pounds per annum, which 'proved that the governing body cared little for the property of the burgesses'.⁴⁸ Yet the general policy of the Corporation was that low rents were better than no rent, and continued reduction of rental income only furthered the Corporation's strategy that unproductive land should be improved.

Why the leasehold arrangements of the Corporation had become so untenable for the burgesses during the early nineteenth century was understandable when considering the income potential of rental property. It was one of the top three revenue strands for the

⁴⁴ Ibid, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁵ The remit of the Corporation extended beyond the built environment of the city, so this figure also represents sales of non-urban property within the surrounding hinterland. For evidence of land sales see, Newcastle upon Tyne, *An account of the gross income and expenditure of the Corporation of Newcastle on Tyne: as published annually for the last forty years* (South Shields: H. M'Coll, 1849), Edwin Clarke Local (Clarke 422), Special Collections, Newcastle University Library, Newcastle.

⁴⁶ Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors*, pp. 11; and Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 86.

⁴⁷ Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, pp. 90-91.

⁴⁸ The burgesses felt that fifty pounds per annum would have been a more appropriate sum. Ibid, p. 92.

Corporation between 1809 and 1840 (see Figure 2.5). This was important because it demonstrated the level of income generation from property that gave the Corporation control, and income, both of which could be used for future improvements. Figure 2.5 plots the Corporation's three highest revenue strands in the years leading up to the 1833 investigation, and those immediately following it, which were income from rent, income from the duty on shipping coals from the port, and income from duty on the receipt of ballast that was deposited to the east of Newcastle along the banks of the River Tyne to form ballast hills.⁴⁹

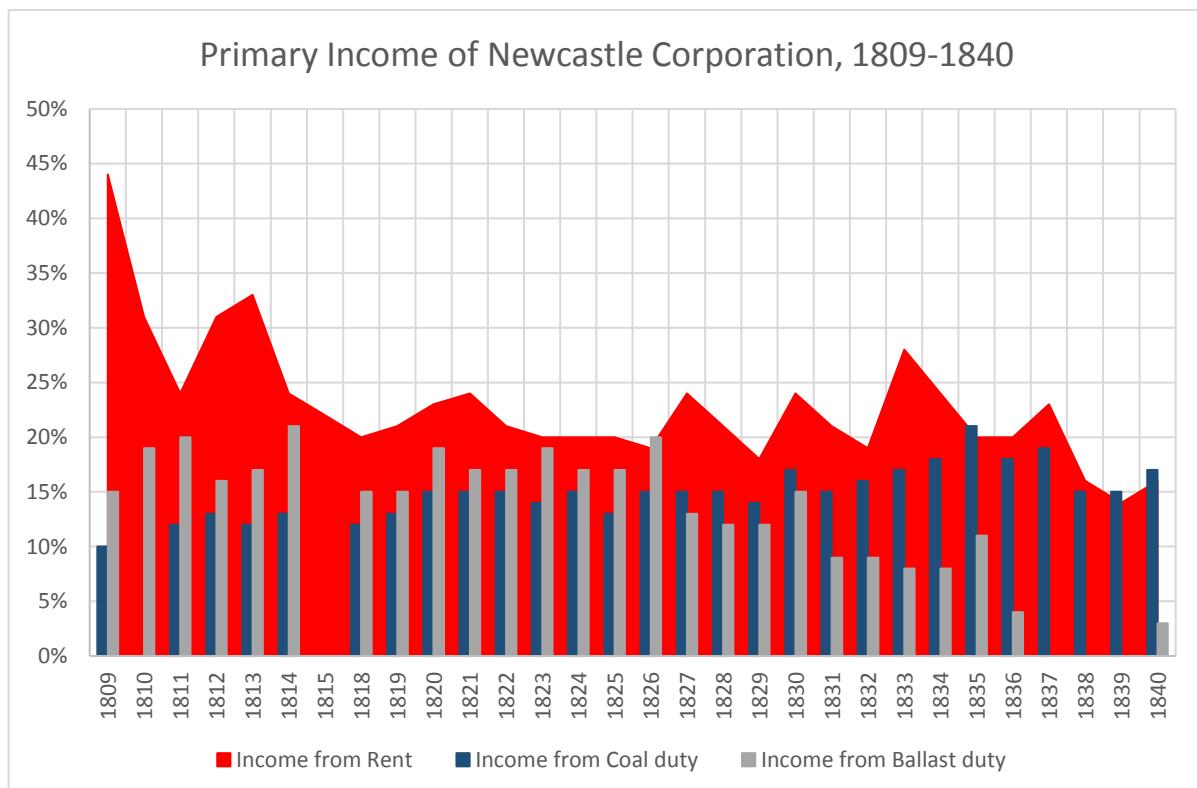


Figure 2.5: Corporation Income (1809-1840)

* gaps in the duty of coal (1815-17), and ballast (1815-17, and 1837-39) represented periods when these categories could not be distinguished from broader payment figures

The accounts started in 1809 with a significant spike in rental income that marked the collection of rental arrears from as far back as the 1790s. Between 1814 and 1830, rent

⁴⁹ The graph was created using data from *An account of the gross income and expenditure of the Corporation of Newcastle on Tyne*. The income that the Corporation received from the receipt of ballast was off-set against Corporate expenditure on the conveyance of ballast to new sites (a loss of approximately fifty percent of Corporate income each year).

frequently generated twenty to twenty-five percent of the Corporation's total annual income, and throughout the entire period rent consistently returned better profits than the duty on coal exports or duty on the receipt of ballast. The enforced improvement of accounting helped the Common Council by establishing how finances could be reinvested, and this was important because part of this reinvestment went directly to improvement. The evidence is also important because it demonstrates the two-fold benefit of directly controlling land. Firstly, the Corporation had the advantage of being able to physically improve its own large land-holdings, but secondly, by owning property they generated the income for improvement projects.

The other concern for Newcastle's burgesses was the Corporation's spending and borrowing policies. From approximately 1810, Newcastle's development entered a new period of increased infrastructural investment. Such investment matched trends by other corporations nationally, but there were financial implications to such investments.⁵⁰ Newcastle's burgesses repeatedly called on the Corporation to give up its system of borrowing money.⁵¹ There was increased dissatisfaction targeted at the Mayors and Clayton regarding the amount of money that was being borrowed for improvements that had reached a height in the years leading up to the development of Blackett Street. During the 1824 Christmas Guild meeting, burgesses expressed concern that Newcastle's legacy would be insolvency, 'if improvements cannot be made without such enormous debts then we should be censured, not applauded'.⁵² Part of the tension surrounding mismanagement of public expenditure was nothing more than a suitable output for aggression by radical councillors, but the argument was a good example of the breakdown in the working relationship of the burgesses and the Corporation. The Corporation had never considered itself a passive

⁵⁰ Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840*, p. 45.

⁵¹ Clark, *Report on the proceedings of the auditors*, pp. 11-18.

⁵² *A Report of the proceedings of the burgesses of Newcastle, assembled in guild, Monday, January 19, 1824*, p. 8.

trustee.⁵³ The reactive overwrite of piecemeal development through the insertion of Mosley and Dean Streets in the 1780s was testament to the commitment to improve Newcastle. Yet the tension that was felt during the early nineteenth century demonstrates the fine balance that corporations operated within when attempting to match expenditure to income. Burgesses were now privy to the fact that expenditure on improvements, and borrowing to undertake them, were continuing to rise, and they feared that such risks would result in the collapse of the Corporation's property assets, which, as demonstrated in Figure 2.5, was a crucial part of Newcastle's revenue stream.⁵⁴

Burgesses' attempts to legally curtail expenditure via the newly created 'Committee of Works', established 1809, was not successful because it produced a strong working relationship between the Common Council and local architects, cutting the burgesses out of decision-making further. Despite measures that specified that the Committee of Works would view and approve any development proposals over fifty pounds, the cost of public works continued to grow. Public works included a broad remit of improvements, such as building work to corporate property, street-widening schemes, or removal of obstructive street furniture. These tasks were important in extending the corporate control of space beyond its own property portfolio, allowing them to shape the wider space of the city to the design of their choosing. Clayton provided improvement costings for the Commissioners in 1833. Twenty thousand pounds had been spent between 1780 and 1800, which had risen to almost eighty thousand pounds between 1800 and 1833.⁵⁵ Expenditure on public works during the period 1809 to 1840, as well as borrowing to undertake these improvements, are shown in Figure 2.6.

⁵³ W. L. Burn, 'Newcastle upon Tyne in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Series 4, Vol. 34 (1956), p. 3.

⁵⁴ *A Report of the proceedings of the burgesses of Newcastle, assembled in guild, Monday, January 19, 1824*, pp. 6-10.

⁵⁵ Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, pp. 115-120, and appendix.

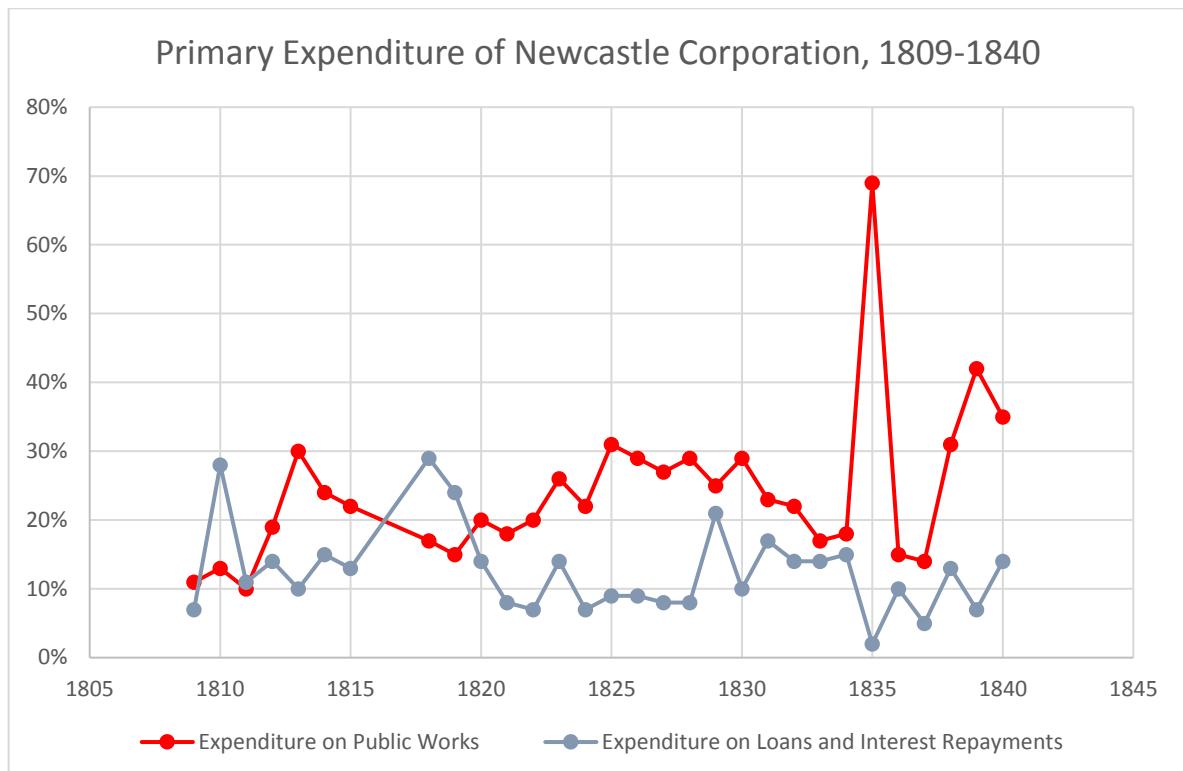


Figure 2.6: Corporation Expenditure (1809 to 1840)

While expenditure on improvements was high, the real issue concerned the ratio that this expense represented when all corporate expenditure was considered.⁵⁶ Figure 2.6 highlights that the percentage of the Corporation's revenue spent on public works increased from ten percent of total corporate expenditure in 1809 to between twenty to thirty percent during the 1820s and 1830s. At the same time, the Corporation's ability to repay its loans decreased. During the 1820s, loans and interest represented less than ten percent of corporation expenditure. The burgesses were rightly concerned that the inability to repay debts threatened to weaken the reputation of the Corporation, or worse would lead to the collapse of corporation assets, namely its property portfolio.

⁵⁶ Improvement was not the only contentious spending issue for the burgesses. They had previously criticised expenditure on stationary and salaries, but examination of these costs showed that they did fluctuate depending on the Corporation's other costs. For example, salaries to the Mayor, town clerk and other leading officials dropped in the late 1830s so that the improvements by Richard Grainger could be affected. Burgesses were also critical that only two or three percent of expenditure was given to charity annually. The Corporation continued to support structures of civic place such as Sir Walter Blackett's Hospital and the Royal Grammar School. As the burgesses benefited from these civic structures their criticism was not without personal interest, although the Corporation did have a history of increasing these contributions when it was politically beneficial to do so, such as in 1833 before official investigation.

The argument between the Common Council and burgesses hit at the heart of tensions that could occur because of individual personalities that directly impacted upon an adapting spatial system. Newcastle's burgesses believed that the development of Newcastle was a collective experience because of their personal involvement in the city's development during the eighteenth century. What they were confronted with during the early nineteenth century was the growing realisation that this was simply no longer viable. By 1833 corporate debt had reached approximately one hundred thousand pounds, but neither burgess objections, or the 1833 investigation, curtailed corporate expenditure on public works.⁵⁷ In fact, the Common Council entered an aggressive period of public expenditure in the years following the investigation during which the improvements by Grainger and Dobson were undertaken. In 1835 the Corporation spent a whopping sixty-nine percent of its annual expenditure on public works. These developments were exceptional, but it demonstrated the shift in onus from subscription-led improvement to development controlled exclusively by the Corporation. This choice was driven by an understanding that control of space was critical to the power and wealth of the Corporation, but it was ultimately Clayton who was most successful.⁵⁸

The period between 1740 and 1840 did not demonstrate a significant dominance by Newcastle's political elite in terms of advancing their own power within urban space. The Corporation had ample opportunity to functionally or socially segregate urban space throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth century through utilisation of its land assets. Importantly, however, the period between 1810 and 1840 did pave the way for segregation to become a significant part of Newcastle's future under the direction of individuals such as Clayton and Grainger. Charleston's Corporation offers an interesting counter-approach to

⁵⁷ Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, pp. 115-116.

⁵⁸ As the legal counsel of both the Corporation, and with Richard Grainger as a personal client, Clayton found himself in a powerful position by the 1830s as he ultimately had considerable influence over Newcastle's development decisions. For further information on Clayton's relationship with Grainger and Dobson and the work that was undertaken, see Wilkes and Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton*.

attempted spatial dominance, within a theoretically balanced political system, but with few land assets.

Charleston Corporation and its corporate officers

Charleston's early administrative history was more complicated than Newcastle's because of South Carolina's founding and initial growth during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Charleston underwent successive periods of differing administrative order. From the 1680s Charleston fell under the jurisdiction of an elected Governor, initially reporting to the Lords Proprietors, and then to the Crown following the establishment of the first Royal Governor in 1721. In 1783, following the successful establishment of American independence, Charleston became an incorporated city with urban development overseen by the City Council of Charleston that was equivalent to Newcastle's Common Council.

Charleston adopted greater division within its corporate body than Newcastle. The City Council was overseen by an elected Intendant much like Newcastle's Mayor. The Intendant was assisted by a sheriff and a minimum of nine wardens that had jurisdiction over different wards within the city.⁵⁹ In addition, a series of statutory bodies oversaw several aspects of daily urban life, such as public economics, building regulations, or health and safety. When Charleston was originally incorporated the city was divided into thirteen wards that established the structure of elections.⁶⁰ The churchwardens of St. Philip and St. Michael held a municipal election annually in which one warden was selected to represent each

⁵⁹ City Council of Charleston, *A Collection of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the Twenty-Eighth of September, 1818, to the Twelfth of August, 1823* (Charleston: Archibald E. Miller, 1823), pp. 1-3.

⁶⁰ The number of wards was reduced to four in 1809 and an Act of Legislature passed that reviewed the divisions every seven years. See Nicholas Butler, *Wards of Charleston, 1783-1960* (Charleston: Charleston County Public Library, 2007).

ward.⁶¹ A second election was held after approximately seventeen days, during which an intendant would be elected from the thirteen wardens. Finally, a third election would be held to fill the vacancy created by the promotion to Intendant, as well as filling any other vacancies.⁶² In theory, Charleston's administrative positions were more democratic as they were open to United States citizens over the age of twenty-five, and resident of the city for at least three years before election. Unlike Newcastle, Charleston did not experience dominance within the position of Intendent by a core group of families, but it was not uncommon for citizens to hold the position more than once and they were always held by wealthy white males.⁶³ Results from 1787, of the first set of elections to establish wardens, offers a typical example of the type of citizens attracted to holding office, and likely to be elected.⁶⁴ Of the twelve wardens elected on this occasion, five were planters. Other occupations included a lawyer, a carpenter, a factor, a judge, a physician, a powder receiver, and a merchant. But while the Charleston Corporation was more democratic, the fledgling nature of the Council resulted in limited land or property assets. Administrators began accruing city landholdings from 1783, but with limited success until the early nineteenth century. Instead, Charleston's Corporation established ordinances that provided legislative order for its officers to enforce, providing an effective tool for manipulating the use of space.

Charleston Corporation's landownership, 1740-1840

The prioritisation of private land ownership during Charleston's founding period resulted in the sale of land units in individual lots. The city land holdings were relatively

⁶¹ 'Poll Lists Charleston Municipal Elections 1787', *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (1955), pp. 45-49.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Between 1783 and 1840 the position of Intendant was held between thirty-three individuals: Elias Horry and John Geddes held office four times, and Henry Laurens Pinckney six times.

⁶⁴ The Polls list was cross-referenced against the 1790 trade directory to establish the occupations of those elected.

small when the Corporation was established in 1783 and yet the opportunity to accrue land had presented itself. When British troops left Charleston in 1782 and patriot Charlestonians returned to assess the damage, those that had identified themselves as loyalists were left in a difficult position and departed.⁶⁵ As a consequence, loyalist property was left behind and confiscated by the newly forming Charleston administration. At the time the more immediate financial obligations of the still on-going war meant that these holdings were auctioned to residents returning after the British departure, rather than kept by the Corporation. Monetary profit, from the spoils of war, may have been more easily digested than land acquisition within a city dominated by private landownership. In consequence, when Charleston's Corporation laid out legislation to govern in 1783 the city's property portfolio consisted of only eleven listed sites, many of which were individual buildings, or have since become abstract descriptions.⁶⁶ These have been listed in Table 2.1, and, where possible, mapped in Figure 2.7.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), p. 190.

⁶⁶ Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783 to July 1818* (Charleston: E. Miller, 1818), Appendix, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Charleston's property portfolio contained land outside of the built environment of the city, which was not mapped. For example, 'part of the negro burial ground as is public property' likely referred to a burial site of just over two acres that in 1746 was recorded as 'lying to the north-west of the ditch, between the two westernmost bastions and the town line'. David J. McCord, *The Statutes at large of South Carolina; edited, under authority of the legislature* (Columbia: S. Johnston, 1840), p.77.

Table 2.1: Land belonging to Charleston Corporation, 1783

Site/description	Map Key
Fish Market	1
Exchange	2
Lower Market	3
Beef Market	4
Marsh land appropriated for a common	5
Land bounded by Quees, Magazine, Mazyck, and Back streets	6
'lands on which the horn work, at the north part of the city is situate'	7
'public lands near the same, purchased of the Wragg and Manigault families'	7
Market at western end of Broad Street	
'part of the negro burial ground as is public property'	
'any low water lots fronting any of the streets'	

*adapted from Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783 to July 1818* (Charleston: E. Miller, 1818).



Figure 2.7: Known locations of property belonging to Charleston Corporation, 1782

Charleston Corporation owned a fraction of Newcastle's property holdings because legally purchasing land took time and required capital. What's more the financial strain to the city during the War of 1812 meant that any ambitions to increase the cities property portfolio

was delayed further.⁶⁸ The city was in no position to increase its property until the 1830s. It was during this decade that individual politicians such as Henry Laurens Pinckney became powerful figures in promoting Charleston's improvement, in a similar way to the actions of Clayton in Newcastle. Even then, land purchases came with considerable increase to corporate debt because purchases were not undertaken with the view to selling the freehold back to the inhabitants, but rather keeping it to increase revenue from rent.

Charleston's Intendant, Robert Hayne, made purchases on behalf of the city in 1837 that included land at the Battery, and on Lingard and Amen Streets.⁶⁹ Prior to Hayne's purchases, rent accounted for less than two percent of total corporate revenue, but Hayne's public improvements increased this to seven percent.⁷⁰ In 1838, Pinckney as City Intendant, authorised purchases at White Point, Amen, Anson, and Cumberland Streets.⁷¹ Pinckney listed these, and existing property, as a resource that could be converted into a sinking fund to offset the city's mounting debt of over seven hundred thousand dollars.⁷² The City Council's investment in land-holdings was important because it demonstrated similar understanding to Newcastle's Corporation whereby rented property provided greater financial security. The difficulty for Charleston's Corporation however, lay in the inability to escape from the influence of private property within the original plan. Therefore, administrators had less financial capital to shape Charleston's development in the way that Newcastle's Common

⁶⁸ Nicholas Butler argues that Charleston was crippled by debt following the decision to build fortifications that would ultimately prove unnecessary. Over one hundred thousand dollars was spent between 1814 and 1815, and Butler suggests that Charleston's economy never really recovered. Nicholas Butler, 'Charleston and the War of 1812', *C-Span* video, 49:03, February 9, 2013, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?2310986-3/charleston-war-1812>.

⁶⁹ Examples included land near the battery costing \$14,508; land in Lingard Street at \$1,934, and land in Amen street at \$1,408. R. Y. Hayne, *Report of the proceedings of the City Authorities of Charleston, during the past year, ending September 1st, 1837; with suggestions for the improvement of the city* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1837), p. 37, (F279-C457-H39), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 36.

⁷¹ Henry L. Pinckney, *Report; containing a review of the proceedings of the City Authorities, from the 4th September, 1837, to the 1st August, 1838, with suggestions for the improvement of the various departments of the public service* (Charleston: Thomas J. Eccles, 1838), pp. 7-8, (F279-C457-P56), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

⁷² Pinckney calculated the value of the Corporation's property at \$443,750 that would have accounted for at least half the incurred debt. *Ibid*, pp. 9-12.

Council was able to from 1810. In Charleston, the White Point purchase, for example, saw the Council improve this area of the city with gardens and a promenade for Charleston's elite. Yet instead of undertaking the residential part of the project themselves, as had occurred in Newcastle's Eldon Square, the Council sold some of the land to private individuals and relied on them to add to public improvement through elaborate residential designs.⁷³

Spatial, social, and racial legislation in Charleston after 1783

Without land-holdings, or the ability to significantly alter the physical space of Charleston until the early nineteenth century, Charleston's Council devised different strategies to Newcastle. In part, the Council used places of administrative power, as defined by Lefebvre, to dominate Charleston's, (perceived) undesirable, social and racial groups. They also made use of city legislation aimed to control the actions of human behaviour across urban space. Such methods relied on earlier administrative practices, before the establishment of the Corporation, in which citizen-reporting ensured only legal activities took place within the city. Thomas Elfe, for example, gained support from other citizens in the 1750s and was successful in relocating prostitutes from taverns along Queen, Chalmers and Cumberland streets into a north-west area of the city.⁷⁴ After 1783, such citizen-reporting continued, but was assisted by a wide-ranging series of ordinances that aimed to control human and spatial activity. For example, by prohibiting unlicensed gambling within the city limits in 1818, Charleston Corporation successfully pushed gambling and grog shops to the north of Beaufain

⁷³ Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 33-34.

⁷⁴ The prostitutes were relocated to 'Dutch town', an area of the city near to St. John's Lutheran Church. See *17 Chalmers Street, Pink House, Charleston, South Carolina*, accessed December 19, 2016, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, SC. Public disapproval of prostitution was raised again in 1835 when St. Philip's Church burnt down following the outbreak of a fire in a nearby tavern, and residents once again attempted to clear such properties. See *Charleston Mercury*, February 16, 1835, Charleston Archive, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC; and Mark R. Jones, *Wicked Charleston: The Dark Side of the Holy City* (Charleston: History Press, 2005), p. 66.

and Hasell streets, and eventually into Charleston Neck within working-class and free-black communities, and away from residential and commercial areas of elite activity on the peninsula.⁷⁵

By 1783 Charleston's Corporation also had the means to understand the spatial configuration of the city better than Newcastle's administrators, through the 'governable space of calculability'.⁷⁶ Reuben Rose-Redwood and Anton Tantner have argued that urban administrations increasingly used new techniques, such as house numbering, to gain administrative insight into the population via methods like census-taking.⁷⁷ Charleston's administrators possessed the means to understand the spatial configurations of its inhabitants in space, but they regularly failed to capitalise on them because of over-confidence in their ability to control 'less desirable' population groups.⁷⁸ One such example was over-confidence in the Corporation's control of the enslaved population. During the eighteenth century, public places emerged, such as Charleston's Exchange Building, which formed temporary places of racial inequality during slave auctions. The Exchange Building was a favoured location of auctioneers. In 1790 the Charleston trade directory listed nine of the city's twelve auctioneers that were positioned to the north, south, and at the back of the Exchange Building.⁷⁹ The practice continued well into the first half of the nineteenth century until the establishment of the Slave Mart that was built on Chalmers Street in 1859 in reaction to growing criticism from abolitionist supporters such as Harriet Martineau, who described the auction in 1835, and

⁷⁵ Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783*, pp. 97-98, Appendix, pp. 14-16; Amrita Chakrabarti Myers, *Forging Freedom: Black Women & the Pursuit of Liberty in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), pp. 24-25; and Bernard E. Powers Jr., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1994), pp. 23-25.

⁷⁶ Reuben Rose-Redwood and Anton Tantner, 'Introduction: governmentality, house numbering and the spatial history of the modern city', *Urban History*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (2012), pp. 607-613.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 607-610.

⁷⁸ John Tobler, *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanack, for the year of Our Lord 1782* (Charlestown: R. Wells & Son, 1782). Nicholas Butler suggests a slightly later date of the mid-1780s, or soon after the establishment of Charleston's Corporation in 1783. See Nicholas Butler, *The Street Numbers of Peninsular Charleston* (Charleston: Charleston County Public Library, 2010).

⁷⁹ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

Eyre Crowe who illustrated an auction at the Exchange in 1856.⁸⁰ The commercial market also became a place of corporate power because it was from here that corporal punishment was meted out to the enslaved and free-black populations when city ordinances were disobeyed.⁸¹ Such control of the black population was important because of the high numbers of slaves residing in the city. The 1790 census recorded a near-equal population ratio between white and enslaved residents that then tipped in favour of the enslaved population after 1800.⁸²

Failure to understand both the threat, and the distribution, of slavery in the city was the result of several factors. The most important of these factors resided in the value placed in slaves as private property that placed control within the hands of individual owners, and not the Council. Like Newcastle, Charleston did not consider functional, social, and racial segregation in any significant way before c.1820, and, consequently slaves were actively and legitimately present within the working space of the city. The events of 1822, which saw the repression of a slave uprising, demonstrated the levels to which Charleston's dominant classes had also failed to advance power over their larger administrative domain.⁸³ In fact, the greater inclusion within Charleston's political structure may have put it at a disadvantage in comparison to Newcastle by diluting the power of the Corporation amongst a broader

⁸⁰ Harriet Martineau, 'Many Mansions There Are in This Hell, 1835', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 216. 'Slave sale, Charleston, South Carolina' by Eyre Crowe is reproduced in, McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 15. See also Maurie McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 121.

⁸¹ Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783*, pp. 42-43.

⁸² McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 20.

⁸³ In June 1822 city administrators were alerted to a possible uprising amongst the slaves in the city and hinterland, reportedly led by six conspirators. The reputed ring-leader was Denmark Vesey, a free black carpenter, but others included Rolla, Batteau and Ned Bennett, Peter Poyas, and Jesse Blackwood, all of whom were slaves. The plot has been the subject of various scholarly works many of which have focused on establishing the truth. For a review of the debates see Edward A. Pearson, 'Trials and Errors: Denmark Vesey and His Historians', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (2002), pp. 137-142. For the reimagining of the plot see, Richard C. Wade, 'The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration', *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1964), pp. 143-161.

spectrum of citizens. Crucially, however, the 1822 uprising provided justification for greater oversight and control by Charleston's Corporation.

The published court proceedings by Charleston's Intendant, James Hamilton Jr. and the City Council in 1822 was a congratulatory exercise in elite vigilance and authority over the foiled uprising. The cross-examination of witnesses and the convicted was also loaded with spatial questioning. The focus on where the conspirators met, recruited, and their planned targets was suggestive of an administration that was attempting to gain insight into how black agitators operated and where racial tension might be a problem in the future. The distribution of conspirators and meeting places across the entire Charleston peninsula hinted at the difficulty in maintaining order when conspirators worked within legitimate channels.⁸⁴ Charleston's Corporation was unable to directly control the physical space of the city, but they could alter the behaviour of the population in space. The failed plot led to increased scrutiny of slave and free-black movement through Charleston's urban space with night-time curfews of black residents and visitors.⁸⁵ Of even greater value was the opportunity to expand Corporate control outside of Charleston's normal area of jurisdiction by disbanding the African Methodist Episcopal church on Charleston Neck that was feared to be the leading agitator of black power.⁸⁶ The demonstration of the Corporation's authority came during a useful period in which the administration was flexing its muscles regarding the future

⁸⁴ The names of those convicted was cross-referenced with the 1822 trade directory to determine likely trades based on owner's occupations. The data demonstrated that coopers, blacksmiths, lumber merchants, and draymen made up several conspirators who had valid reasons to communicate with each other, which allowed the plot to go undetected for so long. See Corporation of Charleston, *Negro Plot: An Account of the late Intended Insurrection among a portion of the Blacks of the City of Charleston, South Carolina* (Boston: Joseph W. Ingraham, 1822), (F279-C4-C31), College of Charleston Special Collection, Charleston, SC; and James William Hagy, *Charleston, South Carolina, City Directories for the years 1816, 1819, 1822, 1825, and 1829* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 2009). The data was mapped in Sarah Collins, *1822_slaveinsurrection*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 29, 2017.

⁸⁵ For example, the Corporation attempted to imprison free black sailors arriving at port as a legislative means of controlling night-time activity. See Peter P. Hinks, *To Awaken My Inflicted Brethren: David Walker and the Problem of Antebellum Slave Resistance* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 146.

⁸⁶ The church had already been warned twice by 1821 about violations to city ordinances forbidding slaves to gather on mass, and for educating black congregation members. See Lacy K. Ford, 'An Interpretation of the Denmark Vesey Insurrection Scare', *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association* (Charleston: The South Carolina Historical Association, 2012), p. 18.

direction of Charleston's urban space. Charleston provides a good example, however, of local disruption caused by human agents. While free black residents could be controlled, white citizens proved more difficult to manipulate, which was observable through the actions of Charleston's statutory bodies in charge of the city's physical improvement.

Charleston: the rise of physical improvements

Although Charleston's response to spatial control was often legislative, the Corporation eventually seized the opportunity to proactively enforce physical change in the early nineteenth century. By contrast with Newcastle's Common Council, Charleston adopted greater division within its corporate body that was made up of several specialised units, answerable to the City Council. In 1783, a hierarchical structure was established that created elected Commissioners in charge of various city departments, although the roots of this structure could be traced back to the Commissioners of Fortifications from at least the 1750s.⁸⁷ Commission Boards were not unusual in British Atlantic cities, although in Newcastle the oligarchical nature of the Corporation had made them undesirable. Late eighteenth-century British commissions oversaw various acts of improvement with broad remits over safety, sanitation, and streets.⁸⁸ Charleston's Boards had been adapted from early and mid-eighteenth-century focuses on defence to versions that were increasingly specialised by the nineteenth century.⁸⁹ Commissioners had important roles in the enforcement of the

⁸⁷ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Fortifications, 1755-1770* (CCPL212), microfilm, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

⁸⁸ Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840*, pp. 76-83.

⁸⁹ Prior to the Revolutionary War, the Commissioners of Fortifications were funded on an annual basis by the House of Assembly and prioritised the repair and creation of new fortifications. The House of Assembly had a vested interest in the protection of Charleston as its largest economic asset, but they also provided one-off funds for non-defence projects such as investment in St. Michael's parish church, or the State House. See City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Fortifications*, December 9, 1755; April 22, 1756; March 10, 1757; June 4, 1757; and August 10, 1758. Examples of the more specialised boards included: The Commissioners for Streets and Lamps, established from 1806; the Charleston Board of Health, created in 1815; and the Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets, Lanes and Alleys, launched in 1818. See Charleston Council, *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783*, pp. 21-27; 45-59; Appendix, pp. 29-32.

city's ordinances that created a rigid structure for management. In addition, they were responsible for practical projects such as bridge repairs, filling pot-holes, and sinking drains, for which they were assisted from 1806 by city scavengers.⁹⁰ Scavenger teams, usually consisting of one paid white male and a team of three slaves, were assigned to each of the cities four wards with duties that included removal of rubbish, levelling streets, and cleaning drains, gutters and grates.⁹¹ Charleston's management strategy was successful for two reasons. Firstly, positions were tenable by a larger pool of applicants who potentially wanted the job. Secondly, it emphasised practical urban management as a tool to reshape city space as required.

Such strategies ensured that a much larger and diverse proportion of Charleston's population was responsible for urban development, which included the financial burden for the costs of improvement. The emphasis on private enterprise within the founding documents created a precedent for the creation and up-keep of much of the city's built-environment by its residents rather than the City Council. Street-level regulation and improvement was funded at the local level, rather than exclusively through taxation. The cost of repairing pot-holes, maintaining footpaths, sinking drains and wells, and managing sewers was met by those who would benefit most from the improvements, and this meant that Charleston's property owners fronted these enforced costs.⁹² Such strategies had advantages and disadvantages in the instigation, enforcement, and finance of urban development. In Newcastle, the Common Council had taken on responsibility for these types of improvement within the broad remit of 'public works' even though it was not required to do so.⁹³ It suited the Common Council to

⁹⁰ Ibid, pp. 222-224.

⁹¹ Initially, in 1806, there were only two scavengers for each of the city divisions, but this number was increased to four in 1817. Ibid.

⁹² The guidelines enforcing property owners with the cost of improvements was established from at least 1762 as evidenced by *An Act to empower certain Commissioners*, 1764 (328.757), transcript, College of Charleston Special Collection, Charleston, SC.

⁹³ John Clayton admitted in 1833 that the Corporation had taken on the custom to pave walkways at no cost to the cities inhabitants. The legal obligation was that the Corporation lay the curb-stone and first-flag, and the

act as instigator and financier because it was administratively difficult to enforce payment by citizens, and it also reinforced corporate-led development. Charleston's City Council was unable to financially support such developments because it lacked the greater revenue stream of Newcastle's property portfolio. While Charleston's Council still instigated improvement through the application of law, it had to settle for enforcement only, and not financier. This position saved the Corporation money and, in theory, resulted in city-wide investment, rather than disproportionately favouring areas of elite residency, as had occurred in English cities.⁹⁴ The difference in Charleston's model provided opportunities for citizens to have a greater voice in the direction of urban planning in the way that Newcastle's burgesses craved after 1810. During a period in which the City Council wished to increase improvement, Charlestonians could actively resist change via legal contest. Charleston's petition system was a good reflection of the disruption that could be caused to adaptation of a spatial system by outside forces.

Citizen objections were analysed using petitions to the 'Board of Commissioners for Opening and Widening of Streets, Lanes and Alleys', established in 1818.⁹⁵ The anticipation of greater political and financial stability after the War of 1812 meant that Charleston's Council were emboldened to improve the city. The existing street grid meant that the radical alterations pursued in Newcastle were unnecessary, but the failure of previous administrations to enforce correct widths motivated a street by street review. Commissioners had to balance aesthetic preference, and disease/fire prevention with owner objections. The prevalence of private property, unlike in Newcastle where the Corporation owned so much, meant that much of the work included evaluation of ceded land. Compensation was costly, so the board

inhabitants the inner-flags, but they had not enforced the rule for some time. Dwarris, *A Full Report of the Evidence and Discussions during the Official Investigation*, p. 77.

⁹⁴ Newcastle offers a good example, but Joyce Ellis has detailed similar selectiveness in Manchester. See Joyce Ellis, *The Georgian Town 1680-1840* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 103-105.

⁹⁵ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets, Lanes and Alleys, 1818-1866*, microfilm, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

seriously considered the ‘public advantage’.⁹⁶ The significance was that despite a city-wide review some streets inevitably held more importance than others, and these typically coincided with areas of upper class housing, or where alterations could increase economic potential. For example, Mr Thomas Rivers demanded five thousand dollars for part of his lot on East Bay and Hasell Street in 1818 causing the Commissioners concern over what sum the Council reasonably ought to pay.⁹⁷ In this instance, the Council were at a disadvantage. Rivers owned property in Ansonborough, the city’s first suburb that was already home to merchants and wealthy tradesmen by the late eighteenth century.⁹⁸ The extension of East Bay through Ansonborough had been poorly executed and adaption was needed to incorporate the isolated Gadsden’s Wharf with those wharves in the original walled settlement. The board resolved to pay compensation because they could not approve the improvement of any street at less than sixty feet wide.⁹⁹

These types of dispute were important because they placed greater emphasis, within Charleston’s complex system, on outside human influence over administrative function. What’s more, they provided the legal means for group action by those residents of lower economic means that might otherwise be suppressed within an elite dominant class structure. In 1820 a group of residents of Parsonage Lane, running between King Street and Archdale Street, petitioned the Commissioners following the decision to widen the lane from sixteen to thirty-two feet.¹⁰⁰ Reconstruction of the Parsonage Lane plat from 1820 is shown in Figure 2.8.

⁹⁶ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets*, August 28, 1820.

⁹⁷ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets*, June 9, 1818.

⁹⁸ Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston* (Columbia: South Carolina Press, 1997); Gene Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture 1670-1860* (Charleston: Wyck and Company, 2003), pp. 411-412.

⁹⁹ The Board’s resolution did not include determination of the payment to Mr Rivers so there is no way of knowing how favourable the terms were to the property owner. City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets*, June 9, 1818.

¹⁰⁰ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets*, August 14, 1820; and August 28, 1820.

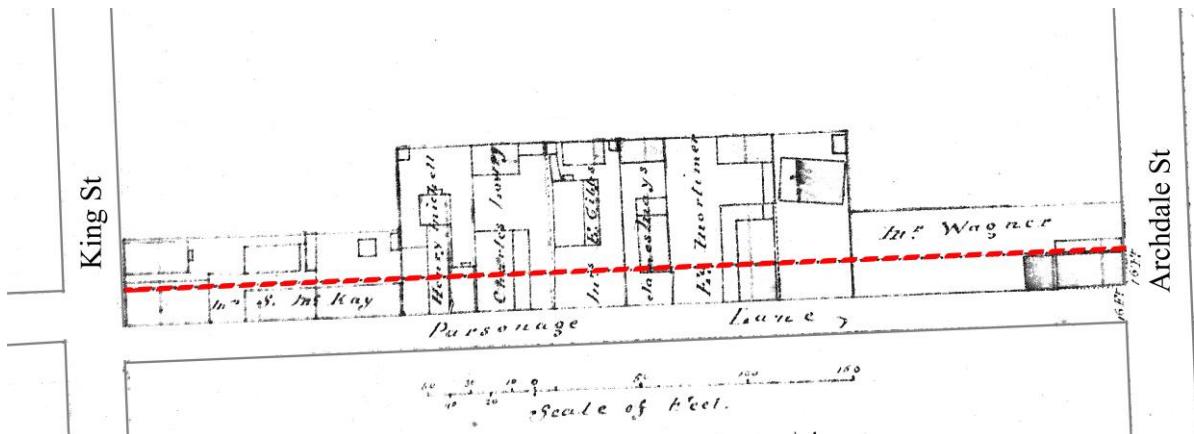


Figure 2.8: Plat of Parsonage Lane

Charleston Council's plan effectively doubled the size of Parsonage Lane (indicated by the red-dashed line on Figure 2.8), a necessity 'for the greater security in the event of fires', but the development would have significantly devalued the lots of seven owners along its stretch.¹⁰¹ Board members, acting separately from the Council, were not without benevolence. They understood the hardship that property reduction could cause to less affluent residents, and compensation did not always account for property-price fluctuations.¹⁰² In this instance, they were reluctant to enforce changes that would result in 'the improvement of the property of so few individuals'.¹⁰³ The Council's desire to improve could be very different from those overseeing the practical enforcement of those improvements within Boards. In consequence, Charleston's petition system and development strategy were not always successful in comparison to Newcastle's, despite better legal dominance of spatial use. In development terms, Charleston's democratic system was both its greatest strength and its greatest limitation. While the financial impact of development change could be spread throughout the populace, it also ensured greater conflict from local agents. Charleston's City Council was unable to enact greater control over the development of urban space until individual politicians such as Pinckney began monopolising the position of Intendent during

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

the 1830s.¹⁰⁴ Only after this period would Charleston start to engage in significant functional and social segregation in the lead up to the Civil War.

Conclusion

Newcastle's and Charleston's Corporations both understood the greater influence that they had beyond civic places of power. There can be no doubt that exchange buildings, courthouses, jails, workhouses, and schools acted as points from which corporations extended their authority, but administrations also developed strategies in response to the practical and legislative control of urban space. The differences observed in these strategies in Newcastle and Charleston related to the history of each corporation. Newcastle's charter had provided a stable power-base from at least the early seventeenth century that helped establish a large property portfolio. Charleston's Corporation was young by comparison, although many of the strategies it would employ had their roots in the cities founding practices of the early eighteenth century. As a consequence, Charleston's Corporation was still growing in power through the late eighteenth century and did not have the economic means to significantly invest in the accumulation of corporate property until after 1818. The legislative response of Charleston's Corporation to the control of spatial use, and behaviours in space, was a direct result of the limitations in not owning land.

While it might appear that Newcastle was at an advantage due to its extensive land holdings, it is interesting that neither city was able to make significant advances in urban improvement and planning until the early-nineteenth century. Both corporations had political positions filled by elite citizens, providing the means to radically over-haul urban space to one of their choosing, and yet such developments would not take place until the 1830s or later,

¹⁰⁴ Between 1829 and 1839, Pinckney held the position of Intendent six times.

under the direction of powerful individuals such as Clayton and Pinckney. One possible conclusion would be that urban space was not radically altered because elite spatial practices were already favoured. But had this been the case, then Newcastle and Charleston would have remained unaltered and the overwhelming evidence points to two cities that were continually reinventing urban space between 1740 and 1840. Instead, what an examination of administrative systems and space reveals is greater acceptance of socio-economic inclusivity within urban space than Newcastle and Charleston's models of social hierarchy suggest. Such inclusivity can be revealed through an analysis of the spatial practices that had the greatest impact over the largest proportion of the urban populace. Starting with residency, the next chapter examines the complicated inter-mixing of social groups within Newcastle and Charleston's domestic buildings between 1740 and 1840, demonstrating consistent patterns of reinvention, rather than current observations that have overemphasised elite residential migration.

CHAPTER THREE

Reclaiming Residential Space for Urban History

Residential space impacted a larger proportion of urban residents more than any other space between 1740 and 1840. Everyone, regardless of social status, economic standing, gender, age, or ethnic background needed somewhere to live. As such, residency formed an important part of any adapting spatial system because it was subject to high levels of change. Therefore, to understand urban change, residential space must be examined alongside commercial and recreational functions. The value placed in residential space was evident within eighteenth and nineteenth-century literature. Urban living standards were foregrounded within the opening paragraphs of topographical writing and local histories. Authors of such works were engaging in a polite pastime whilst providing visitors and city residents with guides and local histories.¹ Literature set out prescribed criteria through which readers could gain insight and compare urban centres.² Statements regarding building materials, quality, proximity, or the number of gentry in residence were common indicators of polite status.³ Given the evident value placed in residency, it provides a useful function for considering the motivations that went into creating and improving domestic space between 1740 and 1840. The emphasis placed on ‘polite status’ has too frequently led to simplistic patterns that place residency, especially of the upper class, at the urban periphery. In fact, Newcastle’s and Charleston’s residential space was consistent with the complex inter-mixing of social and functional space found within complex adaptive systems. This chapter re-evaluates the role of residency by considering domesticity within Newcastle’s and Charleston’s urban cores, evaluating how and why elite residents sought greater segregation within urban space.

¹ Rosemary H. Sweet, ‘Topographies of Politeness’, *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 12 (2002), p. 358.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, p. 360. Rosemary Sweet has a longer discussion here on the connections between town status and its gentry presence.

Placing space at the centre of questions regarding residency expands the approaches offered by previous architectural histories of Newcastle and Charleston.⁴ The project's GIS established broad patterns of residential use, rather than focusing on the contribution of individual houses. The GIS utilises the greater availability of contemporary literature, pamphlets, census data, and trade directories between 1790 and 1840, although it was also possible to make retrospective observations of earlier residential spatial patterns before 1790. The data provides a more nuanced opportunity to consider the micro-geographies of residency within the urban core that contributed to inter-mixing of social groups. While both cities experienced expansion during the eighteenth century, which included the creation of small pockets of residential space on the urban-fringe, this research avoids the broad-brush models produced by historical geographers that place too much emphasis on residential migration.⁵ Instead, Newcastle and Charleston demonstrated a continual reinvention of residential space, a reinvention that revealed the well understood relationship between population size and urban living. Variable density and mixed use of space is identifiable, which is not possible using conventional approaches in architectural history.

⁴ Thomas Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle', in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), p. 213-244; Grace McCombie, *Newcastle and Gateshead* (London: Yale University Press, 2009); Nikolaus Pevsner and Ian Richmond, *The Buildings of England: Northumberland* (London: Yale University Press, 2002); Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston* (Columbia: South Carolina Press, 1997); Gene Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture 1670-1860* (Charleston: Wyrick and Company, 2003).

⁵ The natural divisions that occur between the internal and external fabric of the city were enhanced by historical geographers of the 1960s and 70s who attempted to identify generalised patterns of residential space in the city. Gideon Sjoberg and James Vance created idealised models on the development of residential space in what they labelled *pre-industrial* and *pre-capitalist* cities, and although these received almost immediate criticism they have continued to have considerable influence. As merchant cities, both Newcastle and Charleston have been tested against Gideon Sjoberg's and James Vance's models. See Gideon Sjoberg, *The Preindustrial City, Past and Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1960); an earlier statement was postulated in Gideon Sjoberg, 'The Preindustrial City', *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 60, No. 5 (1955), pp. 438-445; and James E. Vance, Jr., 'Land Assignment in Precapitalist, Capitalist, and Postcapitalist City', *Economic Geography*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (1971), pp. 101-120. The application of these methods can be observed in the following works: John Langton, 'Residential Patterns in Pre-Industrial Cities: Some Case Studies from Seventeenth-Century Britain', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, No. 65 (1975), pp. 1-2; and, John P. Radford, 'Testing the Model of Pre-Industrial City: The Case of Ante-Bellum Charleston, South Carolina', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 4, No. 3 (1979), pp. 392-394.

Regrettably, the study of historical residency presents difficulties for urban historians, in part because of the dominance of architectural studies on the field.⁶ While these approaches have merit, the focus on architecture as an artform ignores those who inhabited the buildings.⁷ The tendency to classify buildings has put emphasis on place rather than space. Even comprehensive works by authors such as Nikolaus Pevsner in England, and Gene Waddell and Jonathan Poston in Charleston, have emphasised the individual or ‘best’ examples of a type.⁸ As a consequence, domestic structures that are lower down the social scale have been less likely to be studied and building survival rates have restricted choice within research. Research in Newcastle and Charleston has, however, been heavily weighted in favour of an architectural approach. It is worth considering the role of architectural character within these two urban centres before analysing the greater role of residential space.

Architectural History

Architectural histories of Newcastle and Charleston have understandably been heavily weighted in favour of surviving architecture. From the perspective of architectural style these two cities present striking differences. The Charleston single-house, and to a lesser extent the double-house, still dominates Charleston’s domestic architecture. The influence of this architectural style on the history of Charleston is in large part owing to higher survival rates as there are approximately 3000 remaining on the lower peninsula.⁹ Problems remain regarding dating of the style, but the oldest surviving example pre-dates the fire of 1740.¹⁰ Many other architectural elements were present during the various phases of the settlement,

⁶ Peter Borsay, ‘Why are houses interesting?’ in *Urban History*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2007), pp. 338-346.

⁷ Ibid, p. 338.

⁸ Ibid, p. 339; Pevsner and Richmond, *The Buildings of England*; Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston*; Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture*.

⁹ Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture*, p. 67.

¹⁰ Ibid, and George C. Rogers, Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), pp. 67-68.

and these earlier traditions, notably the European row or terraced house, influenced the single-house design.¹¹ Architectural defining terms such as Dutch, neoclassical, Classical-revival, Greek-revival, Georgian, and gothic are all found within the architectural histories of the city so the idea that Charleston was always defined by the single-house is misleading.¹²

Charleston's fundamental constitutions specified house size, although there was flexibility built into these standards.¹³ In contrast, style was not specified within the instructions handed down by the Earl of Shaftesbury and John Locke. The freedom of architectural style resulted in an early-eighteenth-century waterfront that shared many of the characteristics of English waterfronts such as Newcastle. Such shared characteristics can be observed in early-eighteenth-century representations of Charleston and Newcastle's waterfronts (Figures 3.1 and 3.2).



Figure 3.1: Detail of 'Charles-Town the Metropolis...', 1739, B. Roberts
* reproduced in Gene Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture 1670-1860* (Charleston: Wyck and Company, 2003), figure 50b

¹¹ Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture*, pp. 54- 66. The row house is broadly comparable to terraced townhouses of one or more storeys and associated with European cities from the early modern period onwards.

¹² Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York: Diadem Books, 1917); Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston*; Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture*.

¹³ Waddell, *Charleston: Architecture*, p. 40.



Figure 3.2: Detail of ‘The South Prospect of Newcastle upon Tyne...’, 1745, Samuel Buck
* reproduced in Diana Newton and A. J. Pollard (eds.), *Newcastle and Gateshead before 1700* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2009), figure 1, p. xiv.

Charleston was less densely developed in the early eighteenth century when compared to Newcastle, but Figure 3.1 highlights the dominance of the row, or terraced house style, that had similarities to Newcastle’s waterfront in Figure 3.2. The adoption of building techniques and styles by European immigrants was the over-whelming influence on the city. In addition to the emphasis placed on terraced housing, there were also similarities in the mixed roof-lines, number of windows, and plot-sizing. The most distinctive contrast could be found in building materials and the greater potential for building height in Newcastle, although the varying scales of the two images exaggerates this illusion in favour of Newcastle. There has been an unintentional promotion of the detached single-family unit in Charleston because of the promotion of the single-house over other architectural styles. Images, such as Figure 3.1, are helpful in highlighting the greater complexity found in Charleston during the eighteenth century in which mixed housing and verticality combined to create different areas of human density.

Newcastle, like many English cities, has never been defined by a single architectural style. Architectural historians have been challenged by poor survival rates of any buildings that date from between 1740 and 1840, let alone domestic structures. Remodelling of the city by Richard Grainger in the 1830s introduced the local form of Tyneside Classical that was influenced by earlier Georgian styles, but also served to remove many earlier buildings,

including those erected during the eighteenth century. During the 1960s and 1970s, northern planners, under the direction of the politician T. Dan Smith, undertook the large-scale removal of Georgian and Victorian buildings making direct observation problematic.¹⁴ In consequence, public buildings have been a more typical focus of study because they survived such re-models and can be linked to emerging North East architectural traditions under the guidance of local professionals, such as William Newton.¹⁵

Examination of individual architects in Newcastle has included acknowledgement of the contributions to domestic architecture, especially when these relate to the development of residential squares, such as Charlotte Square dating to the 1770s.¹⁶ In similar ways to Charleston, architectural-defining terms such as Palladian, classical, neoclassical, Georgian, and gothic adorn the architectural histories of the city.¹⁷ Too great an emphasis, however, has been placed on the retention of early modern, or earlier infrastructure, which remained in use during the eighteenth century, and has been used to contrast older parts of the city, such as the quayside, with new residential development outside the city walls.¹⁸ Such contrasts have been formed, in part, from eighteenth-century observations by local historians such as Henry Bourne.¹⁹ Quotations from Bourne describing Newcastle's houses as 'ancient and mean' refer to the city's narrower streets and it should be noted that he also made observations about Newcastle's beauty.²⁰ Placing emphasis on architectural style means that there has been a tendency in Newcastle to make assumptions regarding the status of residents and density levels with insufficient data to underscore these observations. Within such models the poor

¹⁴ Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle', pp. 238-244.

¹⁵ Ibid, pp. 215 and 220-21.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle'; McCombie, *Newcastle and Gateshead*; Pevsner and Richmond, *The Buildings of England*.

¹⁸ Faulkner, 'Architecture in Newcastle', p. 221.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Compare for example, Bourne's differing descriptions of the houses along upper Pilgrim Street with those along Groat Market. Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, the Ancient and Present State of that Town* (Newcastle upon Tyne: John White, 1736), p. 53, and 85.

lived on the quayside and elites at the periphery, but this creates false residential districts. The reality involved greater complexity of residential space at all scales of infrastructure: parish; street; and building.

The impact of population on residential planning

The use of space for residential property related closely to urban population figures. Travel guides and historical literature were keen to point out urban statistics such as population size and housing numbers alongside their observations about housing quality. Inhabitants often made direct correlations between population size and national urban status. The balance between population size and the amount of housing stock corresponded with how crowded the city felt. The human density factor could make cities feel more, or less, populated depending on residential development strategies. In 1801 a lower-than-anticipated population figure was met with sufficient surprise for some Newcastle residents to demand a re-count, but the lack of residential expansion until the 1820s likely contributed to this sense of inaccuracy.²¹ The naturally high turn-over of people found within all ports, and the temporary nature of habitation, also played a factor resulting in these cities feeling more crowded than they were.

Establishing population figures for British Atlantic towns and cities before formal censuses began remains challenging, but there are some indications that local administrators and private landlords attempted to balance the population size and housing market. The crucial factor in this balance was the ability to create flexible residential solutions. Despite the greater physical geography of Charleston, it was the flexibility shown towards change in Newcastle that resulted in a better balance between house provision and population between

²¹ Joyce Ellis, ‘The “Black Indies”’: The Economic Development of Newcastle, c.1700-1840’, in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp. 15-16.

the 1780s and 1840s. In times of crisis this balance broke down, creating a higher ratio of people than cities could house, but this problem was more strongly felt in Charleston. For example, sailors were a common transient group within Charleston for which accommodation was either not possible or unwelcome when their numbers became too large. John Lambert detailed that almost one thousand sailors were effectively left homeless following the Embargo Act of 1807 that left them with insufficient funds to pay their various lodging houses.²² There were of course ways to reduce these types of residential burden on the wider populace: urban administrators created places of civic authority such as work-houses and gaols from which troublesome parts of the population could be controlled. Nevertheless, the greater diversity of residential space in Newcastle resulted in these types of rapid influx being absorbed into the city with greater ease.

Outlining the balance between population and the housing market relied on the accumulation of various strands of source material that placed emphasis on different units of measurement. From 1790 Charleston participated in a decennial census that detailed information on the population figures, and from which can be extrapolated the number of households living in Charleston between 1790 and 1840. Newcastle's census data was not reliable, however Eneas Mackenzie compiled figures on population size, numbers of households, and numbers of houses in 1827 that provided comparable data.²³ Tables 3.1 and 3.2 detailed the balance between population size and housing capacity for both cities. The statistics, although not always perfectly matched, are worth considering together because of

²² John Lambert, 'Look to the Right and Dress!', 1808', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 113.

²³ Mike Barke, 'The People of Newcastle: A Demographic History', in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle Upon Tyne: A Modern History* (London: Phillimore, 2001), p. 136; and Eneas Mackenzie, 'Morals and population', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 730-735. *British History Online*, accessed June 15, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp730-735.Mac, 730-735>.

the differences they reveal in relation to each city's treatment of residential space during the period of study.

Table 3.1: Population and housing capacity in Newcastle between 1781 and 1821

	Total population	Number of households	Average pop. total per household	Number of inhabited houses	Average number of households per house	Average number of inhabitants per house
1781	30,000			2389		12.5
1801	28,366	6847	4.1	3141	2.1	9.0
1811	27,587	6461	4.2	3146	2.0	8.7
1821	35,181	8297	4.2	4031	2.0	8.7

Table 3.2: Population and housing capacity in Charleston between 1790 and 1840

	Total population	White pop.	Slave pop.	No. of households	Average pop. total per household	Average white pop. per household	Average slave pop. per household
1790	16,359	8,089	7,684	1,873	8.7	4.3	4.1
1800	18,824	8,820	9,053	2,229	8.4	3.9	4
1810	24,711	11,568	13,143	2,570	9.6	4.5	5.1
1820	24,780	11,229	12,652	2,133	11.6	5.2	5.9
1830	30,289	14,935	15,534	2,837	10.6	5.2	5.4
1840	29,261	13,030	14,673	2,603	11.2	5	5.6

Table 3.1 and 3.2 highlight that population stagnation, or outright decline, was a factor that affected both cities during the early nineteenth century. Between 1801 and 1811 Newcastle's population fell because of a reduction in urban migration, coupled with near famine conditions.²⁴ In Charleston, the decade before 1820 saw minimal population growth because both the white and slave populations had declined, and although population growth

²⁴ Barke, 'The People of Newcastle', p. 137.

was re-established by 1830 there was a period of actual decline in the following decade. In Charleston and Newcastle these decline events contributed to similar reductions in the number of households, which meant that the ratio of population to household stayed reasonably constant. There were however significant differences between the two cities when the average size of households and the number of inhabitants per house were considered.

Table 3.1 indicates that in Newcastle the average number of people within a household typically hovered at around four, but houses were shared by at least two households resulting in a mean density of between eight and nine persons per house.²⁵ Such figures were much higher than cities, such as Liverpool, that despite massive in-migration during the late eighteenth century had developed much higher numbers of inhabited houses to reduce mean density.²⁶ However, like Liverpool, some parts of the city, especially the waterfront, experienced greater human density because the city was dominated by unmarried and childless migrants looking for work.²⁷ Research by Colin Pooley has indicated that almost twelve percent of Liverpool's population were living in cellars by the early nineteenth century and the highest cellar crowding was around the port.²⁸ Newcastle's Corporation and private landlords were successful, at least, in matching housing demands sufficiently so that housing provision rarely included residential occupation of cellars as a distinct feature of migrant housing in Newcastle. Table 3.1 demonstrates that the average number of people living within each house reduced after 1801 and was then maintained at 8.7 per house in 1811 and 1821. This reduction was initially achieved through population decline, but it was maintained

²⁵ Newcastle has a series of parish rate books that are of variable quality but could be used to try to determine the number of households within each property along a street, although using this method to establish numbers per household would not be possible.

²⁶ Colin G. Pooley, 'Living in Liverpool: The Modern City', in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), pp. 175-176.

²⁷ Mike Barke has suggested that Newcastle had a relatively low marriage rate until c.1815. Analysis of marriage trends between 1754 and 1909 indicates a very gradual increase in marriage throughout the eighteenth century. Such trends correspond to the relatively slow-moving birth rate within the city until the 1820s. See Barke, 'The People of Newcastle', pp. 136-39.

²⁸ Pooley, 'Living in Liverpool', p. 176, and 209-210.

because of increased housing provision. While net population growth between 1801 and 1821 was nineteen percent, net housing growth was twenty-two percent.²⁹ Maintaining these figures was important because it demonstrated the active response of landlords to market needs, which was different from the limited opportunities available for residents within Charleston.

In contrast, Table 3.2 indicates that Charleston's household numbers were as much as eleven by the 1820s because the household included slaves housed within outbuildings on the lot.³⁰ The establishment of the back-lot as the domain of slaves meant that, in reality, Charleston's houses had a far lower number of inhabitants per house: for the years in which house numbers have been established (1800 and 1840) Charleston could boast an average of three to four white residents per house.³¹ In addition, houses were only occupied by one family.³² The ability to accommodate families within single housing units resulted in far lower human habitation patterns than Newcastle. This was important because it could directly impact the human experience of place. Yet Charleston's rigid maintenance of plot structure and adoption of spatially greedy single-family homes created problems over the long term. Between 1800 and 1840, the net housing growth was twenty-six percent, whilst the growth of the white population was thirty-two percent. Less than a thousand residential buildings had been added to Charleston within forty years, which increased human density per unit rather than the reducing it. Charlestonians' adherence to architectural style inhibited the residential capacity of the city despite having a larger land-mass than Newcastle. What's more, the

²⁹ 1801 was selected as the starting date range for this calculation rather than 1781 because it offered a better comparison between two censuses, rather than an estimated population size. The 1781 figure was compiled by the mathematician Charles Hutton and later published by Eneas Mackenzie so determining accuracy was difficult.

³⁰ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 160; and Martha Zierden, 'The Urban Landscape in South Carolina', in Linda F. Stine et al. (eds.), *Carolina's Historical Landscapes: Archaeological Perspectives* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), p. 166.

³¹ When the density of the lot was considered then the figures matched more closely with the multiple family occupancy found within some of Newcastle's houses. The increasing slave population meant that, in 1800, average lot occupancy was 7.2 rising to 8.3 by 1840.

³² Housing numbers were only available for the years 1800 and 1840, which is why they are excluded from Table 3.2. The average number of households per house in Charleston in 1800 was 1.1, which rose to 1.3 in 1840.

reliance on a high slave population only exacerbated the problem, causing increased density within the lot that had implications for sanitation, and householder security as racial tension developed during the nineteenth century.

The difference between the net growth of housing provision between the two cities highlighted an important diversion in the response by property owners and landlords to population expansion within Newcastle and Charleston. The contributing factors to this difference were varied, but the physical geography and high levels of private property were the main thrust of resistance to changes in residential space in Charleston. Charleston did expand to the west, but expansion relied on adequate reclamation and drainage schemes, which were the responsibility of property owners. Maurie McInnis has observed that solid, high ground was more desirable than low lots that were prone to flooding, which could result in sparse development, even within individual streets, whereby some lots were left empty.³³ All told it was easier to expand in directions that limited these problems, which meant development to the north and into Charleston Neck.³⁴

What was more unusual was the resistance to redevelopment of existing space on the peninsula in order to cope with the growing population. Charleston's land owners did not redevelop individual lots to capitalise on increased business opportunities as their equivalents had done in Newcastle. Charlestonians were not willing to compromise residential space for the sake of other spatial forms, or to either ease or increase population capacity. These housing types were reinforced and maintained by corporate building committees that were dominated by wealthy residents during the nineteenth century.³⁵ Such practices had huge repercussions for the continued existence of a skewed class structure that was different from

³³ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 51.

³⁴ Charleston Neck had a different civic administration to Charleston: it was not bound to the same ordinances that applied to the city. However, there was a close association between the two areas because of the growing population within the Neck that still conducted business in the city.

³⁵ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 28.

the principles of mixed social hierarchy that the city was founded on. Furthermore, the emphasis on residential space curtailed development of other spatial uses, potentially limiting the economic success of the city during the nineteenth century. For example, Charleston was unable to capitalise on the rise of industrialisation, instead having to invest in industrial infrastructure that had greater impact on Charleston Neck than the city.³⁶

The dominance of private property in the city meant that Charleston's architectural character was largely shaped by private residences, but the implications of this statement go far beyond McInnis' original meaning.³⁷ The resistance to lot redevelopment, and an uncompromising attitude to architectural form through the single-house, resulted in residential space that dominated other spatial uses by the time the city had reached the nineteenth century. Charleston's emphasis on the individual family unit, rather than multiple residential occupancy, that was more popular in Newcastle, sets it apart from other cities of the same period, and directly affected the form with which population growth could take. The emphasis on large family sizes in Charleston has been associated with contingency against the destructive forces that the population found themselves a target of during the eighteenth century.³⁸ The dominance of single-family houses was an answer to what had become a cultural preference by the late eighteenth century because it reinforced family lineage and concepts of wealth. Yet the single-house also created a self-perpetuating condition in which the city was always going to be more attractive to the family unit because of limited alternative choices. By contrast, Newcastle's constant redevelopment of plots and sub-

³⁶ Between 1828 and 1838 Charleston Corporation invested significantly in the Cincinnati railroad company with the first track opened between Charleston and Hamburg, SC in 1833. Yet the location of Charleston's railway station was on the Neck, rather than Charleston's port, which was less beneficial for business, and caused further problems until the city annexed the Neck in 1850. For details on the city's investment see Henry L. Pinckney, *Report; containing a review of the proceedings of the City Authorities, from the 4th September, 1837, to the 1st August, 1838, with suggestions for the improvement of the various departments of the public service* (Charleston: Thomas J. Eccles, 1838), pp. 13-14, (F279-C457-P56), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

³⁷ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 32.

³⁸ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 26.

division of property matched better with the city's reliance on growth through migration, in which increased numbers of unmarried and childless residents had resulted in lower average family sizes by the nineteenth century.

Charleston's 'desolating conflagrations'

In 1838 Henry Laurens Pinckney memorialised Charleston's habitual threat: 'Charleston has again been laid waste by one of those desolating conflagrations, which, in the course of its history, has more than once laid it in ruins'.³⁹ Charleston's residential space was defined by fire. Between 1740 and 1838 the city experienced six fires that destroyed private and city property. These events were observed by Pinckney who was Intendant during the 1838 fire and who determined to clarify the Corporation's position on the merits of brick buildings.⁴⁰ That Charleston took the course of residential development in the way that it did was even more remarkable considering the repeated phases of destruction that the city experienced. The geographical impact of these fire events is recreated in Figures 3.3a, which visualises all city blocks that were affected over the one-hundred-year history of fire, and 3.3b that details the parameters of each fire event separately.⁴¹

³⁹ Memorial of the City Council of Charleston, praying enactments to prevent the erection of wooden buildings in that City, S. C. Grimke, 1838 (TH9505.C303), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Sarah Collins, *1740_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018; Sarah Collins, *1778_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018; Sarah Collins, *1796_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018; Sarah Collins, *1810_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018; Sarah Collins, *1835_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018; and Sarah Collins, *1838_fire*, Shapefile, in Chl_15116, January 17, 2018.

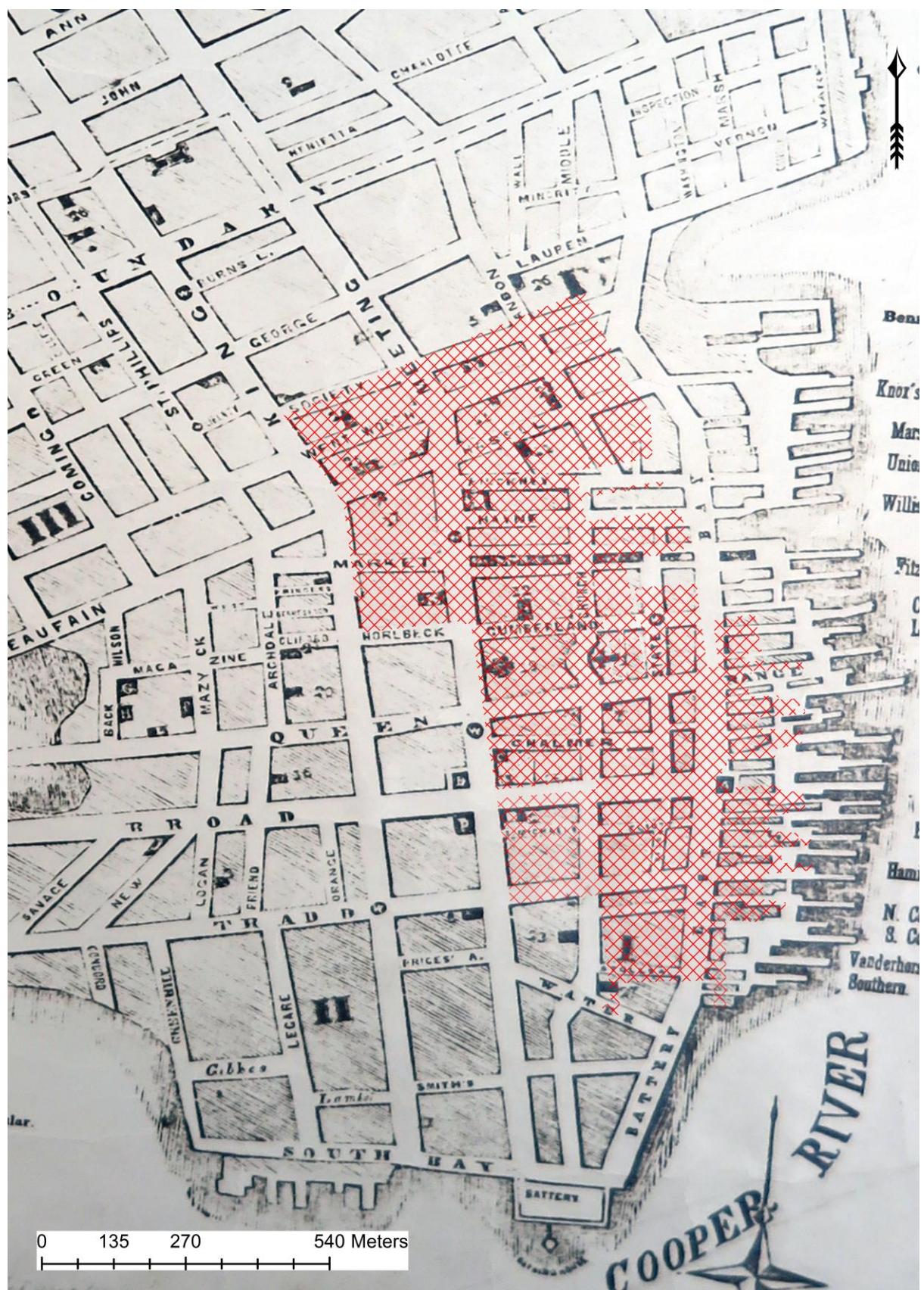


Figure 3.3a: All fire events in Charleston between 1740 and 1838

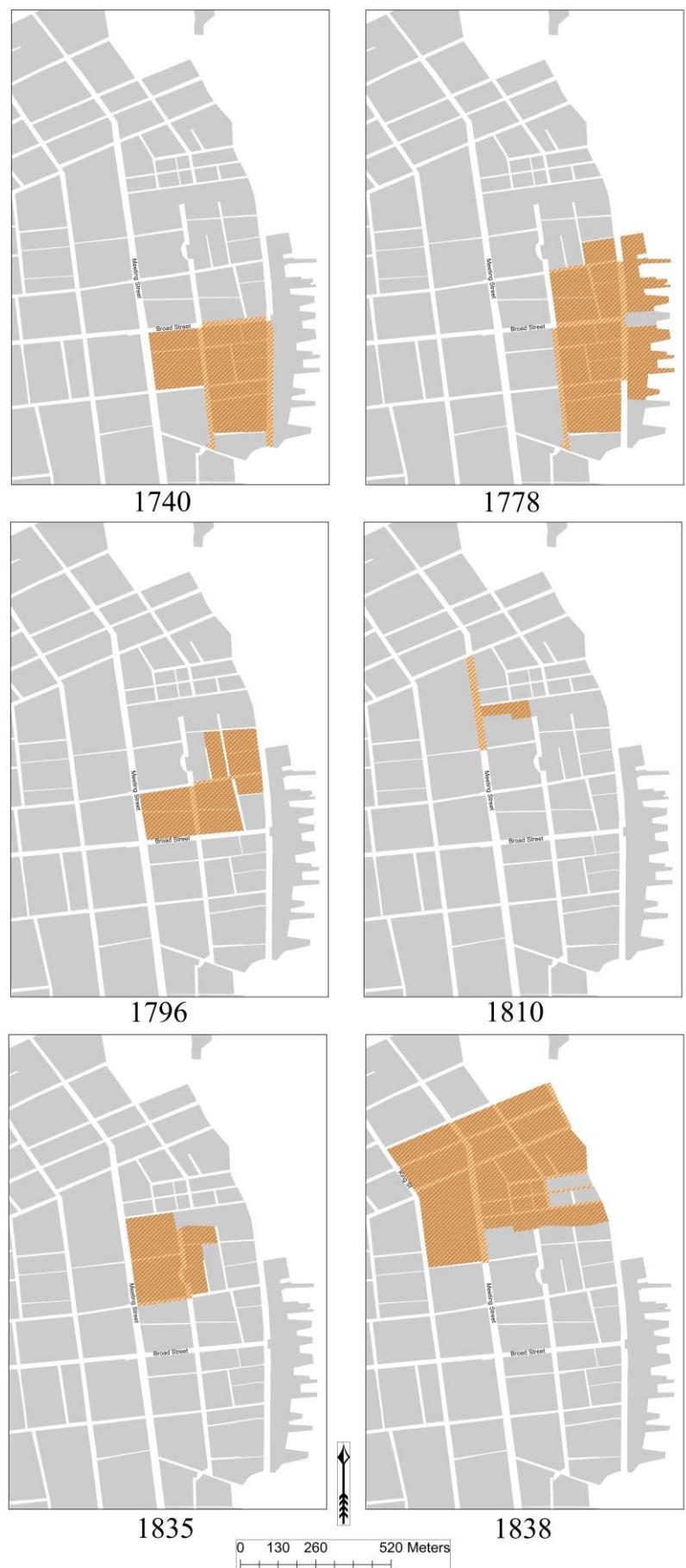


Figure 3.3b: Charleston fire events by date

Figures 3.3a and 3.3b make it possible to visualise the impact that major fire events had on the eastern peninsula over approximately one-hundred years of the city's history.⁴² The area covered, and included, a larger area than the original walled city, stretching from the waterfront to King Street at its western extremity, and from Society Street in the north to Water Street to the south. The figures visualised the impact of fire by city blocks, so the degree of damage varied between each property. Not all buildings were destroyed within these areas, but the fire events still caused major disruption for inhabitants from minor damage, proximity to empty or redeveloping lots, or financial burden through increasing fire insurance rates.⁴³ The visualisation of the maximum boundaries of all fire events in Figure 3.3a highlights the susceptibility of this area of the city over others. The denser settlement coupled with greater spatial mixing of residential, commercial, and industrial space combined to create an area in which fires could start and spread quickly. Street blocks, such as those between Broad and Elliott Streets, experienced multiple fire events across the eighteenth century. Figure 3.3b demonstrates that Market Street was subject to destruction following the 1810, 1835, and the 1838 fires. The legislative response to each fire event was typically a reconsideration of building materials, but it is also worth considering the implications that these events had on residential space.

The areas covered by the 1740, 1778, and 1796 fires, shown in figure 3.3b, encompass much of the original walled city and contained Charleston's oldest residences. Historian

⁴² It is worth stressing that this visualisation only included the major fire events. There were multiple smaller events recorded within the source material, for example a fire that occurred on the 25th December 1771 destroying approximately twenty-five stores on the wharves. See Nathaniel Russell to Samuel and William Vernon, 11th January 1771, College of Charleston Special Collections, Russell, Nathaniel 43/717. Events such as these were not included in this analysis because of their reduced economic and geographical impact.

⁴³ The City Council calculated the difference in these rates for wooden and brick structures as part of their case for the introduction of an ordinance to prevent the erection of wooden buildings. See Memorial of the City Council, (TH9505.C303). Part of the increase to insurance prices was also caused by the removal of the Phoenix Insurance Company from doing business in South Carolina following legislature discouraging foreign insurance. A letter from Kershaw and Lewis to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney in 1818 outlined the considerable increase to the insurance coverage of his properties by the Union Insurance Company following the legislation. See, Kershaw and Lewis to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 5th November 1818, Charles C. Pinckney Papers 02.08.02.01, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

David Ramsay, writing in 1809, recorded that prior to the fire of 1740 many of the buildings within this area were mostly of wood and ‘generally mean’.⁴⁴ The 1740 fire, whilst destructive, provided the opportunity for far more buildings to be constructed of brick, which were more convenient to the occupiers and of better ‘taste’.⁴⁵ Houses that survived the fire events within this area of the city had been built by the first plantation owners and had been retained within the same family for over one hundred years.⁴⁶ It was rare for older houses to be torn down and replaced when they came up for sale; instead they were preserved because of the importance placed on family lineage.⁴⁷ It was also, possible however, that such houses gained a heritage value because their survival was rare within areas that had seen major destruction from fire. Despite Ramsay’s observations about the increase of brick houses following the first great fire of 1740, the continued destruction of property by subsequent fires was attributed to the reluctance of home-builders to abide by advice to build in brick: it was seen as costly, time-consuming to build, and there was mistrust of the safety of building spacious houses using these methods.⁴⁸

A contributing factor to each fire event was the over-crowding of residential properties on the east peninsula. By mapping the 1790 census data in GIS it is possible to understand the density distribution of residents throughout the city by city-block (Figure 3.4).⁴⁹ The data was quantified using a dot density model with each dot symbolising an individual. High concentrations of dots indicated blocks with greater human density.⁵⁰ The GIS demonstrates

⁴⁴ David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina, from its first settlement in 1670, to the year 1808. Volume II* (Charleston: David Longworth, 1809), p. 253.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ramsay listed names such as William Bull, Thomas Chefelle, Elias Lynch Horry, Daniel Elliot Huger, Christopher Fuller, and William Cattle. These names are also significant because of their political contributions to Charleston. See Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, p. 253.

⁴⁷ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 42.

⁴⁸ *Memorial of the City Council*, (TH9505.C303); Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina*, p. 254.

⁴⁹ Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

⁵⁰ Spatial information for census data prior to 1840 was not available for Charleston. The data relies on cross-referencing with trade directories to establish an address and as such has been experimental. The GIS demonstrates that smaller blocks tended to be more densely populated than larger ones, presumably because of a smaller land-mass with which to house residents. Some of these more densely populated small blocks can be observed along major routeways, such as King Street. The GIS emphasises the importance of populating

that, in 1790, city-blocks between East Bay and Meeting Street, and Queen Street and Water Street had some of the greatest human density on the Charleston peninsula.



Figure 3.4: Population density of Charleston using the United States census of 1790
* 1 dot = 1 person; red boundary = greatest human density

Charleston's residential space by city-block, which represents a more meaningful reflection of the occupancy of back-lots than by street frontage. This approach differs from analysis undertaken in Newcastle whereby rate books were used to identify rooming houses that provided a vertical understanding of residential density.

The occurrence of high population figures on the east peninsula, indicated by the red boundary in Figure 3.4, corresponded with the same areas that saw multiple fire events over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Population figures were higher here because of increased occurrences of multiple occupancy.⁵¹ Whenever multiple residency was involved the threat of fire was increased through human error, which meant that more households were negatively affected. In addition, the east peninsula was dominated by wooden buildings in which ground floors were converted into shops with families living in upper rooms. This combination of density and human error occurred in 1835 when St. Philip's Church was destroyed because of a fire that started within a tenement 'of the very lowest and degraded character'.⁵² According to the *Charleston Mercury* it was the poor that had suffered the worst losses.⁵³ The distribution of slave ownership within the GIS supported these assertions that placed those of low economic residential status within the streets behind East Bay.⁵⁴ In areas of tenement housing, higher densities of white and free-black residents were found in combination with lower densities of slaves.⁵⁵ These were Charleston's working-class communities that were observable because of the moderate and low slave ratio in contrast to free white inhabitants (Figure 3.5).⁵⁶ By contrast, the largest geographic coverage of high slave numbers was consistent with areas dominated by single-house architecture on the west peninsula.⁵⁷

⁵¹ There should be some caution applied in over generalising as some streets, such as Church Street, retained large attractive houses. See H. Roy Merrens (ed.), *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 281.

⁵² *Charleston Mercury*, February 16, 1835, Charleston Archive, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

⁵⁵ There were exceptions because of the area's additional use for industrial and commercial purposes. For example, livery stables were found in this area and relied on a high ratio of slaves.

⁵⁶ Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

⁵⁷ For example, it was not unusual for planters along South Bay to have very large slave households. In 1790 Roger Saunders, Robert Pringle, and Thomas Hutchinson were all located on South Bay, to the west of King Street, and had slave households of ten, eleven, and nineteen respectively. *Ibid.*



■	90
■	Free
■	Slaves



Figure 3.5: Ratio of enslaved population in contrast to free inhabitants in Charleston, 1790

The GIS reinforced the contemporary observations of the *Charleston Mercury* that most city blocks within the old walled city contained moderate and low slave populations when compared with free white populations. Residential city-blocks between Queen and Tradd Streets were more likely to house inhabitants who owned no slaves at all, which brought the average number of slaves down within the block. Comparison of the GIS to the 1790 trade directory revealed that there were significant amounts of tradespersons, craftsmen, administrators, factors, and merchants who did not own slaves, creating a less exaggerated difference between the free and slave populations. Yet there were exceptions within the east peninsula. Major streets such as Broad, Church and Tradd had higher slave populations because of the presence of large houses. These households were served by large slave numbers, such as Mary Brady who lived on her own with thirteen slaves, or Samuel Legare, a merchant, with a household consisting of three white members and eighteen slaves.⁵⁸ Charleston had an immensely varied social geography in which blocks, streets, or even parts of streets were difficult to define as any one type of residential class.⁵⁹ Such varied residential mixing was important because it demonstrated that residential segregation was not inherently expected within Charleston prior to 1840.

The GIS data of the 1790 census was significant because it determined the type of residential space within an area through the evidence of its population rather than through architectural character. Such evidence was particularly relevant for an area destroyed by multiple fire events and therefore unable to retain its original architectural form. Furthermore, the GIS demonstrates that, despite two fire events prior to 1790, the east peninsula was rebuilt rather than re-modelled. The difference in the definition of these two terms is significant. From the late seventeenth century, English urban centres that had experienced fire events

⁵⁸ Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

⁵⁹ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 50. Similar observations have been made for early nineteenth century Liverpool that had elements of social segregation, but these patterns were not always straightforward. See, Pooley, 'Living in Liverpool', pp. 176-177.

consistently incorporated remodelling of those areas damaged, rather than like-for-like rebuilding. The most notable of these remodels was that undertaken in London after the fire of 1666. By contrast, Charleston rebuilt after each fire event, albeit in an updated architectural style, rather than remodelling. The original street plan and lot distribution remained intact and the reasons for this highlights differences in urban planning within Charleston from old-world cities. The infancy of Charleston's urban plan meant that the insertion of new streets or remodelling of individual lots was not considered after each fire event, despite the opportunities that this might have presented for correcting the mistakes made in the city's layout during the early eighteenth century. Longevity of an urban design was a fundamental factor in whether redevelopment was favoured.

Pinckney recognised the importance of longevity in his memorial after the fire of 1838.⁶⁰ Pinckney suggested that legislation that was enacted following the fire of 1778 had ensured that the owners of wharves were forbidden from erecting wooden buildings.⁶¹ The impact of this legislation extended beyond the geographical limit of the wharves and resulted in East Bay and the streets immediately behind being the most 'dense and thickly built section of [the] city'.⁶² Pinckney attributed this fact to the legislation regarding the abolition of wooden buildings that had resulted in no significant fire outbreaks in this area since the late 1770s. Such respite from fire established gradual development of the built-environment over approximately sixty years that had not been possible before. Charleston did not have the opportunity to gradually develop and, as such, each fire event effectively re-set the plan. Fire events were destructive, but they also occurred regularly enough that it prevented the plot subdivision and change of spatial use that had occurred in Newcastle's burgage plots. Such re-

⁶⁰ *Memorial of the City Council*, (TH9505.C303).

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

sets were significant because it meant that in areas of fire damage residential space remained a dominant spatial use as property owners sought to replace what was lost like for like.

Private land-owners did not sub-divide plots after fire events even though this may have better accommodated the growing population. There were multiple contributing factors as to why this was the case. In the first instance, the Grand Modell stipulated that building should take place quickly.⁶³ As stated previously, house foundations were required to be laid out in less than one year with the entire house construction taking no longer than two years.⁶⁴ A pattern developed in which fast construction to replace buildings was favoured, which was one of the major motivations for building in wood.⁶⁵ A city resolution on the 5th May 1838 resolved that the City Council would compensate any citizen who in good faith had already started to rebuild in wood following the fire on the 27th April.⁶⁶ It seems extraordinary that rebuilding would have taken place within a week following the fire, but for landlords especially it was economically prudent to rebuild quickly, and the Council may have been insuring against the pattern of fast rebuilding that had occurred following previous fire events. Yet we should also not underestimate the psychology of loss. While a building may have been lost, the lot was preserved. McInnis' commentary on the importance of family lineage, that resulted in preservation of older properties, might also be extended to the lot.⁶⁷ Those owners with larger or older properties may have been keen to replace buildings of similar dimensions on the lot quickly to reassert family heritage.

All the same, the overwhelming reason against remodelling, rather than rebuilding, related to the abundance of space available to Charlestonians. The peninsula was not fully developed, nor would it be before 1840. While ever space was available elsewhere within the

⁶³ Thomas D. Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan: The Founding of Carolina and the Origins of Southern Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), p.2331, Kindle edition.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Memorial of the City Council, (TH9505.C303).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, p. 42.

peninsula there was little need to redevelop an area that provided accepted mixed-use space. The spatially greedy single-house form had locked-up much of the residential space on the west peninsula, but there was awareness that mixed-use space had to take place somewhere. Redevelopment would have the potential problem of displacing the lower classes who had clustered, by accident, within a relatively confined area of the city allowing planter and merchant residences to preside over the west peninsula.

Timing seems to have been a crucial deciding factor in whether a fire event would provide an opportunity for urban planning during the eighteenth century. It would not be until the 1830s that the City Council would use fire events to justify morphological change. For example, Commissioners in charge of Charleston's street-widening scheme undertook a series of improvements along King Street following the 1838 fire. The improvements were not aimed at relieving population pressures: the portion of the street that was rebuilt saw large houses replaced with larger ones to give the street a 'striking and imposing appearance'.⁶⁸ By the time the city was willing and able to consider improvement to the original plan many residents, as well as the City Council, had become unwilling to compromise residential space or style to accommodate expanding populations, especially as expansion into another administrative constituency, the Neck, was still possible. As such, Charleston's approach was very different because the display and style elements of residential space were retained at the expense of relieving practical population needs.

⁶⁸ Henry L. Pinckney, *Report; containing a review of the proceedings of the City Authorities, from the 4th September, 1837, to the 1st August, 1838, with suggestions for the improvement of the various departments of the public service* (Charleston: Thomas J. Eccles, 1838), p. 24, (F279-C457-P56), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC.

Newcastle's Pilgrim Street: a case study in residential development

The retention of Newcastle's city wall for much longer than Charleston's resulted in mixed reactions to the treatment of residential space extramurally and intramurally. By the early nineteenth century practical solutions were needed to accommodate Newcastle's expanding population, which resulted in significant increases in housing growth within each of Newcastle's four parishes in the decade following the 1811 census. The parishes of St. Andrew's and St. Johns encompassed portions of the north of the city, but much of this space was found in the expansive countryside surrounding the walled city. It was within these spacious areas that the Corporation undertook housing projects such as Eldon Square in the early nineteenth century. Housing growth increased by over thirty percent within both parishes between 1811 and 1821.⁶⁹ Yet there were also various intramural solutions to the housing shortage that were undertaken with similar enthusiasm by private developers. Newcastle's property owners were flexible about the adaptation of space if it involved financial gain. Such opportunism resulted in housing growth of twenty-seven percent in All Saints parish, and forty-seven percent in St. Nicholas' during the same ten-year period, between 1811 and 1821. The ability to adapt pre-existing residential space epitomised the attitudes of Newcastle's Corporation and private developers to the development of urban space during the period. Adaptation was consistently as important as new development. How such adaptations were achieved, however, corresponded specifically to which parish developments took place in.

The history of the development of Pilgrim Street was selected as an example of a diverse street that encompassed more than one parish and typified the type of processes occurring to residential space throughout the city. In contrast to some streets, Pilgrim Street was one of the most socially diverse residential streets in eighteenth-century Newcastle. The

⁶⁹ St. Andrew's saw growth of thirty-one percent, and St. John's thirty-three percent, between 1811 and 1821.

street contained a mix of residents that ranged from urban nobility through to lower-status traders such as skinners.⁷⁰ The street's length and location within the city contributed to this diversity. The head of the street was within St. Andrews and contained large townhouses, and the lower street was in All Saints and offered newly emerging boarding houses that provided good access to the waterfront. As a major routeway the street offered access between Pilgrim Street Gate and the Side, and chares near to the waterfront, but with the absence of a market the street could develop and redevelop its residential space between 1740 and 1840. In fact, by 1830 very few plots remained unchanged, which was observable in GIS by determining the amount of change between mapping epochs. As an example, the amount of change that occurred to the east and west of Pilgrim Street between 1740 and 1830 is shown in Figures 3.6a and 3.6b.⁷¹ GIS was used to determine in what period land use types had been altered. In 1740 much of Pilgrim Street had remained unaltered from at least 1700, but post-1700 changes were starting to creep in. By 1830, almost the whole street and surrounding area had been affected by post-1700 change.

⁷⁰ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1778*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, November 12, 2015; Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017; Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1801*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, September 22, 2016; Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

⁷¹ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

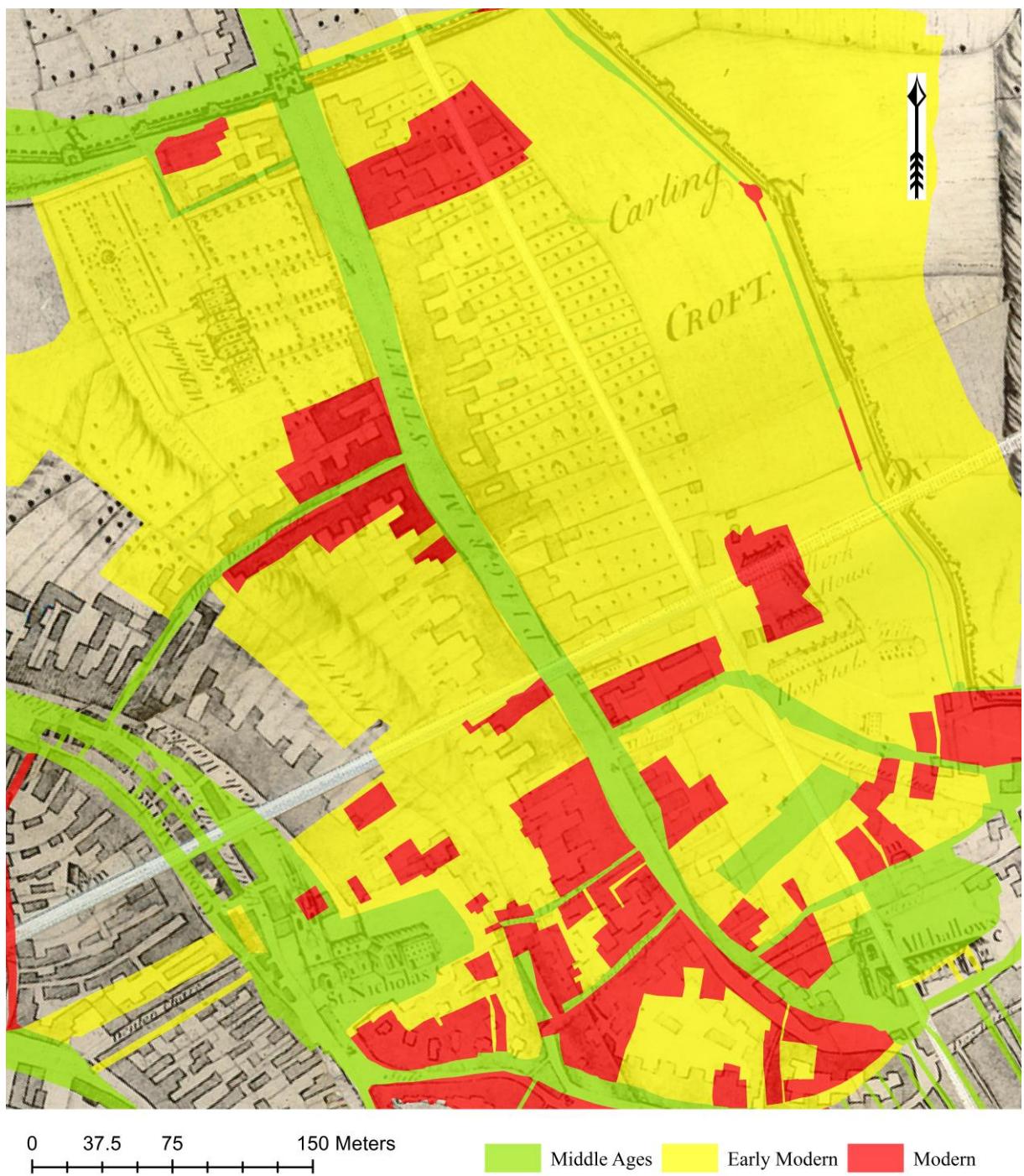


Figure 3.6a: Period of last change, 1740

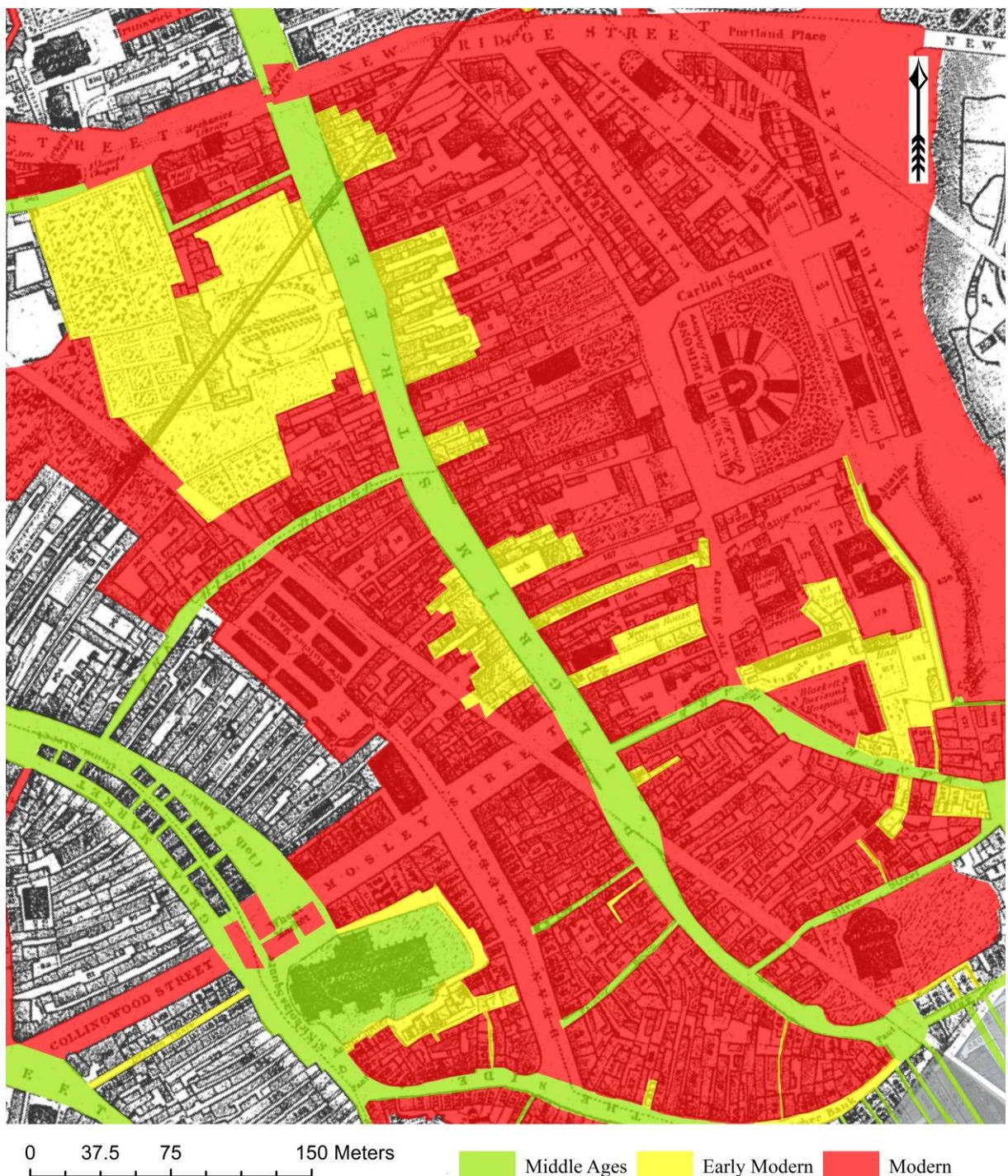


Figure 3.6b: Period of last change, 1830

Pilgrim Street had a well-founded reputation for grand architecture. William Gray, writing in 1649, described it as ‘the longest and fairest street in the town’.⁷² By the early eighteenth century this sentiment was evidenced in the attractive frontage of Sir Walter Blackett’s residence that greeted those entering the city from the north through Pilgrim Street Gate. Blackett’s property can be seen in the birds-eye view reproduced in Figure 3.7.



Figure 3.7: Sir Walter Blackett’s residence, head of Pilgrim street, 1707
 * reproduced from Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip, ‘The Seat of the Hon^{ble} Sir William Blackett Bart^t, with part of the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne’, *Britannia Illustrata*

The birds-eye view in Figure 3.7 was produced by Leonard Knyff and Jan Kip in 1707. Blackett’s property was set back from the street frontage and included extensive grounds that surrounded the property. The inclusion, and then retention, of a property that bore all the hallmarks of a private estate was unusual within city walls. The eleven-acre grounds were thought to be the largest of this type within any English city.⁷³ The architectural development of Blackett’s residence, which would become known as Anderson Place by 1783, has been extensively documented by Richard Pears and Blanche Atherton.⁷⁴ The birds-eye view captured the site after significant remodelling by Blackett between 1680 and 1705 in

⁷² William Gray, *Chorographia, or a Survey of Newcastle upon Tyne: 1649* (Newcastle: Frank Graham, 1970), p. 71.

⁷³ Richard Pears and Blanche Atherton, ‘Anderson Place, Newcastle upon Tyne’, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, Fifth Series, Vol. 44 (2015), pp. 175-224.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

which the already converted Franciscan Friary was updated and made much larger.⁷⁵

Blackett's remodelling was significant because it served to enhance this whole section of Pilgrim Street. The more inclusionary remodelling of the site, which was in keeping with emerging principles of elite display, included the use of an ornamental iron gate to open up views of the grounds.⁷⁶ Bourne described the effect in 1736 for street passengers who could better participate in 'the beauties of this agreeable place'.⁷⁷ By opening up the view it served to enhance the beauty of this section of upper Pilgrim Street for the benefit of residential properties opposite.

The establishment of residential townhouses opposite Blackett's residence was detailed on John Speed's map dating to 1610. Bourne described the houses along this stretch as 'very pretty, neat, and regular'.⁷⁸ They were made up of residences belonging to some of the city's most important residents such as John Rogers Esq, who owned Carliol Croft, and Mr Thomas Waters, a merchant.⁷⁹ Other properties were owned by important members of the Corporation, such as Edward Collingwood Esq, Nathaniel Clayton Esq, Nicholas Fenwick Esq, and Matthew White Esq.⁸⁰ Figure 3.8 shows just two of Pilgrim street's residential properties that adorned James Corbridge's map of the city from 1723.⁸¹

⁷⁵ Pears and Atherton have assigned these changes to *phase 4* of the site's development out of a total of seven phases. For further details see Pears and Atherton, Anderson Place, pp. 207- 212.

⁷⁶ Eneas Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 160-182. *British History Online*, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp160-182>.

⁷⁷ Bourne, *The History of Newcastle*, p. 85.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Newcastle, James Corbridge, 1723 (D.NCP/2/2), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne.

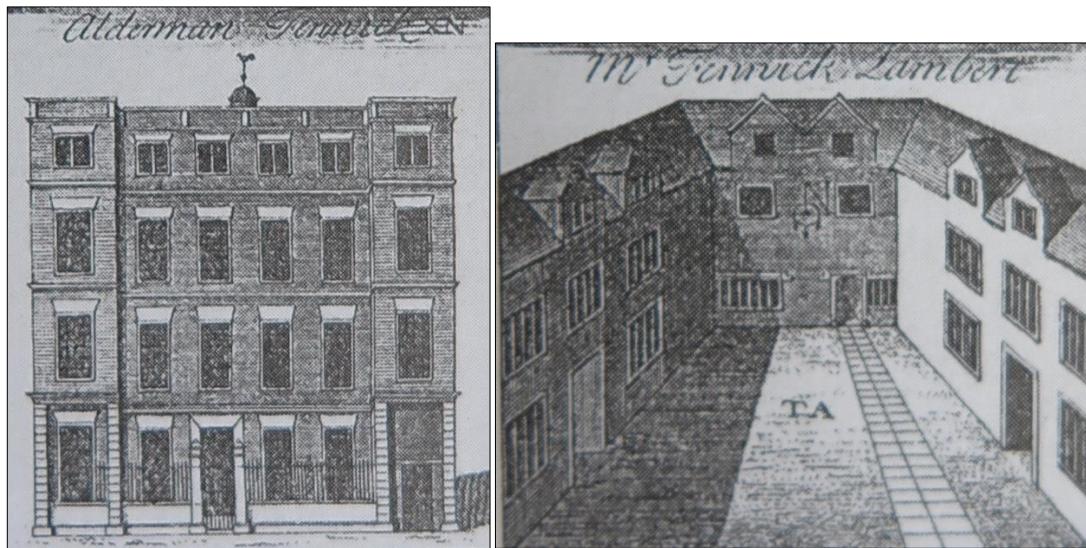


Figure 3.8: The properties of alderman Fenwick and Mr Fenwick Lambert, 1723
 * reproduced from Newcastle, James Corbridge, 1723 (D.NCP/2/2), Tyne and Wear Archives,
 Newcastle upon Tyne

The illustrations reproduced in Figure 3.8 were just two of fifteen illustrations that Corbridge used to highlight Newcastle's residential properties. Corbridge privileged upper Pilgrim Street more than any other street in the city. At least four properties can be traced to locations on this stretch of street, including Blackett's residence at Anderson Place. The townhouse style, with long gardens behind, was particularly desired and Alderman Fenwick's property (to the left in Figure 3.8) highlights a good example. Residents of upper Pilgrim Street had replaced or remodelled properties, which was in direct contrast to the 'dingy houses' on the Side, located at the foot of Pilgrim Street, that the Corporation had been forced to tear down and rebuild in the 'modern style' during the early nineteenth century.⁸² It was townhouses such as Alderman Fenwick's that Charlestonians imitated during the mid to late-eighteenth century. While the single and double-house style became the dominant form in Charleston, surviving examples such as the Heyward-Washington House on Church Street,

⁸² Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls', pp. 160-182.

constructed in 1770, or the Blake tenements, on Courthouse Square, constructed in 1772, had close similarities with townhouses in the English tradition (Figure 3.9).⁸³



Figure 3.9: Blake Tenements, Courthouse Square, 1772

Observation of the architectural distinctions on Pilgrim Street is important because they correlate with the characterisation exercise undertaken for Newcastle's residential space. This exercise divides Newcastle's urban space into polygons of similar type within GIS and provides a hierarchy of spatial use. For example, the class type 'residential' can be further sub-divided into 'family' types such as townhouse, cottage, or rooming house. Visual recognition from Newcastle's historic maps and artistic outputs are combined with analysis of source material, such as rate books and trade directories, within GIS.⁸⁴ This analysis determines the likely character of residential space along the length of Pilgrim Street that

⁸³ Bernard Herman, 'The Charleston Single House', in Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 37-38. See Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston*, pp. 180-181.

⁸⁴ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

offered important distinctions between the well documented upper-street and the less well known lower-street. Identification of townhouses with long gardens along upper Pilgrim Street can be observed in Figure 3.10.

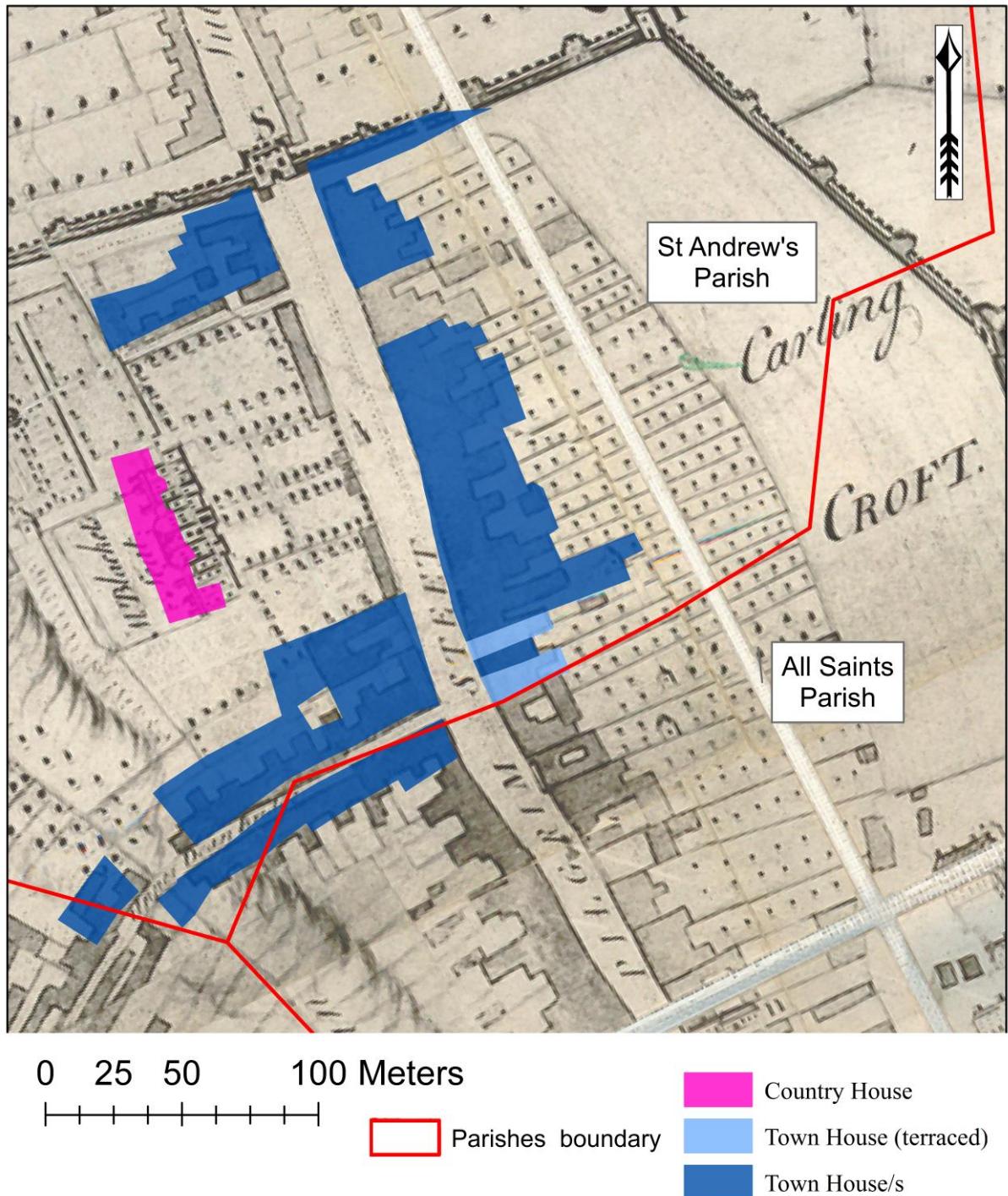


Figure 3.10: Residential development along upper Pilgrim Street, 1746

Blackett's residence dominated the character of the street on the west side of Pilgrim Street, but the rest of upper Pilgrim Street largely consisted of townhouses. It was the only part of the street where townhouses, both detached and terraced, were found, which is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it highlights the distinct difference that could occur in urban development depending on the parish in which building took place. Upper Pilgrim Street fell within the remit of St Andrew's parish. Its boundary in relation to the city walls meant that relatively little of the walled city was made up of St Andrew's, however it was by far the largest parish beyond these limits because it encompassed what would become Northumberland and Percy Streets, as well as the town moor (almost one thousand acres).⁸⁵ It was not the richest parish, but its location on the northern limit of the city, alongside its size, may have resulted in greater freedom of building size and architectural expression than in parishes with a greater 'central' component, such as St. Nicholas' or All Saints. Secondly, by 1746, upper Pilgrim Street was the only part of the street that was exclusively residential. The townhouses along this stretch were the only type of housing that did not contain other components of shared space. This evidence differed dramatically from the middle and lower stretches of Pilgrim Street that had large numbers of houses and rooming-houses that had been subject to much earlier forms of change and sub-division during the mid-eighteenth century. It also meant that upper Pilgrim Street had much lower residential densities because properties were largely single-family units.

The part of Pilgrim Street that fell within the parish of All Saints contrasted significantly to the streets upper stretches. The morphological changes that were pursued by Newcastle's Corporation through the insertion of Mosley and Dean Streets in 1788 meant that Pilgrim Street became much more accessible to the market streets. Some reconfiguration took place on the west side of Pilgrim Street through the removal of buildings to make way for

⁸⁵ The approximation of 900-1000 acres of common land is provided by Newton and Pollard, *Newcastle and Gateshead*, pp. 38-40.

Mosley Street and this impacted the character of residency. The existing population was displaced by the redevelopment in ways that Charleston had avoided by rebuilding after each fire event rather than remodelling. What's more, it was the wealthy and business class owners that were displaced from middle and lower Pilgrim Street because of these infrastructural changes. The street's former attraction to corporate officials had resulted in inhabitants who could afford to upkeep spatially generous plots, but these were increasingly under pressure from development.⁸⁶ Large sections of under-developed vacant space, which fell behind properties, were altered and with differing choices in residential space this created a distinctly different character for the lower portion of Pilgrim Street. New character types, such as commercial and industrial land uses, were introduced into lower Pilgrim Street causing increased mixing of spatial types that was distinct from the residential character of the street before 1788. The street was still dominated by residential use in the form of houses and rooming houses, but to this were added shops along the street frontage, and workshops and yards behind properties. Other uses created greater diversity still, including public houses, offices, stables, meeting rooms, non-conformist churches, and school rooms. The distinctions in land use type are observable in Figure 3.11 that highlights the impact of residential space along the street and the repurposing of space for new uses behind properties by 1788.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ In addition to Henry Bourne's list of residents, the 1778 trade directory recorded thirteen corporate officials, three aldermen, and four further officials/tax collectors. In Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1778*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, November 12, 2015

⁸⁷ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

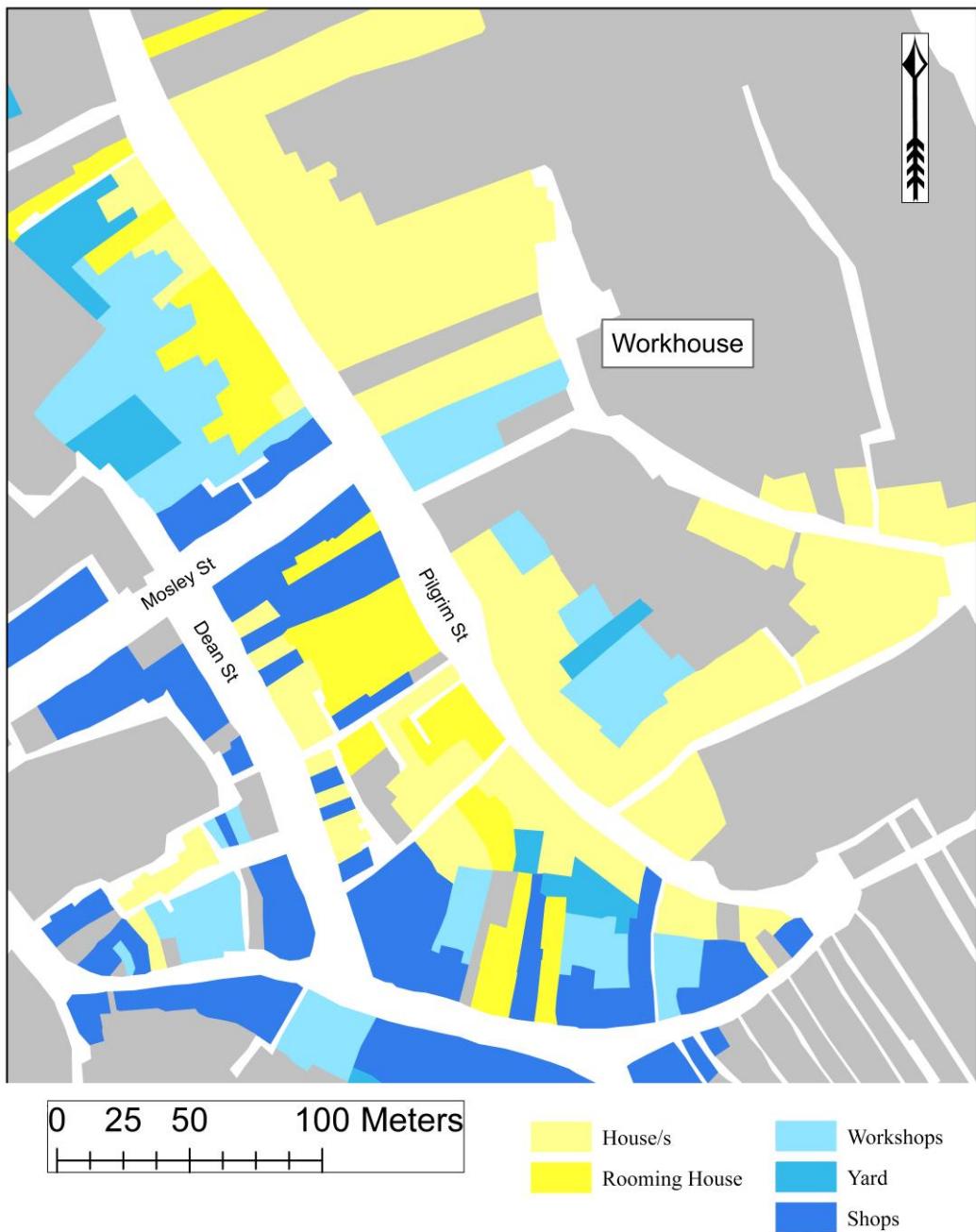


Figure 3.11: Residential development along middle and lower Pilgrim street, 1788

Where Mosley Street intersected with Pilgrim Street changes occurred to street fronting properties. Buildings that were originally residential in character now had commercial uses such as shops or banks. The lowest stretches of the west side of Pilgrim Street, and the east side, had remained largely intact with residential street-fronting properties, albeit with increased sub-division of land units behind. Yet there were important differences through the increased conversion of properties into rooming houses (dark yellow) along the

west side of Pilgrim Street. The increased residential capacity that rooming houses provided was markedly different from the retention of houses (light yellow) on the east side of the street. The conversion to rooming houses was important because it demonstrated the direct link between morphological and social change. Restructuring the space along west Pilgrim Street, through the introduction of new streets, created social change via the formation of new housing types. Mosley Street created change to the street frontage and Dean Street created division of established plots, both of which forced adaptation. By comparison, the east of Pilgrim Street was left intact because morphological change was yet to take place. Furthermore, the conversion to rooming houses generated increased opportunity for residents and landlords within the most densely populated parish in Newcastle.

All Saints parish had a high population that was caused by the dense settlement within streets such as the chares and quayside. The density contributed to extreme poverty as evidenced in the high numbers of poor in the workhouse highlighted in Figure 3.11.⁸⁸ The total poor rate for All Saints was three times higher than any of the other four parishes when it was recorded by the Corporation in 1784.⁸⁹ Pilgrim Street offered the opportunity to alleviate some of the problems of overcrowding because it had greater potential for redevelopment than other streets that could not be adapted. Landlords prospered from the redevelopment, but it also produced much-needed extra capacity. The 1790 parish rate book revealed that division of internal and external space within individual plots meant that greater diversity of annual rents was achieved. Examples include house and yards with rates (between ten to twenty-five pounds), individual house floors (approximately seven pounds), lofts (two pounds), and

⁸⁸ Eneas Mackenzie recorded seventy-five residents within the poor house, but it was not unusual to have upwards of 900 ‘out-door’ poor within the parish. Eneas Mackenzie, ‘Charitable institutions: The poor rates and poor-houses’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 540-545. *British History Online*, accessed June 19, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp540-545>.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

cellars (between five and six pounds).⁹⁰ In addition, shops were regularly priced between four and ten pounds, offices at five pounds, and workshops ranged from two to five pounds.⁹¹ With landlords often renting to upwards of five occupiers within one plot they benefited from rents that were double or triple those paid by occupiers along butcher bank, or the chares.⁹²

The mixing of residential use alongside commercial, industrial, and recreational space continued throughout the early nineteenth century. Pilgrim Street was transformed by infill development between 1802 and 1830. The transformation was especially noticeable at the foot of the street between Manor Chare and Silver Street. Former houses had been converted into rooming houses, which significantly increased residential capacity. Like Charleston, Newcastle accommodated mixed-use space within some areas of the city, and particularly those close to the waterfront, because new opportunities were emerging for residential expansion. One such opportunity came through the removal of Pilgrim Street Gate and the city wall that helped to incorporate upper Pilgrim Street with new developments occurring along Northumberland Street and New Bridge Street to the north. In addition, Carliol Croft was newly developed with the provision of modern townhouses on new streets, next to the architecturally designed new gaol, and Jubilee school.⁹³ The development of this area of Newcastle successfully merged the older historic parts of the city with new development. The predominance of remaining green-space within the city walls by the early nineteenth century allowed the Corporation to improve central areas whilst also expanding, creating less disparity between old and new that had occurred in ‘new towns’ such as Edinburgh. The new distribution of housing along Pilgrim street is shown as a colour-ramp in Figure 3.12.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Newcastle City Council, *Poor Rate Assessment Book: All Saints Parish, 1790* (183/1/145), Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Both the gaol and school were designed by the architect John Dobson who would go on to assist Richard Grainger with the redevelopment of Newcastle’s commercial space in the 1830s.

⁹⁴ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.



Figure 3.12: Residential development, Pilgrim street and its environs, 1830

Figure 3.12 demonstrates that the periodic alterations of Pilgrim Street throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries produced a street that was successfully merged within the city, rather than previous versions where it felt somewhat different from other streets in the city. There were still distinctions between the residential space in upper and lower sections of the street, although the development of Carliol Croft had resulted in some movement of residential types, such as rooming houses, into upper parts of the street. Mackenzie noted in 1827 that very few of the families listed by Bourne now resided on Pilgrim Street.⁹⁵ The 1829 trade directory listed five individuals under the section ‘nobility, gentry, clergy’, which included Miss Elizabeth Collingwood, descended from Edward Collingwood who was listed by Bourne.⁹⁶ The other four individuals had no known links to those mentioned by Bourne, although the lack of ‘nobility’ as a defining category in earlier trade directories made direct comparison difficult. What was notable was the total reduction in Corporate Officials choosing Pilgrim Street as a primary residential address in comparison to the 1778 directory.⁹⁷ However, those members of the nobility that still resided on the street were found exclusively to the north of Mosley Street, and on the east of Pilgrim Street, in the unchanged houses and townhouses. As with other English cities, such as Liverpool, there was a push and pull factor involved.⁹⁸ The reason for the reduction in higher-status residents was because of the shift in economic and social status of residents moving into Pilgrim Street, as well as new residential opportunities away from the city centre.

The 1829 trade directory identified that the area north of Mosley Street was the favoured location of most of the street’s attorneys, physicians and surgeons. The large houses on the east of the street remained in residential use, but ground floors had been converted into offices, which was important because it was this change to the use of the street by the

⁹⁵ Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls’, pp. 160-182.

⁹⁶ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017.

⁹⁷ Many of the families listed by Bourne were recorded within the 1778 trade directory as corporate officials or were known to have held office as mayor.

⁹⁸ Pooley, ‘Living in Liverpool’, p. 207.

professional classes that Mackenzie was identifying as different from the eighteenth century.⁹⁹

The process of social change had begun with the introduction of Mosley and Dean Streets in 1788. Between 1802 and 1830 a similar process occurred again through the development of Carliol Croft. The development of the new gaol and school encouraged further morphological change through the creation of Carliol Street, Croft Street, and Portland Place. The introduction of uniform terraced townhouses for single-unit families along these streets allowed social and economic change to take place to the middle of Pilgrim Street whilst the residential integrity of the wider area was maintained.

At the foot of Pilgrim Street on Figure 3.12, houses had continued to be converted into rooming houses. The 1829 rate book indicated a great many more rentals of ‘rooms’ in comparison to previous rate books. For example, Ann James was landlady of two plots on the west side of the street. Of the twenty occupiers within these premises sixty percent rented a single room or rooms that varied in price depending on the location within the property.¹⁰⁰ The continued increase of rooming houses indicated the need for greater residential capacity even while the city was expanding because Newcastle’s population was so dependent on unmarried and childless migrants who needed accommodation within small-units. Those areas of lower economic and social status, that characterised much of All Saints within the original walled city, were likely to have greater need for increased capacity as migrants sought out the cheapest areas of the city to live. Therefore, the foot of Pilgrim Street became much more densely populated than it had during the previous century.

⁹⁹ Mackenzie also noted the conversion of houses into shops and inns. Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls’, pp. 160-182.

¹⁰⁰ Newcastle City Council, *Poor Rate Assessment Book: All Saints Parish, 1829* (183/1/145), Tyne & Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne.

Newcastle's GIS characterisation exercise includes consideration of the high, medium and low densities of buildings based on property type.¹⁰¹ The addition of rooming houses to lower Pilgrim Street increased population density when compared with the density of human habitation in the mid-eighteenth century. These differences were observable on the built land-unit that fell between lower Pilgrim Street, Manor Chare, and Silver Street in 1830 (Figure 3.13).¹⁰² This piece of land had a total area of 1.5 hectares of developed land on the west side of Pilgrim Street. In 1740 it had street-fronting properties that accounted for approximately 6000 square meters of its land use, and of this only 800 square meters represented high density residential properties. By 1830 residential properties had increased within this land unit considerably. Residential property now accounted for one hectare of land use, and 6000 square meters were identified as high density residential properties. Such figures were significant because they reinforced the chain-reaction that was caused by the insertion of Mosley Street that completely changed the residential landscape of this area of Newcastle.

¹⁰¹ For example, rooming houses on lower Pilgrim Street were considered high density in comparison to Blackett's residence on upper Pilgrim Street that was likely to have a smaller population density because of its size and retention as a single-family home for much of the eighteenth century.

¹⁰² Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

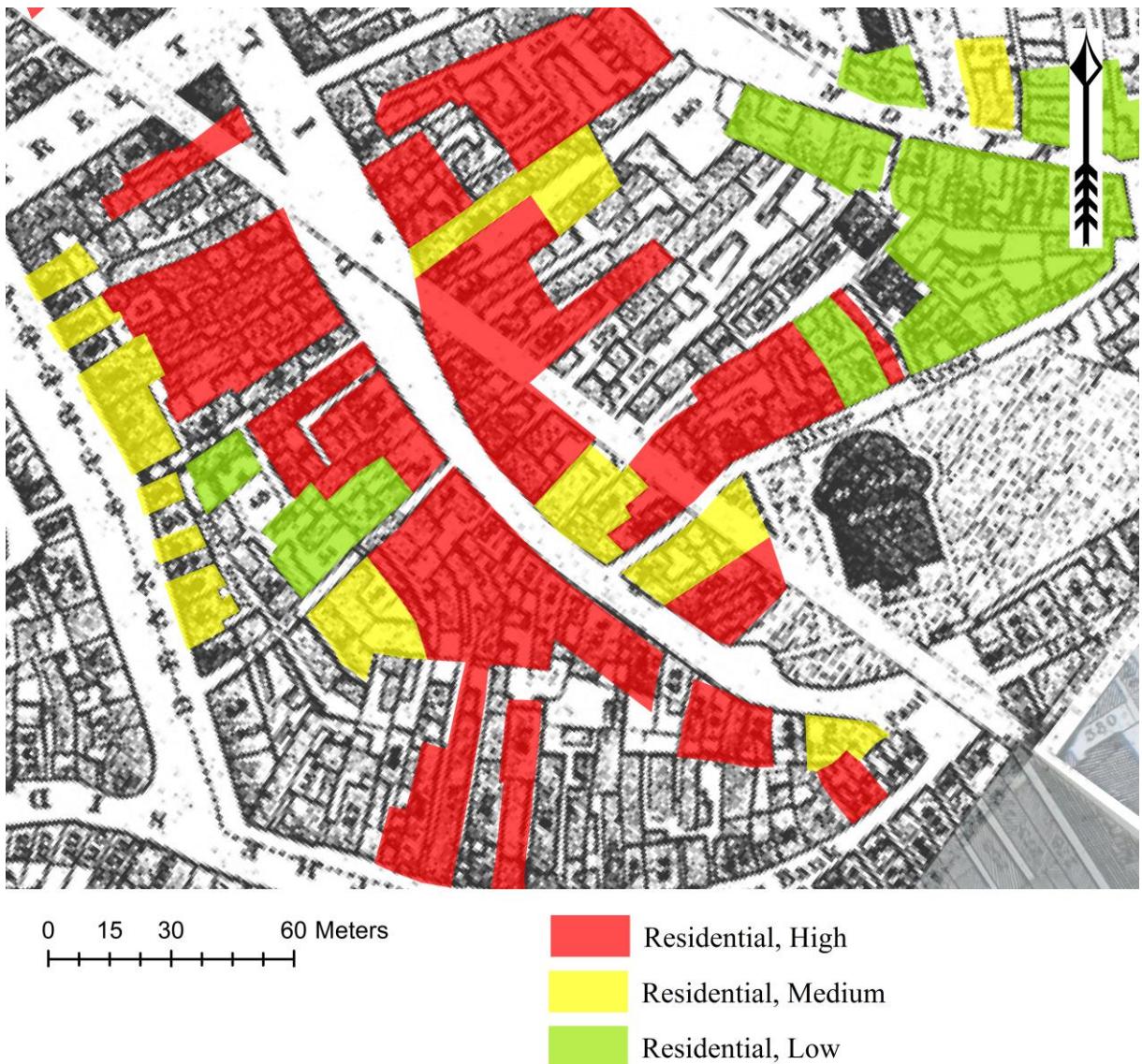


Figure 3.13: Residential and population density in lower Pilgrim street, 1830

The areas of highest density on Figure 3.13 matched those properties that were converted into rooming houses between 1802 and 1830. It remains difficult to ascertain the causal affect in this relationship. For example, the conversion to rooming houses may have been a cause of higher population density as much as it was a solution. Given the strain felt by the growing number of poor in All Saints parish during the late eighteenth century it was likely that rooming houses served to ease the greater residential capacity that was needed as a result of rising urban migration. The type of traders found within this part of Pilgrim Street were not as economically marginalised as in other parts of the city, but with occupations such

as clothes dealers, or boot and shoe makers they benefited from lower rates within single rooms from which a trade could also be undertaken.¹⁰³ The conversion of residential property into rooming houses may have been a further mechanism in creating greater social and economic diversity along the length of Pilgrim Street that was formerly divided more significantly along parish boundaries during the eighteenth century. The effect was not dissimilar to Charleston streets such as Queen or Tradd that ran perpendicular from the waterfront. Densely packed tenements close to the waterfront, gave way to residences for attorneys, that in turn gave way for large houses belonging to merchants and planters. The only difference was that with greater geographic space, Charleston could accommodate this diversity within residential properties with considerably larger building footprints than Newcastle, and without displacing its upper social tier.

Conclusion

Urban historians have been hampered by dominance of architectural history of buildings and historical geographers' focus on pre-industrial residential segregation. There has been a void left in understanding how residential space worked between 1740 and 1840 because of these factors, and because of perceived limitations with the available source material. Combining census data, rate books and trade directories, with cartographic and architectural analysis, in GIS has provided a more nuanced understanding of population densities. This has been necessary to identify the social divisions that occurred within the residential areas of Newcastle and Charleston. In Charleston the city was characterised by two halves. The west was dominated by a unique house form that fossilized the single-family unit as the desired form of residency and population type. By contrast, the east peninsula was plagued by fire that prevented the accumulation of a dense built environment that was

¹⁰³ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017.

characteristic of other port cities. Here social mixing was more diverse with tenements and surviving Georgian properties lining the same street as a reflection of the inclusion that could be tolerated between different social hierarchies and spatial uses. In some respects, Charleston's eastern peninsula was more closely aligned with Newcastle's core, where mixed residential and commercial space combined with social diversity. Streets such as Pilgrim Street offered a microcosm of the shift that could occur in residential provisions when redevelopment was not followed through to its conclusion. The large residences that had been occupied by corporate officials and elites on upper Pilgrim Street characterised the type of desirable residency of the cities early modern period. Yet 'improvement', via the introduction of commercial space on Mosley Street, proved to be a turning point for Pilgrim Street's residential space. Large properties gave way to business premises, infilled back-lots, and vertical space that was ripe for rooming houses. While the individual histories of residential development in both cities was markedly different, what both cities demonstrated was that residential space was not always as straight-forward as models based on outward residential expansion would suggest. Residential space in the urban core was forced to compete with other land use types. The fact that residential space could be adapted or added alongside other land-use types is a key component of developing urban space between 1740 and 1840. In other words, limiting understanding of residential space as a form of architectural embellishment undermines the position and role of residential spaces in adapting early modern cities. The next chapter considers the role of recreational place/space in Newcastle and Charleston as the elite classes increasingly engaged with enlightened cultural pursuits. The history of residency in Newcastle and Charleston, most especially Charleston's adoption of the larger single-family home, had implications on elite recreational activity in place and space. Complexity was notable again as places of entertainment formed conflicting locations of social inclusion and exclusion in both cities.

CHAPTER FOUR

Places of Social Interaction, Networking, and Entertainment

During the early eighteenth century sociability became a defining feature of the urban experience.¹ Elite cultural practices of the eighteenth century have since become synonymous with the Social Enlightenment: existing infrastructure was re-formed and new recreational places were created to appeal to elite clients.² Establishments such as coffee houses, assembly rooms and theatres have been used to characterise elite cultural activity in the city, providing the basis for which a city was or was not enlightened.³ Yet there are problems with these sorts of checklist exercises because they often fail to engage with spatial context.⁴ Part of the difficulty has been the reduction of recreational venues to place, which limits observation of the impact of recreation within the wider spatial system. However, the placement of these venues establishes important differences between the treatment of recreational space in Newcastle and Charleston that was mirrored in elite participation versus display. Location was crucial for success because other spatial uses could overshadow these otherwise isolated places. A network of venues was established in late eighteenth century Newcastle that facilitated elite dominance over the city. These venues were crucial because elite culture, and more especially display, was unachievable within the home. In contrast, Charleston's elite cultural practices of the late eighteenth century were linked to wealthy residential preferences

¹ Peter Borsay, 'Bath: An Enlightenment City?', in Peter Borsay et al. (eds.), *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure since the Enlightenment* (New York: Waxmann, 2000), pp. 3-18; Martin Fitzpatrick, 'Introduction', in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 81-86; Bob Harris, 'The Enlightenment, towns and urban society in Scotland, c.1760-1820', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 126, No. 522 (2011), pp. 1097-1136; Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740-1820* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), p. 182; Margaret C. Jacob, *The radical Enlightenment: pantheists, Freemasons and republicans* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981); Margaret C. Jacob, 'Polite worlds of Enlightenment', in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 272-287; Dorinda Outram, *The Enlightenment: Third Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and Roy Porter, *Enlightenment: Britain and the Creation of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 2000).

² Fitzpatrick, 'Introduction', p. 83.

³ Eighteenth-century elites participated in a broad range of cultural pursuits, but this chapter focuses on those that were defined by their location within the built environment of the city. Pursuits such as horse racing were popular in Newcastle and Charleston but have been excluded because of geographic location.

⁴ Borsay, 'Bath: An Enlightenment City?', pp. 3-18.

in which single and double-houses became places of exclusive display. In addition, elite entertainment within the wider city placed greater emphasis on private enterprise. Location became a crucial factor in elite participation in Charleston that had serious consequences for business success. Although assessments have been made of Charleston's and Newcastle's elite culture, this chapter considers the greater impact that such venues had on promoting elite presence within urban space, whilst also considering the conflicting places of social inclusion and exclusion that emerged in response to elite cultural preferences in these mercantile cities.

The Social Enlightenment

The culture of enlightened philosophy during the eighteenth century occurred largely in urban areas.⁵ The Social Enlightenment began in London during the mid-seventeenth century and expanded to urban centres in the British-Atlantic from the mid eighteenth century.⁶ Crucial to the emergence of Enlightenment infrastructure was the formation of a new social movement with principles of politeness and toleration. Public participation in local dancing assemblies, theatres, societies, and luxury consumption was important because economic expenditure contributed to improvement of the self, as well as economically strengthening the state.⁷ Politeness became the standard by which different classes in cities could interact. Strangers were encouraged to listen to one another. For cities such as Newcastle and Charleston that depended on class interaction in commerce and politics: standards and locations through which such interaction could occur was important for urban success, but also established greater mixing between different social groups in the city.

⁵ Borsay, 'Bath: An Enlightenment City?', p. 3; and Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment*, p. 3.

⁶ Helen Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England: The Cultural World of the Athenian Mercury* (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), p. 13; Borsay, 'Bath: An Enlightenment City?', pp. 3-18; Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 24; Harris, 'The Enlightenment', pp. 1097-1136; Harris and McKean, *The Scottish Town*, p. 364; Outram, *The Enlightenment*, pp. 10-25; and Porter, *Enlightenment*, p. 14.

⁷ David Hume advised merchants to indulge in luxury because it contributed to individual happiness and the strengthening of the state. Kathryn Sutherland, 'The new economics of the Enlightenment', in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 478.

Charleston and Newcastle tolerated a broad sphere of class participation in venues connected to the Social Enlightenment. The landed classes mixed with merchants and traders providing the emphasis was on wealth. It was money that provided the financial support to recreational venues, which created new opportunities to highlight wealth through participation, membership, and benevolence. However, by the early nineteenth century a subset of recreational places emerged as the middle classes emulated elite cultural practices. Within two cities that were so strongly associated with social hierarchy and display of luxury, the response to the manipulation of social space was important because it provided a driving force for change.⁸ However, the impact of social space developed differently to other spatial uses. Unlike housing or shops that gained dominance within space by clustering, recreational use rarely did so, instead existing within areas that were dominated by other spatial uses. What's more, they were sometimes completely unseen within upper-floor rooms. Identification of these venues is important for two reasons. Firstly, despite being venues of isolation, these places could form a network of social interaction for elites that contrasted with their sometimes-unenlightened surroundings. Secondly, the location of these venues on upper floors provides useful indications about the vertical space of the city when so much of urban spatial analysis has otherwise been dominated by views from the street.

Newcastle's network of social places

Newcastle had well-established places of social interaction by 1740, but many of these were in private ownership. During the late eighteenth century, corporate and subscription-based enterprises were added to these private developments, thus increasing the number of places that appealed to elites. For Newcastle, places of recreation were important to the

⁸ James Stuart Esq., 'Devil in Petticoats, 1830', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 194; and Bill Lancaster, 'Sociability and the City', in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp. 320-321.

Corporation. Newcastle Corporation contributed financial aid, or relinquished land for buildings, and in so doing demonstrated commitment to the social values of the most respected residents, whilst attempting to influence locations of wealthy social interaction. As a bonus these facilities encouraged visitors, which, in turn, increased national status. Many of the facilities were more inclusive than those found in other provincial towns and cities within England, but they still barred those that could not afford participation. Such exclusivity was typical of the polite principles through which society was conducted, and Newcastle had a long history of exclusion that can be demonstrated through the development of trade guilds.

Newcastle's trade guilds varied in their founding history, but they all had well-established regulations regarding membership by the sixteenth century. Admittance to a trade guild provided distinction for men who sought to network themselves into local politics and involvement in the Corporation. The guilds, or companies, consisted of twelve 'Mysteries', and a further fifteen bye-trades, and from the mid-sixteenth century they started to carve out permanent meeting places within the city.⁹ Several 'Mysteries' were granted space by the Corporation within the buildings belonging to the former monastery of Black Friars during the 1550s. Further guilds and by-trades made use of the mostly defunct towers and gates of the city wall that provided suitable venues for meeting rooms that guilds converted and repaired (Table 4.1). Guilds associated themselves with the long history of Newcastle as meeting rooms were housed within former places of monastic and corporate power. It was a display mechanism that saw the city encircled by those with status and greater economic privilege.

⁹ Eneas Mackenzie, 'Incorporated Companies: Merchant Adventurers', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 662-670. *British History Online*, accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp662-670>.

Table 4.1: Meeting rooms belonging to Newcastle's Trade Guilds

Guild	Date	Location
Drapers, Mercers & Boothmen	c.1480-	Maison Dieu Hall, Sandhill
Masters & Mariners	1492-	Trinity House, Quayside
Skinner & Glovers	c.1550-	West side of Black Friars
Taylors	c.1550-	West side of Black Friars
Saddlers	c.1550-	West side of Black Friars
Tanners	c.1550-	Black Friars
Butchers	c.1550-	South side of Black Friars
Fullers & Dyers	1552- c.1800 1827	Black Friars Tavern
Smiths	c.1550-	Former chapel of Black Friars
Feltmakers, Curriers & Armourers	1620-	Herber Tower
Barber Surgeons	c.1640-1795	Pandon Gate (removed)
Weavers	1682-	Carliol Tower
Millers & Coopers	Unknown-1698	Austin Tower
Ropers	1698-	Austin Tower
Glaziers, Plumbers, Pewterers & Painters	1700-	Mordon Tower
Paviours, Colliers & Carriagemen	1707-	Ever Tower
Carpenters & Shipwrights	1716-	Carpenters Tower
Joiners	1716-1802 1802-	Pilgrim Gate (removed) Fickett Tower
Cutlers	Unknown-1742	Plummer Tower
Masons	Unknown-1776 1742-	White Friar Tower (upper floor) Plummer Tower
Bricklayers	Unknown-1776	White Friar Tower (lower floor)
Wallers, Bricklayers & Plasterers	Unknown-	Denton Tower
Cordwainers	Unknown-1794 1794-	Hall near St. Nicolas' (removed) Hall on High-Bridge
House Carpenters	Unknown-1797 1797-1811	Close Gate (removed) West Gate (removed)
Sailmakers	Unknown-1797	Close Gate (removed)

* compiled using, Eneas Mackenzie, *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827).

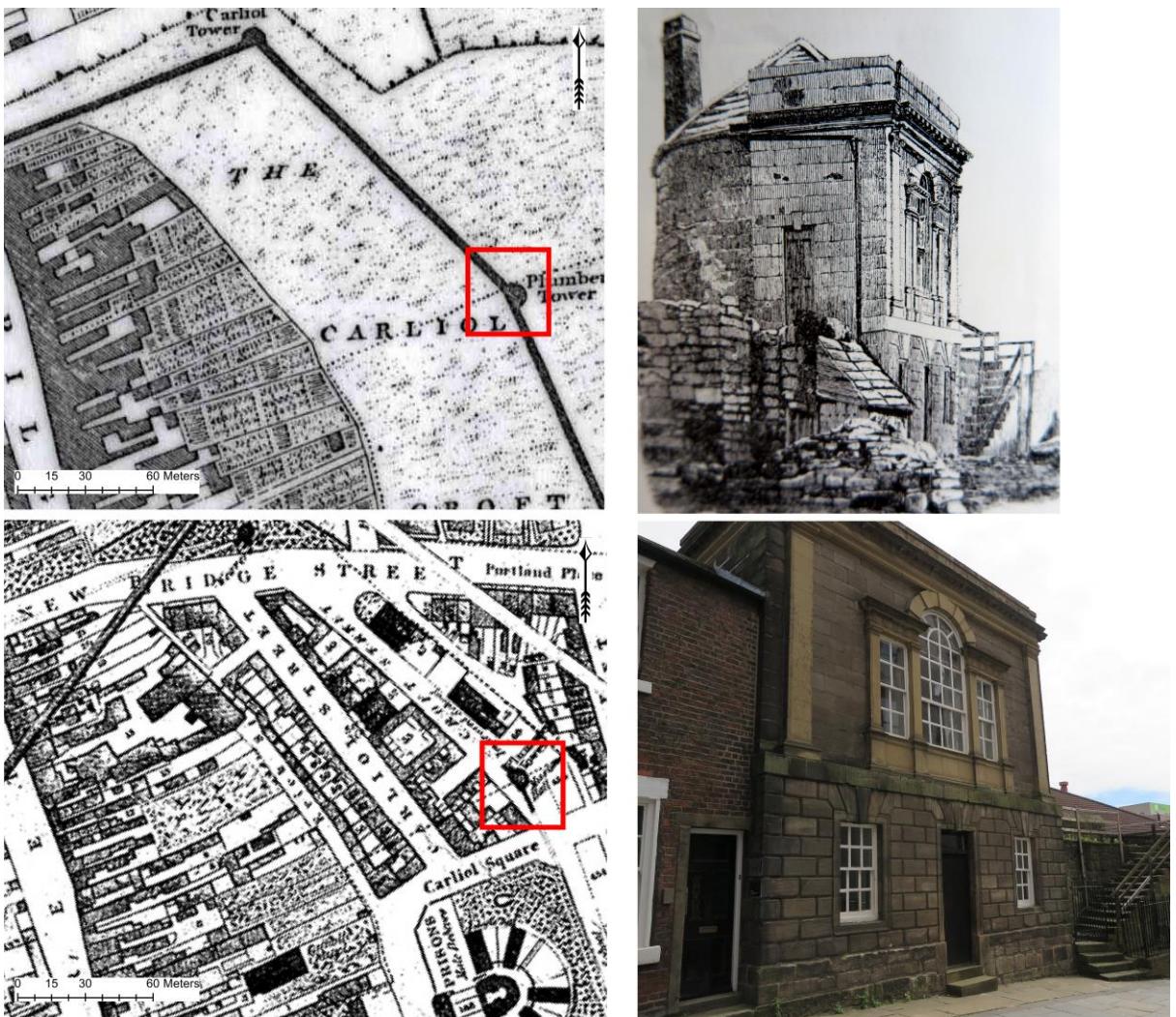


Figure 4.1: Plummer Tower 1742

* upper left: Charles Hutton's map, 1770; upper right: Frank Graham, *The Castle and Town Walls of Newcastle* (Newcastle: Northern History Booklets, 1972), p. 12; lower left: Thomas Oliver's map, 1830; lower right: author.

Trade guilds repeatedly invested in Newcastle's historic properties throughout the eighteenth century. For example, the former chapel of Black Friars monastery was repaired and ornamented by the Smiths Guild in 1751, 1770, and 1823, as guild stewards made their mark on the physical fabric of the guild as a reflection of what was happening in the city by the Corporation.¹⁰ Such improvements to the external and internal space of the meeting rooms was often in keeping with architectural styles at the time of their improvement, as can be seen

¹⁰ Eneas Mackenzie, 'Incorporated Companies: Other companies', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 670-678. *British History Online*, accessed June 9, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp670-678>.

in the example above of Plummer Tower, which was granted to the Masons company in 1742, and remains as one of the few surviving towers in the city (Figure 4.1).

The classical façade of Plummer Tower saved the building from removal in the early nineteenth century when this section of wall was destroyed to make way for the new Gaol and residential properties on the former Carliol Croft. Other guilds were less fortunate, as these meeting places were susceptible to the development whims of the Corporation. The tension between the Corporation and the burgesses in guilds (detailed in Chapter Three) was mirrored in the physical repression of the guilds in Newcastle's social space. In the late eighteenth century several gates were removed during improvements, which required relocation of guild meeting rooms to other locations. In some instances, the Corporation compensated guilds, such as the Cordwainers who received two hundred pounds after their meeting hall near to St. Nicholas' was pulled down.¹¹ By the early nineteenth century, the Corporation was less inclined to be generous. The Fullers and Dyers met in a tavern following abandonment of their Black Friars meeting room after 1800.¹² The experiences of burgesses in guild was important because it provided the basis for exclusivity that was echoed by wealthy society members in other parts of the city. New places of social exclusion emerged within the public sector of which, in contrast to the guilds, the Corporation was supportive.

In keeping with other British provincial cities, Newcastle Corporation undertook two monumental projects in the late eighteenth century that were aimed to promote the city's involvement in culture. The Assembly Room and the Theatre Royal provided places of elite interaction that also attempted to carve out broader boundaries of elite social space in their immediate surroundings. Newcastle's residents and visitors already had access to music, theatre and dancing provided by the Assembly Room on the Groat Market (established in

¹¹ Mackenzie, 'Incorporated Companies: Other companies', pp. 670-678.

¹² Mackenzie, 'Incorporated Companies: Merchant Adventurers', pp. 662-670.

1736), and the Turk's Head Theatre on the Bigg Market (opened in 1748).¹³ These locations created hubs for recreational activity, but they did not conform to eighteenth-century principles of display. Both were effectively “long rooms” that were tucked away behind other street-fronting buildings. Furthermore, they were private ventures, and in a pattern that would be repeated time and time again in Newcastle, corporate officials, and the upper class preferred direct control of places that they wished to interact and engage in.

In 1776 the newly created Assembly Room on Westgate Street was opened to Newcastle society. The long room on Groat Market was considered out-dated and no longer sufficient for the needs of the growing city. In February 1774 a committee was formed, made up of members of Northumberland’s aristocracy and influential Newcastle politicians. Notable members included The Duke of Northumberland and his second son Lord Algernon Percy. Sir John Hussey Delaval, who held the local estate of Seaton Delaval, and Mr William Lowes the High Sheriff of Northumberland. Finally, Sir Walter Blackett who held the office of Mayor five times, was an elected Tory member of Parliament seven times, and was also the owner of Anderson Place highlighted in the previous Chapter.¹⁴ The initial sum of five thousand pounds, to be raised via subscription, was testament to the desire to make a statement, as well as the anticipation that elite consumers would be supportive of the committee’s goals.¹⁵ In March 1774 Mr William Lowes, acting as Committee Chair, increased

¹³ Neither of these premises were the first of their type. Prior to 1740, dramatic performances were held at the Moot Hall and a theatre at the head of the Side. The Moot Hall would continue to be a place of theatre after the creation of the Turk’s Head Theatre and the Theatre Royal. The assembly rooms on Groat Market were also not the first within Newcastle. These were relocated from Westgate Street, not far from where the 1776 Assembly Rooms would be established. See, Helen Berry, ‘Creating Polite Space: The Organisation and Social Function of the Newcastle Assembly Rooms’, in Helen Berry and Jeremy Gregory (eds.), *Creating and Consuming Culture in North-East England, 1660-1830* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 122; Eneas Mackenzie, ‘Institutions for the Arts & Amusement: The drama’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 593-594. *British History Online*, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp593-594>; S. Middlebrook, *Newcastle Upon Tyne: Its Growth and Achievement* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Newcastle Journal and North Mail, 1950), p. 126; and Harold Oswald, *The Theatres Royal in Newcastle upon Tyne* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Northumberland Press Ltd, 1936), p. 4.

¹⁴ Mr William Lowes acted as committee Chair. Berry, ‘Creating Polite Space’, p. 126.

¹⁵ *Newcastle Courant*, January 22, 1774, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17740122/009/0004>.

the subscription because the venture proved popular and it ensured that further subscribers had the chance to buy shares.¹⁶ Evaluation of the subscribers demonstrated a mixed collection of participants that was more expansive than just elite consumers.¹⁷ The largest majority shareholders were lesser gentry, followed by the nobility. Collectively these two groups accounted for forty-two percent of the total subscription, some of which represented sizeable investments, such as The Duke of Northumberland and Lord Algernon Percy who collectively invested seven hundred pounds.¹⁸ Other investors, however, included merchants, professionals, tradesmen, and those within unknown occupations that have been attributed to those of lower social status.¹⁹ Such diversity was very different from the stricter admission policies of provincial assembly rooms and speaks of Newcastle's early acceptance of social mixing, a necessity within a city dominated by trade.²⁰ In addition, Newcastle Corporation invested two hundred pounds, and while this figure only represented three percent of total shares, the collective private investment by at least ten former mayors, and a large number of burgesses suggests that the Corporation's involvement in, and participation within, Newcastle's polite culture was greater than a mere three percent investment.

The building was completed in 1776 and its design by William Newton has been well documented.²¹ The choice of location was determined by a committee heavily influenced by

¹⁶ The new threshold was set at £6000. While subscriptions had been popular it was also necessary to increase the subscription because of rising costs. The second round of subscriptions were less popular, and the committee struggled to attract enough attention. Subscriptions in March 1776 only amounted to £5565. The final estimated cost for the whole project was £6701 and the project was plagued by financial problems. Aubone Surtees and John Graham Clarke, Esq.. supplied additional money in the form of loans within the first year of opening. See Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', pp. 130-131; and *Newcastle Chronicle*, March 9, 1776, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000863/17760309/007/0002>.

¹⁷ Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', pp. 120-140; and *A Short history of the Old Assembly Rooms: Westgate Road, Newcastle Upon Tyne* (1929), Edwin Clarke Local 474, Special Collections, Newcastle University Library, Newcastle upon Tyne.

¹⁸ Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', p. 125.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Helen Berry contrasts the acceptance over the mixing of rank in Newcastle with other English towns such as Lincoln that had much stricter admission policies. See Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', p. 136.

²¹ The building was designed by the local architect William Newton who was also responsible for the design of Charlotte Square, a small development of residential housing five hundred feet to the west of the new Assembly Room. Other commissions included the infirmary in 1750, and Newton would go on to redesign the Exchange in 1794. The Assembly Room was partially Palladian in style, but with some neo-classical elements. Crucially, it conformed to architectural principles of symmetry with two lower wings that framed a central block and Greek

corporate officials, including members of the Common Council.²² They determined a site within the gardens of St. John's vicarage, on Westgate Street. The use of church land to build on was unusual given the Corporation's tendency to offer its own land holdings, but the Common Council was limited because Corporation/City land assets favoured locations outside the city walls. Instead, the deciding factor in the Westgate Street location may have simply been the relationship that existed between the Reverend Richard Fawcett (of St. John's Church) and his brother Christopher Fawcett who was a subscriber to the Assembly Rooms, and corporate officer. Westgate Street was identified as a major routeway in GIS. It provided a more suitable route into the city from the west than the congested Newgate Street that required traversing the market streets. Consequently, the lower traffic levels, and wider width of the street, made it appealing for residency by clergy and gentry within large townhouses for much of the eighteenth century, similarly to upper Pilgrim Street.²³ By placing the building at the outer limit of the original walled city, the Assembly Rooms were well placed to serve the urban elite, it provided good access to those visiting from the hinterland, and it was further away from the densely populated centre.

The subscription-based model for the creation of elite recreational space was repeated with the creation of the Theatre Royal, finished in 1788 on the newly opened Mosley Street. Theatre productions had been offered at the Turk's Head and the Moot Hall during the early eighteenth century, but in 1784 James Rudman Esq, the acting Mayor, called for a

Ionic order columns that provided depth. But subscribers were also active in the decision-making process with subscribers' revisions including a back-stair for servants, the erection of iron palisades for added privacy, and an increase in the provision of a pavement at the street frontage. See, *Newcastle Courant*, May 14, 1774, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17740514/008/0004>. For a detailed discussion of Newton's design see Thomas Faulkner, Peter Beacock, and Paul Jones (eds.), *Newcastle & Gateshead: Architecture And Heritage* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Tyne Bridge Publishing, 2014), pp. 72-73; and Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', p. 124.

²² Examples include Mr Alderman Blackett, Mr Biggs, Mr Brandling, Mr Peareth (clerk of the chamber), Mr Richard Lacy (a common councilman), and Mr Williams. See *Newcastle Courant*, February 12, 1774, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17740212/013/0004>.

²³ Henry Bourne, *The History of Newcastle upon Tyne: or, the Ancient and Present State of that Town* (Newcastle upon Tyne: John White, 1736), p. 22.

subscription meeting for a new theatre.²⁴ Like Edward Mosley, the instigator behind the creation of Mosely and Dean Streets, Newcastle's mayors used infrastructure projects to commemorate their appointments during the late eighteenth century. Rudman tasked leading figures within the Corporation, including the town clerk Nathaniel Clayton, with consideration of the theatre's location.²⁵ Clayton had been instrumental in the Mosley and Dean Street project, so the choice of the soon-to-be Mosley Street was of little surprise. The theatre, designed in the Georgian style, reinforced civic aims of creating a fashionable address with glass-fronted shops. Furthermore, the street and theatre was the epitome of displayed wealth that David Hume had advised the wealthy to participate in for the strengthening of the state.²⁶

The theatre opened on January 21st, 1788. Like the Assembly Rooms, it expressed the desire of Newcastle's wealthy to actively involve themselves in the display of culture, not just participation in it. By being located on Mosley Street, the committee attempted to 'boundary mark' the theatre: exclusive 'place' was surrounded by a newly emerging area of luxury consumption.²⁷ The plan was not dissimilar to the motivation of placing the Assembly Rooms within a 'high-quality' residential street such as Westgate Street, and the committee was largely successful with their aim. The theatre was located within a growing commercial zone close to St. Nicholas Cathedral. Retailers increasingly relocated to these streets in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to capitalise on wealthier clients. Furthermore, the city's three theatres became fractured with greater class consciousness within the audiences. The Turk's Head and Moot Hall theatres continued to appeal to a wide selection of the population through its populist productions, which reinforced the Theatre Royal as the

²⁴ Oswald, *The Theatres Royal in Newcastle upon Tyne*, p. 4.

²⁵ At a general meeting in May 1785, held at Bella's coffee house on Sandhill, the committee reported its first findings. *Newcastle Courant*, May 14, 1785, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/BL/0000085/17850514/008/0004>.

²⁶ Sutherland, 'The new economics of the Enlightenment', p. 478.

²⁷ The concept of boundary marking urban space is taken from David Garrioch who highlights physical separation of the wealthy from the poor. See David Garrioch, 'Making a better world: Enlightenment and philanthropy', in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 495.

domain of the urban elite. The stress on public display changed the emphasis of the theatre, with the visibility of the audiences celebrated as much as the production.²⁸ Charitable nights that had been a regular feature of Newcastle's theatres in the early eighteenth century stopped. Benefit nights were now sponsored for selected actors and actresses and 'fashionable nights' enhanced public profiles.²⁹ For example, Lady Ravensworth was the patron of the 'eighth fashionable night' of the season in February 1827.³⁰ The theatre created an inward-looking place where enlightened principles of toleration only extended to those who could also afford to participate in polite cultural pursuits.

The difficulty for elite cultural activity in the late eighteenth century was that it took place within a relatively limited sphere. Within theatres or assembly rooms, Newcastle elites were shielded from the undesirable space of the wider urban environment. This was especially important when we consider that Newcastle's wider space was still undergoing a period of transition with the Corporation's first major project not occurring until the creation of Mosley and Dean Streets in the late 1780s. In addition, the relative limitation of Newcastle's smaller residential properties, in comparison to Charleston, made places of entertainment outside of the home more important. Newcastle's theatres, Assembly Rooms, guild meeting rooms, and coffee houses formed a network of places for wealthy residents to reside within, forming a collective group that can be seen more clearly when mapped together (Figure 4.2).

²⁸ The *Newcastle Courant*, in opening week, praised the 'numerous and brilliant audience' whilst mentioning very little about the performance. See, *Newcastle Courant*, January 26, 1788, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17880126/010/0003>.

²⁹ Assessment of the *Newcastle Courant* from 1793 shows several 'benefit' productions for actors and actresses that included, Mr Fox, Mr King, Messrs Siddons and Kemble, and Mrs Walcot and Mr Hough. See *Newcastle Courant*, October 19, 1793, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17931019/002/0001>; *Newcastle Courant*, December 14, 1793, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17931214/018/0004>; *Newcastle Courant*, January 12, 1793, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17930112/008/0001>.

³⁰ Alastair Johnson (ed.), *The Diary of Thomas Giordani Wright: Newcastle Doctor, 1826-1829: Volume 3: The Surtees Society 206* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2001), January 8, 1827, and February 16, 1827. 'Fashionable nights' were particularly popular and often resulted in a full house with Newcastle society attempting to outdo peers through acquisition of a box.

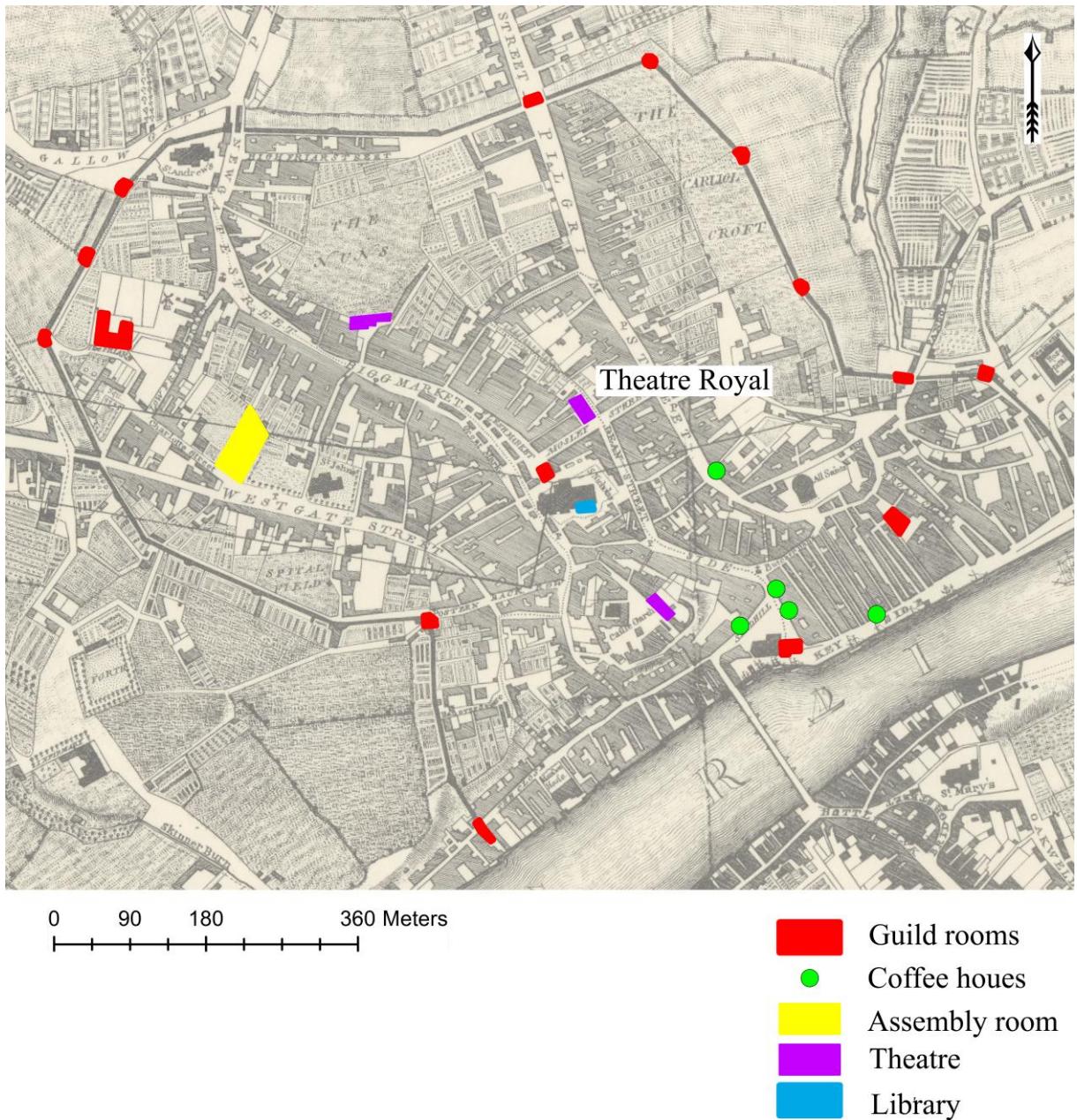


Figure 4.2: Places of elite culture in Newcastle, 1788

Each of these locations formed a cultural ‘place’ within space, which allowed Newcastle’s elites physical separation from the unenlightened city. The areas that formed Newcastle’s poorest area, and ran perpendicular to the waterfront, were mostly avoided. The Assembly Room and Theatre Royal committees had attempted to ‘boundary mark’ these venues by reinforcing their locations within space that was already dominated by elite residential or commercial practices. What’s more, these places acted in unison with each other, assisted by Newcastle’s print outputs that circulated elite cultural activity even when

dominance over space could not be achieved. Coffee houses too, formed a crucial connection point for the otherwise isolated recreational places in the city. As can be seen in Figure 4.2, coffee houses were predominately focused on the Sandhill to capitalise on merchant custom, but counter to the Theatre Royal and Assembly Rooms they were not built for show.³¹ Premises were housed in upper rooms above commercial properties that hints at a purpose other than engagement with debate and education. Newcastle's coffee houses acted as business premises for committee members and subscribers, such as those undertaking the construction of the Assembly Rooms, and tradesmen were directed to submit proposals here as a mutually agreed venue for mixed social interaction.³² Without a recreational-network Newcastle's elites were at a disadvantage, because each venue formed only an isolated point within the wider mixed activity of the city. The Theatre Royal stood alongside ironmongers and hardware stores in addition to dealers of luxury goods; the Turk's Head Theatre and the Sandhill coffee houses were within bustling market streets; and the Moot Hall Theatre and Assembly Room were proximal to areas known for prostitution.³³

Another tactic reinforced the presence of urban elites in space through pageantry. Peter Borsay argues that fashionable leisure was organised within a temporal framework as well as spatial.³⁴ Newcastle Corporation, as one of the most ceremonial in the country, encouraged members to participate in pageantry at coronations, royal birthdays and deaths,

³¹ Similar observations have been made of Scottish coffee rooms and subscription libraries. For example, in Perth that had a subscription library in an upper floor apartment, rather than a purpose-built structure. See, Harris and McKean, *The Scottish Town*, p. 186.

³² *Newcastle Courant*, March 19, 1774, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000085/17740319/008/0004>; and *Newcastle Chronicle*, February 10, 1776, accessed June 14, 2016, <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000863/17760210/008/0002>.

³³ The proximity of the Lock Hospital, established 1814, provides a case in point. Although this institution was not visible from the Assembly Rooms, it was only five hundred feet away within a house close to Pink Tower, that itself was in use as a public convenience. The hospital was moved to Queen Street, next to the castle, in approximately 1824. What remains unclear is whether the hospitals were established in areas of known prostitution, or whether the hospital increased prostitution in those areas of the city. Eneas Mackenzie, 'Medical Establishments: Other hospitals, asylums and the public baths', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 524-527. *British History Online*, accessed August 18, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp524-527>.

³⁴ Peter Borsay, 'All the town's a stage: urban ritual and ceremony, 1660-1800', in Peter Clark (ed.), *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns, 1600-1800* (London: Hutchinson, 1984), pp. 228-258.

religious festivals, and at the laying of foundation stones in public buildings.³⁵ Of note was the procession in full costume of the Sheriff, Mayor and city dignitaries through the streets of Newcastle during Assize Week (see Thomas Miles Richardson's painting 'The Side') or, on Ascension Day, known locally as Barge Day, when the Mayor and corporate officers travelled down the River Tyne in a gilt-painted 'state' barge that was surrounded with other lavishly decorated vessels.³⁶ Such events were important because it provided opportunities for elite cultural practice to be displayed within the wider city. Furthermore, it served as a reminder to the populace that control resided in the authority of the select few, most especially those who served in the Corporation.

The contradictory nature of Newcastle's social inclusion 'in place' continued into the early nineteenth century where inclusion was still determined through wealth. A deeper spectrum of distinction was developing, however, within the city's wealthiest social tiers in response to a desire for growing participation of those within the middle classes. In part, the increase of services offering cultural participation, such as the rise of societies and clubs, diluted the class of participants. As a consequence, greater social exclusion was noticeable within these venues after 1800, although it can be difficult to determine whether such exclusion was deliberately instigated by elites, the middle classes, or whether natural divisions occurred based on personal interest. What was noticeable was movement towards greater specialisation within Newcastle's societies, such as the Antiquarian Society, the Botanical and Horticultural Society, and numerous religious and benevolent organisations in which women found ways to participate in Newcastle society.

Also present was the deliberate separation from corporate-led projects: The Literary and Philosophical Society provides a good example of a membership that chose new ways of participating in urban recreation when it was formed in 1793. The Literary and Philosophical

³⁵ Lancaster, 'Sociability and the City', p. 321.

³⁶ Thomas Miles Richardson, *The Side, Newcastle upon Tyne, Sheriff's Procession to meet the Judges (1784-1848)*, The Mansion House Collection, Newcastle upon Tyne; and Lancaster, 'Sociability and the City', p. 322.

Society originally operated from a rented room in a property adjacent to St. Nicholas Cathedral, an appropriate venue within Newcastle's print district, and then, in 1797, from the former Assembly Room on Groat Market. The Society was important because Newcastle had little success with the provision of a library at St. Nicholas'.³⁷ What's more, the Society was remarkably progressive. Two types of membership were formed, honorary and ordinary. Ordinary members had to be resident within Newcastle and paid one guinea annually, but the Society added a third class by 1797, which was aimed at assisting those whose personal circumstances did not allow them to join, and by 1799 female membership was made available.³⁸ While there can be no question that the Society still largely served the urban elite, it was a far cry from the more exclusive library at St. Nicholas' that was dominated by a corporate presence. The Literary and Philosophical Society reflected the increased diversification and involvement by the city's middle classes, but the lack of permanent location remained a problem.

The Society's desire to establish a permanent residence for its collection broke with Newcastle norms that more typically saw the Corporation dominate decisions on location. In 1814 the Corporation offered a piece of corporate-owned land on the 'King's Dykes' as part

³⁷ In 1745 Dr Thomlinson bequeathed one thousand six hundred volumes of his private collection to the city. Thomlinson's Last Will included an annuity for the continued purchase of new books and named the intended librarian as the Rev. Nathaniel Clayton. The library, funded by Sir Walter Blackett, was created upon the site of the old vestry of St. Nicholas Cathedral. The site was well chosen, providing access to Newcastle's print culture close to the cathedral in addition to several booksellers. But the library was already in decline by the 1750s and in 1822 the Corporation reneged on their annual contribution. The Corporation had been contributing to the library's upkeep since 1734. The Corporation had already spent £52, 3s, 6d on repairs to the books in 1822, but refused further expenditure because of the lack of commitment by a full-time librarian. See Eneas Mackenzie, 'Literary Institutions: St. Nicholas Library', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead*, (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 490-496. *British History Online*, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp490-496>; John Straker, *Memoirs of the Public Life of Sir Walter Blackett, of Wallington, Baronet: with a pedigree of the Calverleys, of Calverley, in Yorkshire, and the Blackett's, of Newcastle upon Tyne and Northumberland* (Newcastle upon Tyne: S. Hodgson, 1819), pp. viii and xi, SANT copy (10335883-90), Society of Antiquaries Special Collections, Great North Museum, Newcastle upon Tyne; and Burgesses, *A Report of the Proceedings of the Burgesses of Newcastle, assembled in Guild, Monday, January 19, 1824: William Wright, Esq. Mayor* (Newcastle upon Tyne: E. Walker, 1824), p. 4, (Cowen Tracts v.67 n.16), Special Collections, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne.

³⁸ The financially-assisted group never amounted to more than four at any one time and they joined as honorary members. See Mackenzie, 'Literary Institutions: St. Nicholas' Library', pp. 461-486.

of their future improvement plans for this section of the city that included Carliol Croft.³⁹

They offered a lease of twenty-one years at a nominal rent of forty shillings per annum.⁴⁰

While the terms were agreeable, in this instance the Corporation was unsuccessful. The 1809 auditors scandal undermined the Corporation's reputation when it came to the management of its own property. Questions were raised that painted a damning picture of the level of trust in the authority of the Corporation. Members queried whether the Corporation would make unfavourable demands when it came to a lease renewal.⁴¹ More problematic was the Society's lack of faith that the Corporation had any rights over the land that was being offered, which directly threatened the Corporation's strategy when it came to physical domination of Newcastle.⁴² In 1822 the Society selected a site on Westgate Street and the Society's collections were rehoused to this location in 1825. The build was funded through membership fees and individual donations, which made the project radically different from the subscription based recreational places of the previous century. The Society had effectively removed itself from the Corporation's control by instigating the raising of funds, and the build itself. But the behaviour in drawing attention to place was not dissimilar to tactics used by the Corporation and guilds. The foundation stone was laid with great ceremony by His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, Grand Master of England, who was accompanied to the site in a grand procession through Newcastle.⁴³ Such behaviours reinforced statements about place within the wider space of the city, drawing attention to the importance of the Literary and Philosophical Society. This act was especially important given that the new library was built with funds from a much larger spectrum of the general population; Society members were mimicking the tactics of display used by the Corporation and guilds to enhance place within space.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² The Common Council refused to clarify the questions raised by Society members and discussions broke down resulting in a lapse of six years in the Society's plans to relocate.

⁴³ Mackenzie, 'Literary Institutions: St. Nicholas Library', pp. 461-486.

Another example of the increasing diversity of social places in the city came through the rejection of coffee houses in the early nineteenth century in favour of newsrooms. Coffee houses had never been the exclusive domain of debate and learning in Newcastle, and it was perhaps for this reason that engagement in print culture found new venues.⁴⁴ The process initially started in 1776 when elite clients relocated to the newly established newsroom within the Assembly Rooms on Westgate Street. Most subscribers to the newsroom were already members of the Assembly Rooms, but the newsroom also appealed to clergymen who paid the newsroom subscription costs for the express use of the leading papers and periodical publications, as well as the room's specialism in geography, history, and politics.⁴⁵ The admission fees were an indication of the increased exclusivity that clients could gain by using the Assembly Rooms. Five pounds, five shillings was payable in the first instance, with an additional annual subscription of two pounds and two shillings.⁴⁶ The coffee house model that was built on private enterprise, with emphasis on inclusion, was rejected in favour of restricted usage. In using the Assembly Rooms newsrooms, elites could guarantee that they would only socialise with one another.

Without elite clients, coffee houses disappeared from Newcastle, 'a defect' in the eyes of some, but this gave rise to other newsrooms.⁴⁷ The Exchange newsroom on the Sandhill was established in 1808 by those who had formerly met at Bella's coffee house, also located on the Sandhill.⁴⁸ Like the Assembly Rooms, membership was charged as an annual subscription of two pounds, two shillings, but it excluded the initial payment. It was the

⁴⁴ A further contributing cause to the demise of Newcastle's coffee houses was the development of business premises during the early nineteenth century. Charleston's residences incorporated front-room offices within properties as a common architectural feature, but, in Newcastle, coffee houses and taverns fulfilled this role. With an increase in private business premises along streets such as Pilgrim Street, an unforeseen consequence of the morphological change created by Mosley Street was that Newcastle's coffee houses became obsolete.

⁴⁵ The newsroom may have been constructed to allay original objections to the use of church land in the construction of the Assembly Room. See, Berry, 'Creating Polite Space', pp. 127-129.

⁴⁶ Mackenzie, 'Literary Institutions: St. Nicholas library', pp. 461-486.

⁴⁷ Eneas Mackenzie, 'Trade and manufactures', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 715-730. *British History Online*, accessed May 29, 2018, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp715-730>.

⁴⁸ Mackenzie, 'Literary Institutions: St. Nicholas library', pp. 461-486.

largest subscribing newsroom in Newcastle with over three hundred members who gained access to the daily London newspapers, a selection of the weekly London newspapers, and some foreign commercial journals.⁴⁹ More inclusive still was the Central newsroom that was established above a grocer's shop on Mosley Street in 1819. Here, a large range of local and national papers were made available for a subscription of one pound per annum.⁵⁰ It was the least expensive of the three newsrooms, having been set up on a 'liberal and economical plan' by its creators.⁵¹ As with the Assembly Room newsroom, the location of Newcastle's additional newsrooms was indicative of the clientele. At the Exchange newsrooms, merchants continued to value the quayside and used newspapers to assist business decisions. By contrast, the Central newsroom appealed to traders who were emerging as an important part of Newcastle's middle class.

Coffee houses had always appealed to different clientele, but the establishment of three newsrooms in different parts of the city exaggerated this trait.⁵² The distance between the newsrooms created greater physical separation between the different social groups in ways counter to the aims of social interaction and toleration that were reinforced by the coffee house. By the nineteenth century the changing shift in places of recreation demonstrated greater economic boundaries within the physical fabric of the city then seen before, but one that was being reinforced by other spatial uses such as residential or commercial space.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Berry, *Gender, Society and Print Culture in Late-Stuart England*, p. 14.

Charleston's recreational places of private enterprise

Charleston was a city in which luxury abounded. Johann David Schoepf, visiting in 1784, noted the greater advance that Charlestonians had achieved in all aspects of display.⁵³ Yet the establishment of places of elite social interaction was counter to the experience found in Newcastle. As with so much of Charleston's spatial history, the dominance of private property and enterprise resulted in recreational venues that were dominated by individual business owners. The theatre, assembly room, and coffee houses were all established through private enterprise. In contrast to Newcastle, Charleston's upper class invested in these private businesses through participation rather than seeking to establish places of elite-controlled interaction. One of the best examples of this practice was elite engagement with music, dancing, and theatre.

Music played a prominent role in the lives of elite audiences in Charleston following the establishment of the St. Cecilia Society in 1736. The Society achieved its greatest success during the years of its concert series between 1766 and 1820.⁵⁴ The Society provided a salaried position to a professional musician and regularly supported newly arrived musicians to the colony.⁵⁵ Like many Newcastle societies, St. Cecilia's did not have its own permanent venue within Charleston. Instead it relied on existing venues that were shared with other organisations.⁵⁶ Concerts were held in a range of private businesses such as Dillon's long room, Thomas Pike's Assembly Room, and the Carolina coffee house.⁵⁷ The type and distribution of these venues demonstrated the Society's connection to other places of wealthy

⁵³Johann David Schoepf, 'After the Revolution', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 42.

⁵⁴Nicholas Michael Butler, *Votaries of Apollo: The St. Cecilia Society and the Patronage of Concert Music in Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1820* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 2007), p. 39-40.

⁵⁵For example, the musician John Abercrombie benefited from the Society's assistance in the 1770s. George C. Rogers Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), p. 112; and Josiah Quincy Jr., 'Society of Charleston, 1773', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 25.

⁵⁶Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, pp. 113-149.

⁵⁷Ibid.

social interaction, but some caution must be applied here because use of these places was sequential with the only overlap of venues occurring with Charleston's multiple theatres.⁵⁸ In Newcastle, the wealthy flooded the city space with places of elite cultural practice to counteract the unenlightened space beyond, but Charleston's population was considerably smaller than Newcastle's before 1800, and personal finances were regularly disrupted by circumstances such as the Revolutionary War. The population's ability to support multiple venues was reduced and the establishment of recreation as a private business service resulted in a natural cap to such services. This distinction was important because, while Charleston was demonstrably engaged in activities linked to the Social Enlightenment, it lacked the greater networking between these venues that was possible in Newcastle.

Without direct investment by Charleston's elite through subscription, it could be difficult for private business owners to maintain premises for very long. Pike's Assembly Room provides a case in point. Pike, a dancing master and musician, established the room in 1771, but the venue was struggling less than a year later.⁵⁹ Josiah Quincy Junior, visiting Charleston in 1773, located the Assembly Room 'down a yard' on the west side of Church Street, between Elliott and Tradd Streets.⁶⁰ Quincy described the room as rather inelegant with musicians forced into a 'kind of loft' because there was no orchestra.⁶¹ In fact, it was not unusual for balls to be held in a long room (Newcastle's Assembly Room on Groat Market was still in use during the early 1770s). Nor was it unusual for long rooms to be located behind the street front, but Pike's location down a narrow passageway that carriages could not

⁵⁸ For example, the Society performed at Dillions between 1766 and 1771, then the Assembly Room between 1771 and 1778, and the Carolina coffee house between 1785 and 1800. The approach differed from Newcastle: musicians such as Charles Avison had the opportunity to perform in multiple venues across the city during the same period.

⁵⁹ Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, p. 116.

⁶⁰ Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', p. 25.

⁶¹ Josiah Quincy Junior was critical of several other buildings in Charleston including the theatre, but the assembly room and theatre have been demonstrated to be in keeping with other British Atlantic examples in provincial cities and towns. Quincy's criticism may be indicative of a better familiarity with examples in northern cities that he considered finer architecturally. Quincy was a leading figure in Boston, Massachusetts, from where he was visiting. He was an attorney (graduating from Harvard in 1763) and was a spokesman for the Sons of Liberty prior to the Revolution. See, Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', p. 25.

access caused problems that led to further financial outlay in 1772 to provide a covered walkway.⁶² By 1773 Pike was pursued by his creditors and forced to forfeit most of his personal property including the Assembly Room because it represented such a huge investment by an individual business owner.⁶³

The collapse of Pike's business was not unusual in a city that saw a high turn-over of businesses of all types, but it contrasted with the greater support shown to Newcastle's places of entertainment through subscription-based projects, and Newcastle's Corporation. Its failure was not because of elite dis-interest or custom. Furthermore, the failure to establish new rooms can be explained in the provision of the Great Hall on the second floor of the waterfront Exchange Building. It also revealed, however, a fundamental difference in the attitudes of Charleston's urban elite in comparison to Newcastle's. Despite Charlestonians' engagement in luxury, subscription-based projects for entertainment purposes were not pursued in Charleston as they were in Newcastle. Instead, it was the private setting that was flooded with conspicuous consumption. Contributions to building projects were reserved for religious or charitable purposes that were deeply rooted in the city's founding principles as hallmarks of urban status. The recreational activities that thrived were those that could not be easily provided within the home, or Charleston's existing venues, and the history of the city's theatres are a good example of where business owners could be successful.

The Dock Street Theatre was established in 1735, by persons unknown, and stood at an important junction between Church and Queen streets (Figure 4.3). The French Huguenot meeting house and St. Philip's Church were located nearby, providing proximity to elite audiences, but it was also located close to the taverns on Queen, Chalmers and Cumberland Streets that Thomas Elfe had determined to shut down in 1752 because of problems caused by

⁶² Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, p. 116.

⁶³ Ibid, pp. 118-119.

prostitutes.⁶⁴ The theatre's location had similarities with the Turk's Head Theatre on Newcastle's Bigg Market inasmuch as it was surrounded by commercial venues that helped to attract a broad audience including landed elites, merchants, and traders. The attempted shutdown of taverns by Elfe and other citizens was part of an exercise in gentrifying this area of Charleston: the theatre represented a respectable place, while taverns did not. Such actions were important because they demonstrated similar tendencies to Newcastle's evidence of social boundary marking for those recreational places that held importance.

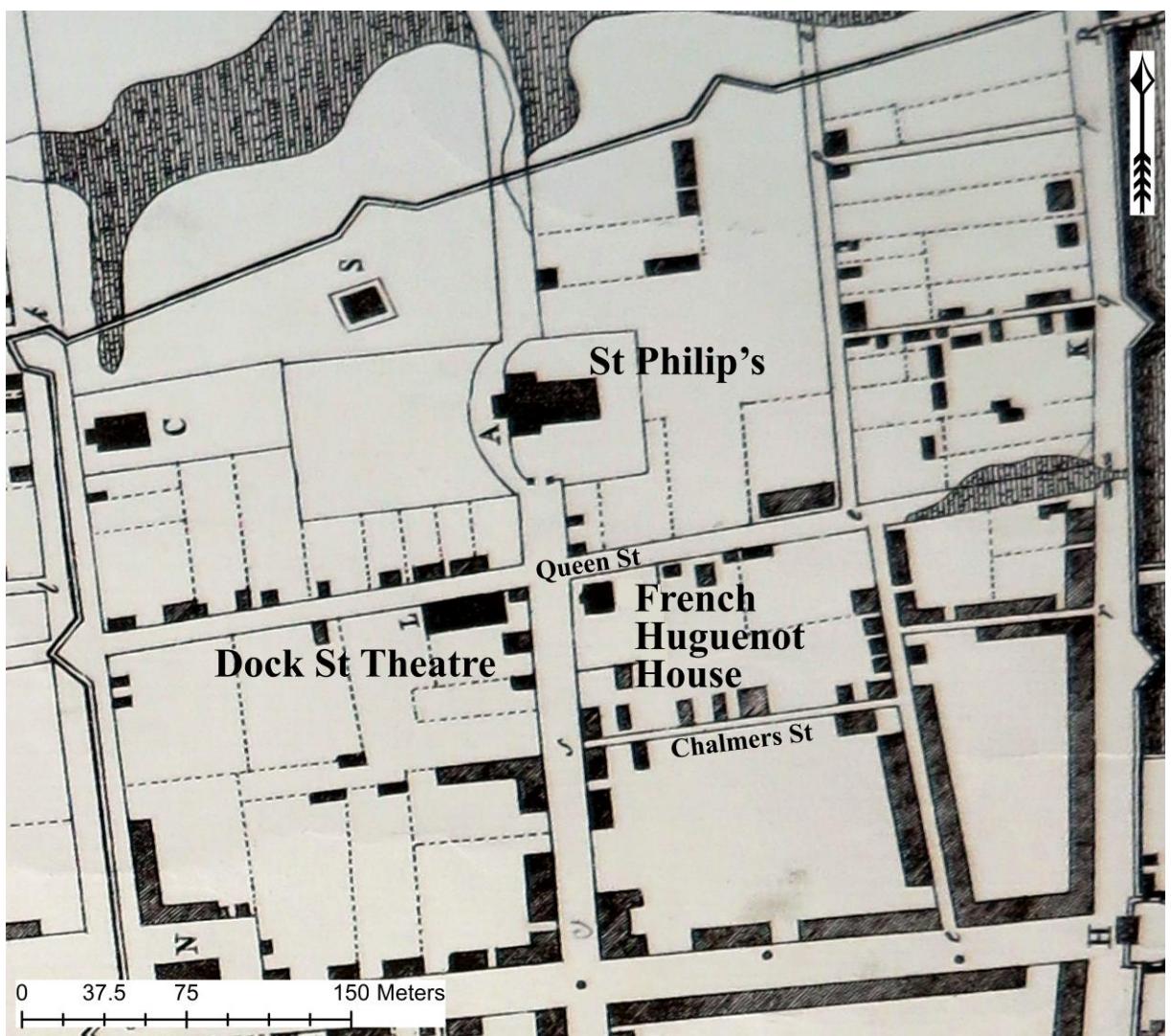


Figure 4.3: Location of Dock Street Theatre, Iconography of Charles-Town, 1739

⁶⁴ See 17 Chalmers Street, *Pink House*, Charleston, South Carolina, accessed December 19, 2016, Historic Charleston Foundation, Charleston, SC.

Charleston's residents ensured that the theatre was extremely popular. It attracted its largest audiences during the 1770s, and records for the season of 1773 to 1774 indicate over one hundred performances.⁶⁵ As indicated in previous chapters, however, Charleston's urban space was regularly impacted by unexpected events. The theatre escaped the city fire of 1778 because it was located just outside the estimated area of destruction. Schoepf, however, reported in 1784 that the theatre had burnt down during the Revolutionary War.⁶⁶ As a consequence Charleston was without a theatre for several years until the establishment of two rival theatres in the 1790s. In 1793 the Charleston Theatre opened on west Broad Street, on an area yet to be fully surveyed, close to the Ashley River. The location placed the theatre within an emerging area of elite residential and commercial space. GIS of the 1790 trade directory data indicates proximity to residential dwellings owned by planters and merchants, as well as commercial premises selling luxury goods, such as silversmiths and watchmakers (Figure 4.4).⁶⁷

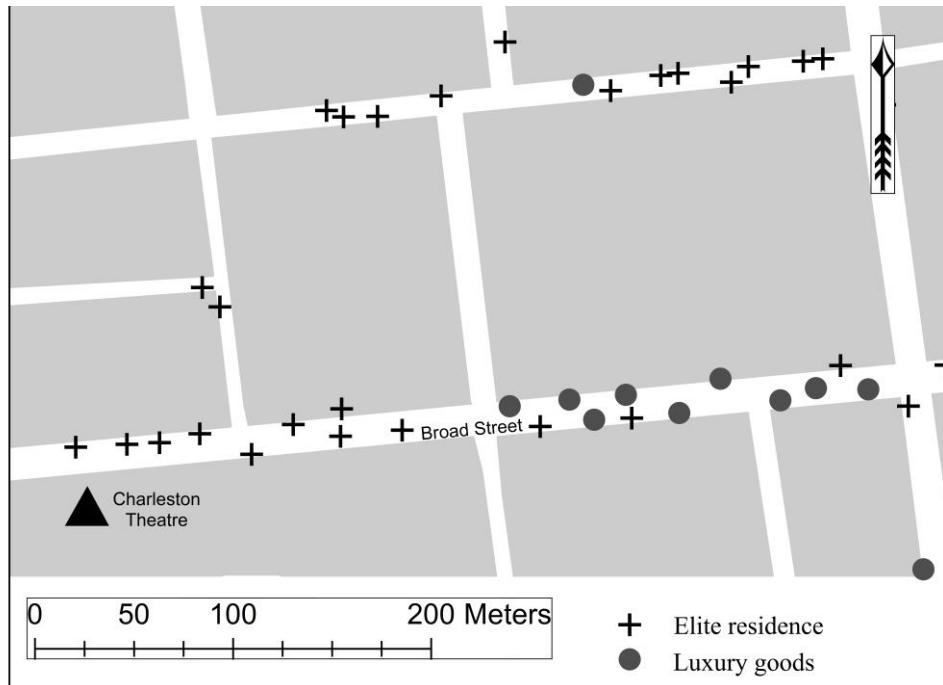


Figure 4.4: Charleston Theatre, Broad Street, 1790

⁶⁵ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 110.

⁶⁶ Schoepf indicated that a dance hall was also destroyed, in 1783, which we can assume to be Pike's Assembly Room. Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, p. 136; and Schoepf, 'After the Revolution', p.42.

⁶⁷ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

The theatre would have been an obvious choice for Charleston's elite residents, which would have been in keeping with attempts to place Newcastle's Theatre Royal within an area of luxury consumption on Mosley Street. In 1794 however, a rival theatre was established, known as the French or City Theatre. It opened on the vacant lot of Pike's Assembly Room.⁶⁸ The French Theatre, just off Church Street, was within an area of mixed residential and commercial space that included wealthier residents such as merchants, but also included more craftsmen and traders, such as carpenters and tailors.⁶⁹ The Charleston Theatre was located along a major routeway, but it's placement at the far west-end of Broad Street put it at a disadvantage in comparison to the French Theatre that was surrounded by residential streets, which provided easy access for its audience (Figure 4.5).

⁶⁸ Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, pp. 136-139. The foundations and building materials of Pike's Assembly Rooms had survived sufficiently well for the French Theatre to be built very quickly during 1794.

⁶⁹ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

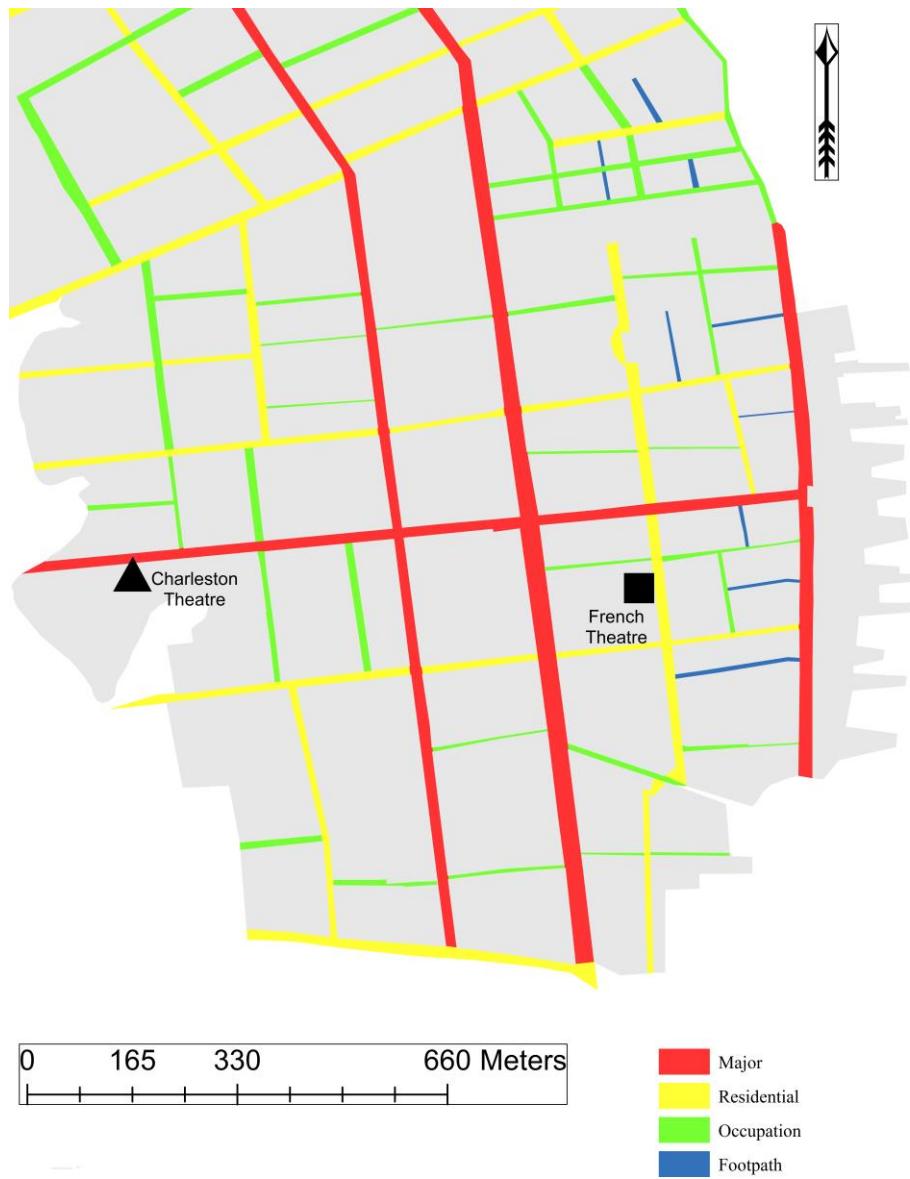


Figure 4.5: Charleston Theatre and the French Theatre, 1790

The struggles of the Charleston Theatre, following the opening of the French Theatre, reveal the difficulty of private business owners in maintaining loyalty within the fickle fashions of Charleston society. The Charleston Theatre remarked that the French Theatre was nothing more than a shabby imitation.⁷⁰ In Newcastle the establishment of multiple theatres had divided audiences with elite members attending the Theatre Royal, and mixed audiences preferring the Turk's Head and Moot Hall theatres. The Charleston Theatre had the potential to offer Charlestonians the chance to engage with elite boundary marking, but the financial

⁷⁰ Butler, *Votaries of Apollo*, p. 137.

strain resulted in the closure of the Charleston Theatre between 1797 and 1800. In 1800, an agreement was reached: the French Theatre would close during dramatic performances.⁷¹ Although the owner, John Sollée, was likely shrewd to the fast-paced change of fashions in Charleston. He had already converted the theatre into a concert and dance venue by the start of the 1801 season.

Part of the French Theatre's success was owing to the enthusiasm for all things French that pervaded the city during the 1790s.⁷² But the owner was also astute in offering lighter entertainment in the form of harlequinades, clowns and rope dancers, as well as a coffee house that served liquor.⁷³ The scenario was similar to the Turk's Head Theatre in Newcastle, where more light-hearted entertainment was offered when it opened in 1748, in comparison to more serious offerings at the Moot Hall Theatre.⁷⁴ Furthermore, like the Turk's Head, the French Theatre was located within a mixed commercial and residential space, which attracted a broad clientele. The location of the French Theatre on Church Street contributed to its success because it was within a more densely populated area than the sparsely populated west peninsula where the Charleston Theatre was located. The difference in human density is observable in Figure 4.6, which shows the 1790 census data for all free residents by city block.⁷⁵ The French Theatre was close to an area of high density on the east side of Church Street and benefited from transient populations (such as sailors) who stayed close to the waterfront within temporary lodgings. The Charleston Theatre's location on the west peninsula put it close to dense populations at the intersection of King and Broad Streets, but it

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid, pp. 136-137; and Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 111.

⁷³ Quincy reports visiting a coffee house in 1773, but the quantity did not increase significantly until after 1800. During the 1790s Charleston's trade directory recorded only one other coffee house in the city. By 1830 the city trade directory listed four, all on East Bay, so it was likely that these venues found custom from merchants and traders engaging in news and print culture close to the waterfront. See Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', p. 24; and Morris Goldsmith, 'Directory and Strangers' Guide, for the City of Charleston and Its Vicinity, From the Fifth Census of the United States, 1830', in James W. Hagy (ed.), *Directories for the City of Charleston, South Carolina, for the years 1830-31, 1835-36, 1836, 1837-38, and 1840-41* (Baltimore: Clearfield, 1997), pp. 1-30.

⁷⁴ Mackenzie, 'Institutions for the Arts & Amusement: The drama', pp. 593-594; and Oswald, *The Theatres Royal in Newcastle upon Tyne*, p. 4.

⁷⁵ Sarah Collins, *Chrl_Streets*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, March 27, 2018.

was inconvenient for the greater proportion of residents who lived between East Bay and Meeting Street, especially given Charleston's larger geographic size.

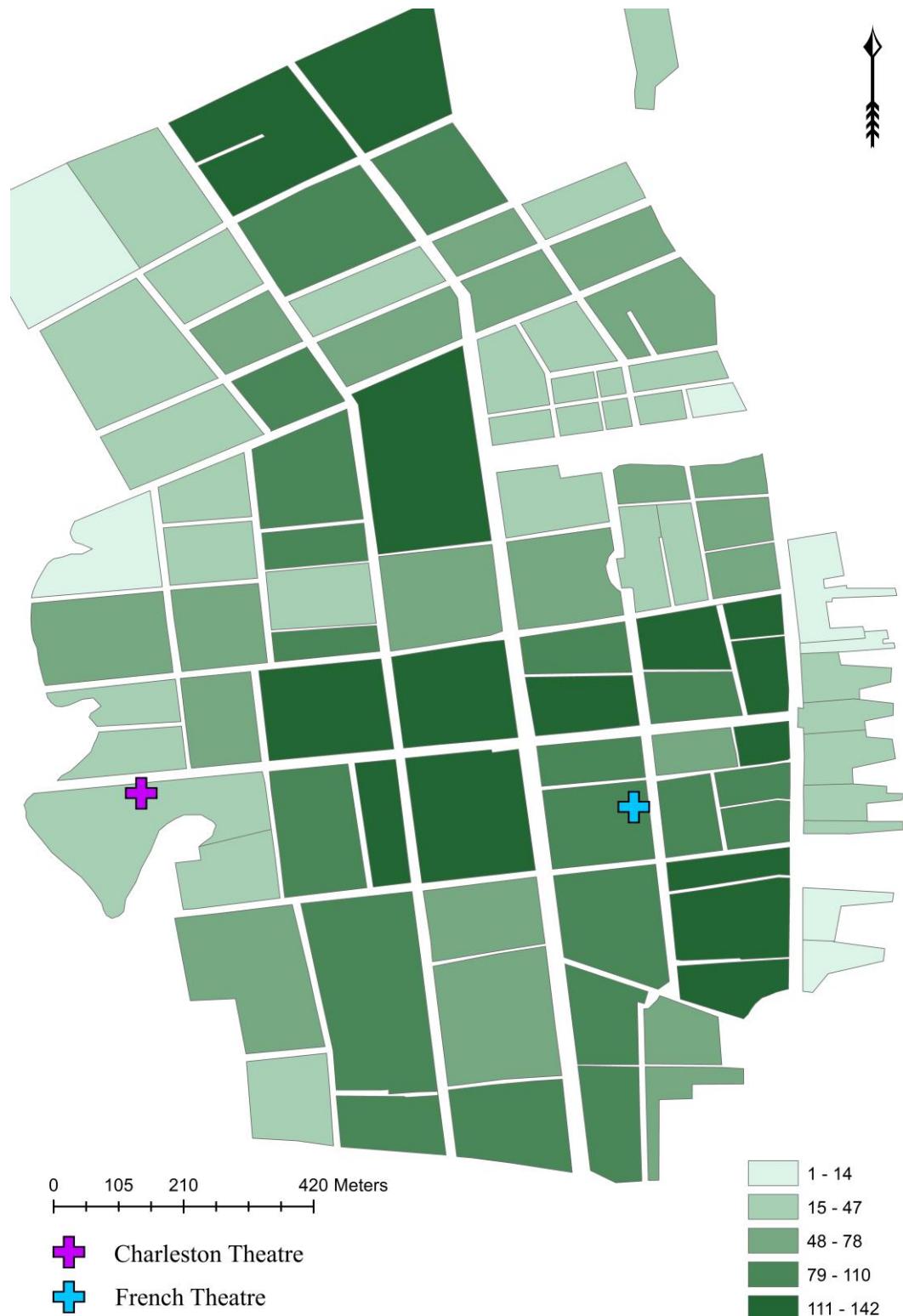


Figure 4.6: Population density of white residents, 1790

* density is displayed in a colour ramp with darkest green indicating densest population blocks

An agreement reached between the theatres business owners would lead to the eventual change of function to the French Theatre in 1801, and would ensure that the Charleston Theatre reached its height under the direction of Alexander Placide between 1800 and 1825.⁷⁶ In addition to the theatre, Placide established the Vauxhall Gardens that were located less than two hundred yards to the east of the theatre on Broad Street.⁷⁷ The gardens were pleasure grounds that offered open air music and pantomimes helping to extend the season into the hotter months when the theatre became uncomfortable. Part of Placide's success was that he was a performer himself and attracted English players to the theatre.⁷⁸ Benefit nights became popular with elites helping to raise supplementary funds for the small salaries offered to actors and actresses in the same way that Newcastle's upper class engaged in by the early-nineteenth century.⁷⁹

The trials of the Charleston Theatre demonstrated important differences towards the function of entertainment in the city. In Newcastle, the theatre became less about the type of production and more about participation as a form of display. Charleston's favour of the French Theatre demonstrated a choice in the type of entertainment offered, and not in the architectural grandeur of the venue, or social interaction with other elites. For display, Charlestonians favoured exclusivity that could be achieved through private parties within their residences. Maurie D. McInnis argues that '[h]ouses were the ultimate consumer object'.⁸⁰ They served as a stage set in which possessions and social activities were employed for owners to compete with peers.⁸¹ In Britain, private homes were also used to display expensive possessions. Bob Harris and Charles McKean have noted a movement towards the home

⁷⁶ See Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 111.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ John Lambert, 'Look to the Right and Dress!', 1808', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 100.

⁷⁹ John Lambert recorded in 1808 that a benefit could produce \$800 that would go in part, or all, to a benefitting actor or actress. See, *Ibid*, p. 102.

⁸⁰ Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina Press, 2005), p. 281.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

becoming an important part of male social practices from the 1760s.⁸² However, such practices did not diminish the number of public venues within the urban setting as it had in Charleston where private space was used to display wealth via music recitals and exclusive dinner parties. It was these private gatherings that would be used to impress and evaluate visitors because of the emphasis on luxury and hospitality that was a practice of Charleston's founding history. Strangers such as Edward Hayne, who landed in 1700, observed a friendliness that turned to indifference once one's wealth was ascertained.⁸³ Quincy's invitation to multiple feasts laid on in private homes in 1773, and James Stuart's fine dining in 1830, were both part of a similar exercise that had become part of established hospitality.⁸⁴ The desire for privacy was important because the wealthy transitioned these practices into the public sphere through the establishment of exclusive clubs and societies that were keenly pursued in Charleston.

One of the city's earliest institutions was the Charleston Library Society, founded in 1748. Charleston's book trade was slow to establish because the preference before the Revolutionary War was for books purchased from London.⁸⁵ As a consequence, purchases were costly and largely beyond the realms of private collectors. The Charleston Library Society was the brainchild of a group of seventeen leading citizens that included planters, merchants, lawyers, a schoolmaster, peruke-maker, printer, and physician.⁸⁶ The Society offered those with an interest in reading the opportunity to subscribe to a rapidly growing collection that was modelled on the Royal Society of London and it proved immensely

⁸² Harris and McKean, *The Scottish Town*, p. 285.

⁸³ Edward Hayne to wife, 19 October 1700, Edward Hayne Papers (MS 34114), College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

⁸⁴ Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', pp. 26-27; and Stuart, 'Devil in Petticoats, 1830', p. 194.

⁸⁵ For a detailed discussion of the Charleston Library Society and its connection to London's book dealers see James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), pp. 102-114.

⁸⁶ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 99.

popular.⁸⁷ In principle the Society formed the type of subscribed access that was familiar within Newcastle's elite social places, but Charleston differed because the subscription was solely for the continued investment in the collection, and support of a salaried librarian. The Society had little ambition to create a permanent venue for the collection until the 1790s. That visitors toured the Society holdings within the private home of the librarian was testament to the city's emphasis on the collection as a symbol of display, rather than the place it was housed in.⁸⁸ The Society contrasts with the library at St. Nicholas Cathedral in Newcastle that was built by Blackett in 1745 as a generous donation that was indicative of display through benevolence.⁸⁹

The location of the collection within a private home was not without its setbacks. The collection was heavily damaged during the fire of 1778 when an estimated seven thousand books, prints, paintings, and mathematical equipment was damaged.⁹⁰ Despite this damage the Society continued to emphasise the collection and not the location. In a similar way to the St. Cecilia Society, the Charleston Library Society was content to reuse venues that already existed in the city. In 1792 the library's collection moved permanently to an upper floor room of the Charleston County Court house at the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets. The relocation placed the library in a central intersection that was dominated by civic and religious architecture, including St. Michael's Church, the Beef Market, and the Treasury and Auditor General's Office.

⁸⁷ The Society already had over one hundred subscribers in the 1750s, and Governor William Bull's account of the Carolina province from 1770 highlighted the near two thousand volumes that the library maintained and expanded through small annual contributions. Ibid; and William Bull, 'Governor William Bull's representation of the colony, 1770', in H. Roy Merrens (ed.), *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697-1774: Tricentennial Edition, Number 7* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1977), p. 264.

⁸⁸ Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', p. 30; and George Milligen Johnston, *A Short Description of the Province of South Carolina, with an Account of the Air, Weather, and Diseases, at Charles-town. Written in the year 1763* (London: John Hinton, 1770), p. 37.

⁸⁹ John Straker, *Memoirs of the Public Life of Sir Walter Blackett, of Wallington, Baronet: with a pedigree of the Calverleys, of Calverley, in Yorkshire, and the Blacketts, of Newcastle Upon Tyne and Northumberland* (Newcastle: S. Hodgson, 1819), pp. viii, x-xiii.

⁹⁰ Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*, p. 109.

The emphasis on the book-collection was very different to the permanent display of built-form that was a contributing factor of Newcastle's Cathedral Library or the Literary and Philosophical Society. In Newcastle built-form was used to emphasise the importance of the books, or the Society. By contrast, donations to Charleston's monumentality were always reserved for religious or charitable institutions, which links to concepts of the acceptable promotion of private wealth within philanthropic endeavours contrasting with monumentality within the residential setting. For example, in 1790 Charleston Corporation charged Commissioners with the task of establishing an orphan house to support and educate poor children.⁹¹ The Corporation relied on the benevolence of the city's citizens by taking the children to charity sermons within the various religious institutions to raise funds for an orphan house. It was a fruitful exercise that played on religious teachings, and peer competition that lead to additional private donations.⁹² Similarly, following the destruction of St. Philip's Church in 1835 an appeal was made for donations to re-build the structure. A circular was addressed not just to the congregation of St. Philip's, but also to all South Carolinians because the church represented 'their history and biography, of which this Church was the memorial'.⁹³ Such differences in Charlestonians' response to the built-form of recreational space was important because it meant that elites had less control of shaping this element of the city's complex system than in Newcastle where the urban elite flooded space with venues (place) of their choosing and control.

The emphasis on the importance of participation, rather than venue, was further demonstrated by the establishment of clubs. Visitors often commented on the popularity of clubs in Charleston. Quincy attended two during his visit in 1773 that demonstrated the breadth of content: the Friday Night club consisted of about thirty gentlemen who discussed

⁹¹ City of Charleston, *Charleston Orphan House Minutes of the Commissioners, 1790-1795* (CDH1), microfilm, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

⁹² Ibid. See, 24 July 1791, 7 August 1791, 14 August 1791, 21 August 1791, 8 September 1791, 11 September 1791, 18 September 1791, 17 November 1791, 4 December 1791.

⁹³ McInnis, *The Politics of Taste*, pp. 111-112.

trade and politics, while the Monday Night club included card playing, drinking, and feasting.⁹⁴ By 1784 the selection was more varied still with visitors counting as many as twenty different clubs.⁹⁵ But Charleston's clubs also provided opportunities for the middle classes to engage in the same practices of exclusion that elites applied within the home.⁹⁶ In these clubs there was movement away from frivolity and pleasure, to morality and charity, but emphasis was still placed on the application of the clubs theme and not its location with the majority making use of adjoining 'long rooms' in the cities taverns.⁹⁷

Conclusion

Mercantile cities such as Charleston and Newcastle invested in the Social Enlightenment through a series of entertainment places that created points of elite interaction for residents and visitors alike within space. Yet the response in both cities to the creation of these places was quite different. In Newcastle, recreational practices were a source of interest to local administrators within the Corporation who sought to engage in the crucial decision-making stages of their creation. Elites, too, demonstrated commitment to the establishment of venues beyond mere participation. By subscribing to venues, they had active roles in shaping the direction of social space in the city, which proved increasingly beneficial as the emergence of the middle classes necessitated greater separation and social exclusivity. Charleston was very different. The history of private ownership from the colony's first founding meant that places of recreation were undertaken by private business owners. Elite Charlestonians showed their support through participation that directly affected the success or failure of individual establishments. They could do this because these venues were more

⁹⁴ Quincy, 'Society of Charleston, 1773', pp. 34-35.

⁹⁵ Schoepf, 'After the Revolution', p. 43.

⁹⁶ Emma Hart, *Building Charleston: Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), pp. 143-147.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

closely associated with their original purpose – entertainment – while exclusivity was provided within the privacy of the residential setting. Newcastle demonstrated greater cross-class socialisation when it came to the establishment of places of recreation that were then used as a network throughout the city to promote elite values. Such practices, however, were only necessary because Newcastle's residential space lacked the capacity to display within the private setting. In contrast, Charleston's larger geographic scale meant that elite residents did not need to compromise: the single and double-house presented a better location for financial investment in recreational place, and furthermore aided the promotion of wealth to peers. There were, however, other forms of elite activity that were less well bounded within the provision of place. From the late eighteenth century, both cities engaged in a consumer revolution that saw a drastic increase in the provision of luxury shopping space in the city. The reaction by both cities to the creation of these new polycentric shopping cityscapes was remarkably similar.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Emergence of the Modern City: Polycentric Shopping Cityscapes

Recent studies of the consumer revolution in eighteenth-century England and America have identified the importance of shopping space within the commercial activity of cities.¹ Like the Social Enlightenment, the consumer revolution was embedded in eighteenth-century urban practices. Shops formed a complex nexus through which Enlightenment principles, polite culture, and outward display was facilitated. Elite inhabitants of Newcastle and Charleston indirectly effected spatial change as both corporations, and private business owners, capitalised on the trend by creating new shopping areas in the late eighteenth century. As a bonus, consumption engaged tourists and enhanced national status, and introduced economic revenue separate from mercantile systems. Rapid growth in the numbers of shops by the end of the eighteenth century resulted in a perceptible dominant presence of commercial space that was different from earlier in the century.² Yet, the dominance on ‘luxury’ within consumption studies has left gaps in our understanding of the broader context of shopping within cities, and there is still undue attention paid to the port at the expense of other city spaces.³ The spatial makeup of shopping within the urban landscape that catalogues presence must also understand location, interrelation, and human engagement with shopping as an experience.⁴

¹ Helen Berry, ‘Polite consumption: Shopping in eighteenth-century England’, *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 12 (2002), p. 377; and Ann Smart Martin, ‘Commercial Space as Consumption Arena: Retail Stores in Early Virginia’, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, Vol. 8, People, Power, Places (2000), p. 215.

² Smart Martin, ‘Commercial Space as Consumption Arena’, p. 202; and Jon Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption: Leisure and Shopping in the English Town, c. 1680-1830* (London: Routledge, 2007), p. 14.

³ For examples of port-focused economic histories of Charleston and Newcastle that have provided detailed understanding of both ports relationship with sea trade see: Joyce Ellis, ‘The “Black Indies”: The Economic Development of Newcastle, c. 1700-1840’, in Robert Colls and Bill Lancaster (eds.), *Newcastle Upon Tyne: A Modern History* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2001), pp. 1-26; and Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces of Power in Early Modern British America* (Lebanon: University Press of New England, 2005), pp. 180-203.

⁴ Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 18.

This identification of shopping space within Newcastle and Charleston is important because it indicates that there was more to shopping space than acquiring luxury goods. While sellers of luxury goods clustered they did not do so at the exclusion of other types of consumption. As with their residential and recreational spaces, Newcastle and Charleston experienced acceptable mixed social interaction within shopping space that is only observable through GIS mapping of trade directories across time and space. Shopping/consumption was not a segregated experience relative to the social groups active on a given street or area. It was spatially complex. By expanding the historic timeline that normally applies to eighteenth-century consumer studies, I identify an early-nineteenth century shift in reaction to the growth of the urban middle-class. Private business owners capitalised on such changes and shifted consumption away from existing provisions. Shopping was a large part of economic activity in the port, making up a sizeable proportion of urban space. Understanding such activity redresses the role of ports as outward-looking trade-centres and configures them as spaces of human interaction within the internal fabric of city space.

Spaces of consumption: Monocentric versus polycentric models

Like residential space, the space of consumption has been subject to generalised models from historical geographers that has led to the separation of the urban periphery from its perceived core.⁵ Monocentric models have highlighted the outward nature of urban-growth of eighteenth and nineteenth-century cities. For example, the work of Martyn Bowden that developed a triangular pattern of land use for application in early modern American port towns, including Charleston.⁶ The concentric ring approach (central-place theory) has produced land-use assumptions and valuations based on distance to the core, the economic

⁵ Timothy J. Bailey, 'Modelling the Residential Sub-market: Breaking the Monocentric Mould', *Urban Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 7 (1999), p. 1119.

⁶ Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier*, pp. 185-186.

reach of a given product, and principles of retailer competition.⁷ Yet Newcastle and Charleston contradict such assumptions. Both cities demonstrated large levels of mixed spatial use within new and existing shopping cores.⁸ Clustering was not limited to complimentary trade only.⁹ These observations are important for two reasons. Firstly, they demonstrate that the inhabitants of Newcastle and Charleston did not inherently favour/plan zoned areas of spatial use, nor was space significantly divided by class between 1740 and 1840. Secondly, they prove that the emergence of polycentric cities – more typically identified with the development of late-twentieth and twenty-first-century cities – occurred much earlier.¹⁰

In polycentric cities there are several cores, creating greater diversification in terms of mixed land-use in cities. In Newcastle and Charleston three phases of commercial growth are evident. Prior to the 1790s both cities retained a commercial focus on the waterfront, but new hubs emerged by the late eighteenth century. The area around St. Nicholas Cathedral in Newcastle, and along King Street in Charleston, would eventually become the dominant shopping cores by the early to mid-nineteenth century. There was, however, a third hub of commercial space that emerged during the early nineteenth century. The inclusion of a broader range of shopping services than have been ordinarily considered within studies of the consumer revolution reveal fracturing of food and other necessary goods into smaller localised areas that were separate from the larger shopping hubs of the previous century. These shopping hubs specifically targeted the broader range of society that was engaging in consumption in places other than the market. Importantly, previous shopping areas were not abandoned with each subsequent phase, which created a polycentric pattern of commercial

⁷ Gergely Baics, *Feeding Gotham: The Political Economy and Geography of Food in New York, 1790-1860* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), pp. 69-70; Bailey, 'Modelling the Residential Sub-market', pp. 1119-1121.

⁸ Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 17.

⁹ Baics, *Feeding Gotham*, p. 70.

¹⁰ Ibid.

space across both cities. Spatial analysis of multiple trade directories from multiple years was vital in observing this trend, raising questions of who consumers were and how they changed.

The Consumer Revolution

During the eighteenth century a consumer boom took place in English cities that allowed a larger part of the population to participate in luxury consumption than in previous periods.¹¹ Scholarly approaches to the consumer revolution initially drew on analysis of probate records, but such applications have expanded. It is now widely accepted that a consumer revolution took place beyond the initial hypothesis for England and included cities across the British Atlantic world.¹² Engagement with consumption drew on the same Enlightenment principles, polite culture, and display that were evidenced in the engagement with places of recreation discussed in the last chapter. The procurement of consumer goods was actively encouraged by figures like David Hume, who promoted luxury because it assisted the state as well as the individual.¹³ In response to the drive for consumption, production then increased, and the number of permanent shops grew. Shopping became a polite pastime, for men and women, in the same way as attending the theatre or assembly did, and with increased trade, shop owners had to compete through advertising.¹⁴ A host of literary and topographical outputs accompanied the trend, including guidebooks, topographical writing and local histories.¹⁵ In addition, topographical surveys and trade directories became

¹¹ Neil McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982), p. 9.

¹² Catherine Armstrong and Laura M. Chmielewski, *The Atlantic Experience: Peoples, Places, Ideas* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 100-101; and Smart Martin, ‘Commercial Space as Consumption Arena’, pp. 201-203.

¹³ Kathryn Sutherland, ‘The New Economics of the Enlightenment’, in Martin Fitzpatrick et al. (eds.), *The Enlightenment World* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 478-79.

¹⁴ Berry, ‘Polite consumption’, p. 377, and 381; McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, p. 11; Smart Martin, ‘Commercial Space as Consumption Arena’, p. 215; and Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 17 and 27.

¹⁵ R. H. Sweet, ‘Topographies of Politeness’, *Transactions of the RHS*, Vol. 12, (2002), pp. 358 and 367.

an important way of traversing these new landscapes, and cities took pride in the creation of spatial knowledge that marked distinctions with less polite, earlier periods.

Studies of the consumer revolution have moved on from earlier focuses on probate records and material possessions to understanding the role of the shop within city life. Shops could be places of public debate and action, as much as they were for the consumption of goods.¹⁶ For example, Eliza Yonge Wilkinson, writing to a friend during the British occupation of Charleston, recounted open defiance towards British officers when discussing the war in a merchant shop on Broad Street.¹⁷ In this instance, Wilkinson was engaging in similar social practices to those found within coffee houses, the theatre, and the assembly rooms. The merchant's shop provided the location for active participation in a shared alliance with the native merchant regarding the American cause, rather than a passive backdrop for the purchase of goods alone. Shopping streets also provided space to be seen and observe others.¹⁸ Wilkinson did not recount making purchases during her trip: her purpose was 'to take a little walk', and Broad Street offered the opportunity for collective elite display.¹⁹

Newcastle and Charleston were well placed to engage in the consumer revolution because of elite presence and expanding middle class populations. Counter to historic assumptions regarding the relationship between proximity to London and levels of politeness, Newcastle and Charleston benefitted from good communications with London and high volumes of traffic that produced similar results to actual proximity.²⁰ In addition, Charleston and Newcastle had strong relationships with the planter and nobility classes in their surrounding hinterlands, respectively, which enhanced their polite status because patronage

¹⁶ A. K. Sandoval-Strausz, 'Spaces of Commerce: A Historiographic Introduction to Certain Architectures of Capitalism', *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 4, No. 2/3, (Summer/Autumn 2010), p. 153; and Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 12.

¹⁷ Eliza Yonge Wilkinson, *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson, during the invasion and possession of Charleston, S. C., by the British in the Revolutionary War. Arranged from the original manuscripts, by Caroline Gilman: Letter XI* (New York: S. Colman, 1839), pp. 95-100.

¹⁸ Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 87 and 105.

¹⁹ Wilkinson, *Letters of Eliza Wilkinson*, p. 98.

²⁰ Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', p. 359.

and subscription of polite infrastructure was more likely.²¹ By the 1790s both cities were actively engaged in the expansion of shops in terms of pure numbers, but the shopping boom did not just materialize from nothing. It is important to consider the early modern focus on the waterfront because this helps to explain what new needs consumers had which, in turn, necessitated movement.

Consumer ports in Newcastle and Charleston, before 1790

The historical geography of early modern Charleston and Newcastle was undeniably focused on the port as an area of commercial space. Yet when the micro-scale of urban planning was considered it demonstrated that the waterfront as a monocentric core was already partially fractured from at least the mid-eighteenth century in both cities. Economic historians have cautioned that privileging the geographic area of the port also privileges the supply of goods through the mercantile structure.²² Other commercial services that contributed to the economic success of cities are often neglected because they are located outside this area of analysis, and yet these commercial services were important because they included a broad range of shops supplying luxury goods, necessary goods and foodstuffs. Examination of the first published trade directories of Newcastle and Charleston (1778 and 1782 respectively) revealed that the commercial shopping space of both cities was not confined to the waterfront zone.²³ Instead, the market streets in Newcastle, and King Street in

²¹ Ibid, pp. 360-361.

²² Berry, ‘Polite consumption’, p. 376; and Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind, ‘Introduction’, in Philip J. Stern and Carl Wennerlind (eds.), *Mercantilism Reimagined: Political Economy in Early Modern Britain and Its Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 18.

²³ William Whitehead, *The First Newcastle Directory* (Newcastle upon Tyne: W. Whitehead, 1778); and John Tobler, *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord 1782, Being second after Leap-Year* (Charlestown: R. Wells and Son, 1782). An earlier town register of Charleston was compiled by Robert Croom Aldredge for 1735, but this directory provides very little spatial or occupation information. Robert Croom Aldredge, *A list of persons known to have been living in or near Charles town in the year 1735* (Charleston: Charleston County Public Library, 2005).

Charleston, provided additional focus points away from the waterfront.²⁴ There were, however, distinct differences in the number of these services within both cities.

In 1782 Charleston had significantly fewer shops than English cities of similar reputation and status. The historical reasons for these lower figures are varied, and include Charleston's smaller population size, which was ten thousand in 1780.²⁵ Of greater significance was the difficulties caused by the Revolutionary War. The merchant Daniel Stevens recalled the suspension of private business by every class in Charleston in the wake of combat in 1776.²⁶ Trade was ongoing, but many men became citizen soldiers, and part of the defence of Charleston included the destruction of stores on the wharves, which diminished opportunities for trade.²⁷ Furthermore, Charleston's surrender to the British in May 1780 resulted in a two-year period of British occupation that included cessation of many purchases to anyone other than the British because of lack of money.²⁸ Given that the British did not leave Charleston until the 14th December 1782, the trade directory provides a snap-shot of city commerce during occupation, but it is limited in the number of records it contains.²⁹ Despite these limitations, Charleston's data shared similarities with Newcastle because of movement of these services away from the waterfront. Places of luxury consumption such as goldsmiths and watchmakers (Jewellers), booksellers (Furnishings), necessary goods including clothing,

²⁴ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1778*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, November 12, 2015; and Sarah Collins, *1782_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 27, 2017.

²⁵ "Population in the Colonial and Continental Periods", accessed 16 March 2018, <https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/00165897ch01.pdf>, p. 11.

²⁶ Daniel Stevens Memoirs, 1833, Stevens, Daniel, 1746-1835 (43/71), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC, p. 5.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ David Ramsay, M. D., *The History of South-Carolina, From Its First Settlement in 1670, to the Year 1808. Volume II* (Charleston: David Longworth, 1809), pp. 182-183.

²⁹ The 1782 directory contained only 261 entries in comparison to the 1790 directory that contained 1,620. As inclusion in the trade directory included a fee we can surmise that some traders would have been unable to afford inclusion during a time of occupation so the real figures of trade in 1782 may have been more. For comparison view, Tobler, *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanack, For the Year of Our Lord 1782*; and Jacob Milligan, *The Charleston Directory and Revenue System* (Charleston: T. B. Owen, 1790).

dry goods, and foodstuffs were beginning to shift west and could be found close to King Street at the intersections with Broad and Tradd Streets (Figure 5.1).³⁰

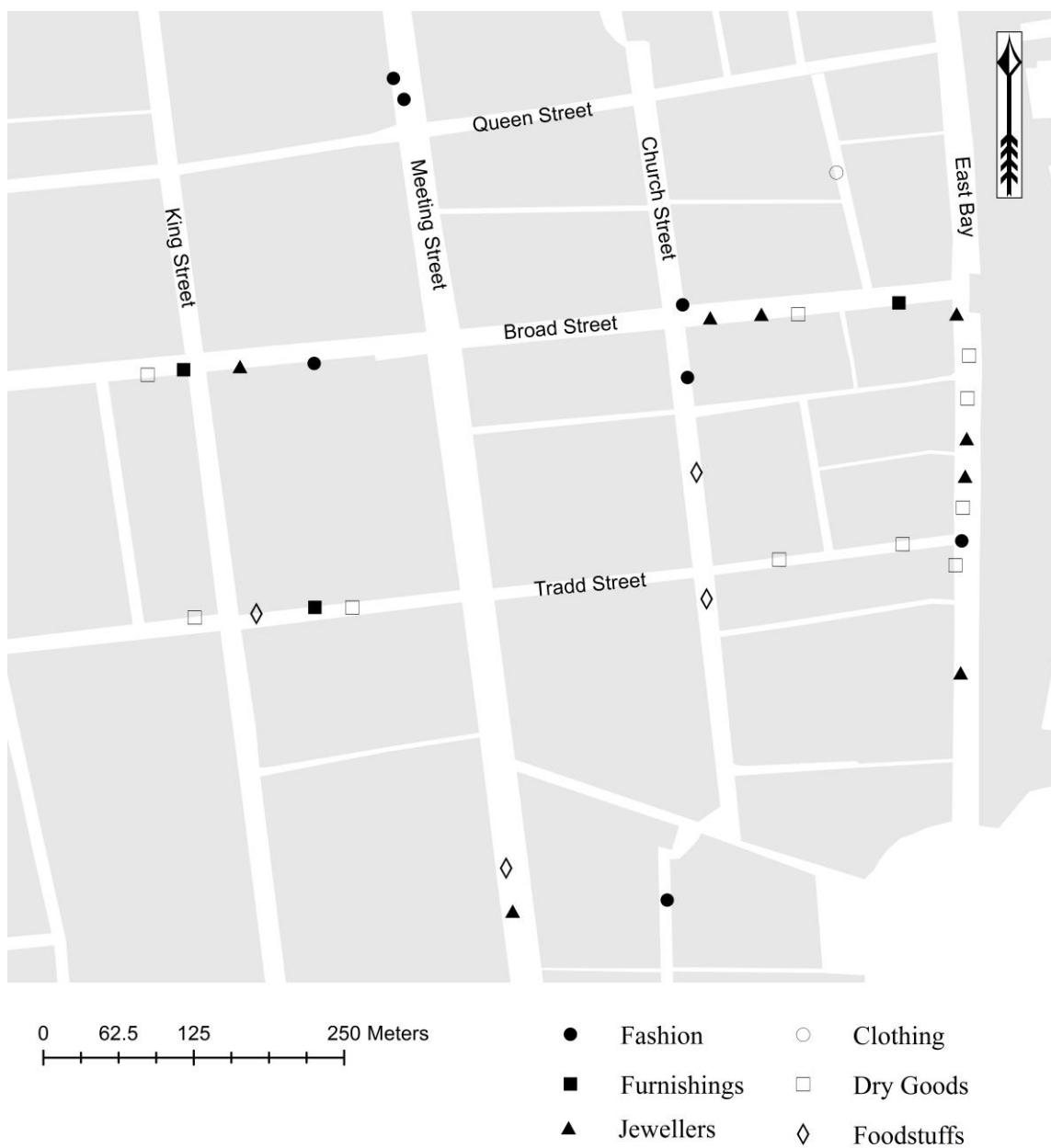


Figure 5.1: Shop locations in Charleston, 1782

Charleston's shopping services dominated the city's major streets including East Bay, Church Street, Broad Street and Tradd Street. Most of the shops were still focused within the original walled city amongst the mixed residential space outlined in Chapter Three, but there was an emphasis on food provision or practical necessities within this space. Luxury

³⁰ Sarah Collins, *1782_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 27, 2017.

consumption (Fashion, Furnishings, and Jewellers) was confined to East Bay and was already showing signs of greater activity along the length of Broad Street, which ran perpendicular to the waterfront. Broad Street contained the only two watchmakers in the city as well as jewellers and silversmiths. Additionally, it had two (out of three) of the city's booksellers and offered printing and stationary services. The provision of shops along this stretch accommodated the residents of the larger Georgian houses that remained on Church Street whilst capitalising on increased traffic between the Exchange Building on East Bay and the intersection of King and Broad Streets, to the west, where planters and wealthy merchants had built single-family residences. Importantly, these distributions were consistent with the same service distributions found on Newcastle's quayside and the Side that also ran perpendicular from the waterfront (Figure 5.2).³¹

³¹ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1778*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, November 12, 2015.

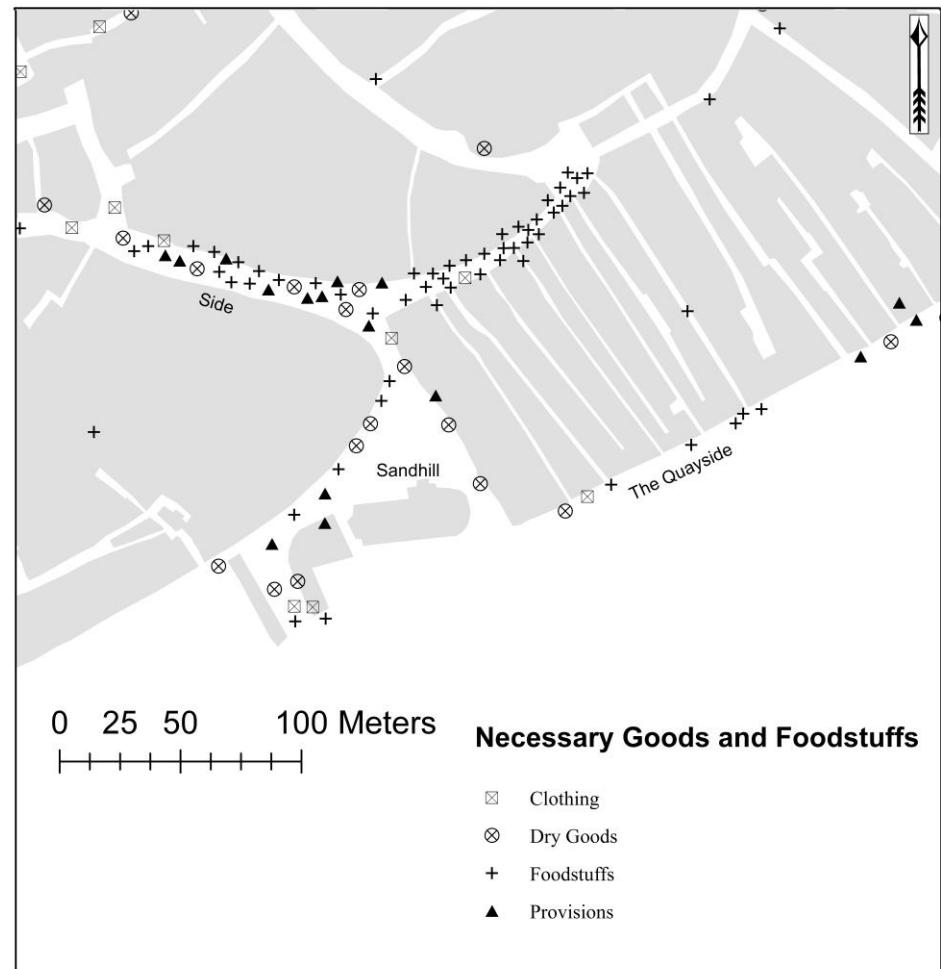
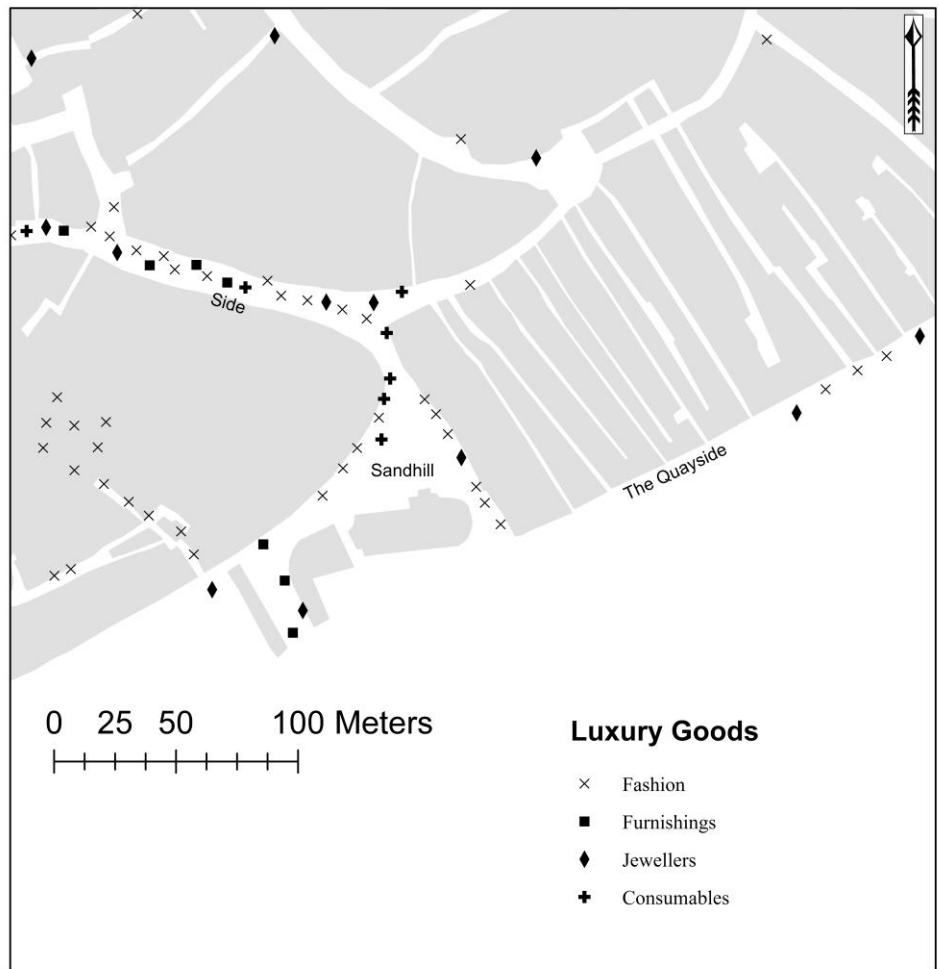


Figure 5.2: Newcastle's luxury goods, necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1778

Figure 5.2 showed the much larger dataset for Newcastle split between luxury goods, and suppliers of necessary goods and foodstuffs. Newcastle's Quayside, the Sandhill, and the Side had a much larger collection of mixed use shopping. To the left in Figure 5.2, Newcastle's luxury consumption consisted of fashion suppliers (linen and woollen drapers) that were clustered on the north and east side of the Sandhill where they capitalised on human traffic circulating around the Exchange, and proximity to merchant housing that could still be found on the Close. Like Charleston, the waterfront was a dynamic area of mixed-use space. City residents and visitors were attracted to the range of services provided close to the waterfront, which included auctions, offices, financial services, storage, coffee houses and taverns.³²

Also similar to Charleston was the increased distribution of luxury services behind the waterfront (along the Side) that indicated movement away from the Quayside. The Side contained a much larger proportion of the city's fashion suppliers, luxury consumables such as tobacco, and jewellers. In addition, it provided furnishings, such as china shops, music and book dealers that were not found closer to the waterfront. But the Side, and nearby Butcher Bank, were also populated with traders of necessary goods and foodstuffs, as highlighted in Figure 5.2. Unlike Charleston these were not clustered within an area of mixed residential housing, although there undoubtedly was residential space on the Side. Instead it was clustered together to form Newcastle's first major shopping street, a space that provided goods outside of the more temporary space of the market.

Identification, in both cities, of the movement of shopping into the streets behind the waterfront is important because recent studies of 1760s Liverpool showed similar findings, albeit from within a more specific remit that focused on luxury consumption.³³ Jon Stobart et

³² Evidenced using Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1778*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, November 12, 2015.

³³ Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 80.

al. identified the placement of distinct luxury shopping space between important institutions, attributing this to the movement of merchants between the docks and buildings such as the exchange.³⁴ Over a period of time these streets generated high levels of traffic that provided suitable locations for private business owners to invest in permanent places of consumption, rather than trade through the temporary provision of market space. In Charleston, luxury goods shops on Broad Street lay between the Exchange on the Bay and the intersection with Meeting Street that was home to important institutions such as St. Michael's Church. King Street lay just beyond and was a further draw. In Newcastle, the Side had the largest number of shops in the city. The street formed the most direct route between the Exchange on the Sandhill and St. Nicholas Cathedral, as well as Groat Market, Flesh Market and the Bigg Market just beyond. For Newcastle and Liverpool this process took place over centuries: given the morphological chronology, it would have developed within less than fifty years in Charleston. It is significant that the same processes were repeated in the New World despite the greater flexibility of undeveloped land, because it suggests a common trend in the movement to inland consumption that was made possible from a broader consumer base that were not focused on the port. That these processes occurred much quicker in Charleston is indicative of similar developments within port cities where new revenue streams were being developed instead of economies based solely on a mercantile system.

Distinct from observations regarding Liverpool's spatial findings are the long-term ramifications of the development of perpendicular streets as shopping space. In Newcastle and Charleston, the destination just beyond these spatially-constant institutions became the foci for the development of new shopping space during the late eighteenth century. The Side and Broad Street acted as routeways for new distinct shopping developments to occur within the

³⁴ Ibid. More than half of Liverpool's high-status shops were found in the streets that ran perpendicular to the Old Dock. These findings have been attributed to the spatial constancy of St. George's Church and the Exchange.

internal city, developments different from previous developments on or near the port. Yet it was not the routeways themselves that became the foci: they provided the means through which the development process could take place elsewhere. Multi-locational shopping space was already long-established in Newcastle with a secondary shopping area found within the market streets north of St. Nicholas Cathedral. Developments during the 1780s and 1790s would secure this area as the dominant shopping space for the next fifty years. By the 1780s Charleston was also displaying signs of a similar fracturing of commercial activity, with a new focal point close to King Street.³⁵ This trend would continue in Charleston with the rapid development of King Street as the dominant shopping area from the 1790s onwards.

Inland shopping hubs in Newcastle and Charleston, 1790

Newcastle and Charleston strengthened their commercial offerings in similar ways during the late eighteenth century. Consumer revolution studies have suggested that, during the eighteenth century, the market was increasingly marginalised, sometimes through physical removal. Permanent shops became preferential and a clustering of high-status permanent shops into distinct shopping landscapes increased throughout the century.³⁶ By the 1790s Newcastle and Charleston showed some consistency with this model, but detailed GIS analysis presents a more complicated history of the inclusion of traders of necessary goods and foodstuffs within the same space as polite consumption. Such observations are important because they differ from existing scholarship of the consumer revolution that uses probate-records to consider the products, and consumers, of the ‘revolution’ and not where it was taking place, other than within cities. Furthermore, those studies that have precluded the greater context that is provided by trade directories within GIS, have failed to understand the

³⁵ This process can be observed in its early phases in Figure 5.1 through the concentration of shops close to the King Street intersection with Broad and Tradd Streets.

³⁶ Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, pp. 78-79.

diversity of products, available within these shopping hubs, that were appealing to a broader consumer base than just elites.

Defining the relative hierarchies of shops within cities remains challenging because of the subtle differences between occupations. Rosemary Sweet has noted that the incomes of English shopkeepers varied considerably during the eighteenth century, making social mobility extremely fluid and social status difficult to determine.³⁷ What linked shopkeepers was their distinct function as sellers of a service that included physical goods, and Sweet has provided some general distinctions of hierarchy.³⁸ For example, wholesale services, such as mercers, drapers, and hosiers, were of higher status than suppliers of luxury goods, such as china or silverware. In turn, these were higher status than foodstuffs and basic goods.³⁹ Within one specialised trade, however, the status might vary considerably depending on location within the city, the social class of customers, and context in terms of other groups of shops. Identification of locations within GIS provides some indication of the type of customers trading within similar establishments, but in different locations. For example, one might anticipate that Charleston's grocers trading from west Broad Street were attracting a different clientele than those trading from East Bay in 1790.

The range of commercial offerings in Newcastle and Charleston had significantly expanded by the time trade directories were published in 1790.⁴⁰ Charleston especially had a greater number of luxury goods that included jewellers, china shops, confectioners, and bespoke fashion services, although such services were still significantly less than Newcastle's. Newcastle had over double the amount of luxury shops in comparison to Charleston, although with a population of only 8,700 free residents, the establishment of almost one hundred luxury

³⁷ Rosemary Sweet, *The English Town 1680-1840: Government, Society and Culture* (Edinburgh: Longman, 1999), p. 180.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Milligan, *The Charleston Directory*; and William Whitehead, *Whitehead's Newcastle and Gateshead Directory, For 1790* (Newcastle upon Tyne: D. Akenhead, 1790).

shopping venues so soon after the Revolutionary War meant that Charleston was punching well above its weight.⁴¹ Furthermore, elites in Charleston had retained some of the commercial practices of the past, such as purchasing books from London, because the cost of importation became part of elite practices that displayed wealth.⁴² Such practices were especially important given the emphasis on displayed wealth in the home that was exhibited at private dinner parties. In a similar way to pre-1790 shopping practices, the relative ratios of the numbers of shops provided within each city was unimportant in comparison to their locations. Both cities could demonstrate an increased engagement with luxury consumption by 1790, which saw services relocate to new commercial hubs, rather than mere outward expansion from the waterfront. Two distinct zones emerged in Newcastle and Charleston that saw luxury consumption clustered on major routeways in inland locations (Figures 5.3 and 5.4).⁴³

⁴¹ The Boston trade directory from 1789 provides some comparison. Word frequency analysis was used to determine the occurrence of goldsmith, watchmaker, and shopkeeper within the trade directory. Bearing in mind that Boston had a free white population of almost double Charleston's in 1790 (17,277), Charleston was not significantly lagging. Boston had ten goldsmiths to Charleston's two, twelve watchmakers to Charleston's eleven, and seventy-four shopkeepers to Charleston's two hundred and thirty-six. See *The Boston Directory, being a facsimile reprint of the First Edition, printed in 1789* (Boston: Sampson & Murdock Co., 1904).

⁴² James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), p. 23.

⁴³ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.



Figure 5.3: Distribution of luxury goods, 1790



Figure 5.4: Distribution of luxury goods, 1790

Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show the clustering of shops in 1790 as a heat-map in Charleston and Newcastle respectively. Luxury goods (dark red on Figure 5.3 and 5.4) were found within

areas already dominated by other goods (light red), and additionally along major routeways.⁴⁴

Both cities demonstrated a direct correlation between the location of high-status shops and major roads in 1790. In Charleston, luxury shops were found in larger numbers at the intersection of Broad and King Streets, as well as upper King Street. In Newcastle, luxury shops were also found on, or proximal, to major roads such as the Market Streets (North West of St. Nicholas' Cathedral), Pilgrim Street, and the Side. Major roads acted similarly to buildings of spatial constancy because they were older and subject to less change, so development of commercial space here had potential for longevity. A further advantage was that traffic was denser on these streets because they often linked cities to their hinterlands, which meant that traders could capitalize on passing custom.

While the heat-maps indicate continued presence of luxury services along Newcastle and Charleston's waterfronts, these services had reduced in number over the course of the 1780s. This refocus served to strengthen new shopping hubs in other commercially-active parts of the city. The late-eighteenth century was a transitional period in the history of each city's shopping space. The waterfront continued to provide important commercial space, but these were now secondary hubs that saw growth in the supply of necessary goods and foodstuffs, rather than luxury consumption that was increasingly developing inland. The findings were important because the reduction of luxury services on the waterfront did not prove detrimental to economic growth. Instead the ability of these cities to support more than one commercial centre demonstrated the adaptability of these merchant cities in moving into new financial growth opportunities. Nevertheless, the movement of luxury consumption away from the waterfront was likely to have been consumer driven. The production of shopping as a polite pastime included the provision of the right sort of space. Sweet has suggested that cities dependent on revenue from trade, such as Newcastle, could present an unattractive

⁴⁴ Major is defined as traffic streets that connected restricted points of access, such as city gates. They were typically the widest and oldest.

prospect for those not accustomed to living in such activity.⁴⁵ Simply put, it might be that, by the late eighteenth century, polite consumers were no longer attracted to the waterfront. Consumers expected something more and so, in conjunction with traders, internal parts of the city that were more commodious for commercial growth developed instead. In Newcastle, this process was assisted by the Corporation that produced new consumption space close to St. Nicholas Cathedral (Figure 5.5).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Sweet, 'Topographies of Politeness', p. 361.

⁴⁶ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017.

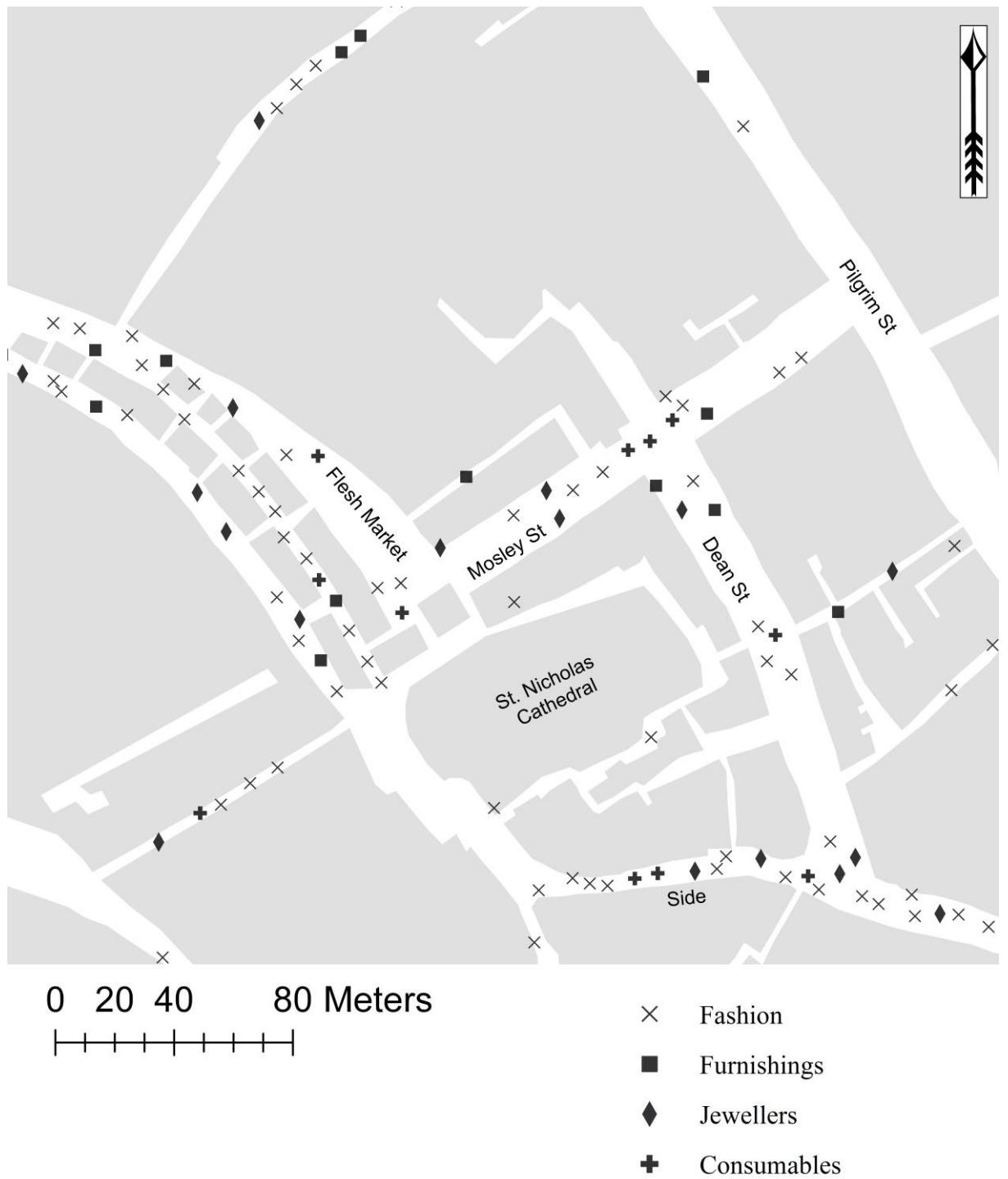


Figure 5.5: Distribution of luxury goods surrounding St. Nicholas Cathedral, Newcastle, 1790

In the 1790s in Newcastle, the largest concentration of shops connected with luxury consumption were found just north of, and surrounding, St. Nicholas Cathedral. The spatial constancy of the cathedral acted as a keystone within the internal space of the city for the development of commercial space. Importantly, this area was additional space, rather than a

replacement, that dominated the commercial services of Newcastle, and would continue to do so. The creation of Mosley and Dean Streets by the Corporation represented significant investment in commercial infrastructure.⁴⁷ Newcastle had not always enjoyed a reputation of polite consumption so the Corporation being credited with ‘the most valuable improvement executed in Newcastle in modern times’ was a significant compliment.⁴⁸ The effect produced Newcastle’s first ‘fashionable’ streets for participation in polite shopping. Two-thirds of the city’s goldsmiths, jewellers, and clock/watch makers were found within this new commercial hub of approximately ten hectares. In addition, the area boasted one-third of the city’s booksellers, two of the four china dealers, half of the cities drapers, and six of the seven confectioners. With such large proportions of the city’s luxury shops in one area there can be little doubt that this presented an attractive location for high-status shopping by polite society.

In reality, Newcastle Corporation’s desire to increase private property resulted in small building footprints on Mosley and Dean Streets. These units had been built for the single purpose of trading, which meant that traders sometimes had to be flexible in their approach to commercial uses. As a result, it was not unusual for Newcastle’s traders to offer a range of similar services out of one establishment, such as Greenwell and Brown at the west end of Mosley Street whose advertised services included a hardware store, ironmongers and saddlers.⁴⁹ The potential gains of a shop location along a street where costumers actively engaged in polite consumption outweighed inconveniences of smaller buildings. Over the following decade the popularity of a Mosley or Dean Street address would see the relocation of traders from the Side, particularly those offering luxury goods. For example, Christopher

⁴⁷ A. W. Purdue, ‘Newcastle in the Long Eighteenth Century’, *Northern History*, L: 2 (2013), p. 281.

⁴⁸ Sweet, ‘Topographies of Politeness’, p. 361. Rosemary Sweet cites an American visitor, Jabez Maude Fisher, travelling between 1775 and 1779, and an English traveller visiting the city in 1772. See also, Eneas Mackenzie, ‘The present state of Newcastle: Improvements projected or effected’, in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 197-203. *British History Online*, accessed July 27, 2017, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp197-203>.

⁴⁹ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017.

Robson (linen trader), Miss Chambers (milliner), and Thomas Mather (grocer and tea dealer) all relocated to Dean Street.⁵⁰ Relocation was significant because it demonstrated desire by traders to engage within this now-dominant shopping area. Furthermore, these traders were motivated by the opportunity to purchase freehold property that did not occur often within the city's older streets.⁵¹ Mather, for instance, was able to relocate to a freehold house and shop on Dean Street having previously rented from George Brown on the Side.⁵²

The consumer revolution created aspiration amongst traders, who wished to do better.⁵³ The increase in commercial space in late eighteenth-century Newcastle created opportunities for upward mobility for some traders, providing they could take advantage. There were others, however, for whom relocation was unnecessary because they could take advantage of their proximity to polite shopping streets. John Marley provides a case in point. Marley changed the address of his linen shop from the Side, in the 1790 trade directory, to Dean Street, in the 1801 trade directory. Marley, however, had not relocated. The proximity of his premises to the foot of Dean Street provided the opportunity for a false address to be created in the 1801 trade directory that did not match any of the other city records (Figure 5.6).⁵⁴ There was little advantage to Marley relocating when he already held larger freehold property than was available in the new streets. Yet while he was not far from Dean Street, his property represented the northern limit of the older shopping area that had been focused on the waterfront. The change of advertisement from the Side to Dean Street was significant

⁵⁰ Ibid; and Sarah Collins, *Trade Book_Ncl_1801*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, September 22, 2016.

⁵¹ Properties in streets like the Side were often passed down through generations, which can be observed through examination of the city's rate books. In some instances, it is possible to trace property ownership by the same family from the earliest rate books to Thomas Oliver's survey of Newcastle in 1830.

⁵² Evidence for the relocation of Thomas Mather can be traced using the 1790 and 1801 rate books. The Mather family retained the property, which was recorded at 95 Dean Street on Thomas Oliver's 1830 plan. See *St. Nicholas' Poor Rate Assessment Book, 1790* (183/1/448), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne; *St. Nicholas' Poor Rate Assessment Book, 1800-1801* (183/1/464), Tyne and Wear Archives, Newcastle upon Tyne; and Thomas Oliver, *Reference to a plan of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne, and the Borough of Gateshead, with their respective suburbs; shewing every public building and private property contained therein* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Thomas Oliver, 1831).

⁵³ McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society*, p. 25.

⁵⁴ Sarah Collins, *Characterlyr_Ncl_130116*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, July 28, 2016.

because it demonstrated knowledge by traders of the advantage that could be gained from street addresses where consumers were active in polite consumption.

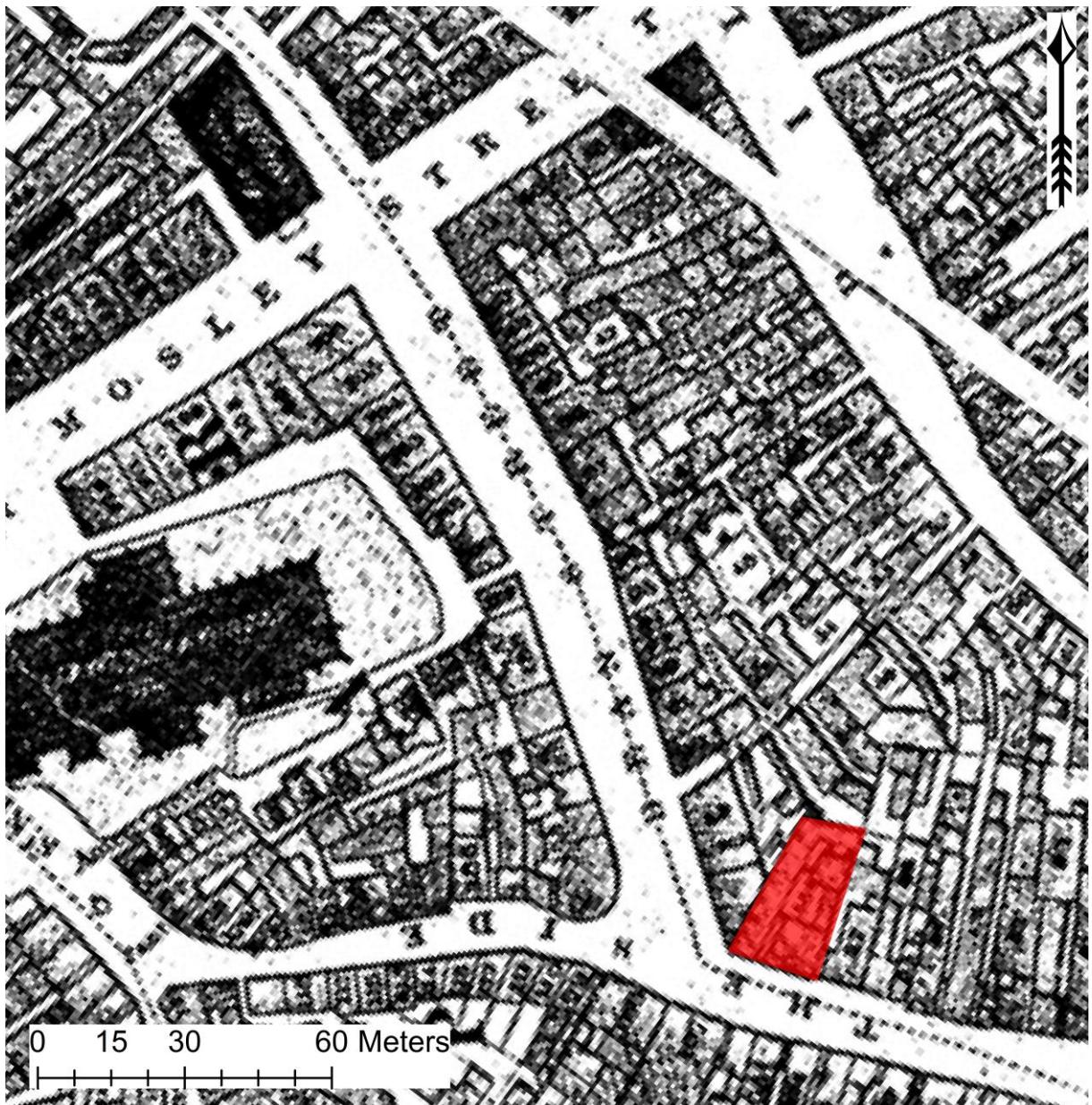


Figure 5.6: Thomas Marley's linen shop on the Side

Luxury consumption appears less clustered in Charleston because of the city's greater geographic scale relative to Newcastle. In reality, the clustering of luxury consumption was just as distinct as that found around St Nicholas cathedral. Luxury consumption was largely contained within a section of street between the King/Broad Street intersection and the Broad/Meeting Street intersection, which was approximately the same length as Newcastle's

Mosley Street.⁵⁵ The dominance of the waterfront as an area of luxury consumption had largely passed, and, instead, King Street became the preferred area of commercial activity after the Revolutionary War. In 1790 King Street offered a less densely populated space than Charleston's historic streets, but areas such as Church, Queen and Tradd Streets did not encounter the same level of migration experienced within older properties on Newcastle's Side. For some suppliers, such as fashion services, there was still an advantage to locations within heavily populated residential space that had proximity to the port. Figure 5.7 highlights the clustering of fashion providers, relative to jewellers or suppliers of furnishings, that had developed between East Bay and Meeting Street, and between Queen Street and Water Street.⁵⁶ These services were mostly located on residential and occupational streets (such as Church Street) that provided subsidiary access or cut-throughs between residential blocks. The location of so many of the city's fashion services along these smaller residential streets is significant because it demonstrated shared residential and commercial enterprise as a cost-saving measure. This interrelationship of residential and commercial space further underscores the significance of spatial analysis that is not readily apparent through studies that separate social and economic history.

⁵⁵ Images of these relative scales is reproduced in Figure A3.1.

⁵⁶ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

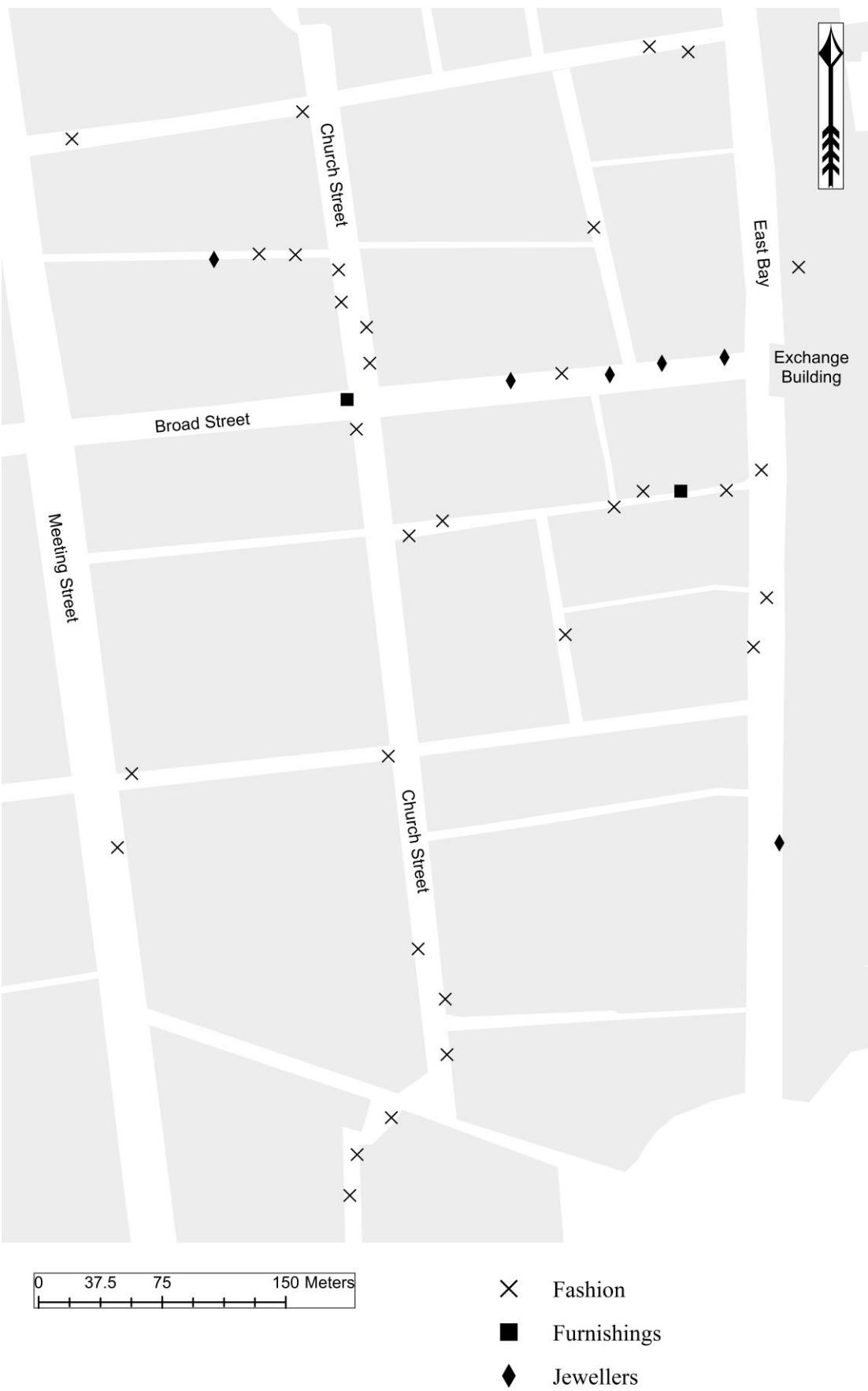


Figure 5.7: Distribution of fashion services within Charleston, 1790

Over half of the city's tailors, milliners, dress makers, and hatters were found within the twenty-hectare area visualised in Figure 5.7. Charlestonians' participation in consumption relating to appearance was well-known. Johann David Schoepf, visiting Charleston in 1784, commented on the advancement of luxury in Charleston: 'milliners and hair-dressers do well here and grow rich'.⁵⁷ Some traders were able to capitalise on this popularity by operating from ground-floor shops along major routeways, such as the hatter Archibald McNeal, who operated from premises at 36 Broad Street alongside several other ground-floor shops. A ground-floor shop between the Exchange on East Bay and St. Michael's Church at the intersection with Meeting Street was ideally placed to take advantage of traffic. Yet the profits observed by Schoepf were not experienced by all, and a range of shared residential and commercial arrangements benefited these fashion traders. The bespoke nature of services such as dress makers or tailors meant that traders could operate from upper-floors because their services did not rely on display of a finished product until after purchase. In addition, property owners could capitalise on this combined residential and commercial space within an area of the city with a large populace of working class residents. Mr. Thomas Brodie, who owned 105 Church Street in 1790, was one who sought such opportunity by providing rooms for, amongst others, Ann Morrison (milliner), Miss William (tailor), and Wilson and McKennean (tailors).⁵⁸

The growth of traders in luxury goods along Charleston's King Street by 1790 was similar to the clustering that occurred near to St. Nicholas Cathedral, although the development of King Street was not a corporate exercise in commercial growth. Charleston's luxury shops demonstrated the ability of private traders to cluster together within areas that appealed to elite customers and from which they could trade competitively. Of course,

⁵⁷ Johann David Schoepf, 'After the Revolution, 1784', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 43.

⁵⁸ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

Newcastle Corporation had no control over which traders would take up occupation within Mosley and Dean Streets, but the creation of purpose built, glass-fronted shops on a fashionable street was likely to attract those traders whose products would make sufficient returns to afford freeholds/leaseholds. In addition, Charleston's King Street traders were drawn to what had become one of the busiest traffic routes in and out of the city. It was no coincidence that traders located themselves close to the intersection with Broad Street where they could exploit movement down the peninsula from the hinterland, and then east to the port. Figure 5.8 shows two clusters of luxury shops that occurred on, or were proximal to, King Street in 1790.⁵⁹ The first made use of King Streets busy intersection with Broad Street, but a second formed slightly further north along upper-King Street.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

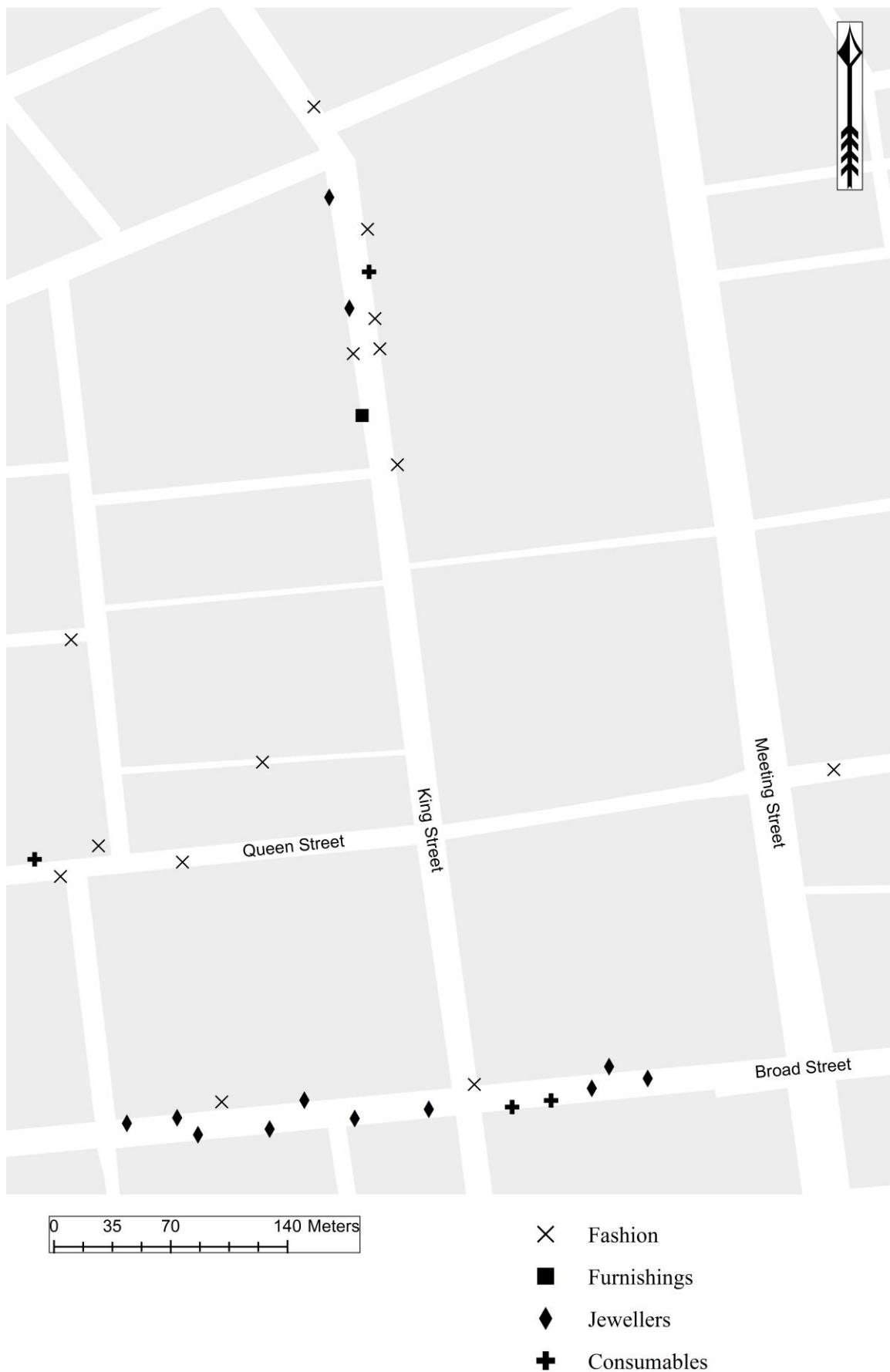


Figure 5.8: Distribution of luxury consumption on and near to King street, 1790

There was a six-fold increase in the amount of luxury goods shops advertising on or close to King Street in 1790 than there had been during the previous decade.⁶⁰ The intersection of Broad and King Streets contained jewellers (four silversmiths and over half of the city's watchmakers), and luxury consumables (two apothecaries) within a two-block walk that was approximately three times the length of Mosley Street. Slightly further north along King Street, this commercial area boasted several fashion suppliers, further jewellers (a watchmaker and two silversmiths), and luxury furnishings provided by a bookbinder. The distribution of services within these new commercial hubs was significant because, like Newcastle, it demonstrated the ability of Charleston's population, along with visitors, to support multiple shopping hubs. Furthermore, when contextualised within the broader British Atlantic, Charleston demonstrated consistent patterns of commercial planning with emerging English cities.

There were multiple factors at play in the creation of this additional shopping area in Charleston. For those traders operating on Broad Street, near to the intersection with King, there was a likely draw from human traffic created by nearby institutions, such as St. Michael's Church and the court house. In a similar way to St. Nicholas Cathedral in Newcastle, these buildings created traffic hubs from which consumers could participate in active consumption, or passive display. Yet, movement through the city was also an important factor. King Street offered a unique location from which to capitalise on increased traffic because it connected Charleston, through the Neck, to the South Carolina hinterland. As the principal high-way for inland access, King Street generated considerable traffic. Furthermore, the dominance of luxury shops near to King Street, at the intersection with Broad, was a consequence of traffic then being drawn east towards the port.

⁶⁰ The six-fold increase only includes those shops on King Street, or close to it on Broad Street. If additional services to the west of King Street, on and around Queen Street, were considered, then the increase would have been eight-fold.

What is clear from both cities in 1790 is that changes to the location of high-status shopping cannot be explained as an expansion of commercial space from the waterfront. Had this been the case, more luxury shopping would have been retained at the ports, but commercial space did not expand as one large core in response to the growth of either city. Instead, elite residents of Newcastle and Charleston managed to support multiple locations, and, by doing so, had active choice over where they shopped. Yet Charleston's and Newcastle's spatial arrangements were often highly mixed, and commercial space was no exception. As with residential and recreational space, it often reflected social interaction by a broad range of society. In some cities social mixing produced unwelcome encounters between different groups that included shopkeepers, customers, craftsmen, the lower classes, and criminals.⁶¹ Charleston and Newcastle, however, demonstrated a greater acceptance of social mixing within certain types of space because of long-standing and necessary business interactions within these dynamic ports. The greater contextualisation of shopping within Newcastle and Charleston that was facilitated through mapping a broader range of commercial services in GIS demonstrated the enhanced complexity of commercial space that did not exclude traders of necessary goods and foodstuffs from the same space as high-status shops during the 1790s.

The complexity of commercial space in 1790: necessary goods and foodstuffs

Evidence from Newcastle and Charleston points to a considerable mixing of shopping types in 1790. Shopping was not a simple interaction between lower-ranking tradesmen and better-off clients. Even improved streets that had undergone investment, such as Mosley Street, saw considerable evidence of mixed offerings from shopkeepers. The evidence for

⁶¹ Stobart et al. offer the example of Allan Pred's analysis of Stockholm. See Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, pp. 86-87. Helen Berry also cites similar reactions in Stamford, Lincolnshire. See Berry, 'Polite consumption', pp. 392-93.

mixed commercial services suggested a stronger free-market environment in Newcastle and Charleston, which contrasted with cities like New York where the Council had greater say in where commercial services of necessary goods and foodstuffs were located.⁶² The inclusion of shops that sold foodstuffs, or a range of necessary goods such as shoes or tools, also had implications for who was shopping within these streets. They were found in numbers that cannot have been supported by the upper class alone. Ground-floor shops might contain a mix of high-status, necessary goods and foodstuffs, while upper floors or space behind shop frontages contained further traders all of whom were accessible to the consumer.

Studies of polite consumption tend to focus on high-status shops as the most striking example of urban engagement with luxury, but Newcastle and Charleston had larger numbers of shops that demonstrated a broad range of goods that were available to consumers. Furthermore, this broader range of services demonstrated just how significantly Charleston's commercial offerings had grown following the Revolutionary War. Charleston continued to provide a focus for trade, particularly because of its role that placed it at the centre of South Carolina's slave economy. As a consequence, wealth and specialised trades/traders were attracted to Charleston as the commercial-hub within the South Carolina hinterland. By 1790 Charleston's trade directory listed four hundred and twenty-nine shops in comparison to Newcastle's directory that catalogued four hundred and fifty-five.⁶³ Despite the difference in population size to Newcastle, Charleston was able to support similar levels of commercial space because it remained the largest settlement in South Carolina and was still the only settlement with population figures over five thousand. Nevertheless, such a large offering of shops was significant because it suggested that Charleston's commercial activity was

⁶² Baics, *Feeding Gotham*, pp. 70-71.

⁶³ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

dependant on visitors as well as residents so that no other urban settlement in South Carolina could meaningfully compete with it.

Shopkeepers dominated the 1790 Charleston trade directory. Over half of all traders in Charleston defined themselves with this non-specific term. The lack of specified product likely increased profit through the sale of a range of goods in much the same way as grocers, who were the largest single group of traders in Newcastle. It was the high number of shopkeepers that had increased Charleston's commercial traders thirteen-fold between 1782 and 1790. The large increase observable in GIS produces a much more favourable impression of commercial recovery following British withdrawal in 1782. However, the large numbers are also indicative of the element of chance involved in many of Charleston's business opportunities. Purchase on credit caused significant problems for traders on both sides of the Atlantic, although the problem was greater in Charleston because of confusion regarding the value of currency after independence.⁶⁴ These habits would not change until the early to mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁵ The increase in Charleston's shopkeepers can be seen both in terms of willingness by traders to exploit post-independence confusion, as well as the increased failure rate of traders who were exploited by elites seeking credit. Examples of shopkeepers having to chase down debts after retirement were not unheard of in Charleston, and it was rare for shopkeepers to become independently wealthy.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, shopkeepers added to the presence of high levels of commercial activity in Charleston, with traders attempting to make money from Charlestonians' love of shopping.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ramsay, *The History of South-Carolina*, pp. 183-184.

⁶⁵ Berry, 'Polite consumption', pp. 388-93; and Joel Mokyr, *The Enlightened Economy: An Economic History of Britain 1700-1850* (London: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 198-202.

⁶⁶ John Lambert, 'Look to the Right and Dress, 1808', in Jennie Holton Fant (ed.), *The Travelers' Charleston: Accounts of Charleston and Lowcountry, South Carolina, 1666-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2016), p. 108.

⁶⁷ Maurie D. McInnis, *The Politics of Taste in Antebellum Charleston* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), pp. 5-7 and 277-303.

The inclusion of necessary goods and foodstuffs demonstrated how much busier shopping landscapes were in Newcastle and Charleston during the 1790s (Figures 5.9 and 5.10).⁶⁸ Both cities had a much larger shopping distribution than was apparent through an examination of luxury consumption alone. While the addition of these services increased the distribution of shopping-related activity within Newcastle and Charleston, there was a similar pattern that emerged which showed two separate areas of commercial interaction in the cities. Importantly, these divisions were subtler in Newcastle because of the compressed geography. Without comparison to Charleston, where the process was exaggerated because of the larger geographic area, the natural division that occurred in Newcastle's commercial space along the Side might be mistaken for waterfront expansion rather than the deliberate relocation of traders to internal city space. This observation is significant because it suggests that the study of America's early cities provides a good vehicle for the visualisation of processes that can be missed within the compressed environment of English cities during the same period.

⁶⁸ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.



Figure 5.9: Charleston's necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1790

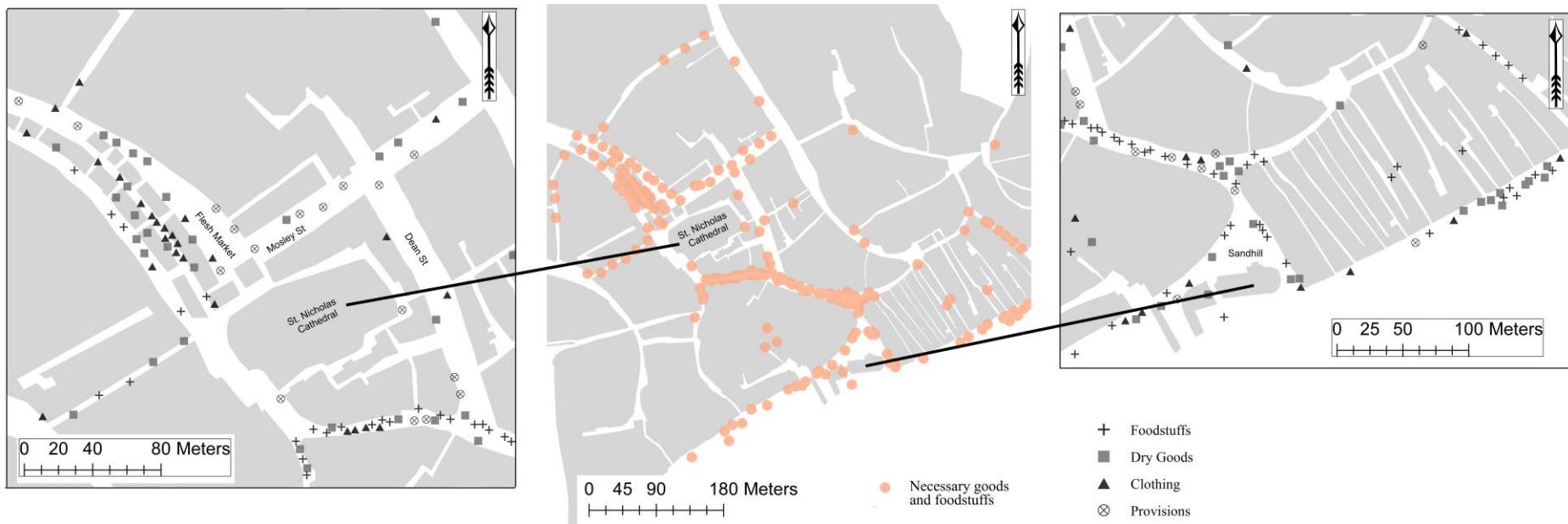


Figure 5.10: Newcastle's necessary goods and foodstuffs, 1790

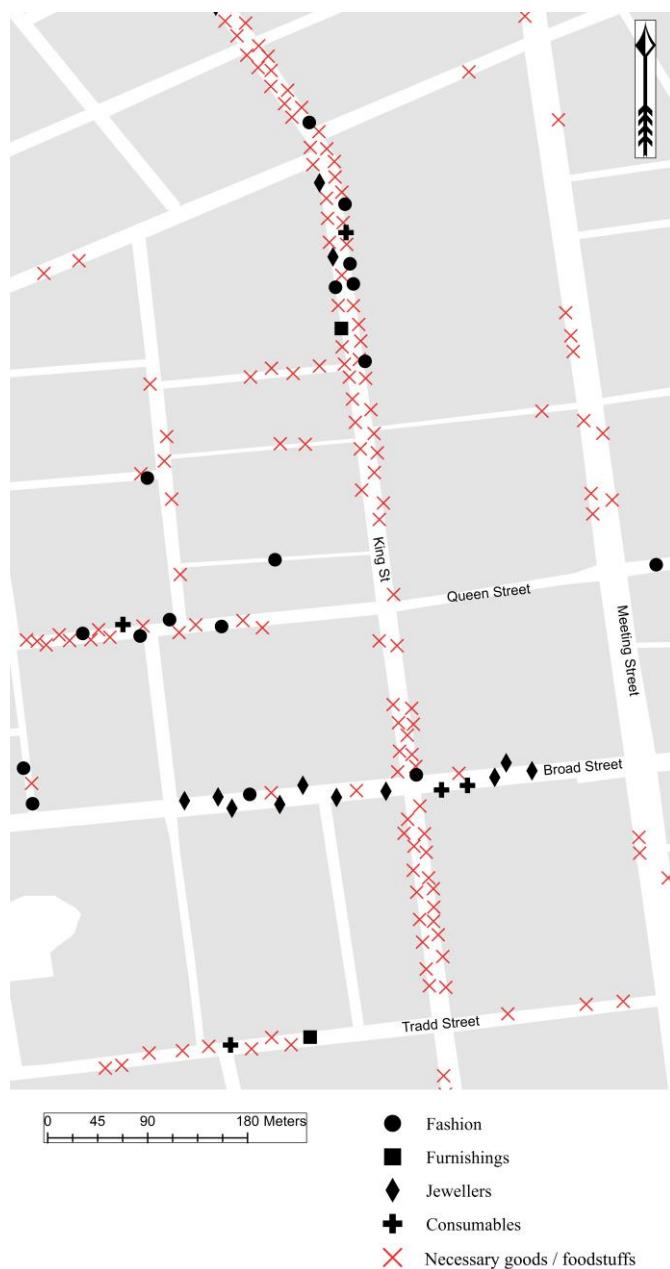
In both Newcastle and Charleston, necessary goods and foodstuffs were more likely to be distributed away from major roads than high-status shops, but these traders still privileged these high-traffic routes. The data indicates that the reduction of luxury services at the waterfront leading up to 1790 had increased opportunities for those trading in necessary goods and foodstuffs, but most of these services were still found within the same areas of luxury consumption that had developed at inland locations. The results were important for two reasons. Firstly, Charleston and Newcastle's commercial mixing suggests that current historiographies are missing the complex operation of commercial micro-geographies in the city. By the 1790s, two separate commercial hubs had developed in Newcastle and Charleston. Traders were consciously using location to market services to clients of different socio-economic status, which contrasted, for example, with the anchoring of retailers around New York's markets (from the 1790s). New York's retail zones were more closely connected to the status of clients within highly managed market neighbourhoods.⁶⁹ Such high numbers of necessary goods and foodstuffs within the inland commercial hubs of Newcastle and Charleston was indicative of support from a mixed class structure within a free-market economy, rather than management of shopping space that provided exclusivity to elite shoppers. Secondly, the separation of shopping hubs in the 1790s was indicative of a process that would continue into the early nineteenth century, but it was only from this point onwards that greater distinction could be seen within areas now catering exclusively to the lower-middle and working classes in both cities.

Scrutiny of Charleston's King Street indicated that luxury goods shops were not found in isolation (Figure 5.11).⁷⁰ The emergence of polycentric shopping cores created a hierarchy between different trading locations in the city, a hierarchy led by the status of customers. In

⁶⁹ Baics, *Feeding Gotham*, pp. 71-75.

⁷⁰ Sarah Collins, *1790_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, September 29, 2017.

addition to the high distribution of ‘shopkeepers’, King Street had bakers, butchers, grocers, and shoemakers within the same space that had attracted traders in luxury goods.



5.11: Charleston’s King Street, 1790

The reasons for the attraction of a King Street address were similar for the traders of necessary goods and foodstuffs as they had been for high-status shops. King Street generated a large amount of custom through traffic that advantaged traders along this route. Yet the proximity of these traders to those of high-status goods was not without significance. The duplicated nature of the same services in different parts of the city suggested that traders

along King Street were deliberately locating themselves close to luxury consumption, and consequently wealthier costumers. Traders were actively choosing custom based on location in the same way that customers themselves had choice. In a similar way to social mixing within residential and recreational spaces, the location of services offering necessary goods and foodstuffs near to areas of luxury consumption did not negatively impact other traders or their customers. We can apply some caution here because we know little of how individuals were treated once inside the shop.⁷¹ It was likely that the emphasis on shopping along King Street was based on sufficiency of funds: if customers could not afford to shop here then the waterfront provided a more suitable location.

The diversity of services provided along King Street was reflected in the multiple, three-dimensional options at street level that included ground-floor shops, upper-floor rooms, and the use of back-lots. The plentiful supply of shops meant that, at times, ground-floor premises were located near to each other, or directly next door, such as the four shopkeepers who were listed between 212 and 220 King Street in 1790.⁷² In other instances properties demonstrated shared spatial use. For example, Robert Dorman operated a shop at the same location as William Pillason who had a billiard table (both at 26 King Street), while Robert Harper operated a shop within the same premises as a saddler, John Grant. There are two important implications here concerning the complex mixing of space by use and social class. As already suggested, the greater mixing between social groups within the city's commercial space had similarities with practices occurring within other types of spatial use such as recreation and residency. Such evidence counters, or at least off-sets, portrayals of the planter and merchant classes as exclusionary until the nineteenth century, rather than the eighteenth

⁷¹ Helen Berry has noted the different reactions of shop assistants to consumers of different status: Robert Owen in Stamford, Lincolnshire considered some customers to be of an 'inferior class'. Berry, 'Polite consumption', p. 392.

⁷² Consecutive numbers may not have resulted in neighbouring properties, but they would have been within broadly similar areas of the street.

century.⁷³ In addition, commercial space highlighted the same inter-mixed pattern of spatial use that was evident within much of Charleston's urban space. While certain sections of the city could be characterised by the greater presence of one type of spatial use over another, Charleston was not inherently segregated by spatial use. This greater contextualisation can only be understood when all space is privileged within historical studies, rather than just one.

Similar observations were made in Newcastle, whereby significant mixing of commercial space around St. Nicholas Cathedral hinted at wealth being a common factor in resident's willingness to interact between differing social groups. The Market Streets, Mosley and Dean Streets and the upper Side had large distributions of traders in necessary goods and foodstuffs in 1790 (Figure 5.12).⁷⁴ In contrast to Charleston, where services were stretched throughout the length of King Street, there was greater clustering on individual Newcastle streets that often had its roots in early modern commercial practices. For example, bacon and cheesemongers were found predominately on the Side and had been throughout the early modern period, which Eneas Mackenzie attributed to the close built houses that offered shade.⁷⁵ On Middle Street, between Groat and Flesh Markets, was where shoemakers operated out of upper-floor rooms so that they could exploit cheaper accommodation within one of the busiest commercial areas of the city.⁷⁶ The important common factor between Newcastle and Charleston in the late eighteenth century was that, while commercial services demonstrated trends that are indicative of the international consumer revolution, the micro-geography of urban commercial space was indicative of the highly complex social and spatial mixing of urban life.

⁷³ James Raven's interpretation of Charleston's book trade provides a good example of this sort of exclusionist assessment. Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers*, p. 24.

⁷⁴ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1790*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, February 8, 2017.

⁷⁵ Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: Streets within the walls', pp. 160-182.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

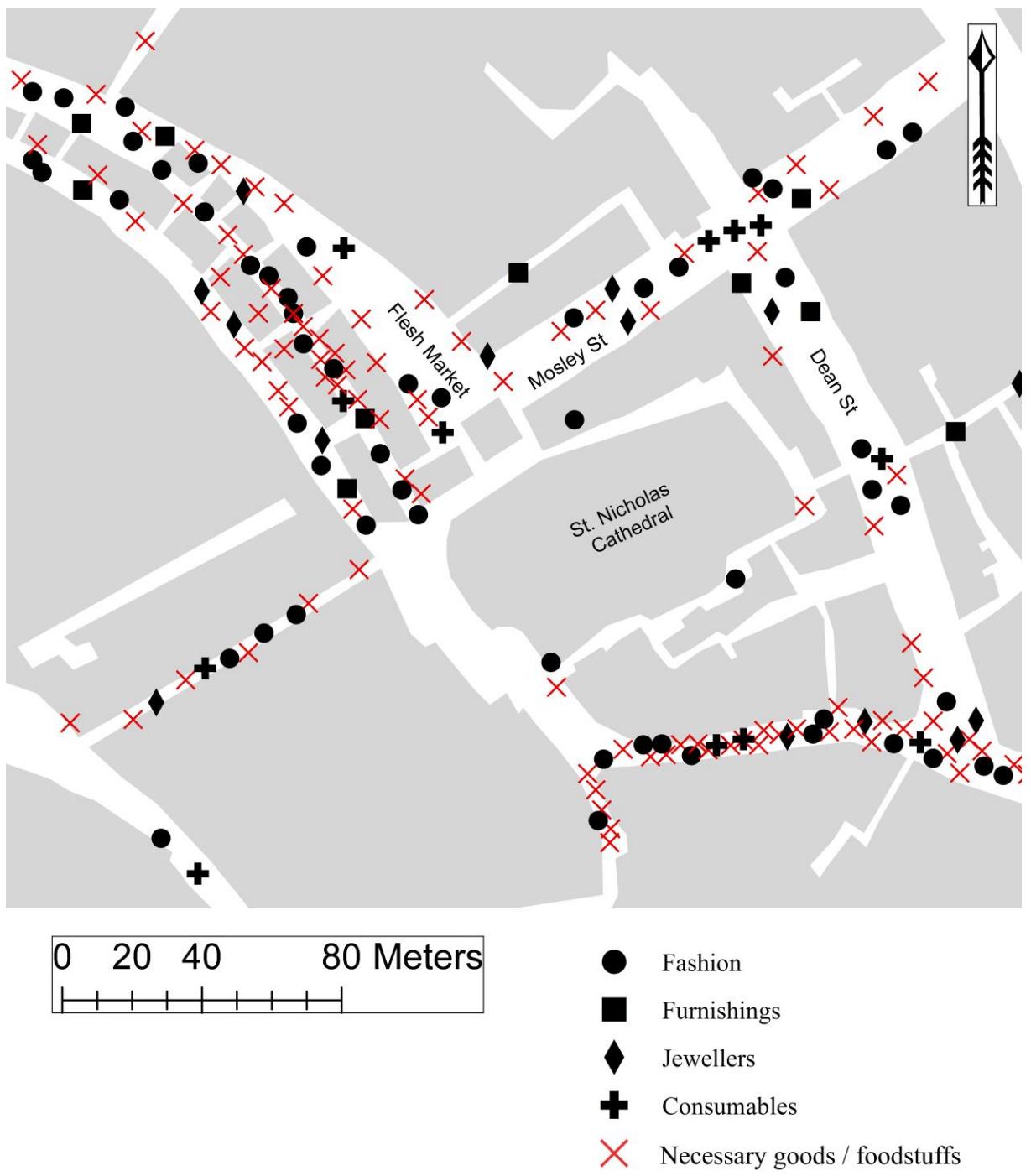


Figure 5.12: Newcastle's commercial hub around St. Nicholas Cathedral, 1790

Shopping after 1800

The distinct periodisation of the stages of consumerism has led to divisions in studies focusing on either the early modern period or the modern.⁷⁷ As a consequence there has been

⁷⁷ Peter N. Stearns, 'Stages of Consumerism: Recent Work on the Issues of Periodization', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (1997), pp. 102-117.

very little contextualisation of how commercial space developed during the early nineteenth century. Between 1800 and 1840 the multi-locational arrangement of shopping space in Charleston and Newcastle saw the consolidation of King Street, and the area around St. Nicholas Cathedral, as the dominant locations for commercial activity. These areas continued to provide mixed commercial services, including traders of luxury goods, necessary goods, and foodstuffs, but while Newcastle and Charleston demonstrated retention of eighteenth-century commercial models, it was necessary to make improvements to the central commercial hubs of both cities. In Newcastle efforts were made to further open up the area around St. Nicholas' through the insertion of new commercial streets, such as Collingwood Street, but it would take developments by Richard Grainger over the following decade to rectify the failings of the previous generation. Grainger implemented the creation of a new shopping hub slightly north of the market streets that provided better separation from the waterfront. These developments have been discussed extensively and will not be reproduced here, but the inclusion of classical architecture by Grainger was demonstrative of the corrective motivations of his financers, rather than a departure from the commercial models of the previous century.⁷⁸

In Charleston, King Street continued to dominate commercial space in the city and developed through the nineteenth century into the hub of commercial activity that the street is now known for. In 1826 Charleston's City Council was keen to widen King Street to give it an 'improved appearance', but the Board for Opening and Widening Streets, Lanes and Alleys only agreed on the condition that all property owners approved.⁷⁹ This venture was an important example of the City Council's understanding that improvements could be used to enhance economic potential in a location other than the port. Shoppers were drawn to

⁷⁸ For a detailed discussion of Richard Grainger see Lyall Wilkes and Gordon Dodds, *Tyneside Classical: The Newcastle of Grainger, Dobson & Clayton* (London: John Murray, 1964).

⁷⁹ City of Charleston, *Journal of Commissioners of Opening and Widening Streets, Lanes and Alleys, 1818-1866*, February 20, 1826, microfilm, Charleston County Public Library, Charleston, SC.

attractive commercial space and the widening of King Street presented an opportunity to improve the appearance of the street and add to the comfort of shoppers. These suggestions were occurring at the same time as the greater segregation of necessary goods and foodstuffs within Market Street, which will be discussed shortly. Because of the strict control of trading certain foodstuffs from the market, the amount of shops along King Street dropped, especially those who had formerly advertised as ‘shopkeepers’. The Council was attempting to enhance King Street through aesthetic improvements and restriction of spatial use, but it would not fully achieve these goals until the fire of 1838, which made reconstruction essential and beautification an option.⁸⁰

The development of commercial space was not, however, restricted to existing areas. During the first forty years of the nineteenth century, both cities experienced a population swell, and an expanded infrastructure that included new streets and buildings. As a consequence, some traders who were less reliant on inclusion within a shopping core dispersed and built up new relationships within characteristically residential areas. Grocers, tailors, milliners and dress makers moved from King Street and St. Nicholas’ and formed localised clusters in Newcastle and Charleston’s residential areas that could be found in both cities northern districts (Figures 5.13 and 5.14).⁸¹

⁸⁰ Henry L. Pinckney, *Report; containing a review of the proceedings of the City Authorities, from the 4th September, 1837, to the 1st August, 1838, with suggestions for the improvement of the various departments of the public service* (Charleston: Thomas J. Eccles, 1838), p. 24, (F279-C457-P56), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC.

⁸¹ Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017; and Sarah Collins, *1840_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, October 4, 2017.

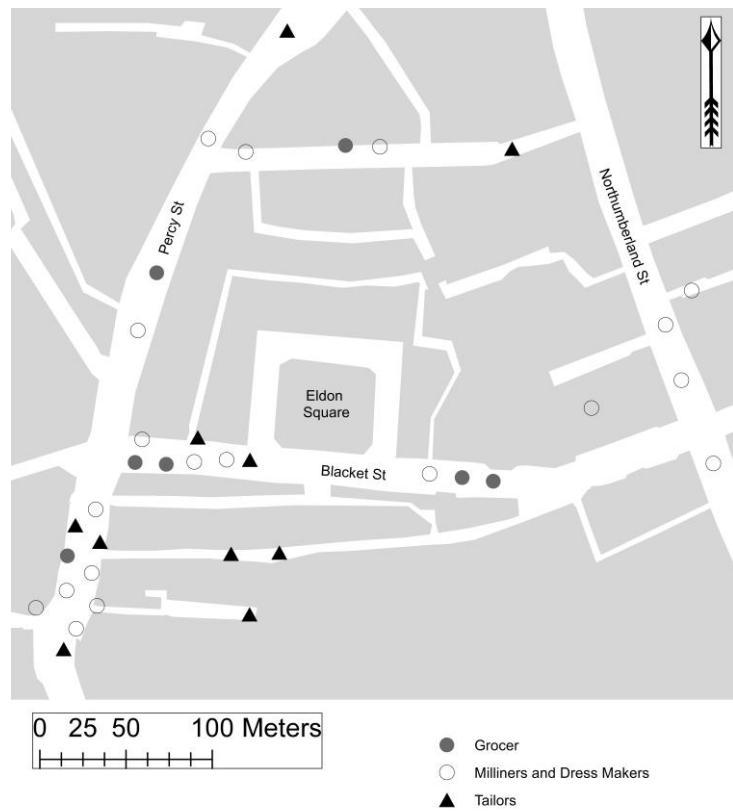


Figure 5.13: Newcastle's grocers and fashion services, 1829

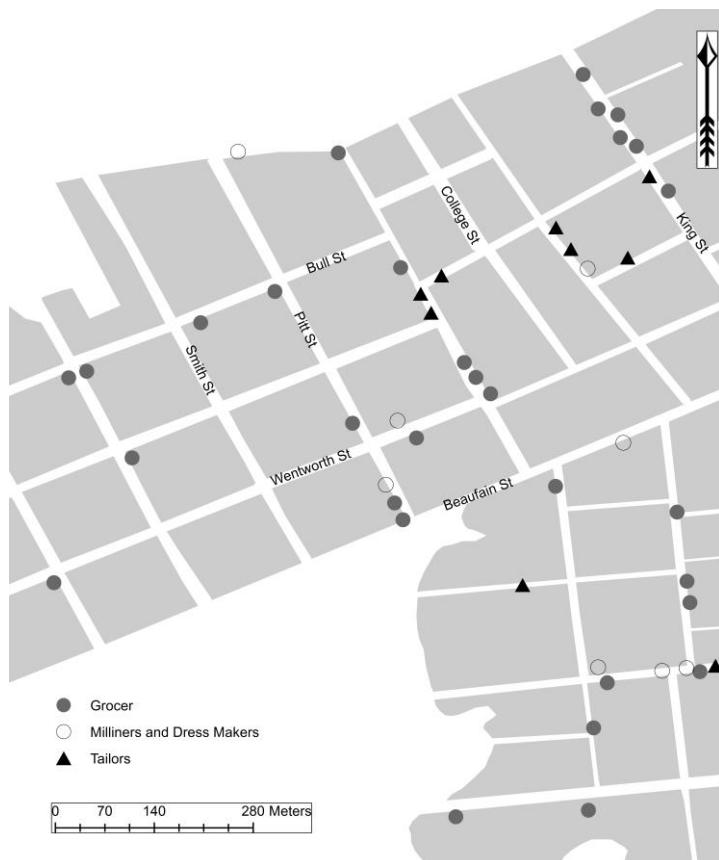


Figure 5.14: Charleston's grocers and fashion services, 1840

Figures 5.13 and 5.14 highlight two areas found to the north of Newcastle and Charleston's dominant shopping hubs. In Newcastle, a cluster of fashion services was located between Eldon Square and St. Andrew's Church. In Charleston, Harleston village at the north-western limit of the city boundaries provided space for a proportion of the city's grocers, as well as traders such as tailors and dress makers. The movement of these types of trades demonstrated the ability of both cities to support further multi-locational shopping hubs, but these smaller hubs were unique because of the distinctive trades that engaged in these spaces. They did not result in the emergence of new dominant shopping space. Instead the development of localised shopping indicated a different approach that saw traders capitalising on the growth of residential space after 1800. The same process has been observed in New York, during the mid-nineteenth century, as grocers, butchers and bakers sought out small, individual catchment areas.⁸² Just like Harleston Village (west of Pitt Street in Figure 5.14) corner properties became highly desired locations.⁸³ Gergely Baics suggests that household provisioning had become a localised affair by the 1830s with traders bringing trade to their clients, which also gave them an edge over greater competition within overcrowded dominant shopping cores.⁸⁴ In other instances, shopping hubs developed that consisted only of those traders offering necessary goods and foodstuffs. While these areas did not exclude luxury goods they occurred within areas that otherwise did not attract luxury consumption. The emergence of space wholly for everyday products was a significant development because it arose owing to urban improvements by each city's Corporation. In Newcastle this was an unintended consequence resulting from urban improvements, but, in Charleston, the Corporation had segregation and control explicitly imbedded within its purpose.

⁸² Baics, *Feeding Gotham*, pp. 179-182.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

The establishment of Charleston's Market Street and Market Hall was a lengthy process that dated back to compulsory purchase orders of the site in the late eighteenth century.⁸⁵ Construction of the hall did not start until 1841, but there were a series of semi-permanent structures on the site from the early-nineteenth century.⁸⁶ The market space itself was strictly controlled through city ordinances dating from 1807.⁸⁷ Butchers, vegetable sellers, and eventually fish sellers were organised within the internal space at the discretion of the Market Commissioners.⁸⁸ Punishments for trading anywhere other than the markets was enforced through hefty fines, or corporal punishment for slaves. The area surrounding the market was highly regulated with restriction of movement for sellers and further punishment for those who did not comply.⁸⁹ The enforced relocation of these services into one area of the city suggests that the Corporation was motivated by an increased desire to segregate and confine undesirable activity, although there were practical considerations that focused on health and sanitation. Such strategies were a good example of the forced regulation of human behaviour in space, rather than a physical restructuring that was unobtainable because Charleston's Corporation lacked land assets (as discussed in Chapter Two).

Despite evidence of segregation it was what happened within the vicinity of Market Street that was important. The creation of Market Street established a new shopping hub, which attracted a range of additional traders offering dry goods and foodstuffs, clothing and

⁸⁵ The compulsory purchase related to several landowners, but the majority holder was General Charles Pinckney. The objective for the purchase was to reclaim the land with the intention of creating permanent market space within Charleston, but Pinckney was forced to take legal proceedings to push the process along. See: *Report of the City Council and Agreement relative to the creation of Market Street*, 24 April 1804, Pinckney Family Papers, 1765-1804 (495/15), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC; and *Pinckney vs City Council of Charleston*, January 1825, Pinckney Family Papers, 1805-1825 (495/15), South Carolina Historical Society, College of Charleston Special Collections, Charleston, SC.

⁸⁶ Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 338-39, and 395-96.

⁸⁷ Charleston (SC), *Digest of the Ordinances of the City Council of Charleston, from the year 1783 to July 1818; to which are annexed, extracts from the acts of legislature which relate to the city of Charleston* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1818), pp. 147-148, College of Charleston special collections, Charleston, SC.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 151.

other provisions (Figure 5.15).⁹⁰ These external traders were not accommodated within the market space but helped to consolidate these types of goods within this area of Charleston (through choice), much like the more controlled locating of traders close to New York's markets (for example, Catherine Market).⁹¹ The evidence presents an important difference from Charleston's earlier commercial history that had seen movement of traders to areas dominated by luxury goods. Instead, within Market Street, traders sought out an area with similar shops because they recognised that Market Street was rapidly becoming a competing space of commercial activity to King Street.

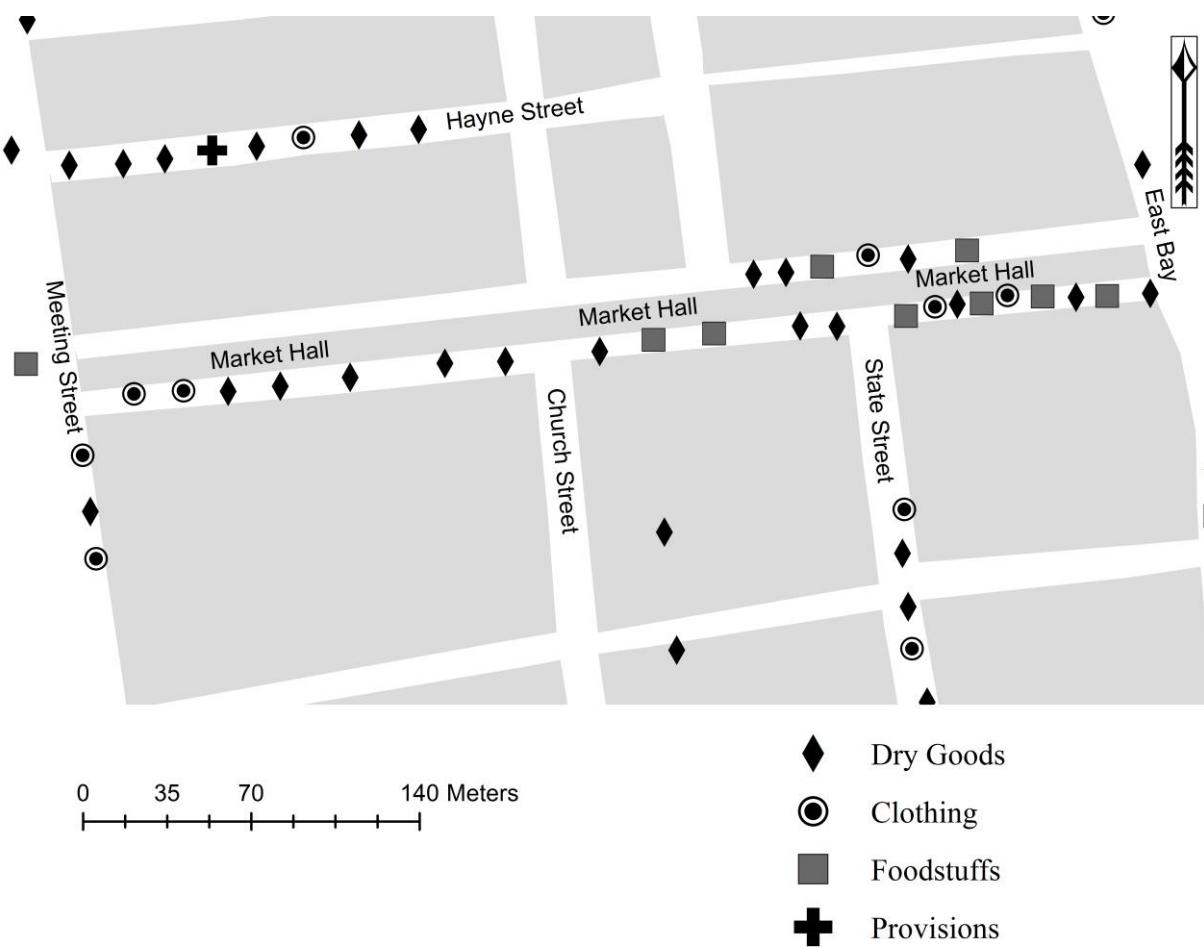


Figure 5.15: Distribution of necessary goods and foodstuffs, Market street, 1840

⁹⁰ Sarah Collins, *1840_directory*, Shapefile, in Chl_151116, October 4, 2017.

⁹¹ Baics, *Feeding Gotham*, pp. 71-71, 143.

In Newcastle, the establishment of a detached commercial space, which was made up entirely of dry goods and foodstuffs, and clothing and provisions, was a consequence rather than the intention of the Corporation. During the 1820s several sections of the original city wall were removed to make way for urban expansion. An area to the east of the original walled city provides a good example of this process (Figure 5.16).⁹² The Sandgate was located directly east of the Quayside and was made up of chares that ran directly to the water's edge. As a result, the area contained a considerable number of warehouses that were used for industrial purposes, but it was also home to a large proportion of the city's working classes. Mackenzie described many thousands living here who were made up of the "hardy and laborious" classes who worked as keelmen or in ships engaged in the coal trade.⁹³ The area was also well known for the large number of public houses along its stretch: the 1829 trade directory listed twenty, which was the highest number within any street in the city, and double the amount of the next highest concentration.⁹⁴ By 1829 the area had been improved infrastructurally through the creation of gaps through the city wall that served to incorporate this area into the city more successfully. Part of the improvements included "The opening of numerous shops for the sale of the most necessary articles of life".⁹⁵ With such a high concentration of human habitation and traffic, the area appealed to traders who benefitted financially from this newly developed area of industrial Newcastle.

⁹² Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017.

⁹³ Eneas Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: The eastern suburbs', in *Historical Account of Newcastle Upon Tyne Including the Borough of Gateshead* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Mackenzie and Dent, 1827), pp. 182-186. *British History Online*, accessed October 6, 2017, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/newcastle-historical-account/pp182-186>.

⁹⁴ Ibid; Sarah Collins, *Trade_Book_Ncl_1829*, Shapefile, in 220716_ncl, October 26, 2017; and Pigot and Company, *Pigot's Directory for Northumberland* (Allendale: Keenley Press, 1829), pp. 610-611.

⁹⁵ Mackenzie, 'The present state of Newcastle: The eastern suburbs', pp. 182-186.

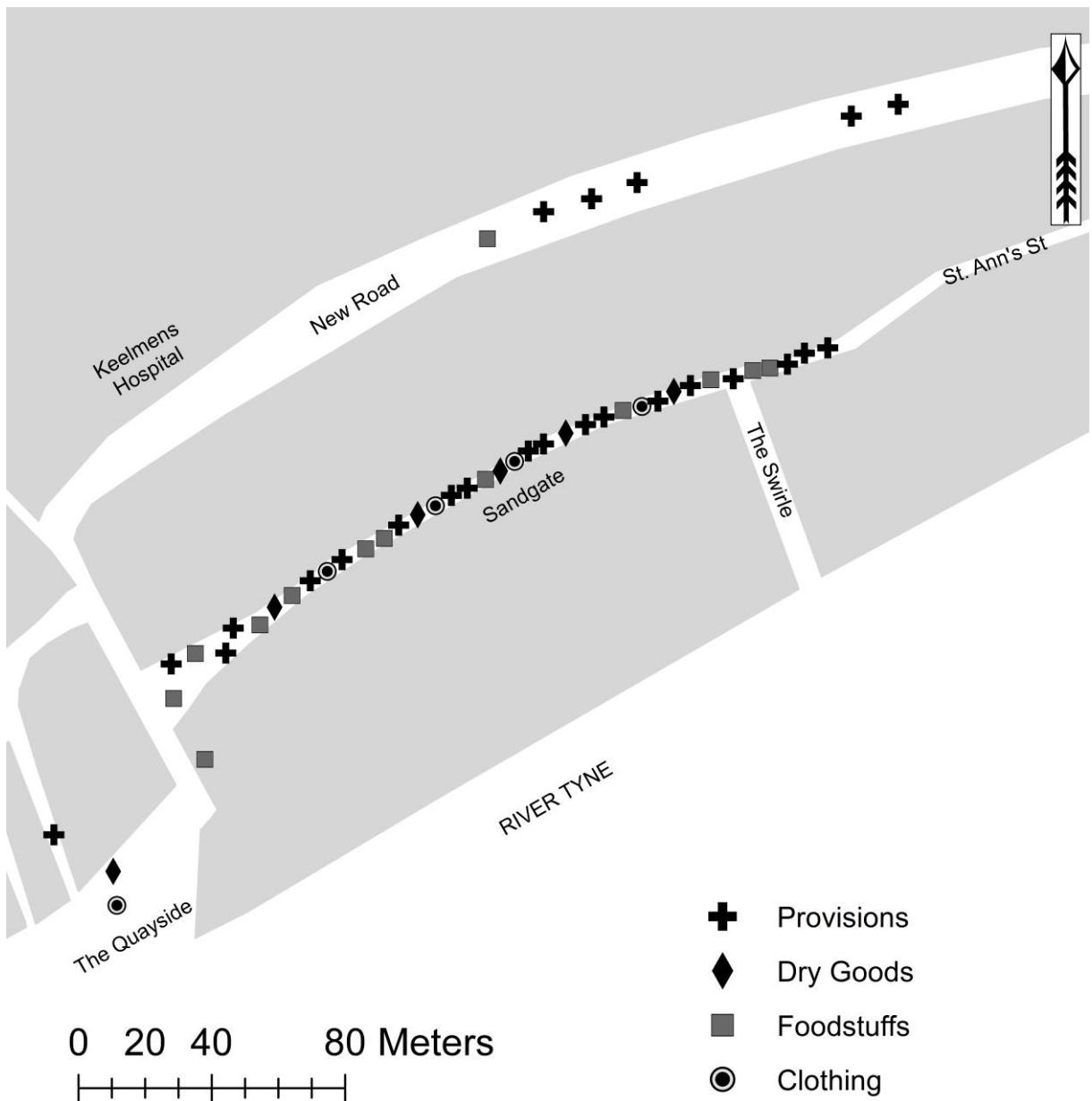


Figure 5.16: Distribution of necessary goods and foodstuffs, Sandgate, 1829

As in Charleston, the development of commercial space along the Sandgate was not about the deliberate exclusion of luxury consumption. Nor was it about restricting the location of necessary goods and foodstuffs. Traders along the Sandgate were responding to a densely-populated area of the city in which a growing industrial populace experienced the advantage of proximal trade. Larger numbers of the populace were participating in consumption generally, and with the reduction in the temporary space of the urban market throughout the eighteenth century, traders were aware of locational market needs that now applied to the

lower classes as much as the upper and middle.⁹⁶ They placed themselves, and marketed the right produce, to attract custom, even if those areas consisted largely of the working classes that were not associated with the consumer revolution of the eighteenth century. These areas of newly emerging shopping hubs, without evidence of luxury goods, demonstrate a meaningful departure from the spatial aspects of shopping in the eighteenth century. Luxury consumption did not collapse, but traders of necessary goods and foodstuffs no longer had to locate themselves exclusively near these areas to capitalise on greater profits, and this evidence suggests that there was increased value placed in the selling of everyday goods. The development of shopping hubs, such as Market Street in Charleston, and the Sandgate in Newcastle, bridges the two perceived ‘revolutions’ of the eighteenth century swelling of luxury consumption and late nineteenth century proliferation of goods due to industrial production.⁹⁷ The proliferation of non-luxury shops reveals the manipulation of city space by traders who could turn a profit by marketing to a broader range of society than they had previously. This prefigures later in the century with the significant widespread commercial boom linked to increased urban population figures.

Conclusion

Shopping, and shopping space, was more complex than scholars of the consumer revolution have previously posited. The development of commercial geographies in Newcastle and Charleston did conform to some of the generalised models that have been produced, but GIS facilitates a broader understanding of the trends in commercial activity,

⁹⁶ Stobart et al. have discussed the reduction or removal of market space to the urban fringe because it was considered unhygienic or vulgar in the eighteenth century. In fact, Newcastle and Charleston still placed value in the market within central locations. In Newcastle, however, the temporary nature of market stalls and hucksters booths in the street was reduced, and it was these stalls that would have ordinarily been the domain of lower class shopping. For discussion concerning market space see Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*, p. 91; and Berry, ‘Polite consumption’, p. 378.

⁹⁷ Stearns, ‘Stages of Consumerism’, pp. 102-117.

which has expanded studies of the consumer revolution that have focused on products rather than locations. The chronology of shopping space within both cities can be summarised in three phases.

- During the 1770s and 1780s the focus of commercial activity was far more monocentric in Charleston and Newcastle. Shops relating to luxury consumption, necessary goods and foodstuffs were concentrated on the waterfront and the streets running perpendicular from it. Emphasis had already shifted towards permanent places of commercialism and these were most typically found between spatial constants, such as churches.
- By the 1790s luxury consumption had increased significantly because Newcastle and Charleston had an upper social tier that consisted of wealthy landed and merchant classes who were keen to engage in consumption as a form of polite culture. The internal city became the preferred choice for luxury consumption with waterfront traders making active choices to follow client migration away from the port. However, a broad range of shopping types was present in Charleston and Newcastle, demonstrating that luxury shopping was found in association with a diverse mix of shops, and spatial uses.⁹⁸ Shopping reflected the more fluid movement within social structures that characterised Newcastle and Charleston's mercantile societies. Shopping space mirrored other forms of spatial use whereby Newcastle and Charleston's citizens accepted diverse social interaction between different city users. Greater inclusion within other commercial case studies will help to understand whether mixing between high-status goods, necessary consumption, foodstuffs, and the market, was unique to mercantile societies.

⁹⁸ See Berry, 'Polite consumption'; McKendrick et al., *The Birth of a Consumer Society*; and Stobart et al., *Spaces of Consumption*.

- The final development occurred after 1800 with greater division between polycentric shopping hubs. These developments do not typically form part of our understanding of the consumer revolution and yet they are important because, for the first time, locations of necessary goods and foodstuffs were found separate from luxury goods. These new shopping hubs were marketed to the masses rather than elites.

The impetus to change shopping cityscapes may have been led initially by polite culture and luxury consumption, but these motivations had changed by the mid-nineteenth century. A deeper social spectrum within the expanding urban population, that included greater divisions of wealth, helped to establish expectations and consumer demands from society members other than the landed elite and merchant classes in Newcastle and Charleston. The increasing complexity of commercial spaces over time is relative to location, interrelation with other types of spaces and human engagement. Given the initiative of shopkeepers to respond to changing consumer expectations, it becomes essential to further explore the ability of elites to control the development of daily life and activity in the city.

CONCLUSION

Interpreting Urban Spaces Through Complexity

The period 1740 to 1840 was a transitional period in which Newcastle and Charleston were no longer early modern, and not modern either, but the history of these cities spatial systems has not been fully explained. Part of the problem has been the misrepresentation of ‘growth’ as the only suitable form of measuring the physical development of pre-modern cities. The second problem has been the over-emphasis placed on morphological observations of urban street systems as the only form of change. Charleston’s history has fared slightly better, in both these regards, when compared with Newcastle. There has been a failure, however, to recognise the full extent of urban change that was taking place within Charleston’s built environment. Charleston’s street system was more than an expansion of the Grand Modell: instead, continual reassessment and redevelopment was necessary from the city’s earliest founding to the antebellum period. In Newcastle, the more dramatic changes of Richard Grainger and John Dobson of the mid-nineteenth century has unwittingly created a perception of idle development during the eighteenth century. The failure of Newcastle’s Corporation to insert any new streets into the city’s spatial system, until Mosley and Dean Streets in 1788, should not be interpreted as static development. Instead, Newcastle’s development was one of constant reinvention of the space that had been inherited, as well as eventual expansion during the early nineteenth century.

Newcastle and Charleston were both influenced by economic and residential principles inherited from the early eighteenth century, and earlier. This inherited history had significant consequences on the ability of each city’s corporation to act. The retention of Newcastle’s seventeenth-century charter strengthened the position of Newcastle’s Corporation through local administrative tradition that created a power-base of elite males. The maturity of the Corporation provided enough time for the acquisition of a large land-mass

giving spatial leverage over future physical changes to the city, as well as increasing the Common Council's income through rent. It was a strategy that ensured that the development of Newcastle benefited elites, first and foremost, and went relatively unchallenged until the 1820s. By contrast, the subsequent phases of different administrations in Charleston made land acquisition difficult until the establishment of Charleston's Corporation in 1782. Furthermore, by the 1780s such endeavours were made more complicated by the large property-owning populace that existed in the city. The Earl of Shaftesbury's vision for colonists to 'plant in towns' established powerful private land owners that had collective power over the actions of Charleston's City Council. The failure to establish city property by Charleston's various administrations limited the actions of future corporate members. Instead, Charleston's Corporation relied on the strength of the city's ordinances to manipulate the use of space rather than physically altering it. The results challenge the perceived benefit of establishing designed cities along the vast expanse of America's undeveloped eastern seaboard.¹ Charleston demonstrated that unless a strict plan was implemented at the design phase, and then retained, North American colonial cities were little better off than English urban centres once they reached the mid to late eighteenth century.

The early history of Newcastle and Charleston meant that, by the mid-eighteenth century, both cities were hindered by urban space that was no longer fit for purpose. Three sequential time-periods were identified, made up of approximately thirty to forty years, in which urban change was broadly similar in the historic development of Newcastle and Charleston. The first of these was between 1740 and 1780, in which most urban development can be defined as individual and piecemeal in nature. Private developers worked within, and possibly outside, the rules to create change at the individual property scale. The focus of

¹ Such perceptions are not uncommon within current studies of Charleston. For an example see Thomas D. Wilson Thomas D. Wilson, *The Ashley Cooper Plan: The Founding of Carolina and the Origins of Southern Political Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), p. 426, Kindle edition.

commercial and recreational activity was still targeted within the major streets close to the waterfront. The port remained the central location of trade, and related activity. Here enterprising business owners operated shops and places of entertainment that encouraged social interaction between landed elites, merchants, and those within the professional classes. The mix of these services meant that it was impossible for any one area of Newcastle or Charleston to be defined by elite cultural activity during this period. Residential space also reflected the mixed social diversity of Newcastle and Charleston as individual streets were found with dwellings suitable for all social classes along their stretch. Although the waterfront was the most densely settled, neither city was geographically large enough to justify social segregation through residential area: residency was found to affect every street in Newcastle and Charleston's spatial system. Such findings were important in reevaluating cities as economic entities because they provided more than a concentrated trading location within broader mercantile networks.

A second, more active, phase of urban development took place in both cities from approximately 1780 to 1810. This period was defined by instances of proactive urban planning by Newcastle and Charleston's corporations, although influence over residential space was still limited by a reluctance to interfere with private property owners. By comparison, investment in new commercial space and places of recreation captured the fashion for improvement that was a distinct feature of cities in Britain and North America during the late eighteenth century. The unique relationship that Newcastle and Charleston continued to have with London resulted in an emulation of physical improvements, but the results were guided by each city's administrative system. Newcastle's corporate property portfolio resulted in an imbalance of power by the 1780s that made it possible for the Corporation to shape the direction of urban function. Several projects were undertaken that, while not always directly led by the Corporation, were heavily influenced through financial aid, or by individuals within the Corporation acting as committee members. Charleston's

approach was different and reflected the Corporation's inability to physically control urban space. Commercial and recreational projects were undertaken at business-owners' own risk. Support came only through elite participation and, as an extension, through financial benefaction. It meant that Charleston's improvement endeavours were more frequently short-lived as success depended on the whim of fashionable society.

Despite such differences, recreational, and more especially commercial, space started to present divergence from previous models from approximately 1790. The development of secondary commercial hubs away from the waterfront during the late 1780s cemented the role of internal city space by 1790. The creation of new commercial shopping hubs along Newcastle's Mosley Street, and Charleston's King Street, was driven by elite customers wishing to engage with the wider experience of luxury consumption that included luxury goods, glass-plated shop windows, and pavements. Yet while these new shopping hubs were successful in providing polite spaces for elite interaction the thesis found that segregation was not an inherent part of commercial planning. Considerable mixing occurred along Mosley Street and King Street, revealing the degree to which social mixing was still an accepted part of commercial space in these mercantile cities. Such practices were also associated with Newcastle's and Charleston's venues of elite entertainment. Between 1780 and 1810, Newcastle and Charleston's coffee houses, theatres, assembly rooms, music venues, and societies exercised considerable social inclusion in comparison to other provincial settlements in England. Urban space provided opportunities for mixed class diversity as an accepted part of mercantile society. It was difficult for urban elites to carve out space for their own exclusive use, although toleration was only experienced through the rather limited definition of wealth.

The final development phase occurred after 1810 and lasted until approximately 1830 in Newcastle, and 1840 in Charleston. For both cities this period was characterised by a rapid

improvement that exceeded any other development that had happened in the past. Yet while growth was a defining part of this process, it would be misleading to simply characterise the early nineteenth century by outward expansion. Charleston had already reached its western and northern limits by the late eighteenth century, although growth continued in small ways through consolidation of low-lying lots and land reclamation. For Newcastle, dismantling the city walls presented the opportunity to expand, whilst integrating new developments into the overall urban scheme, but this was not done at the expense of developing the city's internal space. The period from 1810 to 1840 was also marked by the change in response to urban development by Newcastle and Charleston's corporations. From the 1820s both councils were actively involved in bureaucratic decision-making that had recognisable components of modern planning departments, including account keeping, legislated improvement, and methods of appeal. It was noticeably different to the reaction of both corporations during the previous two development stages, but such actions should not be mistaken as an attempt at fairer representation within spatial decision making. Better governance of how urban space needed to be modified also saw the introduction of spatial segregation by function and social class. Corporations could create greater class division within new urban expansions because large areas of space could be developed from scratch, rather than previous periods that focused on redevelopment of existing space. Recreational and commercial space both contained aspects of social divides, but it became a particularly powerful mechanism within residential space. Charleston's cultural preference for the single-house style helped to cement the single-family unit as the preferred demographic and created residential areas that were synonymous with elite residency. In Newcastle, sparsely populated areas of the city were developed into fashionable districts made up of Georgian town-houses that attracted those who could afford to relocate. Yet spatial segregation was not necessarily negative. The identification of distinct commercial hubs that serviced necessary goods and foodstuffs by the 1830s and 1840s, was an important indication of urban change that was motivated by the

middle and working classes, and not just upper-class residents. So too can the relocation of elite residents into new housing districts on the urban periphery be considered as acceptance that the urban core was a necessary space for expanding business, rather than economic success derived entirely from trade.

The application of both self-selected and corporate-led segregation within development practices of the early nineteenth century was a precursor to the more obvious spatial divides that would become a defining feature of both cities' housing during the later nineteenth century. We must be careful, however, of over-emphasising segregation or conflating social and spatial distinctions. Even during the early nineteenth century Newcastle and Charleston still demonstrated significant complexity of urban function that suggests we should be cautious of typecasting cities by a singular, or even dominant form. Segregation based on spatial function was only ever partially successful, and urban space was necessarily complicated because of limited options for adaptation and growth between 1740 and 1840.

Broader implications for urban spatial history

The application of GIS transforms Newcastle and Charleston into dynamic spaces of inter-related function by utilising historic maps and surveys, trade directories, rate books and census data. The thesis advances the use of GIS methodologies within urban case studies that span the long eighteenth century by arguing that urban space can be understood before the establishment of formulised postal addresses during the nineteenth century. GIS is not the only way to understand urban space. It would, however, be impossible to understand the complexity of urban micro-geographies within statistical-only databases when combining multiple large datasets such as those created in this study. The establishment of a database that includes a co-ordinate system is more than a visual aid to understanding data across space and time. GIS also facilitates and highlights, through analysis, the relationships that occurred

between locations and people in space that would be difficult to observe using only textual analysis. Researchers using GIS do need to be adaptable, however, in their approaches to comparative spatial research. Just as GIS has been modified as a tool in historical academic research, future researchers need to combine imaginative problem-solving skills when considering the relative spatial scarcity present in eighteenth-century cities.

The conversion of names and occupations into point data within GIS populates Newcastle and Charleston with human activity. GIS upholds the spatial complexity of these mercantile communities by demonstrating that Newcastle's and Charleston's streets were rarely dominated by a single use. Spatial observations that are based solely on textual analysis, or architectural observations, lack depth, by comparison, and while they are not wrong, they are also unspecific. Areas dominated by residential housing are tempting to characterise as residential, for example, but the distribution of activity in space was more mixed than broad definitions allow. The ability to pinpoint street addresses, building floors, people, occupations, and residences produced much richer, and specific, detail of activity within the built environment. Such techniques can be applied to redress the perceived imbalance of urban case studies that favour industrialised cities. The flexibility of GIS has huge potential for the study of urban spatial history. The methods applied in this study can be transferred to the analysis of any urban space in the British Atlantic. The ideal scenario has been cities that combine good cartographic data alongside trade directory and census data, but there is a wealth of additional material that researchers need to be prepared to dissect to advance spatial methodologies. Some of the greatest constraints relate to the length of time that data-entry and analysis takes within GIS. For example, the use of Charleston's plat records would have assisted analysis of spatial change within a mapping gap that occurred between 1802 and 1842, but each micro-analysis had to be measured against broader understanding of multiple spatial uses within a long-time frame and for two cities. Future research applying micro-analysis of these types of source material in GIS, as well as

consideration of specialised spatial analysis tools, will benefit understanding of vertical living arrangements, temporal problematization of light and darkness through Viewshed Analysis, and mobile actions of people in space using space syntax methodologies.

Research that applies GIS methods needs to be combined with spatial theory to create meaningful translations of data, rather than simply locating history. This study is the first time that complex systems theory has been applied to the study of historic urban development. Complex systems have been used to explain the local, national and international relationships that exist between developing cities of the twenty-first century.² Top-down management structures that make predictions based on singular parts of the development system have been demonstrated to be flawed because of the complexity of actors and influences on the processes of change.³ Complex systems theory has proved invaluable to understanding the micro-geography of development in Newcastle and Charleston between 1740 and 1840 because both cities were made up of various interrelated spatial functions. They also incorporated a great number of external factors, such as human intervention, across the entire class spectrum, and unpredictable events including war or weather. Observing complexity is crucial if we are to avoid prioritising urban function within a narrow or simplified form.

One of the greatest benefits of incorporating complex systems theory is the ability to assign the elements through which complexity was observed. Four spatial uses have been considered here: administrative; residential; recreational; and commercial. They share a common component because they are linked to elite motivations. Administrative space provided opportunities for elite society to organise and control the use of urban space through corporate policy, while residential, recreational, and commercial functions were tied into elite concepts of polite culture, sociability, fashion, urban status, and ultimately modernity. Part of

² Samir Rihani, *Complex Systems Theory and Development Practice: understanding non-linear realities* (London: Zed Books, 2002).

³ Ibid, p. 5.

the assessment of the thesis was the degree to which these spatial functions formed solitary or dominant land-uses within Newcastle and Charleston, but the application of a complex adaptive system is also aimed at understanding how well the spatial system incorporated adaption.

The combination of GIS with textual source analysis shows that spatial functions were subject to complexity occurring within two different time-frames. Over the long-term history of each city, between 1740 and 1840, each spatial function was subject to considerable change by corporations, and individuals, who sought to reinvent, or improve, Newcastle and Charleston. There was often no linear, or planned, action to these developments, although there was a perceptible shift towards improvement and modernity within elite and corporate rhetoric. Change over the course of one hundred years is far from surprising. It did, however, support the work of social and economic historians who have highlighted the period as one of transition. Of far greater importance was the discovery of short-term complexity between spatial functions, which revealed significant mixing in the distribution of functions and society. By analysing multiple strands of urban space together, GIS offers a relational perspective that identified universal patterns in Newcastle and Charleston.

The spatial arrangement of activity in urban space between 1740 and 1840 does not match current histories of Newcastle and Charleston, which have made hierarchical distinctions between different urban social and economic groups. This study does not refute that such distinctions existed, but the reaction of these diverse groups within space reveals interactive and dynamic relationships of people within the built environment that counter top-down models of urban hierarchy. While there can be no doubt that elite motivations impacted spatial change, the ability of elites to influence spatial adaption in Newcastle and Charleston is questionable. The richer experience that can be gained from an identification of the micro-geography of human experience in GIS is both encouraging within a period specialism that

has shied away from spatial analysis and offers a new approach for the study of spatial systems moving forward. Part of the current problem has been an over-reliance on textual source material to contextualise history in space without properly analysing space as the main thrust of research. While such sources are valuable, and have been used in this study, they only offer generalised statements regarding people in the urban landscape. As these spatial generalisations were frequently reaffirmed by successors they present a spatial understanding of Newcastle and Charleston that is based on functional and social segregation. Such statements have then been supported by notions of built environments that embodied definitions of historic division, whether that be social, religious, racial, gendered, or economic.

Newcastle and Charleston showed gradual movement towards greater segregation, especially after 1800, but segregation was far from straight-forward, nor could it be described as wholly successful. While current scholarship has interpreted the arrangement of urban space in Newcastle and Charleston as supporting theories of strong society distinctions, the reality of a complex interplay within space introduces important questions regarding the motivations of elites, and their ability to change the urban environment to one of their choosing. The failure to establish areas of ‘boundary marking’ that separated elites from the lower and middle classes might be interpreted as a deterioration of elite power within two urban societies conducive to financial and social hierarchy, particularly within their patriarchal corporations. Yet the prioritisation of elite motivations was far more obvious in the construction of London’s city squares, or the Georgian transformation of Bath, for example. Newcastle’s and Charleston’s Councils did not progress into modern planning departments until the early nineteenth century and, as such, the negligence of administrators made it difficult to seize overall control of urban development. Neither corporation got to grips with urban development, preferring short-term and smaller projects, which had greater success than long-term strategies that did not materialize into an over-arching development plan. By the

time ‘planning’ was considered on a bureaucratic level in the early nineteenth century, both cities were hindered by populations willing to question such actions: Charleston through its private property owners; and Newcastle via radical politicians. Furthermore, both cities experienced times of financial difficulty and unexpected events that required correction. Consequently, for much of the period under study, redevelopment was a larger part of Newcastle’s and Charleston’s spatial history than new development, and that hindered the ability of elites to control spatial segregation that was more easily achieved within newly planned space.

Mercantile interests were a crucial contributing factor to the failure of Newcastle’s and Charleston’s spatial systems to segregate. For mercantile economies, the mixed spatial reality of urban life mirrored the mixed social interactions that were an accepted and necessary part of success. I argue that inclusion within these mercantile societies was based on wealth, in addition to status, and has given greater breadth to observations of mixed interaction within the urban culture of other British port cities (such as Bristol or Liverpool).⁴ Urbanisation and modernisation drove change, but Newcastle’s and Charleston’s mercantile communities also integrated adaption within their models because this created successful and resilient economies. The spatial arrangement of activity within Newcastle and Charleston was a physical manifestation of a varied approach to social interaction and economic competition. It contrasted with settlements such as Savannah where James Oglethorpe, in the early eighteenth century, placed greater restrictions on land-use as part of an agrarian design for the colony that would have greater long-term impact on spatial cohesion.⁵ Newcastle’s and Charleston’s spatial systems had greater flexibility, but such flexibility required a degree of spatial freedom by corporate administrators to accommodate private enterprise that might not necessarily

⁴ Colin G. Pooley, ‘Living in Liverpool: The Modern City’, in John Belchem (ed.), *Liverpool 800: Culture, Character and History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006), pp176-177; Gregory Stevens Cox, *St Peter Port, 1680-1830: The History of an International Entrepôt* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 5.

⁵ Thomas D. Wilson, *The Oglethorpe Plan: Enlightenment Design in Savannah and Beyond* (London: University of Virginia Press, 2012), pp. 72; 86-88.

match elite motivations. So, while Newcastle's and Charleston's corporations failed to proactively engage in any significant urban planning prior to the early nineteenth century, it may also have been a deliberate exercise in competitive economics. Such observations are important because they reduce the assumed action of elites in creating urban space that was motivated by enlightened principles of polite cultural interaction. The reality was that elites had a narrow chronological window within which to achieve these aims. Instead, within port cities at least, the more likely scenario was that toleration of diverse functional, social, and economic mixing was advantageous within accepted business practices. Such toleration was dependent, however, on a wider separation of society based on wealth. Once the middle classes had a greater presence within urban space, elites found ways to distinguish themselves. Movement towards greater segregation, observable in Newcastle and Charleston after the 1820s, was part of this emerging process.

The production of research grounded in an understanding of spatial development has universal applications for urban history moving forward. The chronological banding identified within this thesis provides a sequential model that can be applied to any urban system to better understand the phases through which development occurred between 1740 and 1840. The sequential model redefines the treatment of urban space in several ways. Firstly, it means that the physical shift of early modern settlements into modern cities is better understood and represented through detailed analysis of transition. The eighteenth-century urban environment has long since been identified as one of dynamism and transition, but little has been done to understand this physical evolution in detail. The identification of similar periods of development within two cities of different age and population suggests some predetermination of how port cities developed between 1740 and 1840 that needs to be better understood. Secondly, the chronological periods highlight the importance of personal endeavour and personal space that conflicts with the agendas of civic administrators. These were not confined to linear conflicts between elites and non-elites, but more often produced

means for complex mixed social interaction within and about urban space. The ability to distinguish between the individual and corporate has not been restricted in time or social class so can be extended beyond the period under study here. Thirdly, the model establishes the concept of the phased introduction of urban planning and development policy that was gradually applied within urban corporations. Urban planning has been readily understood in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century contexts, but it was not an abrupt process. Urban planning and development policy were gradually applied by administrators within urban corporations, but such processes can only be understood if individual urban case studies elect to consider urban space and development policy before 1800. Finally, recent scholarship has argued that preconceptions have been formed around the role of internal versus external city space because of bias towards historic expansion.⁶ The detailed analysis of the role of redevelopment breaks the cycle of new development being the only appropriate method of considering growth in pre-modern cities and their transition to the modern era.

⁶ Jaap Evert Abrahamse et al., ‘Introduction’, in Jaap Evert Abrahamse et al. (eds.), *Inner City Dynamics: Transformations of the Spatial Structure and Appearance of Pre-Modern European Towns, 1300-1800* (Turnhout: Brepols, in press).

APPENDIX ONE

Cartographic Source Material

Part of the decision-making process for selecting Newcastle and Charleston as case studies related to the range, and quality, of surviving cartographic material within city archives. As the project considered change between 1740 and 1840 several maps were needed for comparison. In addition, the establishment of broadly comparable mapping-epochs between Newcastle and Charleston was an advantage, as well as maps that would provide comparison to both cities trade directories. The mapping-epochs used for each city, and the dates of trade directories are shown in table A1.1 below.

Table A1.1: Cartographic and trade directory sources by date

Newcastle Map	Newcastle Trade Directory	Charleston Map	Charleston Trade Directory
		1739	
1746			
1770			
	1778		
			1782
1788		1788	
	1790		1790
	1801		1801
1802		1802	
1827			
	1829		
1830			
			1840
		1842	

Survival of Charleston's cartographic material presented a greater challenge than Newcastle. As table A1.1 demonstrates, there were typically longer periods between mapping-epochs in Charleston, and it remains unclear whether this limitation relates to source

creation or source survival. But, the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century provided a cluster of comparable dates between the two cities: 1788; 1790; 1801; and 1802 that was not possible when other case studies were considered.

The ten maps shown in table A1.1 formed the basis of spatial analysis within GIS, with a further seven maps providing additional consultation only, because they fell outside of the specific date range or were limited in terms of cartographic quality. The historic nature of the cartographic material meant that each source had to be georeferenced to assign the image real-world coordinates. Surviving landmarks are identified and Ground Control Points created that transform the pictorial image into a historic map layer. At least three points are required to georeference a layer and these need to be spread over the complete map. Both cities had a range of historic buildings, such as churches, civic buildings, and fortifications that formed the basis of these real-world control points that were matched up to a modern, twenty-first century, digital map of each city. The method also establishes a residual, or Root Mean Square (RMS) error that establishes the difference between where the control points end up as opposed to the actual location that is specified. At the city scale, the lower the RMS error the better. Each map was georeferenced to the lowest RMS error possible, with the aim of less than ten meters difference. As a general guide, georeferencing skews the pictorial image as it is morphed into a real-world view. Older maps, particularly those created as bird's-eye views, rather than mathematically surveyed, are more problematic and create greater distortion. Tables A1.2 and A1.3 provide a list of every map consulted, alongside its RMS error. Figures A1.1 to A1.17 show the original .jpg of each map.

Newcastle

Table A1.2: Cartographic sources for Newcastle

Date	Map	Bird's-eye view	Surveyed	Ground Control Points	RMS Error
1610	Newcastle, John Speed	✓			
1723	Newcastle, James Corbridge	✓		5	5.45
1736	Newcastle, Henry Bourne	✓		5	8.27
1746	Plan of Newcastle, Isaac Thompson	✓		5	6.16
1770	A plan of Newcastle, Charles Hutton		✓	11	5.9
1788	Newcastle, Ralph Beilby		✓	8	4.57
1802	Plan of Newcastle, L. A. Kidd		✓	11	6.18
1827	Newcastle, John Wood		✓	17	4.7
1830	Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver		✓	12	3.57
1838	Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver		✓	10	5.55

Charleston

Table A1.3: Cartographic sources of Charleston

Date	Map	Bird's-eye view	Surveyed	Ground Control Points	RMS Error
1704	Plan of Charles Town, Edward Crisp	✓			
1739	Ichnography of Charleston, Roberts and Toms	✓		5	6.3
1780	Sketch of the Operations before Charlestown, Henry Clinton		✓	7	0.0
1788	Ichnography of Charleston, Adam Petrie		✓	5	0.0
1802	Plan of the City of Charleston, G. Ronson		✓	5	6.2
1842	Plan of the City of Charleston, J. S. Nixon		✓	7	0.0
1852	Map of the City of Charleston, Bridgens and Allen		✓	5	4.3

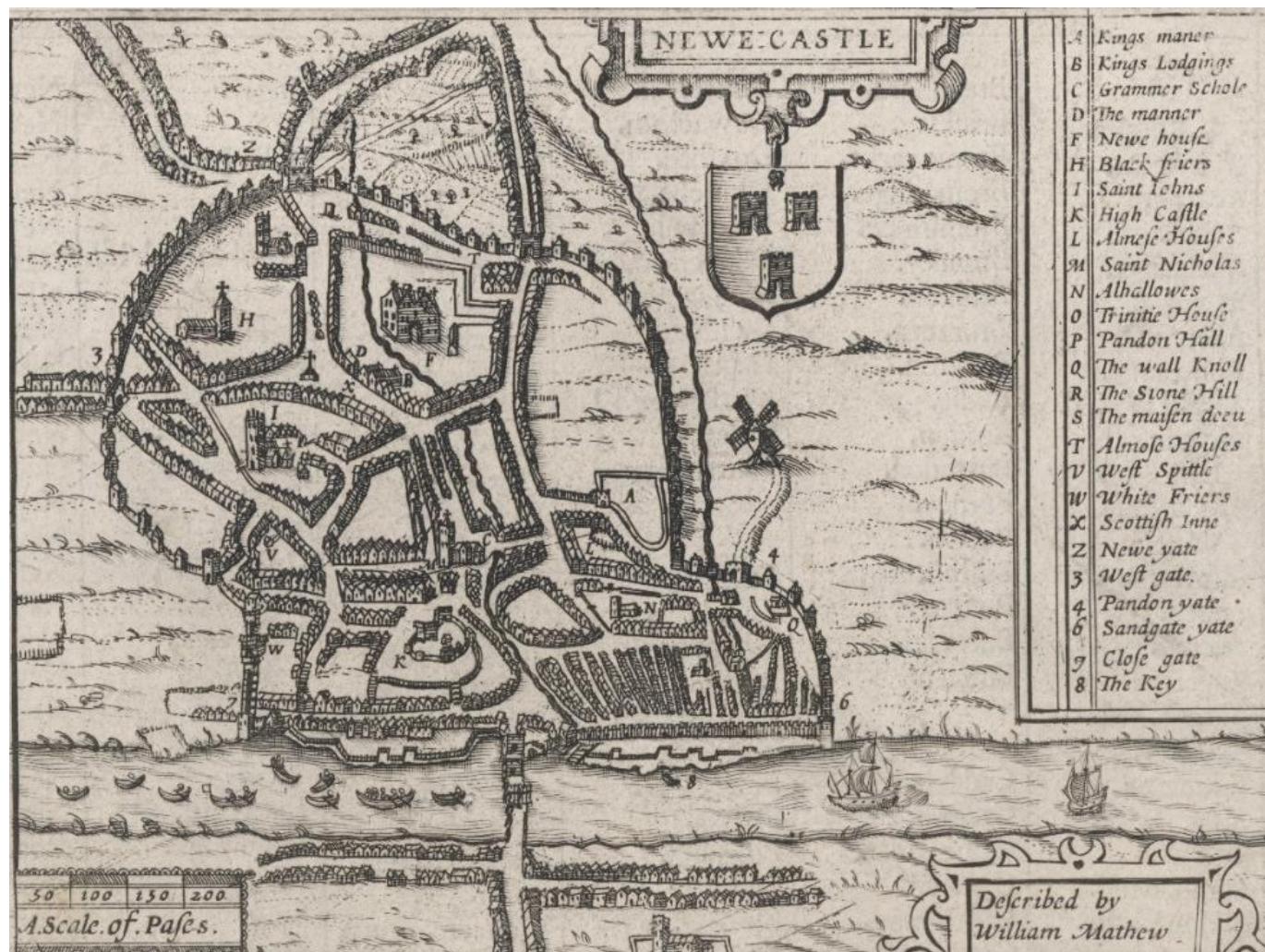


Figure A1.1: Newcastle, John Speed, 1610

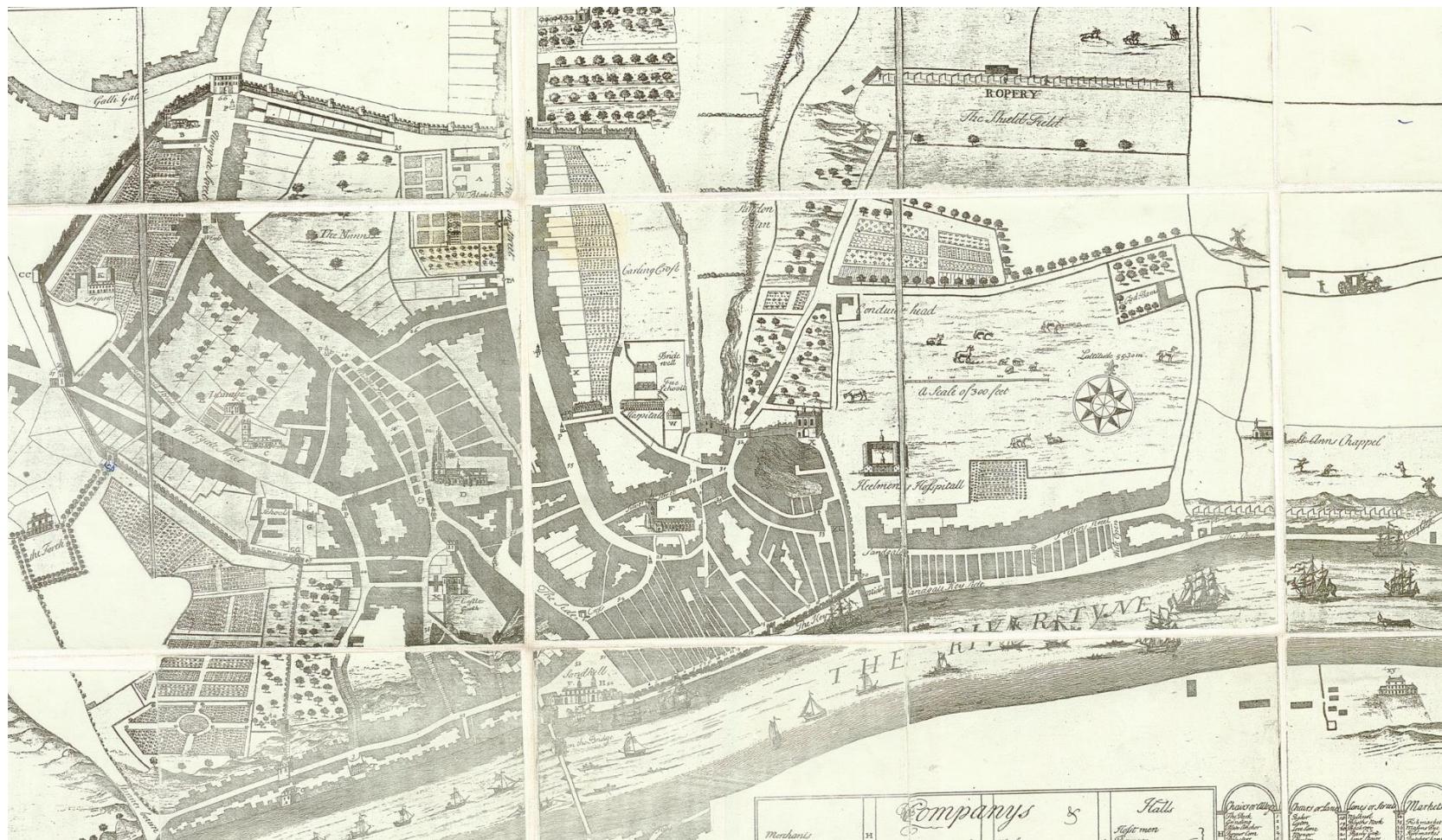


Figure A1.2: Newcastle, James Corbridge, 1723

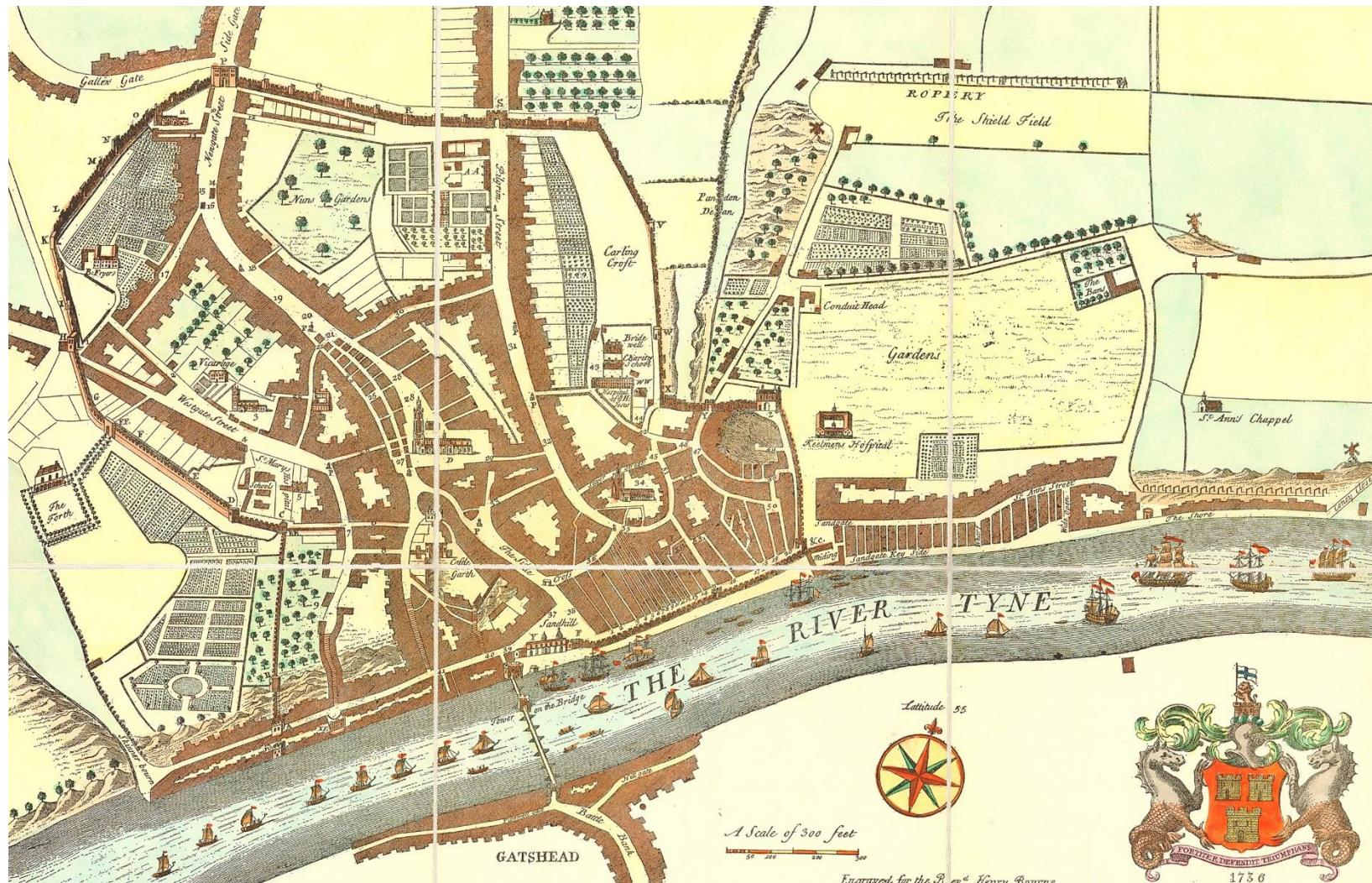


Figure A1.3: Newcastle, Henry Bourne, 1736



Figure A1.4: Plan of Newcastle, Isaac Thompson, 1746



Figure A1.5: A plan of Newcastle, Charles Hutton, 1770



Figure A1.6: Newcastle, Ralph Beilby, 1788



Figure A1.7: Plan of Newcastle, L. A. Kidd, 1802



Figure A1.8: Newcastle, John Wood, 1827

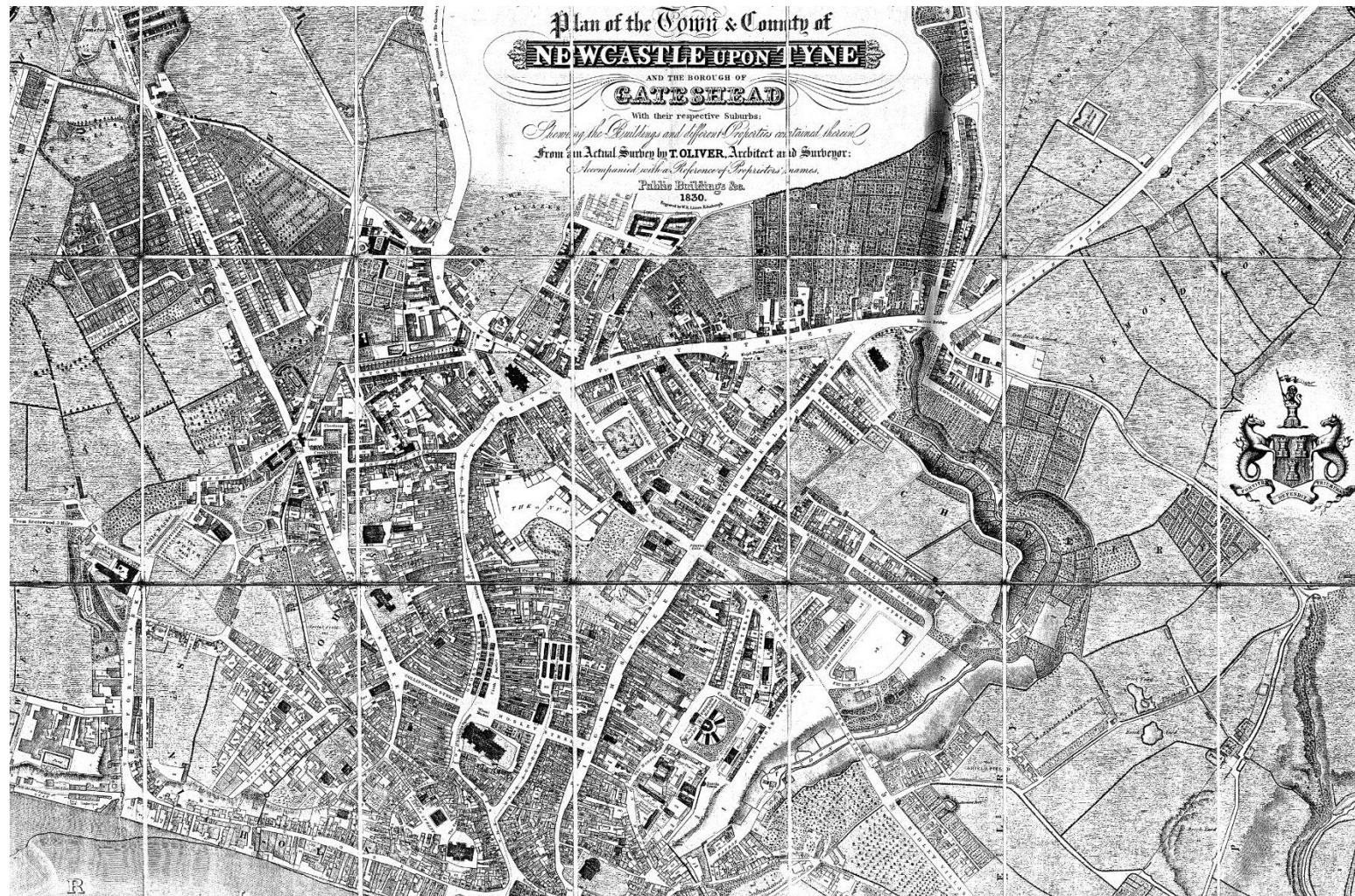


Figure A1.9: Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver, 1830



Figure A1.10: Plan of Newcastle, Thomas Oliver, 1838

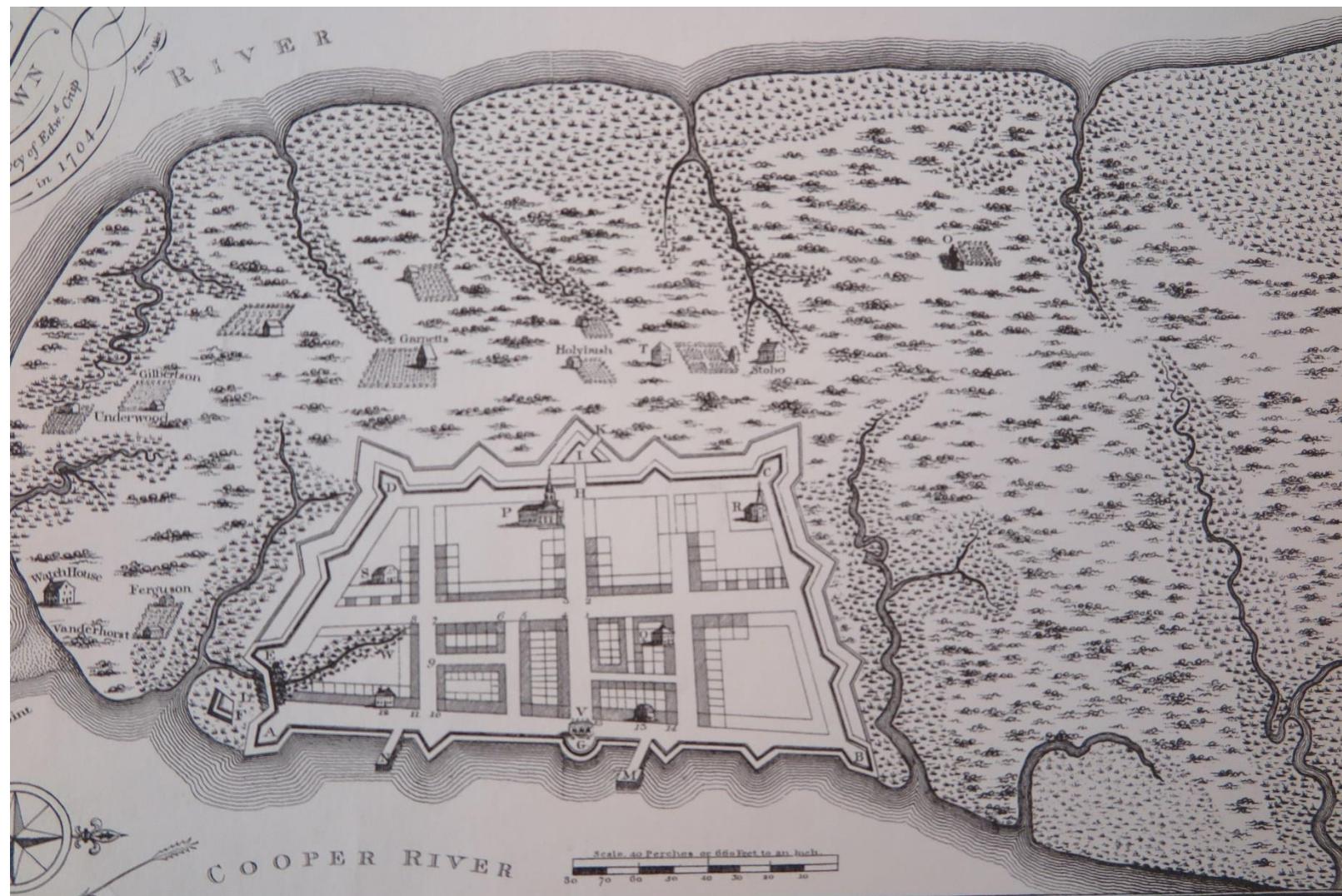


Figure A1.11: Plan of Charles Town, Edward Crisp, 1704



Figure A1.12: Ichnography of Charleston, Roberts and Toms, 1739



Figure A1.13: Sketch of the Operations before Charlestown, Henry Clinton, 1780

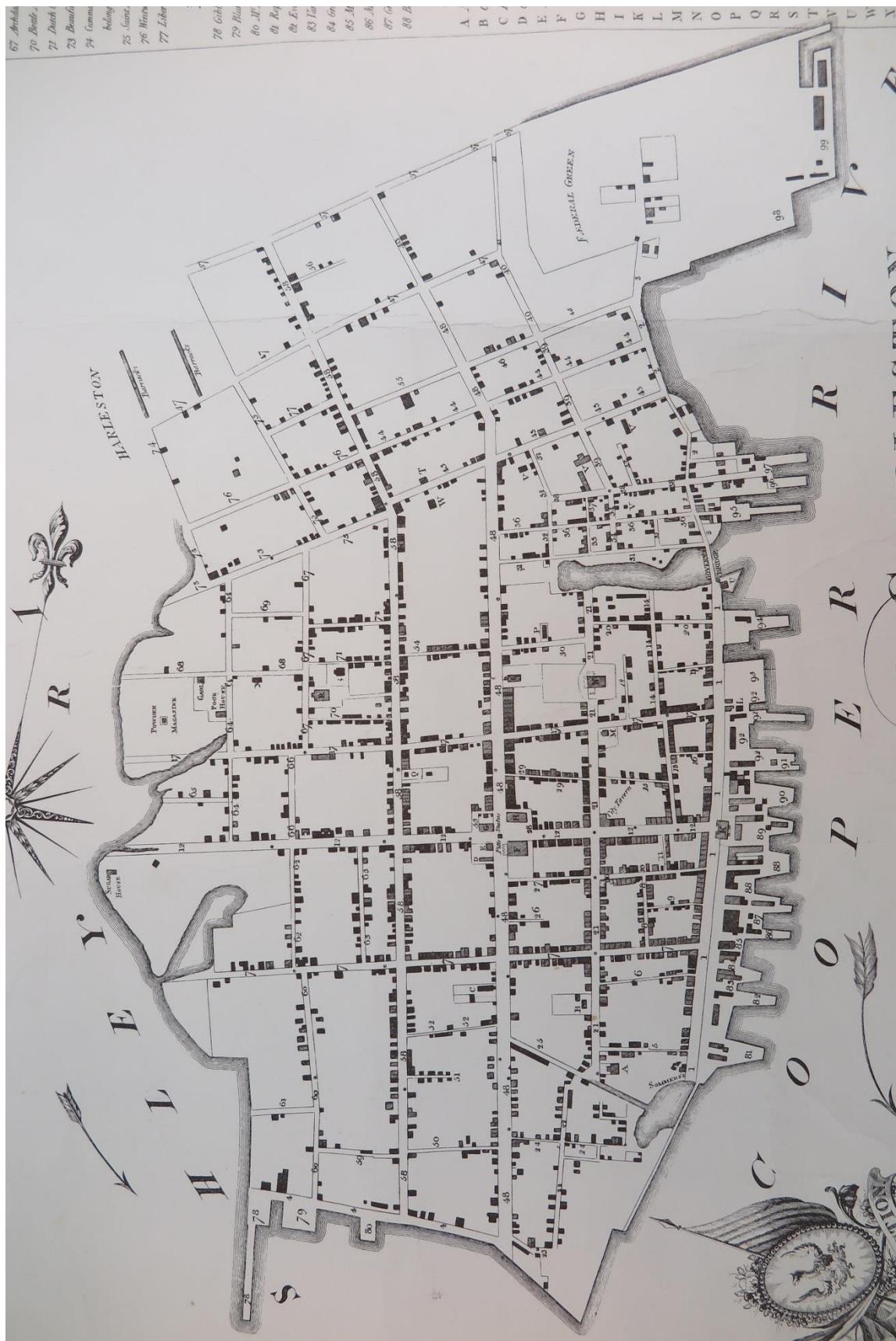


Figure A1.14: Ichnography of Charleston, Adam Petrie, 1788



Figure A1.15: Plan of the City of Charleston, G. Ronson, 1802



Figure A1.16: Plan of the City of Charleston, J. S. Nixon, 1842



Figure A1.17: Map of the City of Charleston, Bridgens and Allen, 1852

APPENDIX TWO

Newcastle Characterisation Methodology

DATABASE METHODOLOGY

The Access database developed for the characterisation exercise has one core table that is split into a series of tabbed screens for data entry. Figure A2.1 shows the *1830-38* tab, or front page of the database that details the *UID*, as well as mapping data.

The remaining tabs represent a characterisation for the five sources of historic mapping: 1827; 1802; 1788; 1770; and 1746. The database records the hierarchical relationship between *Class*, *Family*, and *Type* in drop-down lists. For example, *Class1 Commercial*, can be further defined as *Family1 Shops*, which can be narrowly defined as *Type1 Grocer*.

The database is more expansive than characterisation methodology developed by Historic England's Historic Landscape Characterisation exercise. Each plot has the capacity for up to two characterisations to be recorded, which better reflects the mixed nature of urban space when considering micro-geographies. *FormFloor1* and *FormFloor2* were used to establish which floor the characterisation referred to. In theory, a database could be created that reflected every floor and multiple spatial uses within a polygon, but researchers would need to think carefully about data extraction and visualisation. The database also contains data relating to a series of attributes that are also accessible from within each period tab (Table A2.1). General information such as *Confidence* and *Period* are common within any characterisation methodology. A range of additional information recorded plot and building dimensions, as well as the inclusion of plot type. Building scale, density, and human occupation was also considered that helped to establish the changing level of human habitation as a substitute for Newcastle's poor census data.

Ncl_tbl Ncl_frm

1830-38	1827	1802	1788	1770	1746
UID:	131				
m1830_Class1	Commercial	▼	1830_Class2	Residential	▼
m1830_Family1	Shops	▼	1830_Family2	House/s	▼
m1830_Type1	Grocer	▼	1830_Type2		▼
m1830_Confidence1	Certain	▼	1830_Confidence2	Certain	▼
m1830_Period1	Modern	▼	1830_Period2	Modern	▼
m1830_Form Floor1	Ground	▼	1830_Form Floor2	Upper	▼
1830_Building Scale	Large	▼	1830_Plot Type		▼
m1830_Density	Medium	▼	1830_Plot Size	Small	▼
m1830_Occupancy	Single person/Single family	▼	1830_Plot Frontage Size	Small	▼
m1830_Event:			1830_Street Scale		▼
m1830_Notes:	The 1838 trade book lists the residence of William Sutton as 37 Mosley street.		m1830_Source:		

Figure A2.1: Newcastle Characterisation Database

Table A2.1: Newcastle characterisation database attribute list

Confidence	Period	Form Floor	Building Scale	Density	Occupancy	Plot Type	Plot Size	Plot Frontage Size	Street Scale
Certain	Modern	Basement	Large	High	Single person/family	Yard	Large	Large	Major
Probable	Early Modern	Ground	Medium	Medium	Multiple persons/family	Ornamental garden	Medium	Medium	Residential
Possible	Middle Ages	Upper	Small	Low		Garden	Small	Small	Occupation
		Whole Building					Very Small	Very Small	Footpath
		Unknown							

POLYGON LAYER

The characterisation exercise was mapped using ESRI's ArcGIS 10.4. Historic maps were georeferenced within each historic GIS, as detailed in Appendix One. The use of ArcGIS also allowed other datasets, such as parish boundaries from Tyne & Wear Historic Environment Record Office to be displayed within the same user space.

Polygonisation creates one seamless layer within ArcGIS that is linked to the Access database. The layer needs to be created with reference to only one map so that property boundaries are respected throughout the layer. Thomas Oliver's map of 1830 was selected as the most accurate and detailed map for reference as it included every property and plot boundary in the city with an accompanying guide detailing ownership. In consequence, polygonisation does not always match precisely with earlier mapping epochs because of unavoidable inaccuracies between georeferenced layers. However, the five further sources of historic mapping were consulted to ascertain previous land uses and the date of origin, and if necessary polygons were further sub-divided to reflect earlier land-use patterns.

The polygon layer forms a Shapefile of six hundred and five polygons (figure A2.2). An area that included Sandgate, the Side, Mosley and Dean Streets, and Pilgrim Street was comprehensively mapped, and in addition every street was mapped. Spatial polygon data from ArcGIS is joined to the Access database with a single common field OBJECTID. All non-graphical data is available for querying within the Access database, while graphical and non-graphical data is available for querying within ArcGIS.

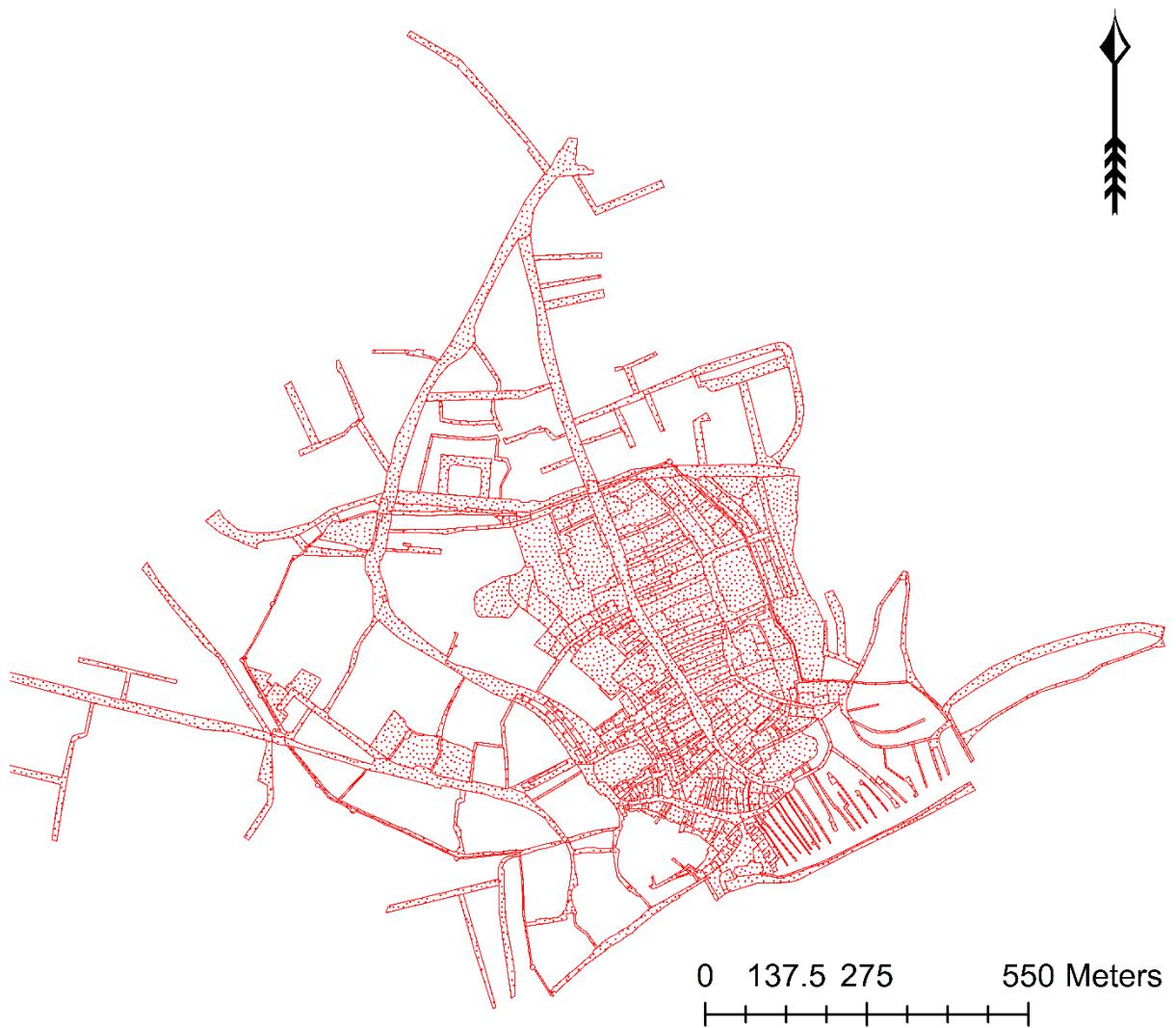


Figure A2.2: Newcastle polygon layer

APPENDIX THREE

The Relative Morphological Scales of Newcastle and Charleston

Charleston's built environment consistently covered a larger land mass than Newcastle between 1740 and 1840. Some caution needs to be applied therefore when considering the relative scales of Newcastle and Charleston within the thesis maps because visual representation can distort the appearance of activity in space by making it appear closer or further apart because of longer street lengths. The relative street lengths of Mosley Street and King Street, that both provided areas of luxury consumption in the 1790s, provides a case in point (figure A3.1). Newcastle is scaled to Charleston to demonstrate the difference between the two cities.



Figure A3.1: Relative street scales: Newcastle's Mosley Street and Charleston's King Street

King Street, measuring 1,762 metres in length, was approximately eleven times longer than Mosley Street that measured 159.52 metres in length. When commercial space was considered, luxury consumption appeared to be clustered in Newcastle in comparison to Charleston, but the relative street scales exacerbated this appearance. The majority of luxury consumption in Charleston was found along two street lengths of a single block between King and Broad Streets, both of which had similar lengths to Newcastle's Mosley Street. The length of King Street between Broad and Queen Streets (1 to 2) measured 163.35 metres, and

the length of Broad Street between King and Meeting Streets (1 to 3) measured 158.48 metres, resulting in similar clustering of shops as those that occurred along Mosley Street.

APPENDIX FOUR

Newcastle's Plot-Layout

Table A4.1: Plot and Street Frontage sizes in Newcastle, 1830

1830 Plot Size	1830 Plot Frontage Size	Number of Polygons
Large	Large	4%
Large	Medium	0.7%
Medium	Large	0.3%
Medium	Medium	0.7%
Medium	Small	0.3%
Small	Large	1.1%
Small	Medium	6.3%
Small	Small	15%
Small	Very Small	0.7%
Very Small	Medium	0.3%
Very Small	Small	12%
Very Small	Very Small	4.1%

Table A4.2: Plot Size and Street Frontage dimensions

Plot Size	Footprint	Plot Frontage Size	Width
Large	>1000sqm	Large	>20m
Medium	500-1000sqm	Medium	10-20m
Small	100-500sqm	Small	5-10m
Very Small	<100sqm	Very Small	<5m

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ORAL PRESENTATIONS

- Clemente, Alida, Lindström, Dag, and Stobart, Jon, M35: Micro-Geographies of the City, c. 1600-1900: Spaces and Places, Practices and Representations, Urban Renewal and Resilience: Cities in Comparative Perspective, EAUH 2018, Roma Tre University, Rome, August 31, 2018.
- Everill, Bronwen, “Slavery and Urban Life: New Orleans and Saint-Louis in the Eighteenth Century Imperial Atlantic”, M17: Challenges or Opportunities? The Social Fabric of Colonial Port Cities, 1500-1850, Urban Renewal and Resilience: Cities in Comparative Perspective, EAUH 2018, Roma Tre University, Rome, August 30, 2018.
- Rodger, Richard, “State of the Discipline: Obstacles, Opportunities, Prospects”, Keynote Lecture, Cities@SAS: New Researchers in Modern Urban History, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, London, July 4, 2016.

INTERVIEWS

- Pemberton, Katherine, and Emmons, Karen, oral conversation with author, April 4, 2016.
- Lewis, Simon Keith, oral conversation with author, April 5, 2016.