The View From the Street: Housing and Shopping in York during the Long Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

This PhD investigates housing and shopping in York during the long eighteenth century. It focuses on the use of buildings biographies. This method links buildings with particular individuals, facilitating the study of how both house and owner influenced each other. These biographies were then used to examine three major themes. Firstly, the appearance and perception of the streetscape, particularly in light of scholarly theories of urban improvement. Secondly, room use and the experience of domestic space. Thirdly, the use of retail space and in particular how the physical fabric can inform our understanding of how these spaces were encountered. This enables eighteenth-century urban spaces to be considered not just as the products of improvement, but as a complex mixture of old and new architecture that influenced the social practices that they housed.

Contents

List of Figures

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation is original except where indicated by special reference in the text and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other degree. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author and in no way represent the University of York. The dissertation has not been presented to any other university either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Introduction

This thesis investigates housing and shopping in York during the long eighteenth century and will focus on three major areas: perceptions of the streetscape, interior domestic space and the experience of shopping. Academic analysis of eighteenth-century streets and houses have been heavily influenced by two major ideas – the 'urban renaissance' and Georgianisation or the Georgian Order thesis. The eighteenth century saw a marked change in material culture that encompassed consumer goods, houses, and landscapes. Furthermore, these cultural products were linked to new ways of living, and both expressed and encouraged ideas of order, symmetry and segregation. These two terms therefore describe a broadly similar process and the reason for this multiplication arises largely out of disciplinary boundaries, with historians writing about the urban renaissance (Borsay 1989; Stobart *et al* 2007) and archaeologists writing about Georgianisation (Johnson 2010; Leone 2005; Deetz 1996). However both historians and archaeologists have tended to focus on the big picture and how these processes play out on a regional or national scale. The value of the current thesis is to examine how and if these larger narratives work at ground level. It created biographies of both streets and houses and used these to investigate how the eighteenth-century urban environment was actually constituted and perceived. It is the argument of this thesis that once towns such as York begin to be examined on a street-by-street level then these normative models begin to break down and a much more complex picture emerges.

When visitors picture York in their heads they often think of medieval timber-framed buildings, their jetties arching out over the street. Yet, in the eighteenth century, York was also a leading centre for polite society in the north, and the city's Georgian architecture has also been acknowledged to be one of the most distinctive significant aspects of its built heritage. 'The View from the Street' is an innovative project which explored how the detailed analysis of houses and the minute changes made to their fabric, form and function, sheds light on their changing uses and meanings over time. When combined with the painstaking study of letters, diaries, maps, newspapers, illustrations and early photographs, it can be used to generate a series of 'street stories' and 'building

biographies' about the communities and individuals who owned, occupied and visited these buildings at the dawn of the modern era. These carefully-crafted 'stories' are beginning to enable historical archaeologists to challenge the sweeping generalisations and over-arching narratives of 'urban renaissance' which have hitherto dominated the humanities' understanding of early modern provincial cities such as York.

This thesis aimed to break new ground in historical archaeology by developing a truly inter-disciplinary approach to the analysis of the streetscapes and domestic spaces of the Georgian city. The project highlighted the potential of material culture to challenge and nuance historical accounts of the large-scale social and cultural changes associated with the emergence of modernity, such as the concept of eighteenth-century urban improvement.

Chapter One
Literature Review

The aim of this thesis is to investigate housing and shopping in York during the long eighteenth century and will focus on three major areas: perceptions of the streetscape, interior domestic space and the experience of shopping. Archaeological consideration of different house forms, from medieval timber frames through to classical Georgian homes, is therefore a major consideration. Yet these houses also have to be put into a larger context, both in terms of the urban landscape as a whole and also in terms of the work carried out by scholars from a variety of disciplines, including history, social geography and art history. In many cases it is these disciplines that have set the agenda for academic study during this period and this thesis will demonstrate the contribution that archaeology can make to the discussion. This chapter will critique the literature concerning the variety of house forms during the Georgian period but also examine how this intersects with ideas of the urban renaissance, perceptions of the streetscape, shops and shopping, household interiors and privacy and also the specific context of York. This review of past scholarly work will demonstrate how essential it is to integrate all these subjects when considering how houses and streets were used and experienced at the time. The chapter will follow a nested approach, starting with the broader themes surrounding Georgian urban landscapes before gradually narrowing the focus. It will begin by examining theories of the streetscape, before analysing interior space, shopping and then looking specifically at the research that has been conducted in York.

The Streetscape

It is useful to begin with studies of the streetscape and Habermas's belief that eighteenth-century urban life allowed for new forms of political debate in which private individuals came together to form a public (Ogborn 1998, 76). For Habermas, this period was characterized by the rise of the public sphere, a development that was powered by literate men and women who formed the genesis of the bourgeoisie (Goodman 1995, 1). The formation of the public sphere also had spatial implications, as it was not just articulated in journals such as *The Tatler* but in locations such as coffee houses (Mah 2000, 157). This

has been taken as a starting point by the social geographer Miles Ogborn who considers how contemporary urban spaces might have contributed to these new forms of contact and critically analyses the process by which this would have occurred. Three main areas are considered: imagined spaces in political philosophy, plans for the paving of Westminster and representations of public spaces. Ogborn argues that urban improvement has to be understood in terms of Humean notions of the civilised city where:

> '... they must feel an increase of humanity, from the very act of conversing together, and contributing to each other's pleasure and entertainment.' (Hume 1758, 159 cited Ogborn 1998, 90).

In other words, public spaces such as formal squares and well-paved streets were not just the products of improvement but a key mechanism in allowing the bourgeoisie to converse and engendering new forms of behaviour. 'Politeness' was a large overarching concept, aspects of which will be scrutinised throughout this chapter. These incorporated the idea of class inclusiveness, by which the aristocracy, lesser gentry and rich merchants came together on terms of polite sociability (Borsay 2000, 7, 10). It had a performative aspect, with an emphasis placed on good manners as the display of an ethical code (Vickery 1998, 197). Finally, and most pertinently in relation to the subject of the thesis, it had physical expression through the new buildings and urban improvements of the eighteenth century (Stobart *et al* 2007, 7). This concept of the city leads Ogborn (1998, 90) to the belief that it is only the polite spaces and the major streets that were valued enough to be paved, lit, regularly cleaned and made safe – in short, civilised.

Associated with the idea of politeness is the issue of social status. Older historical work has portrayed a sharp, antagonistic dividing line between the middling sort and the landed gentry (Davidoff and Hall 1987; Smail 1994). Yet as Vickery (1998, 13) has convincingly demonstrated, there is a blurred ambiguous zone between the middling sort and gentry that is associated with a group variously labeled the lesser gentry, parish gentry or urban gentry. In towns these included merchants, tradesmen and professionals (Stobart 2011, 107). The wealth of these individuals could vary dramatically but they all styled themselves as gentlemen (*ibid*). Vickery has created the label, 'the genteel', to describe an elite that included lesser landed gentry, established tradesmen and

professionals. There might be distinctions between them in terms of professions and possession of land, but they often had personal, professional and civic connections. Furthermore, they all participated in polite society and the social practices that went with that, including entertaining at home and attendance at the public forums such as assembly rooms. This conclusion is also reached by Stobart (2011, 107), who sees the same groupings of individuals as forming an urban elite who had shared similar ideas of taste and material culture. This thesis therefore adopts the convention of using the term genteel, with the majority of individuals discussed in the thesis falling into this broad social group.

Of particular importance are the ideas of Peter Borsay, whose work has set the agenda on Georgian urban environments. Borsay (1989, 16) saw the 'long eighteenth century' as marking the beginning of an 'urban renaissance'. This was characterised by towns and cities after the Restoration of 1660 experiencing gradual but far-ranging changes, not just in terms of their prosperity and commercial development but also in how urban social structures were constituted and performed. He saw the renewal and transformation of the urban landscape as a central feature of this renaissance, with the town's physical form being used as an outward sign of its status and wealth (Borsay 1989, 41). However, like Ogborn, he saw this physical transformation as not just a passive reflection of urban success but as actively helping to create new modes of living for the elite classes. New forms of Georgian architecture, particularly the revival of classicism, were obviously of great importance in this transformation. Borsay placed great emphasis on the exterior appearance of eighteenth-century buildings, with order, balance and symmetry being singled out as the key qualities of the Georgian house (Borsay 1989, 52).

However, the problem with these analyses is that they pay very little attention to the urban environment as it was materially constituted. Ogborn, for example, admits that the he is less interested in the success of paving schemes than what these schemes can reveal about how space and identities were idealised (Ogborn 1998, 91). Borsay used extensive examples from York and even singled Micklegate out as one of a number of 'archetypal Georgian streets'. However, while these scholars provide numerous examples of improvements taken from both London and provincial cities, the reality on the ground is not

really considered. The new is emphasised over the old and there is little attempt at analyzing how the eighteenth-century buildings fitted into the urban landscape that already existed. In other words, change is investigated on a city-wide or national level but not the extent to which a particular street or groups of streets were actually transformed over the course of the period. This is of critical importance as their arguments rest on the idea that order and regularity are key features of this 'renaissance'. This raises the question of whether this ordered landscape being described and analysed by historians was something that was actually experienced by inhabitants walking the streets of eighteenth-century cities.

Micklegate, for example, and indeed York in general, contains numerous instances that contradict the ordered representations of these streetscapes. As will be demonstrated, numerous timber-framed houses still survived in the eighteenth century, even in elite residential streets such as Micklegate and Castlegate. This palimpsest is also evident in Blake Street, the site of Lord Burlington's highly fashionable Assembly Rooms. The Assembly Rooms are often presented as the embodiment of early British classicism (Girouard 1990, 141). Yet the house directly opposite the Assembly Rooms does not echo this pure academic style but is instead a re-fronted medieval building (RCHME 1981, 107). The new frontage does contain classical features, such as plat bands and flat-arch lintels, but it is only two storeys high and half of the house is on a different alignment to the other half. It is hardly a shining example of Georgian domestic architecture, with its emphasis on symmetry and proportion. So while some elements of the street would have conformed to classical taste and symmetrical frontages, other elements would have stood in stark contrast, promoting a different aesthetic.

This problem is exacerbated by the fact that many of the more influential analyses of the eighteenth-century streetscape stem from the theoretical assumption that the urban landscape helped to structure social experience as well as reflect it. The urban street, it is argued, became the embodiment of a wider ideal of urban space and that the new Georgian architecture helped to convey meanings of 'order, regulation and respectability' (Borsay 1989, 42; Stobart *et al* 2007, 110). In some respects this is a positive aspect of the work and is very much in line with structuration theory in archaeology. Here, both

buildings and landscapes are not seen as simply mirrors but as having active roles in shaping society (Johnson 2010; Giles 2000; Gilchrist 1997; Barrett 1994). Structuration theory draws on the ideas of Anthony Giddens who emphasizes the importance of the body and its engagement with the world (Giddens 1984, xxi). This is a focus shared by the historian De Certeau (1984). De Certeau critiqued the use of both maps and views from high places (such as skyscrapers) in the analysis of cities. For while these provided 'a way of seeing the whole' (Certeau 1984, 92), they also producing a top-down, totalizing conceptualization of the city under consideration. For an alternative perspective, he advocated the value of walking and a street-level perspective as a way to access everyday social practices.

In the case of Borsay, these theoretical assumptions are often implicit. Several of Borsay's arguments rest on the ability of urban landscapes to help structure social behaviour, but he does not explore the reasoning behind this. Modern recent commentators are more explicit. In *Spaces of Consumption* (Stobart *et al* 2007, 21), the authors emphasise how day-to-day actions help to transform social practice. They acknowledge the impact of theorists such as Giddens and De Certeau and illustrate how human actions are framed by distinct urban environments.

However, if we accept that architecture helps to structure social behaviour then the actual composition of the street is of critical importance. For if the physical fabric is substantially different from what has traditionally been portrayed by historians, then it follows that the meanings that were produced must also have been different. Earlier vernacular houses and narrow, winding streets were a common feature of the eighteenth century and how they impacted on how people lived and moved around the city need to be reconsidered. It is often assumed, rather than proved, that timber-framed buildings were looked down on and this attitude is especially prominent in the work of Peter Borsay. Classicism, for example, 'gave the street an integrity and elegance that it had never displayed before' (Borsay 1989, 60) and street improvements allowed for a 'more convenient and comfortable physical environment' (Borsay 1989, 42), one that was aligned with progress. As we have already seen, the streetscape of eighteenth-century York was very different from the ordered landscape portrayed by historians. It is the aim of this thesis, therefore, to explore how the

reality of the street was experienced on a day-to-day level, both in how it influenced people's perceptions and helped to structure ways of living.

York should not be considered an isolated example. Where academics have noted that Georgian streets were not always as neat as could be desired this is usually explained away in terms of lack of money or organisation, yet York was part of a small group of elite provincial capitals (Borsay 1989, 8) and if York could not muster the resources then many smaller towns must also have been in the same position. Borsay's concept of the urban renaissance works best in resort towns such as Bath that did see large-scale expansion and transformation in the eighteenth century but he is less able (or willing) to deal with the complexity arising from towns that have centuries of accumulated fabric. Yet, as we will see later, even in the West End of London, the epicenter of fashionable England, this transformation was far from complete (Guillery 2004, 74). Furthermore, a number of other towns in the select group of provincial capitals, including Chester and Norwich, had several parallels with York. They were both the focus of polite society and also saw significant investment during the medieval period, investment which would have both constrained later attempts at urban renewal and left its mark on surviving timber-framed houses. Therefore the qualities of 'Georgianisation' which are singled out by scholars of uniformity and symmetry (Reed 2000, 616) just do not apply to many eighteenth-century urban environments.

Dan Hicks (2004, 938) has suggested that one of the strengths of historical archaeology is in refusing to 'tidy up' grand narratives such as Georgianisation. Complexities can be celebrated and new stories told about 'the conflicting materialities of improvement' (*ibid*). This speaks to the value of this thesis and to the methodology being employed. This thesis focused on the small scale, on reconstructing in detail the streetscapes of eighteenth-century York. Yet it has implications for wider studies as well. For if the appearance and perception of the streetscapes in York is more complex than previous thought, then this will also be true for many other English towns during this period and the whole subject of urban improvement is in need of reexamination.

Some recent studies have started to create a more nuanced picture and in particular the work of the social geographer and historian Jon Stobart (Stobart *et al* 2007; Hann and Stobart 2005; Stobart 1998). In *Sites of Consumption*, one

of the most extensive and stimulating reexaminations of eighteenth-century urban landscapes, Stobart *et al* (2007) analysed their subject through a range of scales, with chapters on 'The street', 'The building' and 'The individual'. They note some of the ambiguities of the urban renaissance and how improvements were often not universal, especially along lanes and alleys and even on main streets (*ibid*, 97). Stobart (1998, 14) had earlier explored the town of Chester in depth, demonstrating how the surviving medieval fabric of Chester was adapted to suit high-society needs, with the first-floor level of the row houses providing further opportunities to promenade and a place where the very best shops were located. Stobart *et al* (2007, 99) also warn against simple interpretations of consumption and how routine practices helped to characterise a street or building as fashionable. Both 'scripted' and unconscious performances could produce tensions, particularly between polite and plebian entertainments and practices (*ibid*, 107).

Yet there also some problems with this work. In a revealing sentence the authors state:

> 'It was, or at least was conceived and engineered to be, orderly and rational: a reflection of urban civility' (Stobart *et al* 2007, 109)

The authors maintain that improvements did help to civilise and regulate space, yet there is little attempt to chart the exact pace of change. There is, therefore, a lack of distinction between improvements that were actually realised and those that were just planned. While general trends are noted and examples given of changes in particular towns, the precise composition of even major streets are generally left unexamined. When ambiguities are noted, such as Eastgate Street in Chester, they are glossed over (*ibid*, 97), with the overiding message being that buildings and streets were increasingly presenting a unified space. However such glossing over is problematic given the book's theoretical assumptions. As has already been noted, the authors emphasise how the make-up of the street can help to structure social behaviour (*ibid*, 21). Therefore the exact nature of the physical environment and how it changes over time should be of critical importance in making observations on how it helped to influence polite behaviour.

Interestingly, the concept of the urban renaissance has also seen expansions or critiques from Peter Borsay (2003, 3) himself. In particular, he

has started to analyse the diversity in the building fabric of eighteenth-century towns. He has acknowledged how the antiquity of York became a marketing tool in the eighteenth century to attract polite society to the city. Yet while he emphasizes the role played by Roman and Gothic architecture in helping to construct a civic identity, he neglects to consider the timber-framed houses which were far more ubiquitous. There is therefore little analysis of how earlier vernacular buildings were perceived in the Georgian period, particularly in relation to newer houses. The applies equally to the degree of large-scale town planning that towns received. The long rows of symmetrical terrace houses that were typical of London and Bath are certainly not typical in many large provincial county towns and so the degree to which a town's plan differed significantly from its medieval one can be exaggerated. Girouard (1990, 173), for example, details examples of a number of provincial towns where large-scale rebuilding occurred in the eighteenth century, with the construction of wide streets and rows of terraced houses. However, these examples of improvement are rarely set in context, for while they might create two or three broad avenues, much of the surrounding streetscape remained intact. In York, for example, during the eighteenth century there were instances of small-scale street widening and the knocking off or corners to provide greater turning room for carriages (VCH 1961, 208). However the major changes to the landscape did not occur until the nineteenth century, with Parliament Street being constructed in 1835, Clifford Street in 1880 and the new prison walls built in the 1820s (RCHME 1981, 173, 128, 236).

The nature and extent of urban improvement during the eighteenth century has also been addressed by Sarah Tarlow (2007). Tarlow contrasts the academic perceptions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century towns, the former being polite and elegant while the latter are seen as polluted and overcrowded. She highlights the continuity of urban improvement between the mid eighteenth and mid nineteenth centuries, with polite improvements extending throughout this period (Tarlow 2007, 91). Yet the implications are not fully explored, for she illustrates how many polite improvements actually belong to the early nineteenth century. This means that during the high Georgian period, the experience of improvement in towns, particularly of wide expansive avenues, was not as extensive as has been made out. Yet Tarlow still characterizes the

second half of the eighteenth century as one that saw the widespread creation of new streets and the 'near universal' (Tarlow 2007, 93) embracement of classical style, which helped to bring a unity and coherence to urban architecture. This is a unity, which as we will see, the detailed evidence does not support.

There is also a spatial problem to scholars' analysis of the urban environment. Towns are seen as developing a 'critical mass' of polite spaces, which could be utilised for a number of complementary activities (Stobart *et al* 2007, 59). They highlight the rise of specialist areas of polite leisure, high-status shopping and elite housing, and see them as areas that were not separate but situated in close proximity to each other (Stobart *et al* 2007, 97, 78). However, this can lead to a tendency to see eighteenth-century urban landscapes as being distinctly zoned, with elite houses and services all within easy reach of one another and separate from unimproved or lower-class space. This not only creates a dichotomy between high and low status areas but it also means that high-status spaces become synonymous with improvement and classicism, when the reality might be much more complex.

The belief that eighteenth-century towns were distinctly zoned is not confined to a few scholars but is ubiquitous in studies of the period and includes studies by historians, archaeologists, art historians and social geographers. In her analysis of Leamington Spa, Sarah Tarlow (2007, 120) notes how some of the finest houses in the city were also in proximity to some of the poorest. However, she also draws a sharp distinction between the wealthy and improved parts of Leamington Spa and those areas where the poorest inhabitants lived. She positions these as being spatial separate, contrasting the 'front' areas and those 'unseen by visitors and most middle-class residents' (Tarlow 2007, 122). However, as Tarlow herself notes, these front and back areas were closely connected and cannot be considered separate. Sights, sounds and smells would inevitably escape from one area to another and most importantly people would also have moved between them as they navigated the city. Specifically in regards to York, Borsay (1989, 294) lists York as a town that had for a long time been socially zoned, with the prosperous districts located in the centre and the poorer ones radiating outwards. However from medieval times this was far from the case and in many areas there was a diverse range of communities with people of

varying degrees of wealth, and craft affiliations living side by side (Rees Jones 1987; Goldberg 1992).

Eighteenth-century London has also been analysed in regards to zoning. Roger Leech (1999b, 41) sees different social groups as being spatially segregated, living in distinct parts of the city, and indeed he locates the start of this trend in the seventeenth century. However, the detailed evidence accumulated by Peter Guillery (2004) of small houses in London has shown that even in the capital the zoning model cannot be applied. Despite his focus on the periphery of London, Guillery also includes a chapter examining surviving evidence in the capital's core, and is at pains to emphasise that where larger houses existed there was no clear spatial segregation between them and smaller ones. For example, a row of prestigious houses was built on the fringes of Mayfair but just behind them were an eclectic mix of small-scale irregular buildings (Guillery 2004, 74). Similar evidence exists for the Grosvenor Estate in Mayfair (Guillery 2004, 74). Even in the West End the idea that social segregation was widespread can be questioned.

Yet if we are to examine this mixture of both social classes and architectural styles, what is the best method of approaching it and of accessing perceptions? One approach is to consider contemporary sources and their sensory experiences. In an examination of Georgian London, Cruickshank and Burton (1990, 3) make extensive use of contemporary accounts to build up a picture of how the street was experienced. They note the impact of the uniform architecture but also how this was often obscured by the thick black smoke from coal fires that were a common form of heating in London during the eighteenth century. The authors also show the impact of new street lighting and paving and how this created new ways of moving around the city (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 5-18). However it should be noted that while much of this research is illuminating, it is often reliant on the accounts of foreign visitors. It is important to maintain a critical approach to these discourses as the visitors did not necessarily experience the whole of London life and could have missed some of the social subtleties. This is illustrated in Amanda Vickery's series for Radio 4, which detailed a foreign ambassador's encounter with a woman on the street and the comical misunderstandings that arose from it ('Conmen and a Brawl in the Streets', 2010). Furthermore, these visitors would also have been influenced

by the housing in their home country. Apartments in Paris, for example, were all on one floor, which contrasted markedly with the terraced houses of England. The cold English climate also necessitated substantial heating and this could have a major impact on how housing was experienced. This is reflected in the observations of writers such as Francis Maximilian Misson (writing in 1698) and Erik Gustaf Geijer (writing in 1810) who both comment on the ubiquity of coal fires (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 3). However, how a room was heated also had a social dimension and this is illustrated in an account by the Countess of Strafford writing in the 1710s who described the accommodation of their acquaintances, the Marshalls, noting that they 'kept the Nastiest I ever see a House' and that 'she sat in the first room with a Cole fire and Tallow candles which I know was made a great jest on' (Greig 2006, 121). Here, the countess is commenting on the benefits of wood fires over coal, as the smoke and smell is much more preferable. Therefore, it can be seen that good taste could often be just as important as comfort.

This section has therefore raised a number of important questions for my thesis. We have seen how the still-dominant idea of the urban renaissance incorporates two aspects of particular importance. The first is that the physical environment of English towns was fundamentally transformed during the course of the eighteenth century, particularly in relation to the use of classical architecture and improvements to paving and streetlighting. The second is that these physical changes helped to structure new ways of living and conveyed meanings of order and respectability. However, as we have seen, the physical transformation of towns can be greatly exaggerated, particularly in cases such as York where there is a long history of occupation. The exact extent of the surviving fabric here is not taken into account and the symmetry of the Georgian frontages would have been broken regularly by vernacular buildings. Therefore, if the physical environment is different, then so too will be the ways it structures society. It is this juxtaposition of the old and new that needs to be examined and how this was experienced on an everyday level. The dominant themes of both Georgianisation and the urban renaissance need to be looked at critically and it is the contention of this thesis that by conducting a fine-detailed study of York a much more complex picture of eighteenth-century towns will emerge.

The buildings

The chapter has so far examined the streetscape as a whole, both in terms of overarching theories of urban improvement and the experience of walking the landscape. The buildings themselves have also received considerable scholarly attention. This division in the literature exists on a subject level, with two distinct areas of enquiry but it also divides disciplines as well. The analysis of the streetscape is largely the province of historians and social geographers, while buildings analysis is carried out by architectural historians and archaeologists. Scholarly analysis of eighteenth-century architecture has until recently been somewhat limited in scope. Studies have been undertaken of the exceptionally embellished Georgian houses of the highest elite in London (Summerson 2003), as well as country houses (Girouard 1978; Cornforth 2004). Yet the more modest homes of the lesser gentry, not to mention those of the lower classes, have rarely featured. This leads to the perception that fine classical houses were all uniform.

Tarlow (2007, 96) makes the important point that although a range of architectural styles existed in towns, including classical vernacular, strict neo-classicism and Palladianism, few people on the street would have known the exact difference between the styles or whether they were being applied correctly. However this does not take into account the differences that existed between new buildings in terms of size, layout and extent of exterior and internal decoration. All of these factors influenced how these homes and streets were lived in and experienced and scholars should be cautious of simply grouping them together. The often-used term of the polite or improved town, hides the contradictions and contrasts that existed even in the elite neighbourhoods. These were differences that could be determined by the casual observer, particularly one of genteel status who had access to the interiors of some of the homes. The variable levels of decoration could simply be observed. This would not have required a detailed knowledge of classical architectural principals or a copy of *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the influential architectural text of the eighteenth century, to do so.

However, recent research by buildings archaeologists and architectural historians has begun to shed light on how the streetscape was constructed and the range of buildings that could be found there. Two of the most significant

contributions have been made by Peter Guillery (2004) and Elizabeth McKellar (1999). Peter Guillery, a long-time member of the Survey of London, used the extensive records of the Survey to inform his book on *The Small House in Eighteenth-Century London*. Guillery seeks to address the unacknowledged variability in house form in the metropolis and to look at continuity as well as innovation. He warns that:

> ‘ “Uniform” is a word that needs to be used sparingly in relation to London’s early and mid-eighteenth century domestic architecture’ (Guillery 2004, 67).

Guillery maintains that while there may no longer be physical evidence of the homes of poorest elements of London’s population, the same does not hold true of those just below the middling ranks – the artisans, skilled tradespeople and their families (Guillery 2004, 1). It is the houses of these people that form the focus of Guillery’s work, with chapters on Spitalfields, Southwalk and Deptford. Guillery (2004, 39) uses a variety of criteria to distinguish these houses including materials used (brick and timber), the number of storeys and the use of traditional or classical designs. Yet the emphasis is also placed on ‘small’ and houses with frontages of 20ft (6.1m) or more are not considered small for the purposes of his study. Size does matter for Guillery and, as will be seen, is an interesting line of enquiry in regards to York. This is of particular relevance in regards to the centre of the city and how far size of property (including both private residences and commercial space) reflects the status of either the owner or the shop.

Guillery (2004, 73) argues that adherence to traditional vernacular architecture may be the result of conscious choice and not just limited economic resources. For example, the most ambitious houses in Deptford, are those closest to the ‘sub-Palladian norm’ of speculative housing of the West End. These incorporate numerous vernacular elements, such as irregular fenestration and off-centre fireplaces, that are difficult to attribute to ‘mistakes’ (Guillery 2004, 232). Prosperity was indicated more by increased space, such as wider plots, houses that were two rooms in depth and gardens, rather than the more subtle use of proportion. The use of older architecture as a conscious choice is of particular relevance in the study of York, with its high percentage of timber-framed survival, and will be examined in detail in the subsequent chapters.

In provoking a re-examination of the established ideas of Georgian architecture, the work of Elizabeth McKellar (1999) has also been influential. In her book, *The Birth of Modern London*, she also argues that the vernacular features of Georgian houses have often been overlooked in favour of a model that emphasizes the predominance of classicism. She argues that late seventeenth-century houses in London should not just be seen through the lens of Palladianism but had distinctive styles of their own (McKellar 1999, 184). As in Guillery's study, she too believes that this mixture of polite and vernacular should not be attributed to ignorance but rather conscious choice. Notably, she argues that the perceived divide between building materials, with brick equaling new and wood equaling old, cannot be strictly maintained (McKellar 1996, 15). Examples exist, such as No 30 Romford Road, Stratford, of houses with external weatherboarding and internal timber frame but which were proportioned and detailed according to the classical style. McKellar therefore questions the abrupt transition of the polite eighteenth-century town house to a dominant Palladian style and argues that traces of classical features can be located in the seventeenth century.

A similar argument can also be discerned in the work of Roger Leech. Leech (1999a, 30) emphasises how different styles of housing were not just a matter of simple variation but of distinct modes of living, often tied to the status and occupation of the owner and included deliberate choice. He also questions scholarly assumptions that place a clear divide between Georgian architecture and that of earlier periods. He argues that this divide (centred around the rebuilding after the Great Fire) is somewhat artificial and that planned streets, brick row houses and a desire for amenities could all be found in the redevelopment of St Bartholomew's Fairground after 1598 (Leech 1999b, 46). However, there are still problems with this work in that Leech does not question the assumptions of how Georgian architecture worked, he simply locates their rise further back in the seventeenth century. Moreover, both he and McKellar do not examine how the survival of medieval and post-medieval buildings actually created different forms of housing in the eighteenth century. As we have already seen in studies of the urban renaissance, this is partly due to the issue of zoning and the assumption that polite urban areas were spatially separate from those of the lower classes.

The meanings associated with classical architecture have also been questioned in a recent article by Borsay (2000, 3), who examines some of the broader theoretical underpinnings of eighteenth-century culture. In particular, he questioned the assumption that towns were enlightened environments and were inherently cultivated and rational. In order to explore this he took Bath, the quintessential spa town, as his test subject. Borsay analyses whether the town had any serious claim to being a centre of the arts and sciences and whether the preoccupation of visitors with recreation prevented this. However, more crucially, he examines how the pressures of competition worked actively in opposition to the sociable nature of polite society and particularly the idea of 'the company' – a community made up of the spa's fashionable residents and visitors (Borsay 2000, 7, 10). He examines how the town's role as a marriage market and its use in acquiring or maintaining status created rivalries and conflicts among 'the company' whatever its corporate ideals. This would place a contradiction at the heart of a town's most polite buildings, such as the assembly rooms. These were spaces that were designed to foster a particular vision of society, yet if Borsay's thesis holds true were actually helping to disrupt it.

The section has therefore shown the potential of the detailed examination of standing buildings. Although the existing literature for the eighteenth century is limited, it shows the promise of helping to fill the void created in overarching investigations of the streetscape. This is particularly true of Guillery's ground-breaking study of smaller London houses and demonstrates the wide range of house styles built during the eighteenth century and how this evidence can be fruitfully used to illuminate our understanding of the urban landscape.

Interior Space

It is important to now turn attention to the interiors of houses and specifically their social and cultural functions. Early work by Lawrence Stone (1977) argued that the eighteenth century saw the rise of the affectionate nuclear family and that home life was separated and distanced from the world of work, commerce and the wider community (Stone 1977, 245). Ariès (1989, 8) also argued that 'the family became a haven, a defence against outsiders' and the domestic

interior was central to reinforcing this separation. This led to the rise of the thesis, most notably advanced by Davidoff and Hall (1987), in which the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries saw the creation of 'separate spheres' and an ideal of women as being submissive and domesticated. However the idea of separate spheres has come under attack from historians such as Amanda Vickery (1993; 1998, 3), who has argued that the simple chronology is misleading, particularly as the rise of the domestic woman has been found in 'virtually every century since the end of the middle ages'. She has also noted that the 'genteel home was not in any simple sense "off-stage"' (Vickery 1998, 202).

The field of Georgian interiors has begun to receive increased scholarly attention (Greig and Riello 2007, 273). A number of important works stand out in this regard, notably Cruickshank and Burton's *Life in the Georgian City* (1990). Cruickshank and Burton provide a much-needed analysis of room use within the Georgian house and using contemporary accounts to describe how rooms and floors were used within the typical 'common house'. This had two rooms in plan, was of three storeys and set at right-angles to the street (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 53) and was used by a wide variety of social classes including the aristocracy. The authors tie specific functions to each room and show how the parlours were generally located on the ground floor, the formal rooms on the first floor and the bedrooms on the second floor, while the servants were usually consigned to the attics (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 54-60). They also examine the various activities that could take place within the house including breakfast, dinner and the 'rout', which was a kind of assembly-room gathering crammed into the confines of a private house (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 27-47).

Another approach for analysing Georgian interiors was taken by Hannah Greig (2006, 107) who examines pictorial representations and particularly an eighteenth-century mode of portraiture called the 'conversation piece', in which two or more people posed in a social setting. She notes that these interiors cannot be simply seen as painted from life and that some are clearly fictitious but that they still convey important information about contemporary taste (Greig 2006, 112). Conversation pieces provided an opportunity to show off the sitters' refinement, whether it was mastery of a musical instrument (and therefore the amount of leisure time that facilitated that mastery) or the

ownership of a fashionable tea service (Greig 2006, 116). They also provided opportunities for caricature, showing interiors far too small to accommodate the press of people, as well as interiors that were designed to make a particular statement (Greig 2006, 122). An example of the last type can be seen in the work of Arthur Devis who portrayed interiors that were sparsely furnished and dull. His work has been seen by art historians as simply lacking imagination, but Greig maintains that it represents a deliberate choice. That the lack of interior ornamentation was designed to defend the sitters against accusations of flashy show and was part of broader discourses surrounding politeness and taste.

However, once again, both of these studies make a number of assumptions. The first is that all Georgian houses work fundamentally in the same ways. As will be shown in the course of the thesis, different decorative features can create subtle differences in room use and signal the taste and refinement of the owners. The second assumption is that eighteenth-century housing, in contrast with newly-built Georgian houses, actually conformed to the standard layout. Borsay (1989, 58) actually admits that a flush façade is often misleading and that behind it often exists a variety of medieval and early modern structures, adapted imperfectly to the needs of the period. This is certainly the case with many houses in York during the period, yet Borsay and other scholars do not follow through the implications of this and consider how the wide variation of plan forms would create different ways of moving through and experiencing the house. This raises a number of important questions for the thesis. In particular, how do different plan forms and modes of decoration influence living in the house? This affects how rooms were used and conceptualised, how visitors encountered the house and also has serious implications for how privacy was conceived and experienced in the eighteenth century. The architectural analysis of Georgian interiors often relies on the criteria of artistic merit and only features that live up to this standard are considered. This thesis proposes that these decorative features provide invaluable archaeological evidence that will help to investigate the above questions.

The Georgian period has been seen by a number of scholars, particularly in the discipline of archaeology, as the culmination in the rise of privacy. It is argued that this began in the seventeenth century and involved new techniques

of segregation within the house (Deetz 1996, 162; Johnson 1996, 207). Rooms were assigned specific functions and this allowed for greater order to be imposed on household life, segregating masters and servants and men and women (Newman 2001, 86; Girouard 1990, 123). 'Closure' was a structuralist approach first developed by Parkin and used by SH Rigby to analyse exclusion in the late medieval period (Rigby 1995, 8; Hinton 1999, 173). Matthew Johnson later developed or transformed the concept to apply specifically to the post-medieval period and to apply not just to houses but to other contexts as well, such as the enclosure of the field systems. It therefore reflects much wider changes in social practices, such as the rise of the individual and the standardisation of material culture (Johnson 1996, 203). However it is questionable whether this was actually occurring and this ambiguity stems from a lack of definition as to what privacy actually entailed. Certainly there seems to have been an increase in privacy between family members with the multiplication of bedrooms, a trend that continued throughout the eighteenth century. Yet in terms of privacy between visitors and the household, the reverse seems to have been the case. In Georgian urban houses the parlours, the day-to-day family rooms, were situated on the ground floor, while the more important formal rooms were generally on the first floor. Therefore the family rooms were more not less permeable from the street and having the entertaining rooms on the first floor allowed visitors deeper access into the house. This was further exacerbated in some houses, where the principal bedroom and dressing room was also located on the first floor, which was in turn was often used for entertaining more intimate gatherings (Greig 2006, 116). This situation was further complicated in houses that incorporated substantial earlier structures, resulting in different plan forms and different ways of moving through the home.

In his recent book, *English Houses 1300-1800*, Matthew Johnson (2010) does make some interesting expansions on his original thesis. He notes that typical Georgian features can be perceived before the advent of Lord Burlington (Johnson 2010, 167). He emphasises that these should not been seen as simply filtering from town to country and that 'Georgian' rural features developed according to their own processes as a result of active decision-making by the occupiers about how they wished to live.

Johnson (2010, 185) also considers contradictions to the 'triumph of the Georgian Order', including how a traditional plan can often survive behind a brick façade. He makes the important point that the finer details of house design are important and that although a house is largely classical in style in can also contain slight asymmetry – a front door that is a little off centre or bays of different widths. Yet, as other authors have also argued, Johnson maintains that we should be wary of interpreting this as ignorance and instead he explains it as a nod to an earlier building tradition, that of providing a visual cue to the visitor as to the layout of the house. However, these observations come at the end of the book and Johnson makes little attempt to analyse how ubiquitous these irregular houses were and in what contexts they appeared. Their presence also has little impact on Johnson's overall consideration of eighteenth-century housing, which remains unchanged. He still considers the typical Georgian house to be uniform and standardised, with examples found as far apart as provincial England and Jamaica (Johnson 2010, 164). Also internally the rooms are seen as 'carefully differentiated from one another by status *and* function' [emphasis mine]. As we have seen this is problematic, especially when considering bedrooms, which could alter their use depending on what floor they were on, the level of decoration or the time of day. How privacy actually operated within Georgian homes is still in need of re-examination.

Part of the reason for this lacunae lies in the scholarly neglect of provincial urban architecture during the Georgian period. The archaeological analyses of privacy discussed above arise mainly out of early-modern vernacular rural contexts, in England (Johnson 1993, 2010) and the United States (Deetz 1996; Glassie 1979) and eighteenth-century housing is only considered briefly as the 'natural' end point of earlier processes. Yet, as we have already seen, when one turns to the field of architectural history, the situation is not much improved. Studies are usually undertaken of the highest elite (Summerson 2003; Girouard 1978; Cornforth 2004), with only a few honourable exceptions (Guillery 2004). Therefore, the use and meaning of decorative display in the more modest gentry houses of provincial towns has been largely overlooked. Here, the signals would not be as ostentatious but could still carry a host of meanings.

Although archaeological studies have neglected the eighteenth-century

domestic interior, recent work carried out by a number of historians have illuminated this subject, with a particular focus not just on London but on provincial urban centres as well. They have utilised detailed studies of individuals and their homes in order to critique generalized or national models, a methodology that has similarities with archaeological biographies, a subject that will be explored more fully in the next chapter. The historian Margaret Ponsonby describes how in many provincial towns the surviving vernacular houses would contrast markedly with the smart Georgian buildings and notes the presence of intrusive elements on the polite world such as a cattle market (Ponsonby 2007, 23). It has to be admitted that this apparent disjunction is not really followed up by the author, yet it is central to the initial picture that she presents and she does not try to dismiss these contradictions as unimportant. More pertinently she tackles the question of regional style and warns that while domestic interiors were heavily influenced by London fashions different provinces also developed their own distinctive styles. Ponsonby (2007, 24) also notes how throughout the period words like metropolitan and provincial (as well as fashionable) could be taken both positively and negatively.

The domestic interior is interrogated in more detail by Amanda Vickery, who specifically analyses the perception and use of space. Vickery (1998, 202) challenges the distinction of separate spheres for men and women and the allocation of the home as female and private space. She notes how the use of public and private could refer not to actual space but to the selectivity of the company. Therefore gatherings of ten elite couples could still be considered private in the polite eighteenth-century imagination as you would not have to sit next to some chance stranger. Vickery (1998, 206) also examines how room use could be quite fluid during the period and that the level of formality could be increased or decreased by the use of specific tableware, the arrangement of furniture and the level of ceremony.

In her recent book, Vickery (2009, 27) notes that although the contrast between public and private was evoked during the eighteenth century it was rarely used to portray a division of space according to inside and outside or female and male. She utilises the legal definitions used in the records of the Old Bailey to investigate conceptions of the boundaries of internal space, the lived practices. This allows her to look at a range of social groups and highlight the

tactics that people could use to demarcate space. This ranges from possession of a key, whether to lodging rooms or individual rooms in a larger household, to use of a strong box, as well as perceptions of the perimeter of the house such as windows (Vickery 2009, 46, 29). Vickery therefore provides a sophisticated and nuanced analysis of lived practice which contrasts with the model of standardisation and uniformity put forward by Johnson.

There has also been a general assumption that there was a greater degree of segregation between masters and servants and while this may have been true of vernacular houses (Newman 2001, 86; Johnson 1996, 202), in urban contexts the evidence is much more ambiguous. Historians have noted that terms such as the household and indeed the family would often include both blood relatives and those in domestic service and that servants were included in the private world of the household as opposed to that of the outside world (Tadmor 2001, 272; Meldrum 1999, 29). This is backed up by the archaeological evidence of narrow-fronted houses that only contain one staircase that would have to be used by all members of the household. However this evidence is rarely disseminated into the wider literature. Contemporary historians regularly repeat the work of Girouard (1978) and the Stones (1984) in which servants occupy spatially separate spaces and are further segregated by the introduction of bell pulls (Vickery 2010, 27; Schlarman 2003, 22). This leads scholars such as Meldrum (2000, 78) to warn against architectural determinism and to say that concepts such as privacy 'cannot be read straight from the fabric of contemporary buildings'. Most buildings archaeologists would agree that social structures cannot be simply 'read' from a house, but in utilising outdated architectural data historians are downplaying the complexities that exist within the surviving fabric of eighteenth-century houses. The close examination of surviving fabric in this thesis will demonstrate how archaeological evidence can be employed to illuminate relationships between owners and servants and between visitors and the wider household.

Although archaeology has not contributed much detailed work to the study of Georgian interiors, work on early modern houses have added much to the study of domestic interiors, particularly from a methodological perspective. Two notable studies provide early examples of the use of buildings biographies that are often excluded from discussions on the subject, perhaps because they

did not explicitly identify themselves as such. The first is a study by Leech (1999a, 30) of merchants' houses in early modern Bristol. Here he links buildings with individuals to tell wider stories of social relations and people's particular responses. He emphasises how different styles of housing were not just a matter of simple variation but of distinct modes of living, often tied to the status and occupation of the owner and including deliberate choice. Leech contrasts two seventeenth-century houses and shows how they reflect the lifestyles of their owners. Sir Henry Creswick's house in Small Street, Bristol still contained an open hall yet the inventory shows that it was not really used for living in but to display weaponry, thus signifying his social status and royalist connections (Leech 1999a, 29). In 59 Castle Street, in contrast, lived Flower Hunt who had no open hall but saw his position in society as resting on the family's clay pipe-making business and particularly the tools of his trade.

The second example is Alcock's *People at Home* (1993), a study of the vernacular houses in and around the village of Stoneleigh in Warwickshire. Importantly, Alcock does not divorce the analysis of particular buildings from consideration of room use, which a number of studies have tended to do (RCHME 1981). Instead, Alcock makes extensive use of the wealth of documentary sources relating to Stoneleigh to tie the evidence of specific buildings to their respective probate records (Alcock 1993, 13). Also Alcock organises his study according to period and social status. The later he bases on the number of rooms, aligned to evidence of wealth from the probate inventories. Therefore Alcock is able to address the smaller houses of the middling sort and, unlike Johnson (1993, 96), is able to utilise data from comparable probate inventories. Furthermore, this methodology does not make assumptions about typologies and their relative importance.

Alcock can be criticised for an over-reliance on probate records, as their relationship to room use is not always clear (Arkell 2000, 85). However, the sheer number available in Stoneleigh allows Alcock not to take the room names at face value but to be critical about how much the change in names is actually reflected in room use. He is therefore able to chart quite carefully how room specialisation changed in the area over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Alcock's study is also not without its problems. The analysis of the

standing buildings is generally confined to the first phase of a given house and so it is discussed in light of that period. Yet discussion of how houses were adapted in later periods is strangely absent. The importance of studying the process of adaptation has been emphasised by other scholars (Smith 1992, 97) and this is particularly true in regard to the question of why houses stop developing. In a related point, Alcock is sometimes more descriptive than analytical in trying to understand why these changes are taking place. Alcock (1993, 203) is rightly wary of ascribing change to a generic rise in privacy as advocated by Johnson (2010), yet he does little to offer an alternative explanation.

This thesis therefore aims to follow a nested approach, examining both the exterior streetscape and household interiors. Yet rather than conducting this research on a national or regional scale it will focus on one city, that of York, to test theories regarding the urban renaissance, the use of interior space and the rise of privacy. For it is the contention of this thesis that by looking at the minutiae of an urban landscape then many of these broader theories begin to unravel and a much more ambiguous and complex images emerges. This will use the methodology of building biographies, which will be examined fully in the next chapter, in order to build up these images. This will link individuals to standing buildings and aim to show how each could influence the other. However domestic houses were not the only buildings on the street and it is also important to consider other structures in the landscape.

Shops and consumer space

The position and facades of shops also contributed greatly to the appearance of the streetscape. These buildings had close links with domestic buildings, as the forms and styles were essentially the same. The ground-floor would have had a shop front and display window, but examining the exterior of the upper floors there would have been little to distinguish a shop from an entirely private residence. This was exacerbated by the fact that the majority of shops incorporated the domestic space of the shopkeeper on the upper floors. Although much has been written about consumer behaviour in the eighteenth century (Weatherill 1988; Styles 2006; Overton, Dean, Hann and Whittle 2004), few studies have actually examined their physical evidence. The work of

Kathyrn Morrison (2003) is a rare exception, and is based on a survey carried out by the Royal Commission and English Heritage in the late 1990s. Her survey includes invaluable evidence of both the street façade and the interior space. In the eighteenth-century, the shop front became increasingly important with the introduction of window glass, which offered protection and security, but also greater possibilities for display (Morrison 2003, 41). The Georgian shop had a number of typical elements including a central doorway and classical features such as pilasters and cornices. These classical features might often be modest, but similar features could also be found in polite domestic buildings. There is therefore a link between the architecture of shops and houses, and this link will be one that I will explore throughout the thesis.

The architecture of consumer space could also be decidedly ornate, including both the façade and the interior. The late eighteenth shop of a pastry cook in London featured an ornamented Adam-style surround and Wedgewood's first-floor showrooms, of which there are several illustrations, were very fine, with an elaborate cornice and tall sash windows (Morrison 2003, 36). Interestingly Wedgewood's shop had originally belonged to a medical man and the showroom had originally been the salon, showing how the divide between consumer and domestic space could become blurred.

Morrison's work on earlier shops can also shed light on the eighteenth-century shopping experience. One of the commonest forms of shop in the seventeenth century was the 'bulk' shop. These had large and heavy canopies that were so substantial that they could threaten to pull the walls down and instead of stalls, sold bulks made of brick or wood (Morrison 2003, 27). These were considered nuisances by corporations as they projected on to the street and few survived even into the nineteenth century. Yet an illustration from 1850 exists of a late example in London and we have to include this type of shop as a part of the Georgian streetscape, even if its presence was declining.

It is also important to consider the dynamics of the medieval shop as older design elements could still be found in both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples. Many shops of this time had either large open windows or stalls to attract passing trade (Morrison 2003, 3) and so while shopping as a distinct leisure activity may not have started until the late seventeenth century (Stobart *et al* 2007, 83), it is important not to underestimate the practice of

browsing that had existed earlier. Also we cannot assume that all trade was contracted on the street, particularly when shops had numerous occupancies (Morrison 2003, 28). Therefore a medieval shop that had several chests for counters and contained not just one type of goods, has continuity as well as disjunction with later eighteenth-century examples that included dedicated serving counters and could have an eclectic range of goods. Tea, for example, could be found in the stores of booksellers, drapers, grocers and even an ironmonger (Cox 2000, 204).

The interior of the eighteenth-century shop has been examined by the historian Claire Walsh (1995, 160), who utilises the inventory of a goldsmith's shop from the first half of the eighteenth century to examine retail layout in detail. This shows the space divided between a fore and back shop and included decorative features such as two prominent carved pillars and a cornice that was part painted and part gilt. It also included a counter running the length of the fore shop and glass display cases on each wall. With this information she is able to produce a fascinating reconstruction of the interior. Both Walsh (1995, 158) and Cox (2000, 11) have critiqued the idea that modern shopping practices only began in the nineteenth century. They point out that shops in the early modern period could still be deliberately structured to entice customers, even though these could include workshop as well as retail space (Cox and Walsh 2000, 77). Walsh (1995, 162) has shown that in the eighteenth century, the presentation of goods became of great importance. The goldsmith's shop had glass-fronted presses to display plate, while other retailers used hooks from which cloth was allowed to flow down, 'show boards' from which to display lace and 'nests of drawers', which were used by haberdashers and milliners – all designed to encourage the customer to look, touch, rummage and buy.

There could also be a spatial element to shops, with small and fancy items kept in one area, while cheaper bulkier goods were kept elsewhere (Cox and Walsh 2000, 90). As has already been seen with the goldsmith's house, shops could be divided between front and back, with the back space having a more intimate atmosphere to build up relations with a customer. Refreshments might be served in the form of tea or coffee and illustrations show that chairs were available to customers in both parts of the shop (Morrison 2003, 39). This form of personal attention could be taken a step further and Nicholas Blundell

records in his diary how after buying a livery suit from the Liverpool mercer Mr Cottom he was 'treated' at his house and in another entry how he was given dinner by Mrs Lancaster after buying sugar (Stobart *et al* 2007, 117). Here shopkeeper and customer occupied the same social sphere and were also his friends. Yet as the authors notes, this creates an ambiguity of what constitutes retail and domestic space and that privileged customers could also be invited into a more private space.

There is a problem with this research in that the physical dimensions and restrictions of many of these retail shops are not taken sufficiently into account. The literature leaves the impression of unrestricted browsing where the enticements of the shop were clearly visible to all the customers. In this regard, the surviving illustrations of shop interiors, such as those produced by Rudolph Ackermann in 1809, can be misleading as they often portray the largest and most prestigious London premises, including Wedgewood's, the fabric showroom of Harding, Howell and Co or James Lackington's bookshop in Finsbury Square (Morrison 2003, 37).

This omission becomes more pertinent when the measurements of the goldsmith's shop reconstructed by Claire Walsh are considered. The size of the fore shop is considered to be typical of shops of the period (Walsh 1995, 160) yet it is only 7ft wide, which is extremely narrow. The shop also had to include display cases on both sides, a counter and a space behind the counter for the assistant to stand. At a conservative estimate this leaves only 4ft for the customers, which would leave very little room for the customers to manoeuvre, particularly if they were wearing bulky fashionable dresses. Yet this lack of space for consumption is not remarked on. It would certainly cut down the opportunities to see the merchandise that had been so carefully displayed and would bring the customers in very close contact with each other. This might emphasise the need for shops to have separate spaces to cater for their most exclusive customers but if Walsh is correct in her estimate then the majority of polite consumption would operate under severe space limitations. This would also curtail one of the prime motivations of leisure shopping – the opportunity to see and be seen.

It will therefore be important to examine a number of issues in regard to shops. The first is the question of their physical location and in particular

whether the character of different streets attracted certain types of goods. For example, Pavement and Stonegate were both major shopping streets but were the range of goods and the customers they hoped to attract the same? The second main issue regards the relationship between retail and domestic space. This will include analysing the basic dimensions of surviving shops to see to what degree space limitations would constrain the experience of shopping. It will also examine the stylistic similarities between houses and shops and the impact that this could have on the meaning of polite architecture.

York

This chapter has so far examined the overarching theories of urban improvement, the character of the buildings themselves, the use of interior space and finally sites of consumption. However, this wider research also needs to be considered in relation to the work that has been carried out specifically on the city of York. The most important work on the buildings of York was carried out by the Royal Commission in their five-volume survey of York (RCHME 1962, 1972a, 1972b, 1975, 1981). This contains a detailed inventory of the domestic houses from the medieval period up to the early nineteenth century, as well as churches and public buildings. This has proved invaluable as a resource as it provides a perfect starting point with which to assess a street, as well as including details of some of the documentary sources. However, as the work is an inventory, there is little attempt by the Royal Commission to consider wider themes in eighteenth-century studies, such as the urban renaissance or the use of interior space. Therefore despite the existence of this large body of work, it has been largely unassimilated into consideration of Georgian streetscapes.

Furthermore, although the work on York's domestic buildings is extensive, with further details contained in the Royal Commission's original case files, they are often considered from the viewpoint of art history, with architectural merit being the main consideration. This can be traced back to the distinct disciplines of buildings archaeology and architectural history. These two disciplines have placed differing emphases on the importance of detailed recording and the use of historical documents, which led to an extended series of published arguments that were sparked by an article in 1989 by a commercial archaeologist, Ian Ferris (1989, 12). These sharp divisions have now blurred and

there has been the emergence of some kind of consensus, with all buildings analysts employing a mix of both disciplines (Pearson 2001, 3, 7; Giles 2013). There are, nevertheless, still some tensions as to exactly how much of a building is worth recording, and this is particularly true in relation to vernacular studies where the need for high-level recording has been called into question (Pearson 2001, 5; Morriss 2001, 66).

To some extent this argument can be extended to classical buildings and especially to the less distinguished examples. For while houses can contain fixtures and fittings that have little architecturally merit, these details can still tell the researcher much about the life history of the building. This applies particularly to cornices since they are one of the best-surviving forms of interior decoration and can illuminate former room divisions as well as the emphasis placed on different spaces within the house.

Smaller-scale studies, often published in the journal *York Historian*, have illuminated specific aspects of the city during the long eighteenth century, including the prison buildings at York Castle (Fawcett 2005), the New Walk (Thallon 2002), workshops and manufacturing (Taylor 1992) and the use of sedan chairs (Murray 2000). These provide some wonderfully detailed and useful research, although once again this is rarely integrated into wider research questions. The exception to this is the stimulating volume *Eighteenth-Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (Hallett and Rendall 2003), and particularly the work of Mark Hallett and Rosemary Sweet. Hallett (2003, 32) examines eighteenth-century depictions of York and provides a fascinating analysis of how these depictions changed over the course of the century. He demonstrates how pictorial representations were part of an ideological agenda of the Corporation to present the city as the embodiment of polite civic culture in order to attract the wealthy elite to socialise there. Thus he contrasts the drawings carried out by Place which depict messy urban life, including poor traders and muddy riverbanks, with the mechanical draftsmanship of Haynes whose views are noticeable devoid of people.

Hallett (2003, 43) also shows how depictions of the city employed symbolism and deliberately referenced other buildings. This can be seen in his incisive analysis of illustrations of Ouse Bridge. Here there was a clear attempt to evoke parallels with the Rialto in Venice, one of the sights of the Grand Tour.

Such illustrations also positioned York's bridge as an English, patriotic alternative. However, from an archaeological perspective there are some gaps in this analysis, for while Hallett establishes that the medieval Council Chamber on Ouse Bridge could be viewed as both an ancient relic of the city and a symbol of modern civic government, he does not discuss the full implications of this. The fact that a medieval building was still the centre of civic government in the eighteenth century (VCH 1961, 238) deserves an explanation. If new Georgian architecture not only symbolised modernity and order but also actually promoted polite forms of social behaviour (Hallett 2003, 32) then why was not the centre of civic existence rebuilt to conform to this? Was this a conscious nod to the past and an indication that older buildings still had positive associations in the eighteenth century? This can also be seen in the use of the Minster as a place for polite strolling. How was this building perceived by contemporaries, if it was modern architecture that apparently provided the new forms of space that allowed polite society to function? There needs to be serious consideration of both how Georgian architecture worked in practice and how this differed from the reuse of medieval space.

Although this study understandably focuses on visual representations, there is too little attention paid to the actual physical makeup of the city. For while it is acknowledged that there is some juxtaposition of the old and the new, there is a tendency in such interpretations to see polite space as being physically separate from that of the popular life of the city (Hallett 2003, 46). Hallett sees the city itself as being dramatically transformed by the middle of the eighteenth century, noting the erection of new public buildings such as the Mansion House, Assembly Rooms and the theatre, as well as improvements in street paving and lighting that reinforced associations of order and elegance (Hallett 2003, 32). It is important to remember that these changes were piecemeal and that new polite buildings were still surrounded by older forms of architecture. This would have particularly affected movement through the city as the narrow winding streets were still very much in evidence during the eighteenth century. This view of spatial segregation is reinforced when Hallett considers the artist Thomas Hearne whose choice of Micklegate Bar as a subject matter is seen as focusing on 'medieval sites found off the well-trodden paths of politeness' (Hallett 2003, 47). This is a strange description of the main entrance to the city for it was not

only at the head of one of York's most important streets but also on the route to the fashionable York Racecourses.

Sweet (2003, 13) also examines how the past was utilised in York and analyses the traditions of local history writing in the city and their relationship to the urban environment. Her work provides valuable insights into how the past was consumed and presented both among the intellectual and social elite and outside these polite circles. In particular, she demonstrates how for Drake it was the Roman legacy that was of paramount importance and it was this that allowed York to claim the title of England's second city (Sweet 2003, 16). Yet she also shows how the medieval independence of the Corporation was admired by Drake and how the prosperity of the medieval period was presented in contrast to declining trade of the eighteenth century (Sweet 2003, 18). Yet Drake was not deriding contemporary York, he was instead using the past to spur its citizens to action, to encourage them to regain the city's former eminence.

However there are also problems with this work. Much of the discussion is centred around Roman buildings (whether real or imagined) and the grander stone buildings. This is further demonstrated by Borsay (2003, 10) who does acknowledge how antiquity became a marketable product for the York Corporation eager to attract polite society. However he also maintains that the vast majority of York's historic landscape was medieval and gothic rather than Roman and classical. Yet Borsay is fundamentally incorrect, since the majority of the surviving fabric was medieval and *timber-framed*. This is an important distinction since not only does timber framing lack the grand aesthetic of the stone churches but examples are much more numerous. They can be found through all sections of the city and located cheek-by-jowl next to up-to-date specimens of Georgian improvement. The result is a streetscape in which the medieval past impinged on the polite present and it is necessary to understand how the two existed together.

Conclusion

The aim of the thesis, therefore, is to examine the streets of York and to tell the stories of the buildings and their inhabitants, but then to consider how this evidence fits into broader scholarly ideas of urban improvement, domestic

privacy and consumer behaviour. This chapter has analysed how these national models have been applied and also the problems with these approaches, particularly how in the process of creating broader interpretations they are prone to ignoring nuanced readings of the evidence. Therefore in the study of urban improvement, work has focused on how urban landscapes were transformed during the eighteenth century and how this change would have influenced the performance of social practices. However, these studies take insufficient account of the actual make-up of the streetscape during this period, particularly the extent of early fabric and how this affected the meanings and perception of the street. The lack of detail in examining specific environments also leads to the repeated suggestion that Georgian cities were socially zoned. However this is questionable as soon as one considers movement through the city, as well as the proximity and variability of apparently low-status and high-status areas. These areas could not be successfully quarantined and sights, smells and sound would routinely permeate from one area to another.

Similar issues arise when considering internal domestic space. This has been little considered by scholars, with archaeologists focusing on medieval and early modern housing and only utilising eighteenth-century evidence to highlight an apparent sea change in the use of interior space at this time. Architectural historians have focused on elite country houses, often designed by notable architects and have rarely examined the subtleties of town houses. Notable exceptions to this trend have been such scholars as Mark Girouard and Dan Cruickshank, who have provided invaluable overviews of the period. However, while these scholars are alive to nuance and the limitations of their surveys, they do not explore the complexity that existed at street level. In recent years Peter Guillery has started to address this in relation to small houses in London, yet much work continues to be needed, particularly in examining how the different plans forms (both of new houses and homes adapted from earlier fabric) created a variety of ways of moving though these spaces both for visitors and for members of the household.

Finally, there has been much work that has focused on consumption during the Georgian period, including the experience of shopping and the relationships between customers and owners. However, less attention has been paid to the physical spaces where these social practices were taking place,

including both the external appearance of particular shops and their internal layout. Although little original fabric remains in the ground floors of these properties as they have been redeveloped many times as commercial space, this does not mean that the physical remains have nothing to tell us. In particular, the size of these properties offers an instructive lens by which to asses how browsing and shopping might actually have occurred.

These national models all to some degree neglect the nuances and complexity of the practices they are describing. Therefore to address these problems, this PhD will focus on one town, that of York, during the eighteenth century. It will illuminate the make-up of both houses and streets at this time and specifically focus on a biographical approach. This utilises both archaeologically and documentary sources to illustrate how both house and owner influenced each other. This enables eighteenth-century urban spaces to be considered not just as the products of improvement, but as a complex mixture of old and new architecture that influenced the social practices that they housed.

Chapter Two
Methodology

Theoretical approaches

This thesis has been heavily influenced by a number of theoretical perspectives that have been developed over the last twenty years, particularly those of structuration and phenomenology (Barrett 1994, Graves 1989, Gilchrist 1997, Edmonds 1999, Tilley 1994). Archaeology is a broad discipline and so while these works do not relate directly to the eighteenth century their influence is important. In particular they highlight the need for theory to frame and contextualise the practical methodology of recording and analysis. Recent studies have emphasised the role that embodiment plays in understanding place and how the senses affect the human experience. These studies have used a wide number of approaches. Some have taken the human body as a starting point and stressed that this is the principal reference by which a person comes to understand the world and their place within it (Barrett 1994, 14). Architecture and its landscape environment can therefore help to create patterns of behaviour. Yet the day-to-day contexts that people encounter also have a significant impact on how they experience the world. The work of Mark Edmonds has been particularly important in this regard in emphasising the rhythms of everyday life from a human scale. He highlights how mundane tasks can have a wider social significance (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001, 51) and that how you arrive at a place, and what you experience along the way, can be of critical importance (Edmonds 1999, 51).

Although much of the early work on this subject was carried out by prehistorians (Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994), many of their ideas have been enthusiastically taken up by buildings archaeologists, who have focused on structuration theory (discussed in the previous chapter) as a useful tool with which to frame the analysis of buildings. This work has primarily focused on the medieval period and has included studies of churches (Graves 1989), guildhalls (Giles 2000), castles (Johnson 2002) and monasteries (Gilchrist 1997). Central to this work is the understanding that the analysis of building forms is not sufficient and meaning must also be examined. However, while housing has been considered in light of these ideas (Johnson 1993, 2010), eighteenth-

century homes have been largely neglected. This is particularly true with regards to urban contexts where there is a complex intermingling of old and new structures.

One of the strengths of historical archaeology is that it provides access to documentary sources and therefore the ownership of buildings can cease to become a matter of conjecture. Yet how can archaeologists link people and buildings together in order to construct more nuanced narratives? One influential approach is that of 'building biographies'. A recent survey of the literature by Gavin Lucas (2006, 41) has highlighted two strands within archaeological biographies. The first approach concentrates on the biographies on individuals and households. This research is frequently conducted within the context of the nineteenth century for which extensive documentary records survive and is often used to examine both the minutiae of a particular household and the larger themes that arise from this. The second approach originated in artifact studies. It concentrates on the life history of material culture rather than people and emphasises the temporal aspect, how meanings change and are renegotiated over time (Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170). This thesis incorporates both of these perspectives. Much academic work on buildings focuses primarily on the first phase of a structure with little consideration of how it was used in later periods. Such studies can misrepresent the range of housing that is present at a given period and leave unexamined how earlier buildings were perceived. Building biographies also often allow the researcher to link buildings with particular individuals, therefore facilitating the study of how both house and owner influenced each other rather than concentrating on one or the other. This allows a more complex understanding to be achieved that emphasises how houses were used and experienced.

The approach of buildings biographies also has resonances with microhistory (Ginzberg *et al* 1993; Lepore 2001) and highlights the value of small-scale studies. This was critical to the methodology of this thesis as small-scale approaches have often been considered less important than national or regional ones, which it is claimed shed a wider light on the period or subject under discussion. Yet as we have seen in the previous chapter with regards to Georgianisation and urban improvement, these large-scale studies construct generalized theories that do not accurately reflect the complexity of social

relations at ground level. If small-scale studies are carefully chosen then they have the potential to inform and critique these totalising general theories and allow a more nuanced approach to the subject.

Lucas's survey of archaeological biographies fails to consider the importance of landscape as a distinctive focus of study. This omission is also true of many analyses of buildings which exclude this element entirely, so that the objects of the study are divorced from their contexts, and left floating in space. Landscape is central to the study of eighteenth-century towns and particularly to the study of urban improvement. Developing a more nuanced method of characterising urban space is therefore critical if we are to avoid generalised interpretations. It is such generalisations that led to the problematic view that eighteenth-century towns were distinctly zoned, separating the polite from the impolite areas. This topic can be usefully explored by examining one of the more influential examples of archaeological approaches to biography, the work of Rebecca Yamin on the Five Points district of New York. For her study, Yamin draws on the extensive excavations of the courtyard block that uncovered evidence for a hundred-year period, between 1790 and 1890, in which the district changed from being a peripheral and semi-industrial area to being a crowded residential one. She uses this evidence to construct narratives detailing the complex social lives of different elements of the population. Yamin recognises the power that the slum stereotype still holds and maintains that this has to be countered by accounts that are equally compelling (Yamin 2001a, 154). Yet these 'narratives' are by no means works of fiction and display a rigorous approach to both artifactual and documentary evidence (Yamin 1998, 84).

These vignettes provide a vivid account of differing groups within the Five Points area and help to counter the stereotype that it was just one homogeneous community. Yamin matches the artifacts found in distinct stratigraphic layers with buildings records to reconstruct the daily lives of the inhabitants of different tenements (Yamin 1998, 76) and is able to illustrate the types of meals eaten, the quality of household goods and the standards of hygiene. These narratives show how distinct neighbourhoods were formed in the urban landscape and that these were largely based on shared ethnicity, with Jewish and Irish families forming the bulk of the population (Yamin 2001a,

165). Yet other identities, such as gender and occupation, also helped to forge communities, with female prostitution being particularly prevalent in the record (Yamin 2005, 16). This work shows the detail in which urban environments can be examined, which belies the blank grid squares of city maps.

However, there is still a major problem with this work, which is that Yamin does not take sufficient account of the spatial element, both on a smaller and wider scale. Although she identifies different neighbourhoods within the landscape, these are inadequately mapped and given the amount of documentation surviving, the movements of ethnic groups could be plotted spatially to quite a high resolution. It is this intimate geography which is lacking, with the intersection between districts going unexplored, as well as the charting of everyday routeways to shops and places of worship. In other words, Yamin constructs some arresting examples of neighbourhood biographies but does so without placing them in context. The wider world of the city is also neglected. Many of the working-class men were labourers (Yamin 1998, 78), yet Yamin does not try to explore where they worked and which parts of the city they would need to cross to get there. Also Five Points was only two blocks away from City Hall (Yamin 2001b, 3), and so how outsiders, from many different walks of life, would have interacted with the area is of considerable concern. The construction of neighbourhoods is a vital element in considering urban landscapes, yet they cannot be considered in isolation. They are all interconnected both on a physical level and by people who have a diverse range of conflicting identities, encompassing work, ethnicity, class, gender and age (Mayne and Murray 2001, 5). It is this element that is unfortunately missing from Yamin's analysis.

Although historical archaeologists examining plots and buildings have produced compelling biographical studies, they have also tended to ignore landscapes around them. However, a similar situation also exists with how landscape archaeologists have treated buildings. It is crucial to consider both landscapes and the built structures that they contain, an integration that is particularly important when considering urban landscapes. This is something that is readily accepted by prehistoric scholars and henges, causewayed enclosures and barrows are all subject to detailed investigation as part of the larger ritual landscape (Barrett 1994; Thomas 1999). This integrated approach

has been further stressed by Lesley McFadyen (2008, 308), who actually argues that even using landscapes, architecture and artefacts as different scales of enquiry is a limiting perspective and scholars should be thinking more in terms of 'architectures as landscapes'. This more fluid approach would see a building not as a finished object but always under construction through the medium of action. This can involve the use of artefacts and repeated practice to create space, as well as distinct events, such as in the context of the eighteenth-century the creation of a new wing or the refacing of an earlier house. However, within British studies of the historic landscape, these types of approaches are rarely considered and buildings are often treated as dots on a map.

A rare exception to this is the work of Jonathan Finch. In his examination of the landscape of Castle Howard he notes how the planned agricultural landscape could also have a symbolic association both with the country park and the buildings within it (Finch 2007). For example, he shows how the main approach was surrounded by traditional open-fields that were used as arable land until 1779, while on the eastern side the Temples to Venus and Diana overlooked a landscape of ridge and furrow that had been newly converted to pasture, which gave a very different message about improvement and harmony (Finch 2007, 43). This concern can also be seen in his examination of Harewood House estate in Yorkshire. Here, Finch (2008, 515) adopts an innovative biographical approach, taking as his starting point a day in July 1802 in which three men where rowing around the lake of Harewood. These where no ordinary men, and included Henry Lascelles (the owner and newly elected MP), Henry Repton (leading English landscape designer) and William Wilberforce (the leader of the movement to abolish slavery). At least two of them therefore were key figures in eighteenth-century society and culture and Finch uses this meeting to branch out into consideration of such wider topics as the slave trade and the aesthetics of landscapes. This study emphasises the ability of archaeological biography to examine a landscape on a highly detailed scale. This close-up study can then be used to inform and critique general inferences concerning contemporary life and social practices that have been constructed on a national or regional scale.

A final note should be made on the subject of style. The use of biographies enables the construction of compelling narratives that can engage

both the scholar and the casual reader. Treading this line can be a difficult task, however when it is successful the results can be brilliantly evocative. This has been demonstrated recently by Amanda Vickery, who, in her introduction to *Behind Closed Doors* (Vickery 2009, 1) offers up to the reader a range of individuals, from a student seeking refuge from boredom in a chop house to a Liverpool widow refashioning her town house, all of whom are 'at home in Georgian England'. Although her focus is often on the genteel and their servants, she is at pains to emphasise the sheer diversity of living spaces and lifestyles that existed in towns and cities during the eighteenth century. This narrative strength is continued elsewhere in the book, such as when she uses her evidence to construct a narrative of one house on the corner of Shoe Lane in London (Vickery 2009, 25). She details the various inhabitants and provides vignettes about their lives, such as the fruit-seller heating her sausages over the hearth, and the journeyman hiding his money away in the leg of his bed.

Practice

The aim of the thesis, therefore, is to build up biographies of both streets and individual houses in York during the eighteenth century. This involved recreating the layout and appearance of individual properties, as well as their place in the wider streetscape. These properties were linked to people, which allowed the status and occupation of the owners to inform the interpretation of the buildings. Importantly, these biographies do not exist in isolation and were used to inform and reassess wider practices, specifically urban improvement, domestic room use and retail practices. By focusing on micro history and biography a more nuanced picture of these national movements emerged. The city of York (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) was chosen as the case study as it is the ideal location for the examination of these themes. York was a focus for polite society in the north and was one of the major sources for evidence for Peter Borsay's treatise on the urban renaissance. Therefore both wealth and status was present in the city at the time and if these scholarly theories are correct then they should apply to York. When examining the streets of York it is particularly important to consider the earlier timber-framed buildings and how these affected the appearance of the streetscape and internal space, both domestic and

commercial. York also has high survival rates of medieval, early modern and Georgian architecture.

Initial work was carried out on the elite residential street of Micklegate for my MA thesis and the results of this are summarized below. For my PhD, a number of other streets were selected to examine different issues and to provide a multi-faceted picture of the city at the time. These include Castlegate, High Ousegate and Pavement, Stonegate, and Bootham. The streets contribute a number of different themes. Castlegate provides a good comparison with Micklegate since it was also one of the wealthiest streets in the city, yet shops were present at the western end. The presence of the three Water Lanes, which housed some of the poorest inhabitants of the city, also allows us to consider movement through the city and the exclusivity of elite space. These themes were explored further through analysis of the evidence of private gardens and the New Walk which adjoin Castlegate to the east.

High Ousegate and Pavement continues the theme of shopping. These were the main shopping streets in York serving the gentry market, with an emphasis on clothing. The historic fabric for Pavement has largely disappeared, yet by carefully recreating the street, the evidence demonstrates that the appearance of the streetscape was extremely diverse and, rather than presenting a unified classical frontage, it included many timber-framed buildings. This chapter therefore provides the opportunity to explore how this mixture of old and new fabric was experienced in a high-status context. Stonegate is also a distinctive locale. This has one of the highest concentrations of timber-framed buildings in the city, both medieval and early modern, and is the antithesis of the improved street. Therefore exploring the occupation of this streetscape and its use in terms of the shops available provided an interesting counterpoint to the other areas of the city. The final street is Bootham. This is outside the city walls but also has some fine Georgian properties. This chapter considers how far this was a liminal space. Also the numerous alterations to properties in the early nineteenth century, allows for the examination of how internal decorative language changes during this period.

Throughout the thesis, the methodology of building biographies is used to consider individual houses. Within each chapter, each house is examined separately. This included detailed description of the physical fabric, both

externally and internally. The external appearance of the building was analysed, including how this influenced perceptions from the street. The internal division of space was also examined, particularly how this related to room use and the relationship between retail and domestic space. The house was linked with its owner or occupier, which enabled explicit analysis of how the house and owner influenced each other. This includes consideration of the status of the individual and how this related to the status of the house (its size, location and quality of brickwork and decoration). It also allowed for the analysis of retail space, especially how the material culture of a particular business (such as bookshop, linen drapers or coffee house) could be accommodated within the confines of a particular property. Each chapter also includes analysis of the streetscape as a whole, so that the character of each street is built up and examined. This ensures that while individual houses may be singled out for consideration, they are not examined in isolation, divorced from their context. It also allows the author to demonstrate that these houses are not isolated examples but representative of processes present in the street and, indeed, on a wider national scale as well.

The evidence used comprises three major strands. The first is the standing fabric. This was recorded by the Royal Commission in the 1970s and five volumes were published on the historic buildings of York (RCHME (1962, 1972a, 1972b, 1975, 1981). These publications are supplemented by the case notes complied by the investigators, which include more detailed descriptions, plans and photographs and are available from the NMR. The study of these case notes comprised the initial desk-based assessment and allowed for an overview of the character of the street to be built up, as well as enabling individual buildings to be singled out for further study. Permission was then sought to conduct a photographic survey of the buildings. There are a number of reasons for this level of survey. The first concerns the research questions of the project. The aim is to analyse the internal space, particularly the use of rooms and movement through the house. The Royal Commission included plans of most of the properties they investigated, and while not all of them are measured, it was the layout of the property that was of interest and not the exact dimensions of the rooms. Therefore duplicating these plans was unnecessary. Furthermore, the creation of measured plans for each building would not have been possible

given that the average length of individual field visits was approximately one hour. This was necessitated by the fact that the houses under investigation are private homes and commercial premises and lengthy visits were not desired by the occupiers. Where exact dimensions were necessary, particularly with regard to the extent of retail space and in particular frontages, then measurements were taken either in the field or, where permission was declined, from OS maps. Where fieldwork was invaluable was in investigating the fabric of the building to check the Royal Commission's interpretation of its phasing and use of materials and also in detailing the numerous fixtures and fittings. The case notes are extremely variable in the level of detail they include. This is particularly true in regard to those decorative features that were deemed not have sufficient aesthetic value and were therefore omitted from the report. However, regardless of the level of quality of these features, they still can illuminate how the house was used. Ceiling cornices in particular are crucial in this respect. Cornices, and to some extent fireplaces, have a high survival rate in York and fragments remain even when the room has been remodeled or partitions inserted. They are therefore invaluable in tracking the level of decoration through a house and also between properties. A photographic survey was therefore considered to be the most appropriate form of fieldwork. Permission was sought from shopkeepers and home owners to allow the author access to their building and while this was often granted, this was not always the case. In such instances the case notes provided by the Royal Commission were relied upon for description of the standing fabric. Schematic plans of individual houses are included in the illustrations, based on the drawings created by the Royal Commission.

The second major strand of evidence is the documentary sources. These included wills, indentures, rate books, antiquarian maps and newspaper articles. An important aspect of the research was securely linking occupiers to the standing buildings and this was accomplished through a variety of sources. These included indentures and rate books and particularly the maps produced by a Dr William White c.1782 (Hogarth 2007, 19). Dr White lived in Castlegate during the latter part of the eighteenth century and his maps, drawn in a notebook, show a number of different streets in the city, including Castlegate, Low and High Ousegate and Pavement. They delineate plot boundaries and note the names and occupations of the occupants. These maps therefore provide a

snapshot of occupation on a number of streets in the 1780s. Another important document was Cossins's map of 1727. This included along the right- and left-hand margins 16 illustrations of public buildings and the private residences of York's leading citizens. These were some of the grandest houses present at the time and symbolised the neo-Palladian style that was becoming increasingly influential in the city (Hallett 2003, 30) and a number of the houses discussed were illustrated in this map. Other documents, such as wills, help to illuminate the status of the occupants, while others provide details of their occupation. Newspaper articles are particularly useful in this respect as they often provide details of the range of goods stocked by a particular establishment.

The third and final strand of evidence is illustrations and early photographs. These sources of evidence are invaluable when attempting to recreate buildings and streetscapes that have been significantly altered over time. York was a focus for landscape illustration in the early nineteenth century, although their use as a source does have limitations as artists concentrated on certain streets and prospects. Photographs are also useful, which start to be taken of York streets in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Illustrative evidence in particular can be problematic when using it to reconstruct a vanished landscape, however there are a number of safeguards that allow it to be used securely. The most reliable method is to compare an artist's treatment of buildings that are known (either because they are still standing or were photographed) with those that have since vanished. This allows one to assess the accuracy of the artist and the value of the illustration as a source.

This chapter has detailed both the theoretical and practical methodologies of the thesis. However, before moving on to the case studies, it is first useful to examine my previous work on York and in particular the research carried out on Micklegate, as this helped to inform both my methodology and my ongoing research questions

Previous Research – Micklegate

As already noted, previous research into eighteenth-century houses in York formed my MA thesis (Jenkins 2009) and concentrated on the street of Micklegate. This focused on both new Georgian buildings as well as medieval or

early modern structures that were adapted during the period. It also addressed perceptions of the streetscape as a whole. The methodology used was very similar to that outlined above, although my PhD thesis has utilised far more documentary and illustrative records.

Micklegate, or the 'Great Street', was part of the old road from London to the North. From the medieval period through to the end of the eighteenth century, Micklegate was an important street where many of the city's leading citizens lived. Peter Borsay (1989, 203) specifically singled out Micklegate as one of a number of 'archetypal Georgian streets' and this view has coloured both the academic and popular conceptions of the surviving buildings. And at first glance this judgement seems to hold true, polite facades line the street and only the odd timber-framed house survives. Yet behind the Georgian frontages lies an intricate network of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century structures.

The evidence from the houses in Micklegate point to a number of different themes. Firstly that the make-up of the fabric of the street was extremely varied, including timber-framed buildings, some of which had been refaced in brick and also a wide variety of new Georgian buildings. This depth of style and age of buildings is acknowledged by Borsay (2003, 10) who does note how antiquity became a marketable product for the York Corporation eager to attract polite society. However he also maintains that the vast majority of York's historic landscape was medieval and gothic rather than Roman and classical. Yet Borsay is fundamentally incorrect, since the majority of surviving fabric was medieval and *timber-framed*. This is an important distinction since not only does timber framing lack the grand aesthetic of the stone churches but examples are much more numerous. They can be found through all sections of the city and located cheek-by-jowl next to up-to-date specimens of Georgian improvement. The result is a streetscape in which the medieval past impinged on the polite present and it is necessary to understand how the two existed together.

Yet how was the street perceived? To some degree the façades reflected the status of the owners. The town mansions of Garforth House and Micklegate House were obviously wider than their neighbours and had design features such as rusticated quoin blocks and elaborate pediments. The better narrow-fronted houses also had fine red brick dressing and brick bands. The houses that were

merely refronted rather than newly built, such as Nos 19 and 21 (Figure 6), were generally not so elaborate and might well have stood out as such (Nos 19 and 21 is one property that was later divided. Where a reference to properties with consecutive numbers is made in this thesis it is indicating a single house, unless clearly stated in the text). An indication that the interior of the house might not necessarily match up with its up-to-date exterior. Therefore the wealth of the occupant, or at least the amount of money invested in the façade, could be read off by members of polite society with an eye for such details. Yet we should be cautious about such an interpretation and be aware that there were always exceptions. Nos 53 and 55 (Figure 7), for example, might well have been simply refronted by John Carr rather than newly built and yet it was also one of the grandest houses on Micklegate. Also there are indications that the houses could be perceived in other ways and convey messages that ran counter to the fashionable architectural orthodoxy of the time.

As has already been noted, there is evidence that the Corporation used the built heritage of York, particularly the Roman and Gothic architecture, to enhance the image of the city on the national stage. Yet there are also signs that the older vernacular architecture was being deliberately employed by individuals to make their own statements. This is particularly evident at Nos 2, 4 and 6 (Figures 8 and 9) which belonged to Alderman John Wakefield who became Lord Mayor in 1766. For despite being a prominent city official and a member of the lesser gentry, Wakefield lived in a building that was largely medieval and the front of which still retained its original timber-framed façade. Internally, there is also evidence of an appreciation of the past, with the main reception room decorated with seventeenth-century panelling. It therefore seems likely that this indicated an attempt to deliberately distance himself from the popular Palladian architecture of the Georgian period and to emphasise his links with the city and its surviving past. The façades can also be deceptive and it is often difficult to deduce what may lie behind them. Nos 35 and 37 (Figure 10), for example, has a smart eighteenth-century front range but a long seventeenth-century wing at the back, and the Georgian front on Nos 69 and 71 (Figure 11) masks a medieval structure that was probably a hall with a cross wing. This contradicts the Palladian principal that the external appearance should relate to interior space and shows how often it was ignored.

The buildings on Micklegate therefore display a wide variety of forms and it is vital to remember that when we discuss eighteenth-century housing we do not just consider the newly-built structures. The plans of these earlier houses would have had a considerable impact both on how entertaining was conducted in the home and also on how privacy was constructed. The medieval houses on Micklegate were treated in a number of different ways in the eighteenth century, but they all raised problems for the owners as to how to accommodate typical Georgian modes of living. This can also be seen at Nos 69 and 71. Here the medieval fabric was extensively remodelled to create what is essentially a double-pile house, an undertaking that was only partly successful. For the evidence suggests that while the formal reception rooms had a measure of elaboration and had a typical layout, the more private rooms displayed a degree of 'bodging'. In the first-floor front rooms neat square rooms were unable to be produced and a column had to be inserted to prop up the existing timber frame. Also in the attic of No 69, the sloping roof line obscured two of the windows and lessened both the available headroom and light.

Similar problems can also be seen in other houses. Both Nos 19 and 21 and Nos 35 and 37 incorporated seventeenth-century back ranges. For Nos 19 and 21 this would have created a long, narrow house plan that was probably four rooms deep and did not have a through passage that connected all the rooms. This would have affected both how rooms were used and where they were located and and also left visitors unsure how to navigate through the house. At Nos 35 and 37 the front range was newly built and therefore could incorporate conventional Georgian room use. However the seventeenth-century back range was where the bedrooms were located. Again, there is no evidence of a connecting corridor and it appears that each room led directly to the next one. Therefore the occupant at the north end of this wing would have been able to control access to the rear apartments and this would have had serious implications for how privacy was constructed within the home.

My analysis of the newly-built houses on Micklegate has also raised some important issues. Firstly, it has questioned how these buildings were experienced in practice and thereby cast doubt on the trajectory of early modern housing which apparently saw a steady rise in the desire for privacy culminating in the Georgian house. For when these houses are looked at in greater detail

they display ambiguous attitudes towards privacy. The ground-floor rooms, and so those most accessible to the street, were commonly the parlours that were used by the family for their everyday living. However the more formal rooms, including the drawing room, were generally on the first floor and this arrangement allowed guests deeper access into the home. If privacy had been the primary consideration then this arrangement would have been reversed. In Georgian houses the private life of the family that took place in the front parlour would have been quite vulnerable to intrusions from the street, particularly noises, smells and sights, while the formal rooms on the first floor would be elevated above the hustle and bustle of the street. The privileged position of the drawing room may therefore signify a deliberate attempt to minimise in these rooms the danger of exposure to the outside world. The room layout thus placing greater importance on display and the comfort of guests than on the family's need for privacy.

The ambiguity of space within eighteenth-century houses is also seen in other areas as well. One of the major characteristics of the Georgian house is apparently increased segmentation, with rooms assigned to specific functions. Yet the houses on Micklegate suggest that in practice the situation was much more fluid. Here we see that the position within the house, particularly which floor a room was on, was at least as important as the overt function assigned to it. At both Nos 57 and 59 (Figure 12) and Nos 118 and 120 (Figure 13), bedrooms were detected on the first floor, yet these differ markedly in decorative features from those situated on the second floor. Those on the first floor were also much more accessible to visiting guests and historical evidence shows that they could have been regularly used as entertaining rooms. Therefore a bedroom, in which the most private activities took place, did not have a fixed meaning. How this room was both used and perceived was entirely relative and depended both on which floor it was on and what time of day it was – the time of day dictating what sort of social gathering (if any) might be occurring. There is also evidence for multiple uses of other rooms, such as at Nos 118 and 120, in which the parlour and dining room appear to be combined in one space. Formal and informal activities would therefore take place within the same room and gives this added weight to Vickery's contention that a space could be made more or less public simply by the use of different tableware, the arrangement of

furniture, the level of ceremony and whether the guests were a small group of close acquaintances or a larger gathering (Vickery 1998, 206).

Another important issue raised by the case studies is the relationship between house owners and servants. Nos 53 and 55 show how the use of the term 'servants' staircase', at least in urban contexts, can be misleading. For while the family could use the main grand staircase to reach the formal rooms on the first floor they would have had to use the servants' staircase to access the bedrooms on the second floor. This places the family and servants within the same space and indeed within the same group, a group that can be contrasted with that of outside visitors who would only have used the grand staircase. It shows how the servants' staircase did not divide the house according to class, nor did it prevent contact between masters and servants. Instead it placed both domestic help and blood relatives within the umbrella term of the household, a feature which has already been noted by historians (Tadmor 2001, 272; Meldrum 1999, 29). This can also been seen in the smaller, narrow-fronted houses. Here there was no back staircase and everyone within the household would have had to use the same one. Furthermore, the layout of the rooms suggests that servants' chambers were situated within the principal bedrooms. This may have been convenient for the occupier, but would also have intruded on their personal space. Therefore while family privacy would have excluded outsiders, it would have included the servants and allowed them access to a person's most private moments. This again illustrates the importance of the concept of the household in the eighteenth century and how it related to the outside world.

The analysis of the eighteenth century houses on Micklegate also provide interesting evidence for how interior decoration could guide the visitor around the house and also act as an indicator of status. Nos 53 and 55, for example, showed how the hallways of Georgian houses were not simply blank impersonal passage ways that provided the visitor with few clues as to what lay behind their doorways (Deetz 1996, 161). The first-floor landing gave a guest the choice of five doorways, yet the design also allowed that choice to be informed. Although each of the doors had enriched pediments, three of the doors were further nested in an inner lobby providing a more intimate space. Furthermore, the central door of the lobby had a broken pediment, further guiding the visitor to

their probable destination, the front drawing room.

The interior decoration also provided information as to what kind of space a person was walking into. In many of the case studies, particularly those that were either built or remodelled in the eighteenth century, we can see how the level of elaboration differs from room to room and floor to floor, and thus provided an indication as to its function. Yet it would also have allowed visitors to gauge the status of the owners, often to a very fine degree. This can be seen particularly in Nos 57 and 59 and Nos 118 and 120. Both were newly built, narrow-fronted Georgian houses and both were owned by members of the gentry. Yet Nos 57 and 59 was owned by Robert Swann, who was of lesser-gentry status and Nos 118 and 120 was owned by Matthew Chitty St Quintin who was of aristocratic lineage. The hierarchy of decoration that has been observed in many of the case studies is still followed, with the first floor being the most elaborate, followed by the ground floor and then finally the second floor coming a distant third. Yet the degree of elaboration that can be found in each room differs markedly in these two houses. This can be seen particularly with regard to the bedrooms. The principal first-floor bedroom in Nos 118 and 120 is panelled above the dado rail and has a deep moulded cornice. Even the bedrooms on the second floor still have fairly elaborate cornices. This is in contrast to the bedrooms in Nos 57 and 59, where the second floor rooms have cornices of extreme simplicity and the first floor bedroom is unpanelled. Therefore houses could display not just the general status of the owners, but fine gradations of rank. Polite society was in theory supposed to smooth over these distinctions and allow all members of the gentry to converse in a genial manner. Yet these houses show that rank was not easily forgotten and while it might not be overtly alluded to, the status of the owner would be on display for all to see.

The Micklegate research therefore raised a number of interesting issues. It examined how the streetscape was constructed and perceived in the eighteenth century and also highlighted the diversity of housing present at the time. This diversity would have had considerable impact both on how people entertained and the construction of privacy within the home. Finally, it re-examined assumptions of how the newly-built Georgian houses worked in practice. They have questioned both the idea of increased privacy for the

household and how the household was composed, particularly in the relations between masters and servants.

Conclusion

This PhD thesis creates biographies of both streets and houses. This was achieved through the use of both archaeological evidence in the form of standing buildings and a range of documentary and illustrative sources. These biographies were then used to examine three major themes. These include the appearance and perception of the streetscape, the experience of domestic space and the use of retail space. This has produced more complex and subtle readings of urban landscapes in the eighteenth century than had previously been presented in national studies. The next chapter will examine the first case study, that of Castlegate, which like Micklegate, was one of the most fashionable residential areas in Georgian York. Subsequent chapters will explore High Ousegate and Pavement, Stonegate and Bootham, with a concluding chapter which will draw together the themes of the thesis.

Chapter Three
Castlegate and the Postern Lane

This chapter will focus on the streets of Castlegate and Castlegate Postern Lane (Figures 14, 15, 16, 17) through the long eighteenth century. It will use the method of building biographies to illustrate the life history of both the houses and their owners and how each can influence the other. The chapter continues to explore a number of themes that have already been highlighted in the research conducted into Micklegate. This includes the appearance and perceptions of the streetscape and how far this conforms to the theories put forward by scholars of an 'urban renaissance' for this period, as outlined in Chapter One. It also includes how decoration was used internally to signal room use and how this can be tracked to illuminate issues such as domestic privacy. The chapter introduces a number of new avenues for research. In particular, it demonstrates that a change occurs in the decorative language in the early nineteenth century, with a variety of alternative strategies being adopted, and explores the connection between retail and domestic space. Castlegate, therefore, is an ideal opening case study. It provides a good comparison with Micklegate as it was also one of most exclusive streets in York. The presence of shops at the western end of the street also introduces new themes, particularly the examination of retail space.

Castlegate lies in the western part of York and is essentially a continuation of the thoroughfare that includes Coney Street, Spurriergate, and Nessgate. Yet despite this link to one of the city's major network arteries it is outside the main hub and its geographical location could mean that it was perceived as something of a backwater, a theme that will be explored throughout this chapter. The street led to the Castle bailey, although despite this sign of distinction the earliest documents to mention it date to the fourteenth century (RCHME 1981, 111). It was also the site of the Franciscan Friary that was surrendered to the king in 1538 (VCH 1961, 362) and ran in an L-shape around the Castle, following the line of the Postern Lane. Though the immediate beneficiaries of the land were recorded, little is known of how it was utilised from the 1570s until the eighteenth century. Castlegate appears in the plan of York created in c.1545 as the 'Castell Gaite' and also appears in Speed's plan of

1610 (Figure 1). The latter shows that the entire frontage of Castlegate was already developed by this point, including the side Water Lanes, with the exception of a small section in the south-west corner nearest to the castle. The 1852 OS map of York outlines three fragments of the Friary wall that were still standing at the time and elements still survive today, including a section fronting the river Ouse and part of the north-west wall that now runs between No 18 and Nos 20 and 22 (RCHME 1981, 51). This large swathe of green space remained undeveloped throughout the eighteenth century when it was used predominantly as gardens and the character of the Postern Lane only changed substantially at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the new castle walls were built and housing increasingly started to encroach on the space.

By at least the seventeenth century, the streetscape of Castlegate consisted of two and three-storey timber-framed buildings that were ubiquitous in York during the early modern period. Houses built at right-angles and parallel to the street were both common at this time (RCHME 1981, lx) and it is probable that many of these buildings would have been of domestic character. In his study of the occupational topography of medieval York, Jeremy Goldberg (1992, 66-68) shows that very little manufacturing activity took place on the street, with merchants and tailors being the most common residents. Also on the street stands the church of St Mary, which was mentioned in the Doomsday Book, although much of the surviving fabric dates to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (RCHME 1981, 30). During the Georgian period, Castlegate became one of the city's most fashionable residential streets and many of the surviving houses and façades date to this period.

Nos 1-3 Castlegate

This property (Figures 18, 19, 20) consists of a three-storey double-fronted house with attics. The façade has a moulded cyma-recta block cornice and moulded string courses at both first and second floor levels. The fenestration has been heavily altered but whole or partial fragments of the original scheme can be seen on the second floor and each storey probably contained five narrow windows with flat arches made of fine, narrow red-gauged brick.

The Royal Commission date the present building on stylistic grounds to c.1730 (RCHME 1981, 111) and later the house was divided and a new

fenestration scheme adopted. To further complicate matters a discrete space (now a shop) has been carved out on the ground floor incorporating elements of both Nos 1 and 3 and the Robin Hood Inn (now the Little John). The 1852 OS map (Figure 14) clearly shows that at that time the Robin Hood Inn incorporated the whole of No 3, however, it is problematic to take this division back into the eighteenth century.

One of the principal reasons for this is the combination of the buildings and documentary evidence. A newspaper advert from the York Courant in 1785 lists 'The Dwelling House lately occupied by William Tuke' as being for sale or let and containing 'three Rooms on the ground floor, eight good Chambers, and three Garrets' (*YC*, 8 March 1785). This is a substantial house and appears to correspond exactly with the whole of Nos 1 and 3 and not just half of it. The evidence for the phasing of the house also supports this conclusion as the bow window, incorporating a raised geometric pattern, is stylistically from c.1820 (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 1). It is therefore likely that both the divided house and the new fenestration scheme date from the second quarter of the nineteenth century and that during the eighteenth century the house was one structure.

In order to assess the proper significance of the property it is necessary to consider who the owner was. This is an essential step in buildings biographies, as seen in Chapter 2. This allows for the material fabric of the building to be studied in conjunction with the documentary evidence, allowing consideration of how the house and owner influenced each other. In this regard, map evidence as well as documentary sources prove invaluable. Of particular relevance are the maps produced by a Dr William White c.1782 (Hogarth 2007, 19). Dr White lived in Castlegate during the latter part of the eighteenth century and came from a Quaker family, a fact that will gather increasing significance as this narrative progresses. The maps show a number of different streets, including Castlegate, Low and High Ousegate and Pavement (YCA Y912). They delineate plot boundaries and note the names and occupations of the occupants. The maps (Figures 21 and 22) are schematics and, for example, the width of properties only bear a general resemblance to their actual size. However, with regards to the relationship of one property to another it is remarkably accurate. This can be seen in the narrow-fronted houses comprising Nos 12 and 14, which

are still standing. Dr White's map shows both Nos 12 and 14 as being accessed from side entrances and this is corroborated by the Royal Commission's survey (RCHME 1981, 113). They are therefore an invaluable resource in analysing the streetscape of Castlegate and linking the standing buildings with particular individuals.

The Royal Commission note the existence of these maps but are uncertain whether the property was part of the Robin Hood Inn, or belonged to William Tuke, or even his neighbour, a milliner named Harris (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 1). There are a number of reasons for this confusion, mainly due to the fact that the western half of Castlegate was truncated by the widening of Coppergate in 1900. However, if the evidence is examined carefully it suggests that William Tuke was the most likely owner of this property.

Dr White's map shows the Robin Hood Inn followed by three properties to the west, owned respectively by 'William Tuke, Grocer', '– Harris, Milliner' and 'Henry Tuke, Teaman' (YCA Y912). The 1852 OS map shows the Robin Hood Inn, followed by two further tenements. However the shape of the properties are also important. Dr White's map show's William Tuke's property as joining on to a warehouse on Coppergate, with the properties forming an elongated L-shape between the two streets. However, it is No 3, the part labelled as the Robin Hood Inn in the 1851 map, that allows this shape to be formed. At the back of No 3 is a small closet wing that was extended substantially at some point in the eighteenth century (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 2). The Royal Commission note its presence, but unfortunately did not gain access to the wing. In the 1851 map this wing can also be seen and significantly it abuts a tenement on Castlegate. Therefore, Dr White's map finds corroboration here through the archaeology, and it is likely that William Tuke's property comprised both Nos 1 and 3.

William Tuke inherited the property and the business from his aunt Mary Frankland (BIUY PR 96, f319r) who had taken him as an apprentice in 1746 (BIUY, Tuke 149). William's son Henry then later came into the business, being admitted freeman in 1782 and newspaper advertisements from 1783 list the business as Tuke and Son (*YCH*, January 31 1783). The documents also shed light on the age of the house indicating that it was probably built slightly later that the c.1730 date indicated by the Royal Commission. A covenant in 1747

describes the house as adjoining the Robin Hood Inn and also that the house was new (YCA, Acc 181.24).

A number of issues still need to be resolved. The first is that there is still a disjunction between the two maps. If we accept that in the eighteenth century Nos 1 and 3 were one property, then on the 1852 OS map this leaves only one further tenement before the end of the street, while Dr White's map shows two. However, on the 1851 map this property is very wide, comparable to Fairfax House and Castlegate House, so by the nineteenth century it might have incorporated another house. This is further strengthened by the will of Mary Frankland in which she leaves her own house to William Tuke, but also leaves another house in Castlegate to William's brother Samuel. It appears that this house is later sold as the descriptions match very closely (YCA, E94.18), but in this indenture it also mentions that it is 'next save one house to the corner of Coppergate in the said city'.

The establishment of property boundaries and ownership also raise the question of the relationship between domestic and retail space. The long tenement listed as a 'warehouse' on Dr White's map is shown as part of William Tuke's property and opening onto Coppergate. However, in the eighteenth century, the term 'warehouse' was used to denote a large shop that functioned as a retail outlet and examples are known to have existed in York before 1800 (Morrison 2003, 31). The OED definition describes a warehouse as an obsolete term 'used as a more dignified synonym for "shop" ' and includes quotations from 1754 and 1813 (OED online, nd). However Mui and Mui maintain that 'warehouse' was actually used to indicate shops selling low-priced and therefore lower status goods and that the term became started to appear in provincial towns from the 1770s onwards (Mui and Mui 1989, 64).

This is backed up by the evidence of newspaper advertisements. Several adverts indicate that the warehouse of Tuke and Son was a place of business (*YC* 19 August 1805; *YC* 8 March 1785). Other York examples support this interpretation. In 1783 Richard Sutcliffe gave notice that tea and coffee 'continue to be sold at the wholesale and retail Tea Warehouse in Spurriergate York' (*YCH* 7 February 1783) and Mr Wormald lets the public know that a quantity of bottles were for sale at a different rate depending whether you

bought them straight from the ship or 'out of the warehouse' (*YCH* 21 March 1783).

It is therefore highly probable that that the Tukes' warehouse on Coppergate was a retail space. However, therefore is also a mention of another establishment owned by William Tuke, that of the 'Tea-Tub', which this time is specifically identified as being on Castlegate (*YC*, 23 August 1763). Another advert in 1805 also mentions the firm's warehouse premises in Castlegate (*YC* 19 August 1805). It therefore seems likely that Tuke had either two retail establishments or one large shop with two frontages. In either case this would create two distinct spaces. One explanation for this is that these two shops stocked different goods geared towards different classes of customer. Historians have noted how shops could incorporate spatial distinctions so that different types of goods would be sold in different parts of the building (Cox and Walsh 2000, 90) and this could apply to shops owned by the same person. Castlegate was a street with a much higher status than Coppergate in the eighteenth century. Drake (1788, 38) dismisses Coppergate out of hand as 'having nothing remarkable in it'. Also the quality of housing was far inferior than that of Castlegate and Dr White's map for Coppergate shows shops that do not seem geared towards the polite end of the market (YCA Acc 163). The street contained three ale houses, two inns and a gin house, as well as a few more polite establishments such as a linen draper, and a cabinet maker. Therefore, separate or linked shops on Castlegate and Coppergate could serve distinct goods with different customer bases. This is backed up by Mui and Mui's interpretation of the term warehouse as indicating the selling of more down-market goods, which would certainly fit in with the location of Tuke's premises on Coppergate.

Is it possible to link these two shops with the properties on Castlegate? One possibility is the rather strange shop space on the ground floor straddling both No 3 and the Robin Hood Inn. A newspaper article advertising the sale of the house in 1785 describes the house as 'containing three Rooms on the ground floor, eight good Chambers, and three Garrets' (*YC* 8 March 1785). In a house of this type you would usually expect four rooms to a floor (Brunskill 2000, 114) and this is supported both by the presence of eight chambers (including both the first and second storeys) and the Royal Commission's plan of the first floor (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 3). If the ground floor included a shop space

then this would explain this anomaly. The other possibility is the property on the corner of Castlegate, marked on Dr White's map as belonging to Henry Tuke. This was probably not domestic space as Henry and his wife Mary apparently lived on Saviourgate after their marriage (Sessions and Sessions 1911, 21), and therefore is likely to have been commercial space. Henry and his father were in business together, so this could be the 'Tea-Tub', described as being on Castlegate, or it could be a third space for wholesale business.

The firm also had a roasting house for coffee that was opened in 1784 (*YC* 19 July 1785). It was of national significance as it was one of only five others that were licensed by the Excise to roast coffee in the country (Taylor 1992, 23). The exact position of the building is not known. However, a letter by William Tuke mentions a new employee taking a two-room lodging at 'the back of the roasting office one of them looking towards George Ewbank's garden' (BIUY, Tuke 3, 101, 8 August 1797). As we will see, George Ewbank lived at Nos 9 and 11 (RCHME 1981, 111) and his large garden extended down to the Foss. This potentially includes a number of back lots along Coppergate and Pavement but considering that Tuke's business revolved around Castlegate it is probable that it was one of the buildings shown on the 1852 OS map looking directly over Ewbank's garden at the back of Castlegate. The concentration of Tuke's interests in Castlegate is further emphasized by Tuke's sale of Nos 1 and 3 in 1785 (YCA, Acc 181, 31). This move coincided with the foundation of a girls' school for the children of Quakers on Trinity Lane off Micklegate. The foundation had been championed by Esther Tuke and she and her husband William became the school's first superintendents (Sessions and Sessions 1911, 35). However, they still kept a dwelling in Castlegate. The agreement mentions a dwelling house belonging to William Tuke on the north-west side of Nos 1 and 3 (YCA, Acc 181, 30). This may refer to the wing at the back of No 3 (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 2) which had now become a separate dwelling. Tuke kept the house for the remainder of his life, for the *Yorkshire Gazette* recorded that he died in 1822 at his house in Castlegate (*YG* 7 December 1822).

William Tuke's social position can be described as 'genteel' (Vickery 1998, 1). This social class included commercial, professional and gentry families. Vickery notes the problems of defining both middle-class and lesser gentry and how, for example, the lesser gentry are often seen by scholars as in

opposition to the aristocracy (Vickery 1998, 14). However, Vickery stresses the ambiguity of these relations in her examination of the diaries of Elizabeth Shackleton. She was a member of the lesser gentry, yet her acquaintances included individuals from trade, the professions and every established landed family in north-east Lancashire (Vickery 1998, 24). William Tuke was the leading tea dealer in York during the second half of the eighteenth century and had an average of 2,506lbs of tea on hand (Mui and Mui 1989, 121). The Castlegate business would also go on to form the basis of the fellow Quaker firm Rowntree and Co in 1862 (Royle 2001, 263).

William Tuke also had other identities as well as that of a merchant, as he was also a Quaker and a noted philanthropist. His charitable acts included the foundation of The Retreat, a pioneering hospital for the treatment of mental illness, which received both national and international attention. He also created a succession of schools for girls (VCH 1961, 443, 471). The one at Trinity Lane has been discussed above, however later it was moved to Castlegate Postern and so Tuke will re-enter the narrative when we come to consider that street. Tuke was also a Quaker, although he only really began to concern himself with the affairs of the Friends after the death of his first wife in 1760 (Sessions and Sessions 1911, 12). Before that, by his own admission, 'my mind became principally bent to seek after the things of the world' (Sessions and Sessions 1911, 15). Shelia Wright (1995) has written a scholarly work on the Quakers in York from 1780 to 1860 and while subjects such as philanthropy and the changing face of the Quaker religion are highlighted, there are also aspects that illuminate daily social life. Of particular importance are gender relations as there was a sense of 'spiritual egalitarianism' in Quaker marriages and women were accepted as leaders of the community (Wright 1995, 66, 134). Although as Quaker families became more wealthy, business considerations also began to play a part in arranging matches (Wright 1995, 59)

How do these identities as a Quaker and philanthropist mesh with William Tuke's position as one of the wealthiest merchants in York? The traditional interpretation is that Tuke's religion subsumed that of his membership of the lesser gentry. To some extent this is true. During Esther Tuke's illness in 1792 she was persuaded to borrow the carriage of fellow Friend and celebrated grammarian Lindley Murray (Sessions and Sessions 1911, 39),

implying that they did not own one of their own. Also the social life of the family as reflected in the letters is not one of a polite social world. For example, William's daughter Mabel writing from London in 1796 does not describe assembly room balls but instead writes about the Friends's committee meetings and comments:

> 'how pleasant it would be to fly to you [her brother Henry in York] from the bustles of this great place which is far too great for me.' (BIUY, Tuke 16, 3269, 24 May 1796)

How is this dual status reflected in both the materiality of the archaeology and the documentary evidence? Nos 1 and 3 Castlegate is a modest Georgian town house, but it does contain evidence of architectural elaboration. The brickwork is fine in Flemish bond and there are plat bands at both first and second floor levels. The flat-arched lintels are made of fine red gauged brick and there is a deep modillioned cornice. This detailing may not be especially distinguished but it shows an awareness and willingness to engage in contemporary architectural fashion and a desire to not simply go through the motions as the features are all of good quality. This emphasis on quality can be seen inside as well. Much of the interior has been modernised, but the original staircase remains with an open string to the first floor (RCHME 1981, 111). Detailing in the first-floor front room to the east also survives. This consists of sunk panelling with ovolo surrounds, a moulded dado rail and a deep Doric plaster moulded cornice (NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, page 3). The elaboration in this room is therefore marked and its location within the house (front room to the east) is consistent with other rooms both in Castlegate and York generally that have been singled out for particular decorative treatment. Therefore, at least to some extent, the house mirrors the houses of other lesser gentry in the city, such as those in Micklegate that were outlined in Chapter 2. In particular it follows the architectural rhythms of polite entertaining that is invariably found in eighteenth-century gentry houses in York. The house may have been built by Mary Frankland but it was owned and used by William Tuke for a considerable time and can therefore be seen as an expression of his everyday life.

The documentary evidence also points to the assimilation of some aspects of contemporary polite culture and practices. From his letters, William Tuke appears to have enjoyed dining with friends (BIUY, Tuke 3, 97, 2 May

1796) and presumably receiving them as well, so at least that aspect of polite society seems to have been practiced. Also in a letter from London, Henry Tuke relates engaging in tourist activities (BIUY, Tuke 4F, 376, 6 June 1810). He describes how:

> 'we got admission to the colonnade at Buckingham House where we had a fair view of the Queen and the rest of the Royal Family when they got out of their carriages' (BIUY, Tuke 4F, 376, 6 June 1810).

He goes on to report 'after feasting our eyes' – a term that would hardly been used if the sight of all the finery was looked down on – they were invited by a beefeater to go into the kitchen to see the dinner being sent up to the royal family.

The tensions and complexity of both being a Quaker and engaging in mercantile activity can also been seen in the advertisements the firm placed in the local newspapers. Mui and Mui (1989, 266) have noted how the circulars issued by the Tukes, which were a type of formal business letter, were typically terse with little attempt at enticement and this is ascribed to their positions as Quakers. However, the advertisements tell a different story. In an early advert in 1763, William Tuke goes to great lengths to stress the superiority of Churchman's Patent Chocolate by virtue of its 'immediately dissolving, full Flavour, Smoothness on the Palate and immediate Union with liquids' (*YC* 23 August 1763). By 1785 they were selling:

> 'chocolate of their own manufacture from the best Cayenne and Caracca nuts, which is warranted free from any Adulteration.' (*YC* 6 September 1785)

Tuke's concern with quality can also been seen in his private letters regarding merchandise. For example, in 1791 William Tuke writes to his son that 'There is some doubt of the 34th being true flavoured but as the colour is good they cannot be much amiss.' (BIUY, Tuke 3, 89, 19 Dec 1791). There is a performative quality to these statements that points to the interaction between shopkeeper and customer. The shopkeeper must not only be able to tempt the public with their wares but also to have a deep knowledge of their goods, in this case the varying quality of different teas. This knowledge would not just inform what goods should be stocked but would also be something that was passed on to the

public – a display of knowledge that helped to build up the reputation of the shop.

Of particular interest, however, is a series of advertisements in January 1783 in which the Tukes appear to have entered into a print war with Mr J Wormald, Brewer, over the respective quality of their salt. In a lengthy advert, the Tukes allege that the high opinion of North Country salt (sold by Mr Wormald) is 'grounded in error' (*YC* January 31 1783). They go on to detail an experiment which proved that Cheshire salt (which they happened to sell) was better value. This continued for several issues of the newspaper, with each firm rebutting the other's claims. Direct attacks of this kind seem to have been very unusual (Mui and Mui 1989, 266) and the language used is also of interest. The Tukes base their claims 'on experiment' and detail how it was carried out. This form of enlightenment language stands in contrast to Mr Wormald who maintains that his salt 'requires neither puffing paragraphs nor painful experiment to recommend it' (*YC* January 31 1783). Although this is somewhat undermined by the previous sentence in which he claims that North Country salt 'will quickly penetrate to the bone of any ham (even though as large as the leg of an elephant)' (*ibid*).

Nos 1 and 3 Castlegate therefore illustrates the complex relationship between William Tuke's position as a Quaker and his other identity as a merchant. Tuke's status was of the lesser gentry and his house and the architectural detailing it contained were emblematic of this, displaying a concern for contemporary taste. This taste was not simply decorative but helped to structure social practices in providing discreet and recognisable spaces for entertaining. His business interests also show a concern for quality, which was essential for catering to the gentry market and he even engaged in competitive advertising. Yet Tuke's status as a Quaker is also apparent. His house displays a degree of architectural modesty, particularly in comparison with other houses on Castlegate. Furthermore he did not own a carriage, was barred by his faith from participating in civic government and his daughters did not frequent the Assembly Rooms, a hallmark of polite eighteenth-century society. Therefore in this context the term Quaker cannot simply be equated with simple and plain and the evidence, both material and documentary, demonstrates the complex

intermingling of the different aspects of Tuke's life. However, we have not left William Tuke and will return to him when considering Castlegate Postern.

No 7 Castlegate

No 7 (Figures 23 and 24) dates to the middle of the eighteenth century and was originally of two storeys before being heightened to three later in the century (RCHME 1981, 111). This change can clearly been seen in the brickwork as the ground and first floors are constructed using Flemish bond while the second storey has an irregular bond mainly utilising stretchers. The Royal Commission date this extension to 1789 based on the evidence of a rainwater head. Less certain however is their contention that a previous house was located on site built by Peter Whitton, Lord Mayor in 1728 (RCHME 1981, 111). Peter Whitton did buy a house in Castlegate in 1727 (YCA Acc 79.10) and, after his death in 1734, his wife moved out and the property was leased. In 1742 his wife, Mary Whitton, remarried and the marriage settlement notes 'A messuage in Castlegate called the Cock & Crown Inn, with the garden and garden house near St Mary's church yard, in the tenure of Geo Skelton' (YCA, Acc 79.11). The description fits much better with the plot now occupied by Nos 9, 11 given its extensive gardens during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and its proximity to St Mary's. The deeds also give no indication that two properties were involved.

Both Nos 7 and Nos 9 and 11 were owned by the Ewbank family during the latter part of the eighteenth century, with the maps of Dr White indicating that No 7 was the warehouse while Nos 9 and 11 was the domestic residence (YCA, Y912). Nos 9 and 11 will be considered in detail subsequently, but it is worth noting here the rainwater head on the house which bears the initials GE and the date 1766. This coincides with the schedule of deeds for the Cock and Crown Inn mentioned above, which shows the sale of the property to George Ewbank in 1764 (YCA, Acc 79.14). This refers to George Ewbank Snr who operated as a druggist and banker, with his son, George Ewbank Jnr, who later joined the business. George Ewbank Snr moved to Monkbar in 1774, leaving the house and business on Castlegate to his son, before dying in 1787 (RCHME 1981, 111). However, George Ewbank Jnr did not outlive his father by very much and passed away in 1795.

No 7 Castlegate therefore operated as a druggist shop during the second half of the eighteenth century. Chemists and pharmacists in the Georgian period often had large windows divided into small panes of glass, with each pane used to frame a single bottle (Morrison 2003, 71). These bottles would contain colourful liquids and were even sometimes back-lit after dark, creating what would have been a striking spectacle and helped to attract passers-by. The façade of No 7 however contrasts interestingly with an illustration of a chemist's shop in Cambridge dating to 1810 (Figure 25) (Morrison 2003, 71). In some respects they are similar, both having flush façades and similar shallow block cornices. However No 7 contains some architectural details that sets it apart. For example, much of the house is constructed out of Flemish bond, whereas the shop in the illustration utilises stretchers. Also No 7 includes simple flat-arched lintels whereas the illustration has none. Therefore No 7 includes more polite features, in keeping with the street's genteel associations.

There is an interesting link between commercial and domestic space, yet it is one that is rarely commented on. Stobart *et al* (2007, 106, 139) note how in both streets and buildings there was the possibility of transgression and that the polite world could be disrupted. The mixing between classes in these spaces could transform into a threat to urban peace and shopping could become theft. However the authors emphasis how it is the individuals, the actors, that create this potential disruption, while the architecture produces meanings of taste and respectability (Stobart *et al* 2007, 114). However, both the goods and buildings themselves also have the power to be disruptive.

The increased importance of consumerism during the eighteenth century has been seen as influential in blurring the lines of the gentry, allowing wealthy shopkeepers and professionals to take on the trappings of gentlemen (Stobart *et al* 2007, 114). Fashionable clothing was of particular importance, especially in London and resort towns. This created anxiety about the power of consumption to overturn existing class boundaries, although scholars have warned that this was largely confined to metropolitan commentators and can be exaggerated (Stobart *et al* 2007, 161). However both goods and behaviour did have the power to create confusion or at least ambiguities. Fashionable clothing for upper class women in the Regency period could be quite revealing, including semi-transparent full-length gowns and there was a fine line between being

stylish and immodest (Rendell 2002, 59). This confusion was exacerbated by the fact that shopgirls and actresses could be finely dressed and were frequently represented as prostitutes. There could therefore be some anxiety on the part of men as to a woman's true identity, both in terms of their social class and availability (Rendell 2002, 54, 61). Spacks (2003, 8) has also noted the eighteenth-century concern with authenticity, particularly in regards to knowing an individual's interior world. This is powerfully illustrated in a scene from Frances Burney's *Camilla*, in which Camilla's inexperience in shopping attracts a group of onlookers who begin to question her identity (Kowaleski-Wallace 1997, 92). This leads to her being mistaken for a prostitute and she is accosted in the bath house and narrowly escapes rape.

This uncertainty concerning identity, illustrated by the potential confusion between a lady and a prostitute, can also apply to domestic houses and shops. There is a blurred line between the two types of building as shops ape the polite architectural styles associated with gentry homes. Classical style can therefore create associations that are both exclusively polite in the case of domestic buildings and inclusive of the lower orders in regards to shopping spaces. It disrupts the meaning of polite architecture as it fractures its link with the upper classes and professions. This elision between different spaces can be seen in the sale advert for William Tuke's house which declares that it is 'convenient for business or a private family' (*YC*, 8 March 1785). If the material forms can be the same, how can one be sure of the identity of the house? It is true that both the examples of commercial spaces looked at on Castlegate also belong to gentry families so the confusion is muted, however this would certainly not always be the case. Also high-status shops could have decoration that was exceedingly fine, such as Wedgewood's premises in London (Morrison 2003, 37). This was originally the home of a medical man and once again shows how interchangeable the two could be.

Finally, it is also worth noting the width of the No 7, which is 18.7ft. This is significantly wider than the 7ft that Claire Walsh (2006, 155) maintains is typical of the period and it is questionable whether shops this small were prevalent outside the metropolis. However, even the larger size of No 7 is not spacious, particularly when considering the shelves necessary to display jars and bottles and the service counters (Morrison 2003, 71). The experience of polite

shopping and browsing, at least in the main shop, may therefore have been much more physically constrained than has previously been noted, with displays masked by crushes of people. However, we must turn now to the domestic space of the Ewbanks and consider Nos 9 and 11.

Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate

Nos 9 and 11 (Figures 26, 27, 28) consists of a double-fronted house of three storeys with attics and cellars (RCHME 1981, 111). As has already been noted, the house belonged to the Ewbank family in the second half of the eighteenth century and the rainwater head bearing the initials GE and the date 1766 accords well with the evidence from the deeds (YCA Acc 79.14). George Ewbank Snr and Jnr both worked as druggists and bankers, with the apothecary shop situated next door and the bank premises located on the corner of New Street (Sinclair 2001, 229), although it was called the 'Coney-Street Bank' (*YC* 19 July 1785). This could refer to the now-demolished house on the west side of Coney Street or the range of sixteenth-century houses that are still standing on the eastern side. This could place the bank not in a Georgian building but in a medieval timber-frame. It is also interesting that the bank takes its name from Coney Street, which was first recorded in 1158 (RCHME 1981, 121), rather than New Street, one of the very few streets created in York during the eighteenth century. The bank, therefore, at least to some extent, plays on its links with the past rather than the polite present. This also stands in contrast to Nos 7, 9 and 11 Castlegate.

The Ewbanks were firmly included in the ranks of the lesser gentry in the city, with George Ewbank Jnr given the title of esquire both in the newspaper notice of his death (*YH* 13 June 1795) and in his will (BIUY PR 139, f.495v). His widow even received a small bequest from Dorothea Johnson (BIUY PR 155, f89r), the widow of Peter Johnson. Johnson was the Recorder of York and one of the wealthiest men in the city who had built the mansion of Castlegate House in 1762. George Ewbank Jnr also appears as a witness to the will of Peter Johnson (BIUY PR 140, f369r) and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the families were at least acquaintances and moved in the same polite social circles. The wealth of the Ewbanks is more uncertain as the value of the estate is estimated at under £2,000 (BIUY PR 139, f.495v). However, it does include the

caveat of 'and land' and the will itself mentions several estates. These must have been worth a considerable sum since just one of his bequests includes the settlement of £2,000 on his daughter.

The house itself is a complicated structure, interpretation of which has made more difficult by the partition of half of the property into a series of flats. Much of the structure has been visited but it has not been possible to record the front rooms to the east on both the ground and first floors. The Royal Commission describe the structure as having three major phases (RCHME 1981, 111) and there is much to support this argument. However, before the first Georgian phase, there is evidence of an earlier house that stood on the ground. In the cellars that run under the east-west wing at the back of No 11 there is evidence of stone masonry blocks, between two and three courses deep (Figure 29). This may well have been the remains of the inn that stood here in the early-modern period which was called the Blue Boar and later the Cock and Crown (YCA, Acc 79). The cellar also includes a splayed window characteristic of medieval stone undercrofts.

The first phase of the Georgian house consisted of the building that is now No 9 and 11. The house is built using Flemish bond and it has a deep modillion cornice. The façade has been obscured by later alterations but the original fenestration scheme appears to have been five windows to a floor (RCHME 1981, 111), with evidence of two blocked-up windows on the first floor and four on the second. Interestingly, it also shows a concern for Palladian principals of proportion, with the second-floor attic windows half the size of those on the first floor (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 141). The façade does have an odd feature, however, as the whole of the western bay of the building is curiously indented (Figure 30). It includes a blocked-up window with a stone sill that matches the shape of the other original windows. There is a straight joint up to the level of the second-floor window after which it is bonded with No 7. So it may be that there was an extension to the second floor of No 9 and 11 at the same time as No 7 gained its second storey. The Royal Commission interpret this indent as the presence of a through passage (RCHME 1981, 111) and a reconstruction drawing from the case file also shows this as a feature (NMR, Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate). There is little architectural evidence to support this, however it does make sense as the indenting of the bay to the west would allow

the through passage to be kept separate from the overall façade. This would allow the main façade to be symmetrical, five bays wide with the door in the centre. Furthermore, a through passage at this location would lead to a long one-storey extension at the back. There is no structural evidence that this is an original feature as the brickwork is completely obscured, however it does appear on the 1852 OS map and it may have been a service or kitchen wing.

Internally the house seems to function very much like the Georgian houses we have seen in the Micklegate houses discussed in Chapter 2. The ground-floor front room of No 11 has an elaborate dentilled plaster cornice (NMR, Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate, 4) and would have functioned as a primary reception room. While on the first floor of No 9, where the bedrooms would have been located, there is a range of decorative elaboration. The central room to the south has an extremely deep cornice and may have been used as a social space as it is the first room encountered from the stairs (Figure 31). For while the staircase of No 9 is c.1840, it is thought to mark the place of the original one (NMR, Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate, 3). This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that the cornices in the other first-floor rooms of No 9 are far less elaborate and so are unlikely to have been the focus of display.

The suitability of the house for polite living in terms of its size, types of rooms and level of decoration is confirmed by a newspaper advert for the sale of the house after the death of George Ewbank Jnr. This 'spacious dwelling-house', it declares, is 'in every respect calculated for the residence of a genteel family (*YH*, 15 August 1795). It lists four rooms on the ground floor, including 'a commodious dining-room, eighteen feet by twenty-one; [and] drawing room, twenty-six feet by eighteen'. It also notes that the house has kitchens and offices on the ground floor, which strengthens the case for the one-storey extension at the back of No 9 as being original, for the main house would not be large enough to accommodate them. It also lists 'five good bed-chambers, with dressing rooms on the first floor' and 'good accommodation for servants in the attics and garrets'. So the ground floor was used primarily for formal receptions and family interaction, while the first-floor contained the bedrooms. Yet historians having already noted how these spaces could also be used for entertaining, particularly with accompanying dressing rooms (Greig 2006, 116) and the varied level of decoration supports this.

Thus far, Nos 9 and 11 seem to have functioned very much like a typical Georgian house. However, the picture changes when the later phases are considered. The house was subsequently divided and presumably let separately, with a new staircase block added to the back of No 11 (Figure 32). This featured a cantilevered staircase with square-section cast-iron balusters that dates stylistically to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century and is similar to other examples in the city, such as No 20 St Andrewgate (NMR, Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate, 4). Then in c.1800, according to the Royal Commission, a substantial east-west wing was added to the back of the new staircase block. It is worth noting here that while the sequence might be correct the date of the subsequent range might be slightly later. For in 1811, No 11 was bought by John Mason, tea dealer and former business partner of William Tuke (YCA, Acc 79.14). We will consider John Mason in more detail below, but initially it is worth noting that it is likely that it is his purchase of the property that gave rise to the building of this new structure.

This east-west range is of two-storeys with an ashlar plinth and constructed using Flemish bond (Figure 27). It has a deep moulded cornice and five lights to a floor, with continuous stone sills on both storeys, interrupted on the ground floor by French windows. However, it is internally that the wing is of interest. The front room of the original house to the south-east that contains the dentilled cornice may well have continued to have been used for entertaining guests but it is unlikely that the new wing would have gone unused in this regard. This is particularly true given the elaborate nature of the staircase and the fine frontage to the north facing the garden. However, within this wing we see very little of the spatial differentiation in regards to the decorative features that we observed in the original Georgian house. Each floor was originally composed of two rooms, yet the level of decoration displayed in the cornices in these rooms are all very similar (Figures 33, 34, 35). Therefore there is little to distinguish formal reception rooms, major bedrooms and minor bedrooms. This marks a change in the language of decoration that was used in domestic buildings between the Georgian and Regency periods. Here, the use and status of rooms was no longer being signposted as it had been. Also ornamental features that previously had principally been utilised just in rooms that were highly visible to guests were now also being used in more private situations. In

other words, decoration seems to have started to be used for personal enjoyment as well as private show. The other implication of this is that the use of principal bedrooms was starting to change. They were no longer being used for intimate social gatherings as they had been in the Georgian period.

This interpretation is given further weight by the character of John Mason. He was a former business associate of William Tuke (*YC* 19 August 1805) and was a fellow Quaker (*YG* 1 December 1827). Yet we have seen above in the case of No 1 and 3 Castlegate that religion did not prevent William Tuke from employing ornamental features in his home. Mason was obviously on the rise and was renting William Tuke's former house by at least 1797 (YCA, Acc 181.32). As well as tea dealing, Mason had also become a linen-draper and he bought No 11 Castlegate in 1811 (YCA Acc 79.14). Mason unfortunately died quite young in 1827 and there is a moving article in the newspaper to mark his passing:

> 'after a long and severe illness, aged 64, much and deservedly regretted by his family and friends, John Mason, of this City, one of the Society of Friends' (*YG* 1 December 1827)

By the time of his death, Mason had considerable personal worth and his estate was estimated at £9,000, with each of his surviving children receiving at least £1,000 (BIUY PR 177, f269v). There is therefore little reason to assume that the uniform use of decoration in No 11 was due to a lack of wealth or position. However, this answer to changing modes of living was merely one response and as we travel down Castlegate we will see other decorative schemes adopted.

Appearance of the Streetscape

The surviving houses on Castlegate date largely from the Georgian period and this accords well with the street's role as one of elite residential neighbourhoods in eighteenth-century York (VCH 1961, 208). Indeed, the façade of one of the now-lost houses along the street was even included in Cossins' map of 1727 (Figure 2). This evidence seems to confirm the view of urban historians that the landscape of eighteenth-century cities changed fundamentally at this time and that the streets became more ordered and regular (Borsay 1989, 16; Stobart *et al* 2007, 109). However this view is misleading as leading off from Castlegate were

the three Water Lanes (Figures 36, 37, 38). These contained some of the poorest inhabitants of the city (VCH 1961, 163) and even by the early nineteenth century were considered slums with a tenth of those who died in the cholera epidemic of 1832 coming from the Water Lanes (RCHME 1981, 149). Therefore the idea that elite Georgian neighbourhoods were spatially separate from those of the lower classes (Hallett 2003, 47; Stobart *et al* 2007, 97, 78) does not apply to York. Those living along those lanes would also have used Castlegate as a thoroughfare and this would have given the population of the streetscape a very varied character.

Moreover, although the buildings along Castlegate appear to be principally of Georgian character, this was not necessarily the case in the eighteenth century and the surviving fabric has coloured our perception. Illustrations of the three Water Lanes show the houses as being largely of timber-framed construction (YORAG R8; R383; R141) and this seems to have extended to the frontage of Castlegate. No standing buildings dating to the eighteenth century survive along the southern side of Castlegate from Nessgate to the Far Water Lane (RCHME 1981), however there is some illustrative evidence for these structures. A depiction of the street dating to 1837 shows a jettied timber-framed house on the frontage of Castlegate (Figure 39) (YORAG 699). The evidence is somewhat problematic as it appears to show the corner opposite St Mary's church where No 12 (an eighteenth-century building) stands. However, the artist George Nicholson is generally noted for his accuracy (Wilson and Mee 2005, 137) and it may be that the more picturesque background view of the church was added to an accurate portrayal of a house further down the street. There is also evidence (both illustrative and photographic) from the southern side of nearby Nessgate showing the timber-framed Star and Garter Inn (Figure 40) (YORAG R3492; y9_nes_237 YCA). The analysis of Castlegate presented here therefore challenges the model of urban improvement put forward by many scholars (Borsay 1989; Stobart *et al* 2007). The street did not just contain tensions in the form of conflicting architecture but often fell far short of the conventional ideal of urban renewal. Castlegate was one of the elite residential neighbourhoods of the city yet even here the order and symmetry of polite architecture would be broken at regular intervals by vernacular houses.

To this discussion of fabric, we can also add a social dimension through biography and spatial analysis. Even when one considers just the Georgian houses the streetscape is far from uniform as there is a distinct progression in wealth the further one travels towards the castle to the east. At the bottom of the street, next to Nessgate, are the houses and shops of wealthy merchants such as William Tuke and George Ewbank. Yet after the Water Lanes these shops disappear and the houses become mansions, including Fairfax House, built by Viscount Fairfax of Elmley and Castlegate House built by Peter Johnson, the Recorder of York (RCHME 1981, 112). The very top end of the street is increasingly seen as a desirable location and because of its inhabitants becomes almost a distinct space. When the Recorder's House is put up for sale in 1817, it is advertised as being on Castle Hill (i.e. the motte) rather than the more correct description of Castlegate and the area is described as 'one of the most pleasant and airy Situations in York' (*YCH* 27 February 27, 1817).

Castlegate has also been seen as being a somewhat liminal consumer space, particularly by Mui and Mui, whose work on *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth-Century England* incorporates detailed case studies of York. Mui and Mui (1989, 124) maintain that the central shopping district in York extended in a semi-circle from the Minster, with Castlegate marking the eastern limits and 'barely qualified' for inclusion. However, this relies on a rather narrow interpretation of the consumer landscape and Stobart *et al* (2007, 97) have warned that shops, theatres and assembly rooms should not be seen as existing in isolation. Yet Castlegate was not just on the periphery of the shopping district but also on the way to the New Walk. This was created in the 1730s and 1740s alongside the River Ouse and followed the example of London and a number of other provincial cities (Hallett 2003, 40). Walks and gardens were seen as important arenas for public display and part of the armory of urban improvement (Borsay 1989, 162). Therefore Castlegate was a crucial thoroughfare in the polite landscape of eighteenth-century York and is an example of why we have to not just consider the nodal points but the routes between them. This will be discussed later in the chapter in the context of Postern Lane.

No 16 Castlegate

No 16 (Figures 41, 42, 43) is part of a small terrace of three houses. Nos 12 and 14 were dated on stylistic grounds to c.1730, while No 16 is attributed to the early nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 113). The later date for No 16 is confirmed by Dr White's maps (YCA, Acc 163). Here, the entrances depicted conform to the existing layouts of No 12 and 14, while that for No 16 is very different. It is shown as being a smaller size, with several entry points marked, and is described as having 'various tenants' rather than the single tenancies of the other houses in the row. This means that we do not know who the actual owner was in the early nineteenth century. However we can still make inferences about their status. This is mainly due to the fact that No 16 was built to match the style of the earlier houses and can be argued to have been designed to attract occupants of the same status.

No 16 is a narrow-fronted house of three storeys constructed using Flemish bond. It has double-plat bands at both first and second floors and the windows comply with Palladian principals of proportion. The windows also have flat arches of fine gauged brick and the half basements have lights to both the street and the back yard. The Royal Commission notes that Nos 12 and 14 originally had a much larger cornice, as timber grounds for fixing it are visible at the top of the second-floor windows (NMR Nos 12, 14 and 16, page 2). There is now an early-nineteenth-century cornice with modillions running along the whole of the terrace that was probably introduced at the same time as No 16 was built (Figure 43). Internally, the ground-floor front room has a large reeded cornice (Figure 44) and an even more elaborate one on the first-floor front room (Figure 45), which features bolder projections. The house also includes two large basement rooms, presumably for servants, that are well-lit by the half windows. The basement room to the back also includes two rounded-headed alcoves and a wide blocked fireplace, which indicates this room may have served as a kitchen.

The level of architectural detailing contained in the building and the provisions of rooms for servants therefore indicates that this house was occupied by at least a minor member of the lesser gentry. No 16 was built to mirror the original houses on the terrace and therefore the occupants of these houses in the late eighteenth century can give us a clue as to the status of those

living at No 16 during the Regency period. Dr White's maps again prove useful here. In the 1780s No 14 was apparently occupied by 'My aunt, Grace Hammond' (YCA, Acc 163). Little is know about Grace Hammond herself but she did own a garden and garden house on the fashionable Castlegate Postern until 1762 when she began to lease it out (YCA M37: 39). Dr William White himself was a respected member of the medical profession and an antiquarian (Hogarth 2007, 20). He is also mentioned in the records of a meeting called to provide aid for the poor in 1783 (YCA, Acc 163). White is listed as among the gentlemen in the city that attended, which included many prominent inhabitants such as Peter Johnson, the Recorder of the City, John Carr and John Fairfax. It is therefore likely that both the Hammonds and the Whites were members of the lesser gentry.

The internal decoration conforms to a large extent to a typical Georgian house. The first-floor front room has the most elaborate cornice in the house, designed for the most show, while both the ground-floor rooms also have handsome examples and are meant to be observed. There is therefore a progression of elaboration in which the most formal reception rooms are also the ones that have the most embellished decoration. However, there are subtle differences at the first-floor level. Here, in the back room, there is no cornice at all and given the level of preservation present in the rest of the house it is unlikely that there ever was one (Figure 46). This absence stands in marked contrast to other polite, narrow-fronted Georgian houses, such as those already observed on Micklegate, including Nos 57 and 59 and Nos 118 and 120. Here these first-floor back rooms had a noticeable degree of elaboration and, as we have seen, historians have noted their use as sites of gatherings of more intimate acquaintances. Yet in No 16 Castlegate there is nothing and as in the case of No 11, it points to a change in how these spaces were used and experienced. It seems that in the early nineteenth century these first-floor bedrooms were not longer being used as reception rooms and, at least initially, this provoked a range of responses. It could lead, as with No 11, to the whole house being outfitted to the same level of decoration and there being little to distinguish between public and more private space. Or, in the case of No 16, it could lead to no decoration at all. The decision-making behind this second decorative scheme can be interpreted in several ways. However, the most likely

is that if no one outside the household was going to see this room, then elaboration was unnecessary. This contrasts with even the second-floor bedrooms of Nos 57 and 59 and Nos 118 and 120 Micklegate, which had at least very simple cornices. The second floor of No 16 was unable to be looked at, but the evidence here certainly points to a change in polite lifestyles.

Another interesting detail is the size of No 16, particularly the width of the hallway. This is because the entrance passage to No 14 is actually included within the structure of No 16 (RCHME 1981, 114). Therefore the amount of available space on the ground floor is quite restricted, with a frontage of only 15ft. In particular, it results in a noticeably narrow hallway (Figure 47). As we have seen, much of the decoration conforms with what one might expect in a polite Georgian town house, yet here the proportions are different. This is in line with the ideas of McKeon (2005, 256) who argues that differences within the broad merchant class arise not so much out of degrees of status emulation but are rather quantitative in nature, resulting from the amount of available space and from financial resources. McKeon links this explicitly with privacy, with larger houses offering more strategies for segregated space and limiting the potential of visitors to have access to rooms reserved largely for the household. This observation is problematic given the positioning of reception rooms within gentry and lesser gentry homes and the fluid nature of room use in the eighteenth century (Vickery 1998, 206). However, McKeon's main point is noteworthy and illustrates the problem of conceiving of eighteenth-century housing as uniform and regular, as many scholars have done (Borsay 1989, 52; Stobart *et al* 2007, 110).

This illustrates that even though architectural trappings may be the same, the constraints of space can have seriously implications for the day-to-day experience of life in the home during the eighteenth century. In conclusion, No 16 shows that although a house can have many of the trappings of a polite Georgian house, there are also differences that would alert the visitor to the fact that this house is not quite as fine as, say, some of the narrow-fronted houses on Micklegate. There is therefore a subtle gradation of detail and scale and both the façade and interior of house would display the minutiae of class distinctions. The houses would be individualistic as well as having aspects of uniformity and they help to illustrate how the building fabric of a town – a key feature of the

urban renaissance – also contained contradictions. That it both displayed and encouraged a social competitiveness that stood in direct opposition to the apparent inclusivity of polite society.

No 29 Castlegate

No 29 (Figures 48, 49, 50) is a double-fronted house four bays wide, with two storeys and attics and cellars. It has a stone plinth and moulded wooden block cornice. It is built using Flemish bond and the flat-arched lintels are made of very thin gauged brick with simulated saw cut joints (NMR No 29, page 1). It is dated by the Royal Commission on stylistic grounds to the early nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 113) and the maps of Dr White (Acc 163) provide some confirmation of this, as these show that the side passage of the present house is missing from the one shown in the 1780s and also the position of the entrance is different.

An interesting feature of the house is that the entrance is not at the front but on the side (Figure 49). This side entrance has a timber doorcase with paneled pilasters and a Doric entablature (RCHME 1981, 113). As a consequence, the house has two 'public' fronts – the front facing the street and the main entry to the side. However, while the side entrance does include an elaborate doorcase, the brickwork is of inferior quality to the front having an irregular rather than a Flemish bond. It is therefore the façade to the street that is the finest architecturally and it seems that the greatest significance is placed on this elevation.

This ambiguity is also reflected internally. In many respects the decorative scheme echoes that found in numerous other double-fronted Georgian houses with two rooms on each floor singled out for greater embellishment. Typically, these are the two rooms at the front of the doorway. Yet here the scheme is turned on its side and it is the two rooms facing the street, the southern 'front' and 'back' rooms, that are given the most show.

We will now examine the interior in greater detail. The fine entrance hall (Figure 51) is divided in two by a pair of Ionic columns, with the front (eastern) half containing a very deep moulded and dentilled cornice (Figure 52) while the back (western) half has a narrow reeded cornice with flower patterns around the edges (Figure 53) (NMR No 29, page 2). This leads to an open-string staircase lit

from above by a cupola. The ground-floor rooms facing the street reflect this level of decoration, with the south-east room containing a wide reeded cornice, once again interspersed with flowers, while the south-west room has the same cornice design but this time interspersed with leafs (Figures 54, 55). The 'back' rooms to the north, however, are more subdued. Although this section of the house has been modernised and the walls knocked though, the original divisions can still be seen thanks to the surviving cornices and the original doorways. The north-east room has a narrow reeded cornice but without the added level decoration and could well have been used as a parlour (Figure 56). The north-west room in contrast has no decorative features and the wide fireplace opening that is still visible suggests that it was used as a kitchen (Figure 57).

Upstairs, a similar scheme is employed. The south-west room has the same decorative design as the ground-floor southern rooms, with a wide-reeded cornice with flowers (Figure 59). While the south-east room just has a narrow reeded cornice, similar to the 'parlour' room downstairs (Figure 58). Therefore so far the house conforms to the decorative language used in a typical Georgian house. Here, the level of decoration varies from room to room and reflects both how the space was used by the household and the degree to which it was on display to visitors. The rooms fronting the street are given prominence and the formal reception rooms are not just confined to the ground floor, allowing the staircase with its cupola to be appreciated by visitors. This can even be seen in the staircase leading to the attics (Figure 60). This is situated on the first-floor landing and would be in view of any visitors. The lower half of the staircase therefore has turned balusters. Yet this changes half way up once it ceases to be visible from the first floor and it reverts to simple square balusters. Once again, the extent of decoration changes when one comes to the first-floor rooms to the north. Here there is a total absence of elaboration and, as with No 16, it is unlikely that this has simply been removed, given the level of survival throughout the rest of the house. These rooms would definitely have been used as family bedrooms, given that there is no proper second storey.

The evidence here, therefore, strengthens the theory that there was a change in room use during the Regency period and that bedrooms were no longer being used for any kind of private entertaining. Yet, as we have seen with both No 11 and No 16, this period of change produced different responses. At No

29, this led to a complete absence of decoration, which seems to stem from the belief that if visitors were not going to see it then there was little need for expensive architectural features. The Castlegate houses have produced a range of interesting evidence relating to this transition period during the early nineteenth century and this will be a theme that will be explored in later case studies. We have now reached the end of Castlegate and will turn to an examination of Castlegate Postern.

Castlegate Postern Lane

Castlegate Postern Lane (Figures 61, 62, 63), now Tower Street, ran from the top of Castlegate down to the Castlegate Postern on the city walls and followed a sweeping L-curve around Clifford's Tower. To some extent the modern street retains this alignment, however the street has been greatly widened and the postern gate was demolished in 1827 (*YG* 13 May, 1826). Very little remains, therefore, of the eighteenth-century landscape. However, development of the area can be traced utilising maps, illustrations, documents and newspaper reports.

As has already been noted, many of the early plans of the city, such as Speed's map of 1610, show the area as being predominantly a green space, broadly marking the site of the former Franciscan Friary. In Horsley's map of 1697 and Chassereau's of 1750 (Figure 3), this green area has been divided into individual garden plots. One of the earliest illustrations of the street dating to c.1730 also confirms this (YORAG, R1860). It covers the curve of the street parallel to the river Ouse and depicts a number of individual garden plots, several of which include small garden houses. The street itself is flanked on one side by the ditch of the castle motte and on the other by the wall of the Franciscan Friary. The attribution of the wall to the old Friary is strengthened by a plan dating to 1795 (YCA K65) that shows the wall stretching the length of the entire street and a section marked as having been taken down. Also the 1852 OS map explicitly labels surviving sections from this wall as belonging to the Friary.

What were these plots? In this regard, Dr White's maps prove invaluable as they provide a snapshot of the area in the 1780s (YCA Acc 163). This shows a succession of garden plots running along the lane, together with the names of

the owners. Many of those at the top end of the lane relate to gentry living on Castlegate. So at the top, Mrs Thornton, the occupier of Fairfax House, had a courtyard and coach house to complement her mansion across the street. Below that was part of the extensive gardens of Peter Johnson, the Recorder, which included a hot house. Further down were gardens belonging to men of similar eminence, including the then Lord Mayor Henry Myers and next to him a Mr Hearon. The two appear to have been at least acquaintances and moved in the same social circles as a document dating to 1778 names

> 'Henry Myres of York, gent., and Richard Hearon of York, tea and china man, as devisees in trust according to the above will of Thomas Chadwick' (BIUY YM/D/HES/XV/9).

The character of the landscape, however, appears to change the closer one gets to Castlegate Postern, with several of the plots labelled as 'a common garden'. The layout of those plots belonging to the gentry can be further illuminated by looking in detail at the one belonging to Henry Myers. The deeds (YCA M37) show a succession of owners before Myers acquires the lease in 1762 (YCA M37.39). The details of the garden are also described (YCA M37: 53). Its dimensions are 'in length 28 yards and in breadth ten yards or thereabouts' and it contains a garden house. The boundary separating the plot is also reported as being a 'fence wall' and the appearance of the summer house can be illuminated through a surviving example from Tower Place (RCHME 1981, 235). This dates to the second quarter of the eighteenth century, although it was later extended in c.1830. It has a pyramidal roof with a ball filial and internal features include window seats, a moulded and enriched cornice and a dado rail with sunken panelling. Therefore, although the summer house is substantially smaller than a main dwelling, it still includes a high degree of elaboration, indicating that it would have been used for entertaining.

In order to understand the landscape of Castlegate Postern it is important to set it in context. As has already been discussed, Castlegate and the Postern Lane were not isolated on the edge of the city but were in fact part of one of the main routes to the New Walk (Figure 64). Yet it was not a space that could swiftly be traversed in a carriage, as these had been banned along the route from 1733 (YCA K65A). This transforms Castlegate Postern from being merely a thoroughfare to being an important processional way. This therefore

increases the significance of the summer houses along this lane as venues for the performance of polite society. They would be convenient and elegant places where the lesser gentry could entertain guests on the way to or coming back from the New Walk.

Castlegate Postern was not, however, entirely devoid of houses. On the eastern side of the street, along the lane leading to the castle, stood the house of Samuel Waud. He is described as a captain on Dr White's map (YCA, Acc 163) and was certainly a member of the lesser gentry as the housebooks depict the aldermen of the city treating him with great respect and he is given the title of esquire (YCA, B46, f386). An illustration depicts this as a considerable mansion with stone quoins and consisting of three storeys with half basements and attics (YORAG R1860). A map from 1801 shows the outline of the house, together with a considerable kitchen yard, coach house and stables (Figure 65) (YCA Acc 191 PH106/1907). The high status of the house is confirmed in a newspaper advert that lists it as including 'two large Drawing-Rooms… two Parlours, five excellent Bed Rooms' (*YC* 2 March, 1812). It is said to have 'every other convenience for a large and genteel family' and that 'The house is finished in a most elegant style with Marble Chimney Pieces, Mahogany Doors and Stone Stair Cases'. The house even incorporated the motte and Clifford's Tower as a private orchard. An illustration from 1730 shows trees around the castle with a winding path leading to the summit (YORAG R1860). Yet in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the castle was viewed, at least by artists, as a romantic ruin, with the interior depicted as increasingly dilapidated, populated by resting labourers (Halfpenny 1807, pl13), and the exterior almost obscured by trees and the fronds of ferns and willows (*ibid*, pl12). This would have added to the desirability of the route as a site of recreation and 'the pleasures of the picturesque, the sublime, the "gothic"' (Hallett 2003, 47)

This was not the only house on the street and there were two or three others. However, these were of an altogether different character. It has already been noted that the status of the gardens seems to change the closer one gets to the Postern gate and this is also reflected in the houses. The house of a rope maker is shown on the southern side of Tower Hill, although it seems that he practised his highly visible craft just outside the city walls in an area known as 'the ropery' (YCA, 163). There are also several houses marked on the southern

side of Castlegate postern Lane and these are depicted in illustrations from the turn of the century which show them to be a mixture of one and two storey dwellings, built of stone and brick, and decidedly vernacular in style (Figure 66) (YORAG R3155).

Little research has been conducted on the use of town gardens, such as those on Castlegate Postern Lane, during the eighteenth century. However, there has been some work conducted by historians. Although more is know about the greater town gardens of London, evidence does exist for more modest ones owned by the lesser gentry. These predominantly featured gravel walks lined with trees on the outside and beds planted with flowering shrubs in the centre (Cruickshank and Burton, 1990, 192, 196). These gardens therefore emphasise the activity of polite promenading. The evidence from Castlegate Postern that exists seems to support this model as the OS map of 1852 shows the outline of some of the plots. This evidence cannot be taken as definitive as it may to some extent be schematic, however the layout of the gardens are individualized on the map and they all show long walkways revolving around central beds. Another important feature to note that a number of these gardens were detached from the main residence of the owners. For example, gentlemen such as Henry Myers did not have their houses in the immediate vicinity on Castlegate. This phenomenon has been noted in other towns and how the concept of property ownership should not be seen as being limited to a narrow spatial dimension (Harding and Taigel 1996, 237). The use of these types of garden could have both positive and negative effects. Gardens at the time could often be smelly as one of their principal functions was to contain the privy (Cruickshank and Burton, 1990, 193) and so having a detached garden to enjoy for pleasure could certainly have its benefits. Yet they also had implications for privacy as they are isolated from the protective structure of the house and so are much more vulnerable to invasion.

The documentary evidence also allows us to trace the development of the area through time over the course of the eighteenth century. As we have already seen, by 1733 carriages had been forbidden along the road and a post was erected at the postern gate to prevent them from entering (YCA, K65A). This coincides with the planting and extension of the New Walk in the 1730s and 1740s. This consisted of a long, tree-lined avenue extending for a mile along the

river Ouse and including a 'wilderness' area and two wells (Hallett 2003, 40). In an interesting observation, Hallett interprets the landscape as mirroring the polite architecture of the city, with the rows of elms echoing the columns of the Assembly Rooms. Mr Waud's house had also been constructed by this time as an illustration depicting it dates to the 1730s (YORAG 1860). However, it was only in the second half of the eighteenth century that the garden plots appear to have been developed, and the occupants change from being mostly minor members of the lesser gentry to prominent figures in the city Corporation (YCA, M37).

The character of the street seems to have remained the same for the latter half of the eighteenth century, as we have already seen in detailed examination of the area in the 1780s as depicted in Dr White's maps. However a profound change occurs in 1795 when a large house was built in the centre of the street where several of the gardens used to be. This was commissioned by William Tuke, who we encountered earlier in the chapter. It was specifically designed to provide a new location for the school that had begun in Trinity Lane. His wife Ann, who had been one of the prime initiators of the school, had died in 1794 and new superintendants were appointed (Rous 1881, 8). However, the new school caused great controversy. This was a substantial residence and a surviving map depicts a large double-fronted mansion of five bays with a garden and school-room behind (Figure 67) (YCA, K65). The City Corporation took great exception to this building and sued Tuke for trespass. In particular, they noted how he had pulled down the section of friary wall in front of the house and had constructed a drain running down the length of Castlegate Postern Lane to the city walls. The details of the case are quite convoluted and it was eventually taken to the King's Bench in London (YCA K65-67, K76-78). The final outcome of the case is not known, but a public pamphlet does survive in which Tuke presented his case to his fellow citizens. Interestingly, he did not justify the building of the school as an act of philanthropy but positioned himself as upholding an ancient right of the people of York to make drains from their houses (YCA, K65A). Therefore, although he was a Quaker he still also very much saw himself as part of the city. However, it is interesting to speculate on how the bar on Quaker involvement in city affairs helped to expose him to this suit, as he would have few allies to represent his interests.

The school however remained, at least until 1811 when it was eventually closed (Rous 1881, 11). Although on the 1795 map (YCA K65) it is labelled as Mr Tuke's house, it seems to have always been a school and a later map from 1801 describes it as 'the Quakers' seminary' (YCA PH106/1907). William Tuke seems to have maintained his house in Castlegate as this is where he died in 1822 (*YG* 7 December 1822). However, he did serve as superintendant of the school, together with his daughter Mabel, from 1799 until 1804 (Rous 1881, 8) and would have lived in the property as the post was residential.

It is interesting to speculate that what the Corporation was really objecting to in the building of the school was the change in the character of the street. It had previously been a place of polite promenading with the gardens of the elites providing elegant stopping points for entertainment. Yet the building of the school may well have led to the development of other speculative building. A newspaper advert in 1810 lists 'Several parcels of garden ground, pleasantly situated in Castlegate-Lane… and very desirable for building upon' (*YC* 3 September, 1810). A few surviving houses along the street also date to the early nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 236). So it may well be that this marked a turning point, with the area increasingly being developed for residential purposes.

The fortunes of the street would also have been closely tied to those of the New Walk. In 1796 a cavalry barracks was built on Fulford Road and a strong military connection with the walk began (Thallon 2002, 12). By 1818 the New Walk was still used by respectable citizens, although it was no longer frequented by the gentry. However, by 1826 it was certainly becoming used by those of lower status and the editor of the *Yorkshire Gazette* reported that 'a set of blackguards' had begun to congregate on Sundays 'for the purpose of fighting dogs' (*YG* 11 March, 1826).

The most fundamental change to the lane occurred in the 1820s with the construction of the new prison and the substantial extension of the castle walls (Figure 68) (RCHME 1981, 236). The architect, Robinson, had an enthusiasm for Tudor revival designs and the gatehouse included a pair of drum towers and smaller turrets between them (Fawcett 2005, 17). However, the most striking aspect were the walls which extended the entire length of the north side of the lane. These were of a considerable height and built of large gritstone blocks

(Fawcett 2005, 21). Unfortunately, the stone reacted with the pollution present at the time and took on a uniform sheen of dark grey. The construction of this substantial wall irrevocably altered the appearance of this previous grassy space and led to the lane being deserted by the remaining gentry. The prison walls were apparently regarded unfavourably by the population at the time, although they might have found favour among the rising professional classes given their association with civic improvement and order.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the streets of Castlegate and Castlegate Postern Lane during the course of the long eighteenth century. It has examined the biographies of a number of houses and their owners and has identified a number of themes. These particularly relate to the early years of the nineteenth century. At this time there seems to have been a change in how certain rooms were used and experienced, with first-floor bedrooms no longer being used as venues for receiving guests. This led to a number of different responses, with some houses having the same level of decoration throughout, while others broadly following the decorative language of the Georgian house but left the bedrooms free of any elaboration. This indicates a contrasting attitude to decoration and whether it was principally meant to show off to visitors or was there for the private enjoyment of household members.

The houses on Castlegate also provide interesting evidence relating to another shift that has been identified in early-nineteenth-century urban landscapes. Little work has been conducted by historians on elite urban housing during this period and it has been virtually ignored by archaeologists (Newman 2001, 91). However, the general narrative has been that newer housing was increasingly preferred by the elite classes. This did not just encompass a regeneration of earlier structures but often an abandonment of city centres and the development of suburban districts. This has also been perceived as being the case in York, with the increasing development of Bootham and Blossom Street, including the homes of both the minor gentry and the growing professional class (RCHME 1972b, xcii, 62). However, the evidence from Castlegate shows that the wholesale movement of the wealthier classes to areas outside the city walls of York can be greatly exaggerated. The houses here show that there was

considerable investment in the area during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, including the back range of No 11, the expansion of a polite terrace to include No 16 and the construction of the mansion of No 29. This period also saw the building of a large mansion on Castlegate Postern by William Tuke to house the recently formed girl's school designed to cater for the families of Friends and was part of the changes in the area that demonstrate that there was far from a universal flight to the suburbs. Together with other developments at the time, this should be seen as a period of transition and we should not look back with hindsight and suppose that the creation of suburbia was inevitable.

The chapter has also illustrated the subtle distinctions that even polite houses could contain, which could lead to contradictions at the heart of urban improvement. Polite society was predicated on the idea of inclusiveness, at least between aristocracy and lesser gentry, but the material culture could act in a contradictory manner. If the architectural elegance of a house could be judged quite finely, then so too could the status of the owner. The chapter has also investigated the relationship between domestic and retail space. In particular, it has noted how shops borrowed the language of domestic decorative schemes. This could potentially disrupt the meaning of polite architecture and lead to anxiety about the ability to judge wealth and status. Many of these themes will be continue to be examined in subsequent chapters and we will turn now to the street of Pavement. This street allows for more detailed analysis of consumer space, both in terms of the appearance from the streetscape and the relationship between retail and domestic space.

Chapter Four
High Ousegate and Pavement

This chapter will focus on High Ousegate and Pavement (Figures 69, 70, 71, 72, 73) and continue to explore the major themes of the thesis. In particular, the appearance of the streetscape and domestic privacy will be examined through the lens of consumer space. Both High Ousegate and Pavement were among the most fashionable streets in York, with high concentrations of shops selling goods aimed at the gentry and lesser gentry, in particular, linen- and woollen-drapers, mercers and booksellers (Davies 1880, 226, 244; YCA Acc 163). The area was a focus for polite society in York and, as such, represents an opportunity to explore the extent to which it fits into ideas of urban improvement put forward by scholars. It also allows for analysis of the role of consumption in these 'improved' areas and the often-neglected topic of the relationship between retail and domestic space.

High Ousegate was first recorded in 1120-33 and forms an alignment with the main entry point to the city from the south. This runs from Micklegate, over Ouse Bridge and Low Ousegate and leads into High Ousegate. The street is bracketed by two churches, St Michael on Spurriergate and All Saints Pavement (RCHME 1981, 147). A fire in 1694 destroyed thirty houses, many of which would have dated to the medieval period, and today there is no surviving fabric earlier than 1700 (*ibid*). However illustrative evidence (YORAG R2305; YORAG R3496) shows that some timber-framed houses still survived, notably on the corner of Nessgate and High Ousegate, as well as further up on the south side of the street. However, due to the fire, High Ousegate was unusual in York in possessing a high number of Georgian buildings. This degree of uniformity appears to validate the judgments of scholars such as Peter Borsay that the eighteenth century saw the production of new forms of urban landscapes that could be characterized by regularity (Borsay 1989). This regularity both reflected and encouraged new forms of behaviour, particularly 'order, regulation and respectability' (Stobart *et al* 2007, 110). However, this chapter will show that while much of the fabric during the eighteenth century would have been contemporary, this does not lead to regularity in appearance or in the layout of

interior space. This, therefore, leads one to question how these spaces were experienced and how they helped to structure society around them.

The theme of urban improvement also carries over into the world of consumption and polite shopping. A great deal of emphasis has been placed by scholars on the need for shops to sustain a fashionable façade to their business (Walsh 2006, 153; Cox and Walsh 2000, 93). This was not only a way of luring in customers but also reflected the status of the shopkeeper (Stobart *et al* 2007, 130; Cox and Walsh 2000, 96). However, the evidence from High Ousegate and Pavement calls into question these priorities. Here, shops selling goods aimed at the gentry were situated in timber-framed buildings, the antithesis of symmetrical classical architecture and some of the wealthiest tradesmen in York occupied narrow and undistinguished properties. This allows us to analysis and question how these broader national theories of consumption were performed on a street-by-street level.

No 5 High Ousegate

No 5 (Figures 74, 75, 76) is a large four-storey house of five bays wide and probably dates to 1743, which is the date that appears on the lead rainwater head (Figure 77). Dr White's map (YCA Acc 163) shows that the property was occupied by the Hothams in the latter part of the eighteenth century. They were hatters, hosiers and leather sellers who worked under the sign of the Buck and Beaver (*YC* 20 April 1762). The ground floor has been obscured by modern commercial alterations, but it is built in red facing brick in Flemish bond. There are hung sash windows on the first and second floors, all with flat arches made of fine, gauged brick. There are string courses above the first and second storeys, and a deep projecting modillioned timber cornice. The house has a T-shaped plan of unequal stories (NMR No 5 High Ousegate, page 2), with the southern end of the back wing of four storeys and the northern end of two storeys.

As we saw in the previous chapter, the identification of the owner is a crucial step in buildings biographies, allowing consideration of how the house and owner influenced each other. An advert from 1762 shows the shop in possession of Jane Hotham (*YC* 20 April 1762), although circumstances seemed to have changed by 1764 as the property is advertised as being to let as 'A House

and Shop, lately in possession of Mr Josiah Hotham' (*YC* 6 November 1764). The let (if it went through) appears to have been short-lived as during the 1780s the building is shown in Dr White's map to be in possession of 'Mrs Hotham, hatter & hosier' (YCA Acc 163). However, the 1764 advert is significant in that it shows that the shop and the domestic space of the house were tied together and under the same occupation. As will be seen over the course of the chapter, this was the case with many of the shops along High Ousegate and Pavement, certainly by the end of the eighteenth century.

Dr White's map is also significant in that it shows three separate entrances to the front of the shop. This is very unusual and the explanation may lie in the diverse range of goods on sale. An advert from 1762 describes the occupier Jane Hotham as a 'Hatter, Hosier, Leather Seller' (*YC* 20 April, 1762) and there is the strong possibility that the shop floor was divided into separate areas displaying the different goods, each with their own separate entrance. Considering the distinct nature of these different goods, they would need to have been organised in some measure. During the period, it was believed that the sign of a competent shopkeeper could be read in the orderly positioning of their stock (Hann and Stobart 2005, 171). The shop front, as well as interior display and decoration had become increasingly important and not something that a shopkeeper catering to gentry tastes could afford to neglect (Morrison 2003, 41 and 36). Cox and Walsh (2000, 90) have also noted the evidence from inventories that show that consumer space could have distinct divisions, which were divided not only in terms of the categories of goods that were placed there, but also their price. Such divisions were probably architecturally slight and would leave little evidence in the surviving fabric. Small expensive items could be displayed to their best advantage in one area, often near the front of the shop, while more everyday items were elsewhere. This segregated not only the goods themselves but also the potential customers, thus helping to keep the social classes separate from each other during the shopping experience.

While there is evidence for spatial division in No 5, it seems unlikely in this case to divide consumers along social lines as all three types of goods were used by the gentry or lesser gentry. However, the far right (east) entrance on the map corresponds to the position of the former staircase (NMR No 5 High Ousegate, page 3) and this could well have provided a separate entrance to the

domestic space of the house. This interpretation is strengthened by the illustrative and physical evidence for such entrances that exists for Stonegate, which will be considered in Chapter 5. Also, while it is very unusual for Dr White to mark more than one front entrance to a building, he does show separate entrances for buildings when they are occupied by two distinct shops.

At No 5 therefore, there would be one entrance for domestic space and two for the commercial space. It is difficult to attribute this division to social division given the goods on sale, but it might point to a division along gender lines. Amanda Vickery (2006, 32, 34) in her examination of male and female account books has shown that certain types of materials were often the province of either men or women, so that linen and cotton were often bought by women, while men purchased wool. Certain shops, particularly tailors, fostered a clubby, comfortable, largely male atmosphere and the divisions at No 5 may well have reflected those between the hat side of the business and hosiery and leather goods. This would have allowed the shopkeepers to create a setting and manner of decoration that would have pleased their target customers. The width of the property was also extensive at 36ft (NMR No 5 High Ousegate, page 4) and would have allowed room for such a division, a well as a passage to the internal staircase leading to the domestic areas on the first floor. The T-shaped plan also allowed for the possibility of the back wing being used to entertain more exclusive clients. Evidence for this practice exists in the documentary record, with inventories recording the existence of 'the Back-shop' (Morrison 2003, 34) and trade cards showing similar divisions, with the back room providing a more domestic feel (Cox and Walsh (2000, 101).

While the ground floor has been completely modernised, the upper floors do retain original features. The eastern front room on the first floor (Figure 78) has a deep elaborate cornice, enriched with shaped brackets and egg and dart decoration (NMR No 5 High Ousegate, page 3). The room is fully lined with fielded panelling above the level of the dado rail. The fireplace also has a rich surround with scroll patterns and roundels and an overmantel ornamented with symmetrical volutes. The original stairwell also has a moulded plaster cornice, as has the western front room which also has surviving eighteenth-century door architraves. This elaboration continues on the second floor. The eastern front room (like the one below it) has a dado of fielded panelling and a fireplace with

a stone surround. However, on the second and third floors, the back wing is curtailed only allowing space for two small rooms (8 by 16ft and 12 by 16ft), neither of which has evidence of fireplaces and therefore heating.

There are several aspects of this evidence that are of further interest. Firstly, the level of interior decoration is of a high quality, which is also reflected in the building's external appearance. Certainly in its size, No 5 is reminiscent of the urban mansions that have been examined earlier (such as Nos 53 and 55 Micklegate) and while the level of decoration is not quite as fine, it is certainly above that in the other merchant houses examined on Castlegate. Secondly, the distribution of the decorative features is different from the buildings so far examined that functioned purely as domestic spaces. In No 5 the first-floor decoration is consistent with other properties in York, particularly the eastern front room, which is often singled out as the primary reception room. On the second floor, however, there is elaboration (in the form of the dado rail and panelling) that is unusual for its position. The second floor was often used for bedrooms and as these rooms were not used for display they often only had very minimal and simple decoration.

So what is happening at No 5? It must be remembered that the house is above a shop and therefore the usual geography of decoration could not be used. However, the size and decoration on display indicate that the occupiers would certainly have been on the level of the lesser gentry and would have wished to follows the rhythms (as much as was possible) of polite entertaining and living. How then was this accommodated? The evidence does not suggest that everything was simply moved up a floor and that the first floor functioned as the ground floor and then on upwards. In fact, the evidence from the first floor is very much in keeping with other eighteenth-century houses around the city. It therefore seems much more likely that the first floor was used primarily for entertaining (with probably some bedrooms in the rear wing), as was the usual practice in Georgian town houses. This minimised the intrusion of shop space into the fabric of the house and allowed the most visible and formal areas of the house (the first floor) to retain their usual function. Then the second floor probably functioned as a mixture of the ground floor (with a front parlour in the panelled room) and a traditional second storey (with bedrooms). So while the family and the wider household would have had to contend with a house layout

that disturbed the normal expectations of a Georgian house, visitors would not have had to do so and would have been able to negotiate the familiar surroundings of the first-floor entertaining rooms.

It also seems likely that given the size of the house, some of the rooms or suites of rooms would have been rented out to lodgers. In the 1797 tax assessment for York, eleven shopkeepers as shown to have taken in lodgers in the parishes of St Michael, Spurriergate and All Saints, Pavement out of a total of 35 (Mui and Mui 1989). This is actually a surprisingly small number, especially as the total number of shops may be incomplete. The evidence from Dr White's maps, along with the 1852 OS map indicates that just for All Saints, Pavement the figure is likely to be around 44 shops (both the physical and illustrative evidence for Coppergate is not as extensive as that of Pavement and so an exact figure is difficult to determine). Therefore in considering the urban landscape of High Ousegate and Pavement, we certainly cannot assume that lodgers would have been common and would have routinely occupied rooms or sections of the houses under consideration. However, in the case of No 5, it seems likely that rooms were let out, for while the decoration rises further up the house than usual there is not the extensive decoration in the back rooms that would indicate the presence of rooms such as back parlours, extra sitting rooms, libraries or studies that are common in the similarly sized mansion houses in York.

Nos 11 and 12 High Ousegate

Nos 11 and 12 (Figures 79, 80, 81) were built as a pair and were part of a larger development of three pairs of fine houses that were constructed in the wake of the fire that destroyed thirty houses in 1694 (Davies 1880, 242). Each house is of three storeys with attics and according to Davies there were built by Samuel Buxton between 1704 and 1712, who was a grocer and served as Sheriff in 1696-7. The frontages of the two houses are symmetrical and joined by a central bay, although the interiors do differ.

During the later part of the eighteenth century, the map of Dr White shows that No 11 was occupied as a divided property by Mr Favell who was a surgeon and Mr Robson, a linen-draper, while No 12 was occupied by Mr Maude who was a tea and china man (YCA Acc 163). The newspaper records help to

expand on this information. Richard Favell was a surgeon and 'man-midwife' who also from 1778 served as apothecary to the Castle (*YCH* 14 November 1777; *YC* 13 January 1778). Robson was a linen-draper from London who married the niece of Henry Stainton, Esq (*YC* 23 November 1773). The division of No 11 into two properties is also reinforced by the evidence of Cossins's illustration which shows No 11 as having two doorways, in contrast to No 12 which has one. The Maudes occupied No 12 for at least half a century. William and James Maude were certainly there in the 1780s when Dr White drew his map and had carried on their tea and china business there since 1775 (*YC* 12 May 1775). However they took over the trade from their father John Maude who had been there for many years. Davies (1880, 243) states that the Maudes began occupying the property half a century after it had been built, which would put the start of their occupation in the 1750s. This accords with a newspaper advert from 1756 (*YC* 26 October 1756) in which John Maude advertises a house and shop to let on High Ousegate where he had previously lived (presumably because he had moved elsewhere). There is also a rainwater head that bears the date of 1758 and the initials IEM (Figure 82). The Royal Commission attributes this as probably referring to John Mayer (RCHME 1981, 148), however it seems much more likely that it refers to John Maude and that the Maudes were there from 1756-8 onwards.

The property is of three storeys and nine bays wide, (four per house and one in the centre). There are giant fluted Ionic columns at each end and also flanking the central bay, where they are doubled with pilasters. The central bay is also emphasised by a triangular pediment over the first-floor window. There is a plat band above the first floor and the exterior is rendered in white, however it is unlikely that it was rendered when it was built. Cossins's map of 1727 shows triangular markings above each window (Figure 83). These were probably either flat arches made of finely-gauged brick or key blocks. This interpretation is strengthened by evidence from Nos 13 and 14 (one of the other pairs of houses built at the same time), for while No 14 is also rendered, the brickwork can still be seen on No 13 where there are flat-arched lintels above each of the windows.

There is also a very deep projecting moulded timber cornice with modillions that breaks forward above each of the columns. The eastern end of the cornice is much plainer that the west and starts at the central bay,

continuing along the front of No 12. The plainer cornice does respect the columns but is not moulded. The date for this is difficult to determine but an explanation may lie once again in Cossins's map. This shows a segmental pediment on the roof above the cornice in the central bay, which began at the same point as the cornice design now changes. This pediment is no longer present on the house and the original cornice may have been cut back to accommodate its removal.

The exterior elevation is very fine and comparable with some of the mansion houses in York. Davies (1880, 243) comments that it 'presents one of the finest examples of modern street architecture that our city can boast'. The house's inclusion in Cossins map of 1727 is also significant. Cossins's map (Figure 2) included along the right- and left-hand margins 16 illustrations of public buildings and the private residences of York's leading citizens. These were some of the grandest houses present at the time and symbolised the neo-Palladian style that was becoming increasingly influential in the city (Hallett 2003, 30). The occupiers of these houses included gentry, merchants, tradesmen and lesser gentry, however what is significant about Nos 11 and 12 is that they are above shops.

A discussed in previous chapters, the eighteenth century saw a significant development in urban space and that elements of politeness were given concrete form in the shape of civic structures, elite residential areas, high-status shopping and leisure spaces such as assembly rooms (Stobart *et al* 2007, 78). However, it is the mixture of these polite spaces that is of interest here. Stobart *et al* note that these different areas were often in close proximity, blurring the boundaries between them, but the evidence from Nos 11 and 12 (and as will be seen in Nos 13 and 14) indicates that they could be right on top of each other. Here it is apparent that the modern stigma and unwillingness to live above a shop did not apply in some eighteenth-century contexts, certainly in York, and that buildings could be considered fine examples of architecture and ornaments to the city despite this apparent defect. Therefore the existence of commercial premises did not threaten to lower the status of those who lived above them and could perhaps have been seen as a positive accoutrement to the house, demonstrating the presence of fashionable contemporary society. This is further demonstrated by an anecdote by Davis (1880, 244), who notes that rooms or

floors of these spacious houses were often let out to 'families of distinction' and he relates the account of an old lady who remembers during the middle of the eighteenth century, Duke of Queensbury, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earl of Carlisle (along with other distinguished visitors):

> '... coming to their lodgings in High Ousegate, with their splendid equipages, running footmen and luxurious appendages of rank and fortune.' (*ibid*)

The period of these residences would only be temporary and would be tied to the races, which drew crowds of the gentry to the city every August (VCH 1961, 245). The Marquis of Rockingham was also known to sponsor the races, and it was a time for him to display his patronage and increase his influence. These high-status figures would only be in residence for very limited times each year and therefore one could argue that their affect on the day-to-day life and perceptions of the street of High Ousegate would have been minimal. However, just the fact that people of such prominence lived here, however temporarily, raised the social stock of these buildings and the memory of the footmen and the ornate coaches would linger in the minds of those living in and encountering the street.

However, while it seems that shops and domestic dwellings could exist in the same space without detracting from the politeness of the area, this intersection does have implications for how society was structured and reproduced on an everyday level. This elision of commercial and domestic space can certainly be seen as evidence of the widening of the gentry class during the eighteenth century, particularly in towns, to include wealthy merchants and shopkeepers (Vickery 1998, 22). As the Earl of Shaftesbury noted, urban life was a place to cultivate good manners:

> 'We polish one another and rub off our corners and rough sides by a sort of amicable collision' (Cooper 1999 cited Sweet 2002, 356).

However, in blurring the distinction between shop space and domestic space it also has the potential to create social ambiguity. The external architecture mirrors those of the gentry mansions in the city and does not just create an advertisement of the politeness of the shop but also the upcoming status of the shopkeeper. The shop and the goods in it become less stable in their meanings. They are not necessarily simple signs that the gentry can use to demonstrate

their fashionable status when the person selling the goods and living in a fine house can also utilise and appropriate these signs for their benefit. The wealth of the occupants is also significant. While there are no wills surviving for the occupants of Nos 11 and 12, the Maudes are mentioned in the 1797 tax assessment and Mui and Mui place them in Class III (1989, 184). This is still wealthy and of lesser gentry level, with dealers having an income of between £80 and £250, but is not in the top rank of merchants such as the Tukes.

The landscape of polite society is given an intriguing further dimension by a detail in Cossins's map. This shows a lean-to projection against No 12 and a corresponding wall scar on No 11. Projections such as these were common in the late-medieval period and persisted into the seventeenth century. An illustration from 1680 depicting the important shopping street of Cheapside shows shops with open unglazed fronts, pentices and stall-boards (Figure 84) (Morrison 2003, 34). In the early eighteenth century, glazed fronts became increasingly common as new buildings were constructed in the neo-classical style and older timber-framed buildings were adapted and replaced (Stobart 2008, 83). The individual and collective appearance of the street became increasingly important, which was achieved through use of classical architecture. This knowledge was disseminated through printed manuals that highlighted the use of proportion and symmetry, a flush façade and classical ornamentation. The emphasis was placed on the façade as a way of unifying the street and jettying was seen as an anathema to the sought-after conformity (Stobart *et al* 2007, 96).

Stobart acknowledges that this transformation was far from complete and that open frontages persisted in provincial towns through the eighteenth century (Stobart 2008, 83). However, while the level of success was varied and continues to be debated, Stobart emphasises that still the ambition was apparent (Stobart *et al* 2007, 99). The rhetoric of politeness aimed to exclude certain performers and activities from the street and was also used as a yardstick with which to judge the fashionability and politeness of a town (Sweet 2002, 361). The physical appearance of the streets were seen as highly important in gauging the refinement of a town, and Sweet shows how this is often remarked on in the diaries of travelling visitors.

However this ideal of urban improvement rarely existed and, as will be shown throughout this thesis, York's streetscapes frequently fall far short of the standards of politeness, with older timber-framed buildings cheek-by-jowl with new classical architecture. In the example of Nos 11 and 12, here we have stallboards surviving at least into the early eighteenth century. Yet the stallboard in front of No 12 is also shown as having Georgian panelled doors and sash windows. This can also be seen in Cossins's map in the depictions of Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate (Figure 91). Once again we have stallboards in front of the buildings, also with Georgian features. Cossins's drawings of these façades were designed to highlight the new and fashionable architecture of the city – why then include details of obviously older and apparently outmoded architecture? Could old and new in fact sit comfortably together in a vernacular style? If so, then the rise of politeness and the meanings that it conveys become much more problematised. Instead, we have an eclectic landscape that could be used by the inhabitants to emphasise different styles and meanings at different times and in different contexts.

The interior space is also important to consider. The ground floor of No 11 has been heavily modernised. The first-floor front room is large (28 by 19 feet) and perfectly suited for entertaining. To the rear there would have been four rooms including one containing the original staircase, as well as a small closet wing at the back of the house (NMR Nos 11 and 12 High Ousegate, page 2). The front room has been altered to incorporate a nineteenth-century cornice, but two of the back rooms have traces of original eighteenth-century plaster cornices. The layout of the second floor is extremely similar to that on the first floor, although the front room is slightly shallower. There are also the remnants of a plaster cornice in the south-east rear room and in the back closet.

There are no indications of internal divisions within No 11 to suggest the division of the site into two properties. However, the similarity in layout of the floors suggests that they could have functioned as separate apartments with a shared staircase, a division that was common in London town houses (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 60). Also Dr White's map and newspaper evidence shows that John Hay moved from No 11 to No 14 in 1774 (*YC* 7 June 1774). These two houses very similar in plan and the reason for the move is almost certainly that No 11 was divided into two properties, especially as in the

1774 newspaper advert specifically mentions that the new location is 'large and commodious'. The evidence for access to this domestic space is also interesting. On Dr White's map Mr Favell's house has two entrances as well as the front one – one to the rear and a side entrance on Peter Lane. This would have allowed the domestic space to have remained separate from the shop. This is particularly true in terms of access, as visitors would have been able to access the upper floors without having to go through the commercial areas, as well as allowing Mr Favell's household to come and go unhindered and unobserved by those visiting the surgical practice. Similar evidence exists for No 12, where a side entrance exists to the Maudes, allowing the tea and china business to remain separate from the household. However, Mr Robson's house at No 11 is shown as only having one entrance and so it is by no means certain that living areas could be effectively excluded from the business of the shop in eighteenth-century York.

In No 12 the ground floor has also been modernised. The first-floor layout, however, is slightly different. There is once again a long front room (28 by 14 feet) but there are only two large back rooms, as well as a small rear closet room and another small front room (NMR Nos 11 and 12 High Ousegate, page 4). The door to the front room (on the landing side) has an ovolo architrave, enriched with egg and dart, as well as leaves (Figure 85) and is mirrored by a similar design on the interior side. The room also contains a fireplace with an enriched ovolo moulding and surmounted by the addition of an enriched moulded cornice. A large inner landing, situated between the front and rear rooms, contains a moulded architrave with keyblock and a large moulded cornice enriched by a bold leaf motif (Figure 86). The western rear room also has a large moulded cornice (*ibid*). The degree of internal decoration in No 12 is notably more elaborate than that in No 11 and, as with No 5 contains, some elements that would not be out of place in one of the large mansion houses. They are not as consistently applied as in those finer houses, but enriched architectural details are certainly present.

This highlights once again the question of the exclusivity of some decorative detailing and particularly its potential effectiveness as a tool of social signage. The presence of the stallboards in front of No 12 (and the signs of one in front of No 11) in Cossins's drawings may indicate that when the houses were

built in the early eighteenth century, the shop space was let separately to the houses above them. This is given further credence in another feature included in the original design of the houses. In the central bays of Nos 11 and 12 (as seen on Cossins's map) and of Nos 13 and 14 (which still survives) are rusticated stone archways, which demonstrate the perceived importance of having a grand central entranceway. These entranceways would have been independent of the shops in front and allowed elite visitors access to the back of the house where the upper storeys could be accessed in private. This may even represent a development of the late-medieval practice of having shops on the street frontage while having elite housing behind, such the Wealden house at Nos 49 and 51 Goodramgate, York (RCHME 1981, 138).

The decorative details on these buildings also corroborate the story recounted by Davies that these houses were used to lodge the aristocracy during public occasions, such as the races and assizes (Davies 1880, 243). This seems to change during the middle of the century when John Maude buys No 12. From then on the shops and houses begin to be tied together. However, both the external architecture and interior decoration that earlier was suitable for the aristocracy was still present and in use by people who while belonging to the lesser gentry, were not in the upper echelons. There is further evidence for this in the form of the large yard at the back of the property. This was ideally suited for keeping horses and in 1750 John Maud was know to keep a 'genteel coach' (*YC* 25 Dec 1750). The same is true for Nos 13 and 14, and in the will of Mr Wilson (who lived at No 13), it specifically refers to stable yard privileges (BIUY PR124, f544r). Furthermore, some of these decorative details were then employed in order to create a polite appearance for the shop. The effectiveness of these details to transmit ideas of status were therefore disrupted.

The link between decorative detail and status was further disrupted by the fact that they are used in a commercial setting. The goods on sale, both the linen of Mr Robson and the tea and china business of the Maudes, are part of the polite fashionable culture that incorporates the use of neo-palladian architecture. The variety of goods that customers could purchase increased considerably during the eighteenth century – tea, coffee, sugar and chocolate were available before but were now reaching Britain in growing quantities,

joined by silk and calicoes (Stobart 2008, 73). These goods were not only desirable in themselves but served in the pursuit of status.

Scholars have noted the tension between the apparent inclusivity of spaces of consumption and the fact that they provided opportunities for display (Stobart *et al* 2007, 169). However, the shops themselves further disrupt the value of the fashionable world at the centre of eighteenth-century polite society. For shops do not only have the potential to mirror elite architecture in their commercial space but that elite architecture can also be enjoyed the shopkeeper in their domestic settings. In effect, the shop (especially in the combination of professional and private spheres) is undermining exactly what it is purporting to sell – the accoutrements of status. It is borrowing elite decorative schemes in order to display the goods and run and effective business – yet this borrowing in turn undermines the exclusivity and value of its goods. In a society that places a great deal of weight on the value of authenticity, this is extremely significant. Spacks (2003, 8) has noted the anxiety associated with authenticity during the eighteenth century and how polite manners could conceal a person's true character. Shops here play a similar role in disguising themselves and taking on the form, the outward appearance, of something they are not.

Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate

This property (Figures 87, 88, 89), like Nos 11 and 12, was constructed in the wake of the fire on High Ousegate in 1694 (Davies 1880, 242). It is not as large as Nos 11 and 12, although, as the Royal Commission notes, it is still 'of some architectural pretension' (RCHME 1981, 148) and was also included in Cossins's map of 1727. The two houses are three storeys high with attics and cellars and are joined by a central bay.

Dr White's map (YCA Acc 163) shows that in the 1780s, No 13 was owned by Mr Wilson a bookseller and No 14 was occupied by Mr Hay, a woollen-draper. The documentary records then help shed further light on these individuals. Thomas Wilson inherited the business from his father and was one of the leading booksellers in the city, operating the York Circulating Library with Mr Todd of Stonegate among others (*YC* 6 June 1808). Wilson was also one of the original publishers of the *York Herald* (VCH 1961, 538). No 13 was originally the property of Samuel Stabler, who operated a bookshop here from

the 1740s. After his death in 1760 his widow first let and then a few years later sold the house and business to Thomas Wilson (senior) who moved from his original shop in Pavement (*YC* 8 July 1760). In their obituaries, both Stabler and Wilson (senior) are described as 'an eminent Bookseller' and Wilson also served as sheriff in 1767 (*YC* 15 April 1760; *YC* 31 October 1780). Thomas Wilson (junior) carried on the business and continued to prosper, who by his death rated an esquire after his name in the obituary, a well as being described as a 'senior Alderman of this City' (*YG* 25 August 1832).

Unfortunately, the documentary evidence for No 14 is not as extensive as that for No 13, but a few points about the occupier can be expanded. John Hay was described as a mercer as well as a woollen-draper. Also, as has been indicated earlier, he was obviously prosperous as he was able to afford to move from the divided property of No 11 to No 13 further up the street (*YC* 7 June 1774). From the outside, these two properties shared much in common and were among the finest examples of Georgian town house exteriors in York.

Nos 13 and 14 is five bays wide (2 per house) with a central bay between them. There are rusticated quoins at each end and flanking the central bay are giant Corinthian pilasters. There is a plat band between the first and second floors and No 14 has stucco rendering, however the brickwork is still visible on No 13. This shows the brickwork to be in Flemish bond and flat-arch lintels of finely gauged brick above the windows. There is a moulded timber cornice with plain brackets, the eastern half of which is a modern restoration. As in Nos 11 and 12, the break occurs just before the central bay and may also have been caused by the removal of the triangular pediment that appears on the roofline on Cossins's map above the cornice. There are also two rainwater heads. The one on No 13 bears the initial TDW and the date 1763 and refers to Thomas Wilson, erected after he bought the property in 1763 (Figure 90). The one on No 14 bears no initials or date. In the central bay, there is a rusticated archway leading to a through passage and the first-floor window has a segmental pediment.

The level of exterior decoration is very fine and is consistent, though different, from that present on Nos 11 and 12. The property epitomises many of the same themes. It also appears on Cossins's map (Figures 2, 91), along with elevations of the other buildings trumpeting urban improvement and the Neo-

Palladian style. It mirrors some of the architectural details of the gentry houses in York and so creates a blurring between commercial and domestic space, and also ambiguities in class distinctions. The appearance of the property also changes according to the same timeline as Nos 11 and 12. Nos 13 and 14 are shown on Cossins's map with stallboards erected in front of both houses. The houses continued to be used as shops, with the stallboards probably disappearing some time in the mid-eighteenth century.

Moving to the inside, both the ground floor and first floors of No 13 have been obscured by modern commercial alterations and the ceilings are hidden. At second floor level, there are two rooms to the south fronting onto High Ousegate. To the north is a staircase, a square room leading to a small closet and a curiously elongated room created from the central bay between the two houses. Between these sets of rooms is a long lobby ending in a round-headed recess. There is little sign of elaboration, with no evidence of moulded cornices. The ceilings are visible on this floor and, while cornices could have been removed subsequently, there is no sign that they were ever present here.

In the interior of No 14, the ground floor has been largely modernised (NMR Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate, page 5). On the first floor, there is a square front room and a smaller back room, parallel with the staircase, leading to a small closet. The front room has nineteenth-century fixtures, while the back room has a raised moulded panel over the fireplace and a moulded cornice. On the second floor the front room has some nineteenth-century fixtures, while the back room has a fireplace with Bolection moulded surround and surmounted by a moulded panel, probably dating to the mid-eighteenth century. There is also evidence that the room had originally been panelled. The decoration in Nos 13 and 14 is not as elaborate as in Nos 11 and 12 (although there are indications that some of it may not have survived) and this highlights the disparity between the elaborate exterior and the simpler interior. This is another example of shops disguising themselves and taking on the outward appearance of something they are not.

What is the evidence of the shops themselves? The Wilsons operated under the sign of the Dryden's Head and in the 1780s the bookshop is described as having 'above Twenty Thousand volumes in every class of Learning and Branch of Literature' (*YC* 11 March 1783). The numerous adverts for the

business also target a variety of customers, displaying an eclectic range. An advert for 1778 highlights the one thousand law books available (YC 17 March 1778), while others focus on individual books such as Julius Caesar's commentaries of his war in Gaul complete with English Translation (*YC* 20 Feb 1770) and *Every Man His Own Gardener*, written by the gardener to his Grace the Duke of Leeds (YC 7 June 1774). A will does exist for Mr Wilson (senior), and while there is no estimated value of the estate, it does show that he was wealthy enough to own property in Coney Street as well as High Ousegate and to leave his wife £45 a year (BIUY PR 124, f544r).

Patrick Wallis (2008, 48) has argued that when considering consumption in the eighteenth century much greater attention needs to be paid to the different types of shops that existed. In particular, he highlights the need to examine the social and technical characteristics of the goods on sale and the implications of these for how people experienced shopping. This is an excellent point, but it should also be combined with an awareness of the physical realities of the specific shop. Research conducted on shops in general indicates that this could have been divided into a front shop with counters and a back room with a more domestic feel to pamper and establish a connection with prestigious customers who would be given the benefit of longer credit (Cox and Walsh 2000, 101). Some of the larger shops, such as Wedgewood's extensive establishment in London, differentiated specific areas for fast and slow selling, which also helped to segregate the customers into different social classes.

Interior decoration was also important. Claire Walsh (1995, 160) uses inventory evidence from 1746 in the reconstruction of Martha Braithwaite's goldsmith's shop. This has such features as a 2ft cornice (part painted, part guilded) and at the back were two carved wooden pillars with an arch and two half arches. The use of screens and arches in the inventory confirms trade-card evidence that show them dividing one part of the shop from another. Screens, cornices and mouldings reflected (or echoed in the case of smaller shops) the grand architectural gestures of wealthy private homes and assembly rooms. This created shops that were fashionable and aimed at creating a particular class of customer. However, once again there is a blurring of social boundaries and though these spaces were used by the gentry they were not exclusive to them and more importantly were not owned by them. It muddies the lines of

authenticity, with decorative features far from being uncomplicated signifiers of elite space – elite space in particular that was exclusive and controlled by elites. Walsh compares making purchases in the most fashionable shops with seeing and being seen at the Assembly Rooms and pleasure gardens. Fashionable is here defined as 'those that marked themselves out as distinguished and tasteful in their decoration, selection of goods and type of service' (*ibid*, 161). The difference is that shops mirrored domestic designs rather than public ones and so the 'impersonation' was much closer and also more ambiguous as the retailer, at least in York, frequently lived above the shop. So his domestic space also benefitted from association with elite decorative schemes.

How were these shops experienced, particularly in the case of the book trade? The illustrative evidence can help to illuminate this somewhat. Ackermann's illustration from 1809 of James Lackington's shop in Finsbury Square (Figure 92) shows a particularly fashionable and extravagant example (Morrison 2003, 38). The shop was called The Temple of the Muses and had a large ware room, above which were four circular galleries lit by a cupola. On the walls the books were stacked fourteen shelves high and required ladders to reach them. However, we also have a more modest example from York. Henry Cave's illustration of Todd's warehouse on Stonegate dates to 1797 (Figure 93) and shows a long thin room (YORAG R122). This accords with Walsh's point that during the eighteenth century the size of shops generally extended backwards and then upwards, resulting in long thin plots (Walsh 1995, 160). The books are shown stacked 9-10 shelves high, while the room itself has some simple decorative features (a modest moulded cornice, moulded segmental pediments, a bust, several pictures and wall sconces) and is lit by three large skylights.

Lighting for No 13 would not be a problem given the length of the plot and light could come in from each end. Also, the ground plan is 18ft by 40ft, which seems like ample room for the operation of a bookshop. However, as already indicated, the adverts from the Dryden's Head boasted of having at least 20,000 books. This is a huge number of books and has obvious implications for how the shop space was articulated and experienced. To put this number in perspective, a contemporary bookshop in York that occupies the site of No 13 High Petergate with a floor plan of 16.5ft by 33ft has only approximately six

thousand books. The size of the books did vary more considerably in the eighteenth century than today, especially with the use of the small sextodecimo format, however this still does not account for the large volume.

The sheer number of books, as well as the height of the shelving necessary to accommodate them, would hardly have facilitated the relaxed browsing that is often considered to be a hallmark of eighteenth-century shopping. The similarity of the spines would also not have helped books to be easily distinguished. Therefore a customer searching for a particular volume or merely scanning the shelves for something of interested would not necessarily have been particularly successful. Several scholars have commented on the range of customer interaction that could result from shopping (Cox and Walsh 2000, 135) and emphasised the role of the shopkeeper as a source of information and knowledge (Hann and Stobart 2005, 183). However, in the case of bookshops the necessity of a guide would have been considerably heightened. Shops such as the Dryden's Head produced catalogues of the books they had for sale, which were available at the 'principal Booksellers throughout the Kingdom' including the Royal Exchange in London (*YC* 11 March 1783). However in order to physically find the books on the shelves, the shopkeeper would have been indispensible. Their role in bookshops therefore, in finding books, discovering the tastes of the customer and suggesting interesting volumes was not just beneficial but a necessity. These qualities all existed in eighteenth-century consumption to some degree, but in the case of bookshops the capacity for independent browsing on the part of the customer was considerably curtailed.

However, books were not the sole focus of the business. The Wilsons also sold stationary and like many booksellers of the eighteenth century also stocked medicines, some of which were exclusively sold in York at the Dryden's Head. These promised to treat a wide variety of ailments and were often branded with the names of their creators, such as 'Dr. JAMES's POWDER for FEVERS, INFLAMMATORY RHEUMATISMS. &c' (*YCH* 5 May 1775) and 'PULLIN's ANTISCORBUTIC PILLS' (*YCH* 12 May 1775). Wallis (2008, 48) has argued that there was an unusually high degree of anxiety on the part of the consumer associated with the purchase of medical products and the use of named products helped to ameliorate this. The adverts also emphasised not just the efficacy of these medicines but their social effects as well, specifically the need to

stay inside while the drugs worked. For example, Dr James's pills promised 'an excellent and easy purgatory, requiring little or no confinement' (*YCH* 5 May 1775). Others targeted socially awkward conditions such as venereal disease. Dr Smyth's Specific Drops undertook to cure venereal disease, 'the ruin of half of our youth!' (*YCH*, 7 August 1776). The presence of these types of medicines in a bookshop may also relate to Amanda Vickery's argument, discussed earlier, that in the eighteenth century certain goods were associated with specific genders and shops. Medicines and family health were largely the province of women, while books were particularly popular among men (Vickery 2009, 119; 2006, 13). Bookshops might therefore have given men the opportunity to purchase the latest medical fads, but also provided a discreet service to help cure diseases that they did not want to confess to their wives. A visit to an apothecaries shop might create comment from a spouse if they were discovered, but a trip to a booksellers would be safe.

The cellar in No 13 is also accessed via a hole in the shop floor and would probably have done so in the eighteenth century. This might at first seem to be of no great importance. However, it should be remembered that much of the work space of the servants would be present here. A later cooking range is still in situ here, but it is fitted into what was originally a larger fireplace that judging from the evidence of the brickwork was eighteenth-century (Figure 94). No 14 also has a cellar, the front room of which has a wide brick barrel vault (NMR Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate, page 5). Therefore some of the most important operations of the house, in particular, the cooking and the washing, would have taken place in the cellar but then would have had to negotiate the shop floor in order to reach the domestic space. This threatens to expose the private living arrangements of the household to public scrutiny. It also has the potential to disrupt the polite image of shopping as a leisure activity that was part of the social round for the gentry that included assembly rooms and pleasure gardens (Stobart 2008, 74). The efforts that shopkeepers made in attempting to proclaim their good taste and the business's fashionable status, particularly in terms of interior decoration and the shop window (Cox and Walsh 2000, 96) could be undermined by the unwelcome reminders of domestic living and waste.

Nos 19, 20, 21 High Ousegate

These houses (Figures 95, 96, 97) are all single properties and were not designed as a group, however they will be discussed together as they are provide an interesting example of small shops in the eighteenth century. No 19 is an early-eighteenth-century house, three storeys high with a stuccoed front. The ground floor has a modern shop front and the first floor has been altered from its original fenestration to include two window of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The second floor still retains the original division of the property into three bays, although only the central window has preserved its hung sash. There is also a moulded cornice and, although fairly simple, the cornice is projecting and has brackets. A plat band originally ran above the first floor (NMR Nos 19 High Ousegate, page 1), although that has since been removed. The significant feature about this house, however, is its size, as it is only 15.4ft wide. In his seminal book on small houses in London, Peter Guillery (2004, 40) notes that while size was not the only factor that influenced the status of a house, it did matter. In this regard, Guillery defines houses that have a frontage of 20ft or over as not being considered small. No 19, therefore, fits well within this definition. It was also originally very shallow, being only one room deep before a long wing was added to the rear in the early nineteenth century (NMR No 19 High Ousegate, page 1).

No 20 is of a similar width being only 14.3ft wide and although it is currently of a shallower depth (being only 45ft compared to 67ft for No 19), it appears to be largely of one build and therefore would have been a larger shop than No 19 and extended further back in the eighteenth century. It is of three storeys but only two bays wide with hung sashes on the first and second floor levels. It probably dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth centuries, however, the exterior was refronted in the nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 148) and other features that may have been present, such as the cornice, do not survive. No 21 continues this theme. It is only 13ft wide and 57ft deep, although it does widen to 18ft towards the back (NMR No 21 High Ousegate, page 2). It was built in the early eighteenth century and is three storeys high. It is two bays wide, with hung sashes still present on the second floor. It has a stuccoed front with a plat band above the first floor. There is also a moulded timber cornice,

which like that of No 19, is fairly simple but the cornice is also projecting with brackets.

These small houses might therefore indicate shops and occupiers who were of a different status to those discussed previously. However the documentary record suggests otherwise. Dr White's map (YCA Acc 163) shows that in the 1780s, No 19 was occupied by Mr Yates, a linen-draper, No 20 by Mr Spence a bookseller and No 21 by Mr Hauxwell a broker. At least two of these shops were therefore specifically catering for the gentry market and the newspaper and probate records shed further light on this. Little evidence exists for Mr Yates except that he was also a haberdasher and was elected as a commoner for Walmgate Ward (*YC* 9 February 1742).

However, a great deal more exists for Mr Spence. His full name was Robert Spence and in his will of 1824 he is labelled as a 'gentleman' with the value of the estate estimated to be £10,000 (BIUY PR170, f153r). This is a significant amount and certainly puts him among the wealthiest merchants in York. In the study conducted by Mui and Mui (1989, 128), only two shopkeepers in York had an expenditure of £300 and Robert Spence was one of then. Spence was also in partnership with Thomas Wilson, who lived in the altogether finer house across the street (No 13), and was one of the original publishers of the *York Herald* (VCH 1961, 538). When the partnership was dissolved in 1808, Wilson retained the 'the Trades of WHOLSALE BOOKSELLERS, STATIONERS, and PRINTERS', while Spence retained those of 'RETAIL BOOKSELLERS, STATIONERS, and MEDICINE VENDERS' (*YC* 6 June 1808), perhaps indicating their principal commercial interests.

No 21 was occupied by William Hauxwell who was a broker and appraiser but also was a cabinet-maker who sold household furniture (*YC* 10 November 1772). He was originally in Peter Lane, a small street off Jubbergate before moving in 1772. Dr White's maps from the 1780s state that the property carries back through to Coppergate (with the one on Coppergate described as a back house). However, interestingly the advert from 1772 states that he is moving to Coppergate. So perhaps he originally bought the property in Coppergate before buying the house behind it and then moving the shop frontage to the more fashionable location of High Ousegate.

Internally, the houses have few decorative features. No 19 was originally very shallow, of one room in depth before a long back wing was added in the early nineteenth century connected by a narrow link flanking a light well (NMR No 19 High Ousegate, page 1). The ground floor has been refitted for modern shop premises. On the first floor the internal walls have been removed, although some moulded plaster cornices remain and there is a round-headed window opposite the stairs. The second floor also has a moulded cornice in the front room. In No 20 the house has been substantially rebuilt in recent times and no original features remain (NMR No 20 High Ousegate, page 1). In No 21 the ground floor has also been modernised and most of the surviving fittings date to the early nineteenth century, including a reeded cornice in the first-floor front room (NMR No 21 High Ousegate, page 1). There are, however, some features that may date to the eighteenth century. In the first-floor front room, two arched recesses flank the fireplace and the staircase landing is flanked with arches on pilasters. On the second floor, the rear front room has a fireplace with dentilled cornice and an architrave of c.1700. Little, then, of importance survives internally in these three houses. However, it is worth noting that decorative features are present on the second floors. This helps to confirm that the spatial language of domestic space is altered if it is above a shop and that different types of rooms (such as drawing room, parlour and bedrooms) can shift from their usual locations.

However, how does all this evidence relate to the shops themselves, and how they might have been experienced? As has already been noted, at least two of these shops catered to the requirements of the gentry, Yates at No 19 who was a linen-draper and Spence at No 20 who was a bookseller. Much has been made by scholars of the need of shopkeepers to maintain a fashionable and polite façade to their business. Walsh (2006, 153) highlights shop design and the display of goods as crucial elements of shopkeepers' retail tactics and marketing and that the pleasure of looking was a central part of eighteenth-century shopping. The level of fashionability in the interior decoration, as well as the sheer size of shops, increased throughout the eighteenth century (Cox and Walsh 2000, 93). Decoration in provincial shops must have been more limited, though in tourist resorts the level of decoration may well have matched London standards. The shop front gave shopkeepers not just the opportunity to display

the goods on sale but also to declare their own good taste, trustworthiness and the weight of finances behind them (Stobart *et al* 2007, 130). The latest architectural fashions could be used and the shop window used as an important method of luring customers into the shop. A 'neatly painted exterior' was both a symbol and an advertisement (Cox and Walsh 2000, 96).

However these ideas do not neatly align with the evidence from Nos 19 and 20 which are small and have few decorative embellishments. No 20 has been re-fronted, but it is unlikely to have been architecturally distinguished, especially considering the high survival of Georgian houses along the street. This once again highlights the fact that while exterior appearance was undeniably important, it was not always necessary and that polite shopping streets could have a very varied character. The lack of ostentation certainly does not seem to have hurt Robert Spence's business given his high degree of wealth.

It also emphasises the importance of location. Scholars have noted how this was a central concern for shopkeepers, with entrepreneurs such as Josiah Wedgewood and Francis Place writing about the importance of place. Wedgewood comments that Pall Mall is 'too accessible to the common folk' for his customers 'will not mix with the Rest of the World' (Cox and Walsh 2000, 70). While Place comments that his new customers were 'gentlemen who would not deal with a man in a garrett' (Cox and Walsh 2000, 70). High Ousegate was one of the leading streets for polite shopping in York and so the proximity to numerous other shops might have lessened the need for a stylish outward appearance. Yet it stressing the significance of location, this should not be taken to mean that polite spaces were physically separate from other parts of the city. Recent scholars have highlighted the creation of specific areas (polite leisure, civic development high-status shopping, elite residential areas) in most towns by the close of the eighteenth century (Stobart *et al* 2007, 78). However, while there is evidence in York that some streets were more fashionable than others this does not mean that they were either physically separate or distant from less exclusive areas. Coppergate, the parallel street to High Ousegate, was far less exclusive and the Water Lanes, containing some of the poorest, oldest and most run-down housing in the city was only about 100m away. The sight of these places could not be kept separate from the gentry walking the streets of York. Nor could the elite spaces be kept exclusive from those of lower status, who

might be gawking at the wares or simply using the street as a thoroughfare. The city was a dynamic place and movement through it must always be born in mind.

Now to turn to the specifics of the shops themselves. No 19 was occupied by a linen-draper, a trade that was typically geared towards the gentry market, however the size of the shop must also be considered. Claire Walsh (1995, 161) has created a reconstruction of Martha Braithwaite's goldsmith's shop in London from an inventory taken in 1746 (Figure 98). Moreover, Walsh does not see this as an isolated example and that the fore shop is typical of the size and shape of shops of the period. The width of the shop is listed as 7ft (with a depth of 15ft), which is extremely narrow, especially given the definition of a small house, advanced by Guillery (2004, 40), as a house with a frontage of less than 20ft. This is exacerbated by the fixtures within the shop. In it are listed two presses for plate (one on either wall) and a counter running the full length of the shop. No sizes are given for these fixtures, but conservative estimate would be 1ft each for the two presses, and 2ft for the counter, with 1ft of space behind it for staff to stand. There would add up to 5ft, leaving only two for customers to browse.

This is very restricted and has implications for how polite shopping is conceived in the eighteenth century. Scholars view shopping as increasingly being practiced as a leisure pursuit during the period (Walsh 1995, 161) and that browsing was a key component of this (Hann and Stobart 2005, 183). Browsing allowed customers to assess the caliber of goods and also an opportunity for them to increase their consumer knowledge through interaction with the shopkeeper. In considering, the internal appearance of shops, tradecards are often used as crucial pieces of evidence (Figures 99, 100). Walsh (Walsh 1995, 162) does notes that this evidence needs to be treated with caution but that in general it confirms the written sources in regard the level of decoration that many shops achieved or aspired to. However, there is one crucial difference between these sources that is not commented on and that is in regards to space. The tradecards show opulent interiors that are also extremely spacious, leaving ample room for customers to browse, goods to be displayed and seating for more prestigious customers. Yet this contrasts markedly with the inventory evidence that Walsh quotes, where the available browsing space is only 2ft wide.

This accords with the physical evidence. While No 19 is slightly larger, the available room is extremely limited. The frontage is 17ft wide, and using the inventory evidence from Walsh for interior fixtures, this would only allow about 12ft for browsing. This is, however, a generous estimate and the illustrations and trade cards of linen-drapers show that these trades needed greater room for display, with deeper cabinets to hold the cloth behind the counter as well as having examples draped around the shop (Figures 101, 102) (Cox and Walsh 2000, 100; Morrison 2003, 39). Also the shop was extremely shallow, being one room deep and was only extended in the nineteenth century. This lack of space both for display and browsing might have meant that the first-floor front room was used to entertain the more select clients. Yet this has obviously implications for privacy, allowing customers deeper access into the domestic space of the house. At Nos 20 and 21 the situation is even more confined with frontages of 14.5ft and 13ft respectively, allowing potential browsing space to be around 9.5ft and 8ft.

This would not only have curtailed a relaxed shopping experience but also left very little elbow room. Customers would have had to literally push past each other to move around the shop. This would have been exacerbated at some points in the eighteenth century by the clothing that was in fashion, with the hoop skirts of the early and mid period being considerably bulkier than the later empire dresses (Arnold 1972, 20). This is not to imply that ladies would have worn full dress while shopping, but there is evidence that fashionable attire was worn. In the novel *Evelina* published in 1788, Fanny Burney has her protagonist comment:

'At the milliners, the ladies we met were so much dressed, that I should rather have imagined they were making visits than purchases' (Burney 1788, 25) This would also have had implications for social interaction. The shop is often seen as a secluded haven that is away from the street and any potential for interaction with those of a lower social status (Cox and Walsh 2000, 87). However, if the confines of the smaller shop was so restricted then the danger of jostling and awkward social encounters was very real. This demonstrates how diverse the shopping experience was in the eighteenth century and that not all shops catering to the gentry, even in a fashionable town such as York, were experienced in the same way. Therefore when talking about social practices such

as shopping there is a real need to not just rely on the documentary evidence but to place these practices in actual physical spaces. This helps to show how they would have actually been performed on an everyday level and the potential and limitations of the space.

We have already discussed bookshops in the context of No 13, however there are some interesting details here to add. Robert Spence also sold stationary and letter cases and the items for sale listed in newspaper advertisements confirm his gentry clientele. These include:

> 'Letter Cases and Ladies Pocket Books, all Sorts and Sizes, red. Green, blue or black, with Brass, Stell, Plated, Silver, or Enamelled Locks, fitted with various Kinds of Instruments, &c. mounted with Silver; Ladies Netting Cases; Cases for Visiting Tickets, or Packs of Cards' (*YC* 10 March 1778).

These small items would have necessitated their own display cases and required a different form of interaction with the customers than was normally the case with booksellers. Items would have had to be individually produced and presented on the counter for the quality of the craftsmanship to be inspected. In the case of more luxury items such as cases for visiting tickets and packs of cards, the shopkeeper would have needed a developed sales pitch to demonstrate why these items were even necessary.

The background of Robert Spence is also interesting. He was also a Methodist and had worked for fifty two years as a local preacher (*YG* 7 August 1824). An advert also links him with another noted merchant in the city. This advertises: 'THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE of the LIFE of OLAUDAH EQUIANO OR *GUSTAVUS VASSA* THE AFRICAN. Written by HIMSELF' and describe the 'adventures of an African, who early in life was torn from his native country, by those savage dealers in a traffic disgraceful to humanity' (*YCH* 22 April 1791). Intriguingly the book was also available at Tuke's tea shop on Castlegate, a curious location to be selling books. This shows a unity among those in York who were active in the cause of abolition of the slave trade. It also hints at the existence of a network among non-conformists in the city. Non-conformists were barred by their religion from taking offices in the Corporation, something that may have proved disadvantageous both professionally and

personally. Establishing parallel networks may have gone some way to ameliorate this disadvantage.

Appearance of the streetscape

To some degree, therefore, High Ousegate conforms to the ideal of urban improvement. It consists largely of new Georgian houses some of which have fine architectural details. This created rows of houses with flush fronts built in the classical vernacular, which created a unified setting for polite consumption. This ostensibly produced an ordered and harmonious streetscape, which helped to convey meanings of modernity (Stobart *et al* 2007, 96). However, as we have seen, this first impression is deceptive. Nos 11-14, the four finest houses on the street, incorporate wooden lean-tos until at least the middle of the eighteenth century (Figures 83, 91). These stallboards did include Georgian features such as paneled doors and sash windows but they disrupted the straight and unified façade of both the buildings and the street as a whole. More importantly they were symbolic of an earlier time, with the style dating back not just to the early modern period but the late medieval as well. They caused disruption not just in terms of architecture but the meanings they conveyed. The new houses transmitted ideas of fashionable improvement but the stallboards contradicted this. This obviously influenced these buildings as domestic space, but it mattered particularly, in terms of consumption. The Georgian shop front was designed to catch the eye of passers by and lure them into the shop (Morrison 2003, 41). It was part of a larger world of polite culture that included the races, assembly rooms, walks and promenades (Stobart *et al* 2007, 110). Participating in shopping was participating in polite society. However, these wooden lean-tos would have conveyed none of these signals. Also the interiors would have be cramped in the extreme, even compared with the smaller properties of Nos 19 and 20 that we have previously examined, and would have allowed none of the relaxed browsing indicative of the period.

These contradictions can be seen even more markedly elsewhere along High Ousegate, for not all the buildings were of a new Georgian build. Further down the street stood a substantial timber-framed building (Figure 103). This has since been demolished, but early photographs show a frontage of four bays with two ranges running at right-angles to the street. The property's medieval

character is at odds with the apparent polite landscape of eighteenth-century shopping. It might therefore be assumed that the reason for this was one of wealth and that the occupier could not afford a newer, more fashionable house. However, the documentary record contradicts this. Dr White's map (YCA Acc 163) shows that the property was occupied by Henry Raper, who was a tea and china man, a trade that was very much geared towards gentry consumption. His will shows that he was wealthy with over £10,500 bequeathed to beneficiaries independent of the residue of the estate (BIUY PR153, f127v). He was also a senior alderman of the Corporation who twice served as Lord Mayor in 1765 and 1782 (*YC* 6 February 1809). Therefore the retention and use of this property appears to be one of deliberate choice in which he is emphasising his links with the history of the city rather than its fashionable new renaissance. The house is being used as a symbol of legitimacy that operates independently of the newer polite fashions.

However the interior of Henry Raper's shop is also of interest and this is illuminated by the evidence of a tradesman's billhead (YCL Y769.5). This highlights a number of themes that have been discussed already, including how space and gender influenced the consumer experience. The building has a wide frontage and in all probability was formed by the amalgamation of two burgage plots. Therefore, there would be a large area available to serve as the shop floor. However, the billhead for the shop lists over 120 separate items. This is a huge quantity and raises questions of how the items would be displayed and how customers would navigate the shop.

The arrangement of stock is problematic, given the eclectic nature of the goods on sale. One of the measures by which a shopkeeper was judged was according to their ability to create an attractive and orderly display of goods (Hann and Stobart 2005, 171). Yet how this was achieved in Raper's shop is not known. One possible explanation is the division of space according to the social status of customers. This is known from a number of shops in London, particularly Wedgwood's where customers purchasing the 'worser seconds' could serve themselves (Morrison 2003, 38). However, in Raper's shop there is little indication that this was the case. While there are a few items that would appeal to a broad range of customers, such as coal-pans and dust-pans as well

as possibly some cheap china, most of the goods seem designed to appeal to the gentry market.

Another possible explanation is division according to gender lines. Amanda Vickery (2009, 128) has highlighted how different goods were seen as appealing to a particular gender and that retailers targeted this. The range of goods available at Raper's shop incorporates goods designed to appeal to both men and women. There were 'Gun-Flints', 'Fowling-Bags and Shot-Pouches', 'Billiard-Balls' and 'Velvet Caps for Gentlemen' for the men. For the women there were the main goods of the shop, namely tea and china, as well as 'Pincushion Boxes', 'All Sorts of Bird-Cages, and Balance Birds' and 'Tea-Table Bells' (YCL Y769.5). The structure of the building, incorporating two wings with the gable ends facing the street, meant that the shop front could have been easily split into two distinct shops. However one of the attractions of this shop could have been that men and women could visit it together, safe in the knowledge that there would be something to appeal to everybody.

However, this does not address how the shop was actually laid out. Research into inventories has demonstrated the types of fixtures and furniture that shopkeepers employed. Nests of drawers could store smaller items, rails were used to hang cloth, and shelves to display larger items (Hann and Stobart 2005, 172). These fixtures would also be associated with different types of shops, such as drapers, goldsmiths and haberdashers, geared towards the size and shape of the goods they had for sale (Walsh 1995, 164). The staples of Raper's shop would be easily accommodated into the consumer narratives that have been put forward. These included tea, coffee and chocolate, as well as 'a variety of china; useful and ornamental'. Yet these are only four out of the 120 items and many of these were small, creating difficulties for our understanding of how the shop was experienced. The sheer number of these items would make independent browsing problematic and, as was the case with bookshops, highlight the role of the shopkeeper in laying out items on the counter for the customer to inspect. These would not simply be just what the customer had asked for and the shopkeeper would be relied on to know the tastes of his clients so that he could introduce them to goods that they never knew they wanted before.

Even those buildings on High Ousegate that are newly built in the Georgian period cannot all be considered together as a homogenous unit. As we have seen, Nos 19-21 are considerably different than, for example, Nos 11 and 12. They are considerably smaller and lack many of the decorative features that the finer houses can boast. Even details such as the quality of the brickwork, how the bricks were bonded together and the cornice could all be used to gauge the quality of a building. This can even be seen in London. Julie Schlarman (2003, 16) has noted that unified blocks of terraced housing were a predominant fashion, particularly in the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet at the Grosvenor Square, which was developed in the first half of the eighteenth century, the facades had a diverse mixture of stone and coloured brick. This meant their appearance ensured individuality rather than uniformity. Also Peter Guillery (2004, 66) warns that ' "Uniform" is a word that needs to be used sparingly in regard to London's early and mid-eighteenth-century domestic architecture'. Therefore when considering how the streetscape was perceived and experienced we have to be wary of considering the architecture as presenting a uniform appearance based just on stylistic criteria. This even applies to the newly-built Georgian buildings. These houses also had differences and a house's appearance was at least one indication of a person's wealth, social status and engagement with polite fashion. It can therefore be more fruitful to view the inhabitants of York as knowledgeable agents who were able to take more than one meaning from a street. Contemporaries might comment on the general appearance of street, such as Celia Fiennes description of Liverpool:

> 'the houses [are] of brick and stone built high and even… the streets are faire and long' (Fiennes 1947, 184)

However, this would not prevent them from also taking the street apart and using the visual clues to characterize the individuals behind the façades. It therefore becomes much more problematic to interpret the streets as conveying meanings of order and regularity as routinely they would convey much more complex and at times contradictory messages.

Pavement

The neighbouring street of Pavement (Figure 104) is also a focus of this chapter. This is much harder to examine due to the extensive alterations to the streetscape and the scarcity of surviving building fabric. The southern end of the street is now essentially a busy crossroads (Figure 73). The east side was punctured between 1835 and 1840 with the creation of Parliament Street, which was built to establish a new market place (RCHME 1981, 173). On the west side now stands Piccadilly, which was created in 1912 (RCHME 1981, 199). The establishment of both of these streets saw the demolition of large groups of houses, which was exacerbated in the 20th century by modern shop development, in particular the renovation of Marks and Spencer.

Despite these extensive changes, this does not mean that the eighteenth-century streetscape is lost forever, and it is possible to reconstruct its appearance. This can be achieved through a wide combination of sources, including early photographs, illustrations from the early nineteenth century, some standing buildings evidence, the 1852 large-scale Ordnance survey map and Dr White's hand-drawn maps (YCA Acc 163). These sources can be cross-referenced to check their respective accuracy. This is particularly important in the case of the illustrations, however these proved to be very reliable and useful sources.

The reconstruction of Piccadilly is the least problematic as it occurred in the early twentieth century and is documented by numerous photographs. This shows that the bulk of the demolished houses consisted of two large timber-framed ranges (Figure 105). The first is a jettied medieval row house that was three storeys high and eight bays wide. The first floor had been altered in the eighteenth century to incorporate sash windows and a dentilled cornice was also added. However the fenestration on the second floor is less extensive, including only four Yorkshire sash windows, which may represent the original medieval openings. The row bears a striking similarity to other examples that can be found in York, such as at No 99-101 Micklegate and Lady Row on Goodramgate (RCHME 1972b, 88; RCHME 1981, 143). These row houses were typically built during the medieval period to provide housing for the poor (Grenville 1997, 190). They were often built on church land to provide rental income for religious institutions (Quiney 2003, 259) and are likely to have housed labourers,

servants, weavers, tailors and significant numbers of women (Rees Jones 1987, 242). Recent work by Jane Rimmer (2007, 235) has highlighted that these small houses could also accommodate tenants from more affluent backgrounds and has emphasised the importance of location when considering the status of this form of housing. They were often originally one-room deep and then extended and altered during subsequent centuries. The second property is three storeys high and two bays wide, and is roughly half the size of the entire row property. It also has sash windows on the first floor and a cornice with simple brackets.

The houses that made way for Parliament Street are more difficult to reconstruct, however the illustrative evidence can be particularly helpful here. One illustration (Figure 106) (YORAG R1539) shows a medieval structure that stood directly opposite the houses already described. It also appears to be a row house and is jettied and timber framed. This house stood on the north-west side of the street, while next to it to the south stood two Georgian houses (Figure 107) (YORAG R5114). These houses join up with the surviving standing structures on High Ousegate and so therefore likely encompass the rest of the demolished properties. The southernmost of the Georgian properties, nearest High Ousegate, was a three-storey house with attics and was six bays wide. It had a flat roof and plat bands at first and second-floor level. It was seemingly divided into two properties. This is very probably the house depicted in Cousins's map of 1727, for although the fenestration is different (the house in Cossins's map is five bays wide), the other architectural details are the same (Figure 108). The second property was three storeys high and five bays wide (seemingly two per house with a central bay). The central bay was flanked by pilasters, there was a plat band at second-floor level and a pediment on the roof. Although not as fine, it bears some similarity to Nos 11 and 12, and 13 and 14.

The evidence for the demolished houses of Pavement show therefore that the street had a more varied appearance than that of High Ousegate, incorporating a much higher proportion of medieval fabric. Further houses that did not survive also include a row of properties to the south of St Crux, in a section of Pavement known as Hosier Lane. These were all demolished in 1768, with the City council offering 500 guineas to help with their removal (VCH 1961, 208). Considering that this was an improvement scheme, the demolished houses were very probably timber framed.

The varied character of the street is further confirmed by the surviving buildings evidence, with a substantial medieval property on Pavement still surviving. This is Herbert House (Figure 109) and dates to the early seventeenth century, taking its name from the family of Christopher Herbert who was Lord Mayor in 1573 (RCHME 1981, 176). It is three storeys high, with cellars and attics, and has two gables fronting the street, although there is evidence that there were originally three gables. Also these medieval properties range from high-status dwellings to small row tenements for the poor. This creates a range in the size of the properties and quality of the timber-framing and further disrupts any uniformity. Even the demolished medieval properties on the east side of the street were not regular, with one property having deeper jettying and a higher roof line than the row tenements.

As a shopping street, Pavement was even more fashionable than High Ousegate. In the 1780s, according to White's maps, it had 8 shops in the clothing trade (6 drapers, 1 breeches-maker, 1 mercer), as well as 1 upholsterer, 2 hatters, and 2 saddlers. This high concentration is also mirrored in the trade directories (*The York Guide* 1787; *Universal British Directory Vol IV* 1798 and *Pigot's General Directory* 1816-17). Therefore one of the main shopping streets in York during the eighteenth century, and the one specifically catered to fashionable clothing, did not conform to the ideal of urban renaissance that has been put forward by scholars. The preoccupation with fashion among the gentry in the town is further highlighted by the presence of a column in the *York Chronicle* in the 1770s called 'Dress of the Month'. Here the outfits of the ladies are described in minute detail, much greater detail than was used in advertisements. For example the entry for 11 November 1774 reads:

> 'Ladies in full dress wear their hair much higher than for some time, and very wide at the top, with small fly and short lappets, or no lappets at all. – Silks, with small brocaded sprigs, small hoops, gauze or blond trimmings, with no flounces to the coats, only trimm'd to match the sides, ornamented with coloured tossels, and bows of ribbon – work'd shoes, with small rose buckles – UNDRESS. The cloaks rather londer, and the hats larger, than have been worn all summer. – Slight silk Brunswick dresses, with short gauze aprons, or night gowns with round

pucker'd cuffs, and double robin, coloured flippers with small rose.' (*YCH* 11 Nov 1774)

The precise details of the column would provide female readers with enough information to request specific styles and accessories from shop-keepers such as linen-drapers and hatters and to keep up to date with the latest fashions. Also the column does not appear to have been a simple advertising vehicle as some months the column reported 'The Ladies have made little variation in their dress from June last' (*YCH* 12 August 1774). However, the styles did change frequently, enough to emphasise both the concern among the readers for precise details of the latest fashions and also the ability of local traders to accommodate this rapid turnover in styles.

This is exacerbated by the evidence for certain shop façades, which follows up several of the themes that arose during the discussion of High Ousegate. For example, in Cossins's illustration of the demolished property on Pavement, there is once again a stallboard in front of the premises (as there was for Nos 12, 13 and 14). Also while this has gone by the second half of the eighteenth century, an illustration dating from 1780-1810 (Figure 107) (YORAG R5114) shows the house with a wooden trellis table in front of it, seemingly selling items from the shop behind. This is far from the traditional model of polite consumption put forward by scholars, which emphasise the need for a fashionable and modern exterior. Furthermore, this shop was not a poor example in an otherwise fine street. It was occupied by a wealthy grocer, John Allanson, who was Lord Mayor twice, in 1758, and 1775 (*YC* 9 July 1782).

Another illustration shows the ground-floor of Herbert House, with the central tenement comprising an unglazed, open-fronted shop (NMR The Herbert House, Lady Peckett's Yard). This was common practice in the medieval period, however it not only exemplified a different form of architecture in comparison to the glazed Georgian shop fronts but encouraged different forms of retail practice (Stobart 2008, 55). Here, the customer did not enter the shop but conducted their business on the street. This was far from the relaxed browsing experience that epitomised the conception of eighteenth-century shopping as a leisure activity. Furthermore, this illustration dates to 1827, showing this earlier, medieval experience of shopping could continue well into the nineteenth century, even in a fashionable town such as York. Also this is not

the only example, as in Cossins's illustration of Allanson's house, the stallboard is show with wide, unglazed fronts that would have had difficulty in incorporating sash windows.

This complex dynamic of how the old and new architecture were being utilised can be further examined by looking at who inhabited the medieval properties on Pavement during the eighteenth century. The row houses on the western side of the street were occupied by a cutler, a hatter, and a baker, while those on the eastern side were occupied by another hatter, a barber, and a grocer. Therefore at least two of these shops were catering for the gentry market. This is further seen further along the street at Herbert House. In the eighteenth century, one of the ground-floor shops was occupied by Thomas Willans, who was a cutler and maker of surgical instruments (*YC* 6 November 1809). His will records bequests of over £2,000 independent of the residue of the estate, so he was far from destitute (BIUY PR154, f1r). This can also be seen in another surviving medieval property at the bottom of Coppergate. No 28 was occupied by John Bulmer, who was a linen-draper and haberdasher (*YC* 8 November 1785). Furthermore he married the daughter of John Allanson, the grocer we met earlier (*YC* 11 February 1783), who was not only wealthy but held high office in the city corporation. Therefore the occupiers of the shops that operated out of medieval premises may not have been among the wealthiest merchants in the city, but they were far from poor. Many of the trades were also geared towards serving the gentry and their surroundings do not seem to have affected their capacity to carry out their business. This once again leads us to question the importance of a shop having a fashionable façade and interior and that the experience of eighteenth-century shopping would often have been structured by medieval fabric as much as the new Georgian structures.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated how detailed consideration of standing buildings evidence can illuminate our understanding of the urban environment during the eighteenth century. In particular, it demonstrates how a detailed, street-eye view of a town can better inform our understanding of the wider social process occurring at the time, and challenge scholarly perceptions of improvement and shopping as a form of elite leisure. It has shown that the actual composition of

the street was extremely varied, including both polite architecture and surviving fabric from the medieval and early modern periods. The high-status shopping areas in York were far from uniform and this produces a more complex picture of how old and new architectural fabric was encountered and the messages it conveyed, in particular the implications for relations between people of different social statuses.

The material remains also inform the physical features of interior space and how it was experienced. This includes the retail areas and in particular highlights the physical limitations of many shops of the period. This leads one to questions how far the relaxed social browsing, put forwards by many scholars of consumption, would have been practically achieved and whether shops, even those aimed at the gentry market, would have been more complex sites of social practice. It is unclear whether the shop would have been a safe haven and that the social ambiguities of the street would have carried over into many retail establishments. The spatial constraints would have meant that jostling and the possibility for awkward confrontations would have been very real. High Ousegate also highlights the relationship between domestic and retail space and how buildings that incorporated shops subtly altered the conventional language of decoration and room use. Many of these themes, particularly those of shopping, will be further investigated in Chapter 5 where the thesis turns its attention to Stonegate. However, this street also has notable contrasts as it is one of the areas with the highest concentration of medieval fabric in the city. How this street informs ideas of urban improvement, is therefore of crucial concern.

Chapter Five
Stonegate

Stonegate (Figures 110, 111, 112) provides a stark contrast with the streets so far examined. For while we have established the varied nature of the streetscapes of York during the eighteenth century, they still contain elements of both classical and older fabric. Stonegate however, both in the Georgian period and now, has one of the largest concentrations of medieval housing in the city and the dominant aesthetic of the street is timber-framed. Stonegate is first mentioned in 1276 and receives its name from 'the staynebowe' or 'stone arch', although it is not known to what this refers (RCHME 1981, 220). One explanation is that this was the remains of Roman stonework as the streets appears to follow the line of the Via Praetoria of the army fortress laid out in the first century AD (Nuttgens 1976, 23).

As with many of the streets in York, Stonegate is bracketed by ecclesiastical property, with St Helen's to the south and the Minster Gates to the north, which was the main entry point into the cathedral close (RCHME 1981, 160). Just to the west of this also stands the church of St Michael-Le-Belfrey, with half of Stonegate belonging to this parish. To the south of the street also stands the Mansion House, which was built in front of the old medieval guildhall in 1726 (*ibid*, 97). Since the medieval period therefore, Stonegate has existed at the intersection of civic and religious authority, with the Minster to the north and the guildhall and Mansion House to the south. The route of the medieval pageant plays went up this street (White 2000a) and its importance as a processional street continued into the eighteenth century with the visit of Edward, Duke of York. He arrived in a carriage at the Minster and then proceeded to the Mansion House along Stonegate, 'which was lined with the col. Thornton's regiment of militia under arms' (Drake 1788a, 229).

This chapter will explore the impact of the timber-framed architecture on the use and perception of the street during the Georgian period. It will continue to explore the practice of shopping but show that while the street was still geared towards genteel consumption, the goods on sale were chiefly those bought by men. The shops included tailors, hosiers, saddlers and bookshops and it was also one of the largest concentrations of coffee houses in the city. This

situates Stonegate as a gendered space and the chapter will explore how architecture can impact on concepts and the performance of public and private.

No 7 St Helen's Square

No 7 (Figures 113, 114, 115) is a narrow-fronted building on the corner of St Helen's Square and Stonegate. It dates to the second half of the eighteenth century and is currently three storeys, although there was originally a fourth storey, which had to be removed due to the effects of bombing during the Second World War (NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, page 1). However, the demolition may have occurred as early as the 1930s (Brown 2012, 141), with photographs from that period showing that the building needed to be propped up with timbers and buttressed against the house on the opposite side of the street (Figure 116) (YCA Y9_3668_b; Y9_3668_c). No 7 is built in Flemish bond of irregularly coloured brick. The elevation facing St Helen's Square is one bay wide and has flush sashes, with all the windows having dressings of finely gauged red brick and stone sills. The first storey has a tripartite sash with a segmented arch and the second storey has a single sash. There is a plat band at second floor level, of four courses deep with gauged brick on the first and last courses. There is also the remains of another band above the second-storey window just above the present roofline. Early photographs confirm the presence of the plat band at third-storey level and also a modillioned cornice, probably made of brick, below the parapet (Figures 116, 117) (YCA Y_11322; Y9_3668_c). In an 1816 illustration (Figure 118) (Brown 2012, 141), there appear to be stone or stuccoed bands (NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, page 1), and it is probable that the surviving brick bands were originally stuccoed over.

These plat bands continue on the return elevation facing Stonegate. This elevation has been more heavily altered and the Royal Commission judge that all the windows are modern replicas, although they believe that the window dressings are original (NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, page 2). However, this is probably not entirely correct. The photographic evidence from the 1930s shows that while some of the windows have contemporary frames and panes (which are not replicas of the eighteenth-century originals), there are original frames that appear to be extant and match the profile of those on the front elevation, although they do not include stone sills (YCA Y9_3668_c). These include the

window to the far south on the first floor and the two remaining windows on the second floor. It is logical that it was these windows that were then used to create the present duplicates on the first floor.

It is therefore possible to reconstruct the original eighteenth-century appearance of the Stonegate façade. It is made up of three irregular bays, with a window to the far south (on the corner of Stonegate) followed by a blank bay without a window, then two windows followed by another blank bay. The windows on the first floor all have flat-arched lintels and surrounds of finely gauged brick, apart from the window on the far north which appears to be a modern insertion due to the lack of a fine brick surround. The second floor follows the fenestration of the previous floor, except that the window to the far south is blocked. This irregular patterning of windows, of three windows to a floor together with two blank bays, is confirmed by an illustration from 1850 (Figure 119) (Brown 2012, 142).

With this evidence in mind, it is important to consider how the different façades help to provide an interpretation of how the building functioned and was perceived. The ground floor has been thoroughly modernized, however this does not mean the physical evidence has nothing to tell us. Two elements stand out to distinguish the two elevations. The southern façade (facing St Helen's Square) has stone sills, while the western one (facing Stonegate) does not. Also the western elevation has very irregular fenestration. Palladianism had codified the architectural principals of regularity and uniformity that had already existed in London in the period following the Great Fire (Stewart 2006, 56). Pattern books then helped to distribute these designs to provincial towns and cities.

Palladianism emphasized proportion, with windows playing a key role, varying in height from the ground floor to the roof in order to highlight the importance of the first-floor in particular (Cruickshank and Wyld 1975, 154). While the exact principles of proportion where often not followed, particularly in the provinces, the style did help to produce the typical Georgian elevation with its regularly spaced windows. No 7 therefore stands out, particularly in terms of newly-built eighteenth-century buildings, as having a very irregular western frontage, with even one of the original windows having been bricked-up. This blocking happened fairly early in the buildings life as an 1850 illustration (Brown 2012, 141) shows not only the second-storey window

blocked-up but the corresponding one on the third storey as well. This type of irregularity can be seen in York on side elevations that are not exposed to visitors, yet it is rarely seen fronting the street. This therefore privileges the southern elevation, as the one principally meant for show.

Early illustrations also provide useful evidence to suggest this hypothesis. Buckler's 1816 watercolour (Figure 118) (Brown 2012, 141) includes the southern front of No 7, including the ground floor. This shows a shop front with a Regency bow window and a panelled front door with fanlight on the site of the present doorway. The doorcase has consoles similar to those illustrated in Gibbs' 1728 *Book of Architecture* (Cruickshank and Wyld 1975, 91), which are supported by pilasters. Pilasters and consoles also bracket the bow window. 'LINEN DRAPER' is inscribed above the window denoting the character of the shop and the owner's name, 'WADE', is above the doorway.

The western elevation, however, is more varied in the extent of its elaboration. As mentioned above, the plat bands and the former cornice continue from the southern front to the western elevation. An 1850 illustration (Figure 119) (Brown 2012, 142) sheds light on the ground floor and shows that another bay window fronts the first bay to the south (which covers the area of both the window and the blank bay on the first floor). This is then followed by another doorway with a fanlight, which leads to the internal staircase. However, while there is some elaboration, it is offset by the very irregular fenestration on the elevation, which placed the building in stark contrast with many other Georgian facades in the city. Given the evidence, it is reasonable to conclude that the principal shop front and entrance was the southern side facing St Helen's Square (particularly in light of the presence of the shop sign and owner's name). The principal entrance to the domestic space of the house was therefore the western side facing Stonegate. The doorway opposite the stairway gives weight to this argument as it would allow both residents and guests to enter without using the commercial space.

It would now be useful to examine the character and use of the shop. The shop was owned by John Wade, a draper (NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, page 1). Wade was certainly living and working at No 7 by 1812. He is only a leaseholder and the property came up for sale after the freeholder went bankrupt (*YC* 20 July 1812). Given that Buckler painted Wade's shop in 1816, it is probable that

Wade bought the shop himself (or continued to lease it). By 1824 he had moved on and set himself up in another shop in Stonegate (*YG* 24 April 1824).

There is a disjunction between the illustrative evidence and the documentary sources. Buckler's work has 'LINEN DRAPER' displayed over the shop front, while, in contrast, the newspaper adverts and articles from the period list him as a woollen-draper (*YC* 9 May 1808; *YC* 20 July 1812). This might seem like a fine distinction, but as Amanda Vickery (2006, 32) has noted, it made a big difference when it came to who was actually doing the shopping and entering the premises. For while linen and cotton was the province of women, the woollen-draper dealt mainly with men. As *The London Tradesman* notes 'he furnishes him [the taylor] with Broad Cloths, Linings, &c' (Campbell 1757, 194). This accords well with Wade's advertised list of products and services, which states that he sold 'superfine and Narrow Cloths, Kerseymeres; and every other Article in the Woollen Drapery Line' (*YG* 24 April 1824). Wade was also keen, as many other tradesmen were in York, to emphasise a London connection for his goods:

> 'take this Opportunity of acquainting them, that he has just returned from London, where he has selected a choice Assortment fashionable *Superfine* CLOTHES, KERSEYMERES, FANCY WAISTCOATS, &c. &c. proper for the present and approaching Season.' (*ibid*)

His market therefore was fashionable society and included not just practical garments but 'FANCY WAISTCOATS' as well, with a specific eye for the York season. By 1824, Wade was also a tailor, a profession that Vickery (2006, 32) details could be a particularly trusted and personal one. These details come from shortly after Wade moved to Stonegate, yet it is highly probable that they formed the basis of his previous shop as well.

This certainly accords with the fashionable nature of the location. St Helen's Square was one of the most prestigious spaces in the city. It contained the Mansion House (Figure 120), which was built as the residence of the Lord Mayor in 1730. This has a fine Georgian frontage with Ionic pilasters and rusticated archways that the Royal Commission (1981, 97) believe may have been inspired by the Queen's Gallery at Somerset House. It also contained the York Tavern (Figure 121), built in 1770, which was one of York's major coaching houses, with stabling for 150 horses (Murray, Riddick and Green 1990, 88). The

front may not have been as fine as the Mansion House, but surviving photographs show an elegant elevation with proportioned windows in the Palladian style, all with enriched window architraves and a front door with a pedimented architrave with a dentilled cornice (YCA Y_11541). The 1788 edition of *Eboracum*, which included additions probably not by Drake, describes it as a 'large and elegant building' (Drake 1788b, 91). The trade directories also point to this being a polite space, with high-status shops catering to the genteel market. The 1787 *York Guide*, lists a perfumer and jeweller (both of these shops only had one other example in the whole city), two milliners, a staymaker, a bookseller and a hatter and hosier.

However, while this was a shop that catered for the genteel market, as indeed did the whole square, this does not mean that this was a space without contradictions. Firstly, the name itself, St Helen's Square, is somewhat misleading. Before the eighteenth century St Helen's Square did not exist. There were simply two footpaths running past two sides of the churchyard, one joining Blake Street and Davygate and the other linking Stonegate and Coney Street (RCHME 1981, 203). The angle where the footpath met Coney Street was known as 'Cuckold's Corner', which perhaps gives some idea of its local reputation and the practices that went on in the churchyard after dark. In 1745 the churchyard was levelled and paved, in direct response to the building of the Assembly Rooms (Figure 122) (Drake 1788b, 91), which no doubt gave carriages better access but also helped to create an adjoining polite space. Yet this space was not unproblematic in its polite aims. This can be seen in the 1852 OS map (Figure 110), which shows that while the churchyard had been removed, the 'square' was only a funnel-shaped area with the broad end abutting St Helen's church and the narrow end hardly wider than a normal street. As *Eboracum* laconically observed, it was called a square 'though nearly triangular' (Drake 1788b, 91). This was ameliorated somewhat in the late eighteenth century when the houses fronting the Mansion House were demolished (RCHME 1981, 203). This carved out a chunk at the bottom end of the square, yet the narrow funnel leading up to St Helen's still remained.

This evidence therefore creates a complex space for examination. Squares are viewed as crucial elements of the redeveloped and reimagined urban spaces of the eighteenth century, often forming the centerpieces of

improvement plans (Stobart *et al* 2007, 92). These squares were created to resemble a palace courtyard, the architecture therefore emphasizing the select, high-status nature of polite society. Yet they were also public places where members of polite society could come together to socialise, performing and reinforcing their distinctive practices (*ibid*, 93). To some degree St Helen's fits within this model. A variety of new buildings had been constructed that provided regular, elegant façades, as well as in the case of the Mansion House, distinguished architecture. It included a civic building, a coaching house, and high-status shopping, all of which were linked to the epicenter of fashionable York, the Assembly Rooms, which was just up the street in Blake Street.

Yet St Helen's Square also had contradictions. Its shape was far from regular, contrasting with the symmetrical buildings around it. It was also not very spacious, particularly at its southern end. It therefore did not lend itself well to polite performance, where to see and be seen was a crucial factor. The architecture was also far from uniform. It is reasonable to assume that the houses facing the Mansion House, which existed for much of the eighteenth century, were of medieval origin or at least were timber-framed. Furthermore evidence of older fabric can be seen in illustrations (Brown 2012, 141). On the southern corner of Blake Street stood a large timber-framed building, three-storeys high with attics and jettied to the street of three levels. Therefore, as we have seen on numerous occasions in this study, old and new stood side by side and in a city such as York it was often very difficult to sweep away all traces of the past. This is not to deny that St Helen's Square was a polite space, as the high-status buildings and shops bear testament to that. But it has implications for how practices were performed here and also how they helped to structure those practices. Visitors and residents could not look about and seen an improved square, which testified to new fashions and also the ability of squares to sequester its polite occupiers away from the rest of urban life. Here older forms intruded on the present and the constricted space did not allow for uninhibited promenading.

Wade was therefore part of this complex arena, catering to the gentry and lesser gentry who frequented it. Yet Wade's shop also epitomizes the contradictions that were part of it. For while his goods and business were aimed at the gentry, the shop space itself was also very small. In his examination of

small houses in London, Peter Guillery (2004, 40) defines houses that have a frontage of less than 20 feet as being considered small. No 7 is only 12.7 feet wide, falling far short of the benchmark of 20 feet. Also the shop interior would not be an open space. The advert from 1812 lists a number of fixtures in the house (*YC* 20 July 1812). These include 'The Counter and Drawers in the shop'. This accords well with Claire Walsh's study of eighteenth-century inventories examined in the previous chapter (Walsh 1995, 160). The counter usually ran the entire length of the shop, with nests of drawers on the walls behind the counter. In a drapers shop, the cloth would also need to be artfully displayed, as well as being housed with deep cabinets (Cox and Walsh 2000, 100; Morrison 2003, 39). The necessities of the trade, the fixtures in the shop and the narrow width of the property therefore leave very little room for relaxed browsing and customer interaction. If these elements are added together there would, at a conservative estimate, be 1ft each for wall-mounted storage (either drawers or cabinets), 2ft for the counter, with 1ft of space behind it for staff to stand. This would only allow about 7.5ft for customers.

However, this does not take into account the other constraints of the space. No 7 is built flush against St Helen's church, with the south-western corner of the church actually cutting into the middle of plan of No 7 (NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, page 1). The original layout of the building has a room at the front (12.7ft by 11.8ft), followed by the staircase, with a room at the back (12.7ft by 9.5ft). However, both the front and back rooms are curtailed by the intrusion of the church, with diagonal sections cut out of the western walls, lessening the available room space. No 7 was therefore very restricted in the space available for customer interaction, particularly for a draper's shop where the principal goods were cloth, which was bulky and needed to be both displayed and stored. The front room, with its two bay windows facing both St Helen's Square and Stonegate, was undoubtedly the principal display area, while the back room could have been used for attending to more select clients. It is not known whether Wade had started the tailoring side of the business when he was in No 7, but if so then the back room could also have been used for measuring and fittings clients.

No will exists for John Wade and so it is difficult to assess his degree of wealth. However, as was the case with 19, 20 and 21 High Ousegate, it is

dangerous to assume that this was a down-market shop run by a low-ranking shopkeeper. It could be argued that Wade did not stay there long and soon moved to presumably larger premises on Stonegate which might have been more satisfactory. He certainly died a much-respected figure and the oldest member of the Merchant Tailors Company at the time of his death (*YG* 13 October 1860). When he was at No 7, Wade was at an exclusive location, selling goods aimed at the gentry. His predecessor in 1837 was also aiming at the same high-status customers, since he was a hosier and glover (YORAG R1706_1), and incidentally was also serving the same male clientele. As Vickery has demonstrated, men could be just as interested in shopping as women, despite the fact that it was largely women who were singled out for censure for their profligate spending habits (Vickery 2006, 37). No 7 therefore evidently functioned as a high-status consumer venue, despite the numerous restrictions on space within. This highlights the need to think of the eighteenth-century retail experience as an extremely diverse one, even in notably polite streets and towns. This is particularly true in terms of the physical shop itself and the possibilities and constraints that it imposed. This also introduces the role of men in shopping, a topic that will be examined in greater depth as we proceed down the Stonegate. We will see that men as customers play a major role in the shops and coffee houses of the street and examine how this interacts with the dominant older architecture of Stonegate.

Yet it is also important to consider the domestic area of the house. As already noted, the entrance to the private space of the house has a less polite façade than that of the shop, with its irregular fenestration. This side also faces Stonegate, a less prestigious street than St Helen's Square. The doorway in the centre of the elevation leads to the staircase in the centre of the plan. The ground floor has been extensively modernized but a few features survive on the upper floors. The remains of cornices survive in the second-floor front room and the first-floor back room. These are remarkably similar, given their presence on different floors. They are both deep coved mouldings, of a form dating to the early nineteenth century, and are smart although not particularly elaborate. There are, unfortunately, no original fireplaces. The surviving evidence indicates that far more investment and architectural elaboration was bestowed on the shop as opposed to the domestic areas, particularly the frontage. This

might be an extreme example of the principal that only the rooms for most show were singled out for decoration, in this case the shop floor. However, while no evidence remains of the fireplaces, the surviving cornices are elegant, even if they are not very distinguished. Their early-nineteenth-century date also makes it a good possibility that they were inserted by Wade, showing investment in the domestic areas of the house and his own wish to entertain and maintain a position in society. The positioning of the cornices also raise an interesting issue as both the first and second floor examples are very similar. This flouts the typical decorative language of the eighteenth century by which rooms (particularly from floor to floor) are distinguished from each other and marked with decorative elaboration. It might indicate a desire for the reception rooms to overlook the more prestigious St Helen's Square, emphasizing the house's connection with this polite space rather than with Stonegate. Alternatively, it could match with the evidence found in Castlegate which points to this language beginning to break down in the early nineteenth century and different decorative schemes being employed.

No 25 Blake Street

This property (Figures 123, 124, 125) is on the corner of Stonegate and Blake Street. It is built of red brick in Flemish bond and dates to the later part of the eighteenth century (RCHME 1981, 110). It is five bays wide. From the corner of Stonegate there are three bays, after which the building returns at an angle and there are two subsequent bays. It is also unusually narrow, being only one bay wide on the Stonegate elevation. It is four-storeys high, and although the ground floor has been modernized, the upper storeys preserve the original fenestration, with all the windows having flat-arch lintels of finely gauged brick. There is also a timber dentilled cornice with modillions.

The house was built in 1785 by an engraver named Francis Consitt (*ibid*). Consitt obtained permission from the Corporation to pull down the existing house and erect a new building on the site. Consitt wanted to build on land recently purchased by the Corporation for the widening of the street and the House Book records indicate that the resultant bargaining necessitated some give and take on both sides (YCA B45 House Book, 25 February 1785). Consitt had to submit both ground plans and elevations of the proposed building, and

the explicit argument for persuading the council was that 'the street will be made much more handsome and convenient' (*ibid*). Consitt was granted permission to bring the foundations 'forward into Blake street two feet and three inches at the angle and nine inches in another part nearer the dwellinghouse of Mr James Henderson'. However he had to relinquish some of the footage in other parts and:

> 'set back the intended front wall towards Stonegate twelve inches at the angle within the present foundation and continue the same from thaire in an oblique direction to the corner of Mr Wayre's house and so as the said Francis Consitt set back his intended front wall towards Blakestreet in the middle between the corner of Stonegate and Henderson's house six inches within the foundation of that part of the present front wall and leave the Ground so given up open and clear for such use as the Mayor and Commonality shall think proper.' (*ibid*).

This seems to have had the result of making the house slightly deeper to the east and west where it joined Blake Street and Stonegate respectively, a concession of considerable importance given that it was only one bay deep. However, the depth in the middle of the front façade, where it jutted out at an angle, had to be reduced.

As in No 7 St Helen's Square, the house embodies a number of contradictions. The front elevation is elegant and proportioned, made with good quality red brick and some decorative embellishments. Yet the bend in the southern (Blake Street) elevation disrupts the symmetry of the façade, highlighting the older medieval street plan. Scholars have emphasized how the Georgian street inspired meanings of regulation and order (Stobart *et al* 2007, 109), yet here it would signify the need of rational modernity to bend to the requirements of an older authority, embodied in the city's narrow winding streets. It signaled the inability to sweep all away and replace it with a new vision of the future. Whether this was even desired is debatable. Yet No 25 shows how old and new must, of necessity, cohabit in the eighteenth century, producing not a pure alternative to the former urban spaces and architecture, but instead an alloy of the two. Eighteenth-century towns and cities are often seen as responding in similar ways to architectural and civic movements, albeit ameliorated by their distance from London (Borsay 1999; Stobart *et al* 2007).

Differences between towns and the limitations of improvement are acknowledged, but the procession of regular, ordered streets is viewed as the overwhelmingly dominant force. However, it is these differences that help to structure how individuals move around, perceive and encounter the shops and houses of the eighteenth-century city. It is the intimate minutae of individual houses that are therefore crucial when analyzing a city such as York. Both old and new architectural styles, street plans and ways of living and shopping help to inform how No 25 would have been experienced in the eighteenth century.

Examining the evidence for the shop, the ground floor has been largely modernised, however illustrations provide evidence of the façade. The 1816 watercolour by Buckler (Figure 118) (Brown 2012, 141) includes the corner of No 25 and shows elegant bow windows on both the short elevation facing Stonegate and the start of the side facing Blake Street. The side elevation facing Blake Street also has enriched window architraves with cornices and is further displayed in an illustration from 1830 (Figure 126) (YORAG R3166). This shows the eastern end as it joins Stonegate, and includes the first three bays, just before the building turns at an angle further down Blake Street. This has two bay windows with a doorway in the middle with fanlight and another doorway to the west, just before the building return. The positioning of these features is significant. The central doorway corresponds to the eastern room, while the side door leads directly to the staircase. This therefore follows the pattern observed at No 7. The shop space is surrounded by bow windows that allowed goods to be displayed and the central doorway gives direct access to this. The side door gives separate access to the domestic space of the house and so was probably used by the residents and guests. Once again, the central doorway, which is linked to the shop, is more elegant and with more decorative features, that the door linked to the domestic areas, even though these would also be used for entertaining.

Francis Consitt was an engraver and copper-plate printer. He had premises in both Stonegate and Coney Street, before moving to No 25 (*YC* 25 September 1764; *YC* 19 November 1765). Newspaper advertisements from 1764 and 1765 show that his business was aimed squarely at the needs of both the gentry and tradesmen. He thanks the 'Nobility, Gentry, &c.' and also assures 'Gentlemen, Tradesmen, &c.' on being served promptly (*YC* 19 November 1765). His goods reflect this focus, including 'Ladies' Compliment Cards and Visiting

Tickets', 'Crests, &c, upon silver, Copper, or pewter' for the gentry, as well as 'Bills of Exchange, Sign-Bills, Bills of Parcels, Equation Tables' for tradesmen. It is likely that he principally used the eastern room as the shop space as these were best suited for display. It is not known how long Consitt occupied No 25, but he died in Clifton in 1806 (*YC* 28 July 1806)

An illustration shows that, by 1838, another door had been inserted in the angle between Blake Street and Coney Street (Figure 127) (YORAG R2994). Strangely this door does not seem to appear in a view dating to 1850 (Figure 119) (Brown 2012, 141). There is archaeological evidence which supports the presence of a door, as fragments of a surviving Victorian cornice appears to bisect this room. By 1838, No 25 was occupied by Mrs Mary Brunton, who ran a hosiery shop, and had taken over the property from her late husband, a gunsmith (Murray, Riddick and Green 1990, 86). It seems likely that the eastern room was divided in two, perhaps to establish storage space behind the retail area.

Also of interest are the doors that appear in the illustration from 1830 (Figure 126) (YORAG R3166), which show the eastern side of the elevation facing Blake Street. For while there are two doors, it is unlikely that one was used exclusively by servants. Mark Girouard (1978) and the Stones (1984) have written how architecture was increasingly being used in the late eighteenth century, at least at an elite level, to facilitate the separation of masters and servants. These included separate staircases, with a back staircase for servants and a formal, grand one for the owners, and the use of attic rooms for servants' bedrooms, bell pulls and servants halls. This information is regularly used by contemporary historians (Vickery 2009, 27; Schlarman 2003, 22), despite the fact that the data is either heavily dependent on the houses of the high elites or based on small sample sizes. This leads scholars such as Tim Meldrum (2000, 78) to warn against architectural determinism and to say that concepts such as privacy 'cannot be read straight from the fabric of contemporary buildings'. Meldrum goes further. He questions the value of 'architectural intent' (Meldrum 2000, 37) as a gauge of how people live and also whether a link can reasonably be made between sentiment (in this case the desire for privacy) and architecture.

In both these arguments Meldrum's use of architectural data is problematic. Firstly, regardless of architectural intent, the building has been constructed in a certain way. This can be subsequently adapted and therefore careful attention has to be paid to the phasing of the building and the dating of features. However, it is strange to deny that this fabric had little effect either on how people circulated through the house or how it was utilized and perceived by others. Secondly, while the *desire* for privacy is difficult to read from a building, the fabric can illuminate the possibilities and constraints for privacy that arise both from new eighteenth-century houses and older medieval ones that have been altered. Certainly scholars such as Vickery and Meldrum have produced more nuanced readings of privacy, with Vickery (2009, 34) analyzing the affects of lodgers on domestic space and Meldrum (2000, 29) examines the spatial extent of servants' lives. However, while this documentary data is illuminating, it seems historians are unaware of the complexities that exist within the surviving fabric of eighteenth-century houses.

Returning to No 25, here we have a segregation, not between masters and servants, but between residents and customers. As noted above, the central door leading to the shop is more elaborate than the one accessing the stairs and the domestic spaces. Historians have noted that terms such as the 'household' and indeed the 'family' would often include both blood relatives and those in domestic service, and that servants were included in the private world of the household as opposed to that of the outside world (Tadmor 2001, 272; Meldrum 1999, 29). This certainly seems to be the case with No 25, with the privilege of separate access accorded to customers, while owners, servants and guests entered through the side door. There is only one large staircase, which appears to be a nineteenth-century replacement (NMR No 25 Blake Street, page 1), and therefore once again all users of the house, regardless of their status, would have had to utilise it. This issue is also exacerbated by the restricted layout of the house. There are two rooms to a floor, separated by a central staircase. There is no side corridor, which means that the visibility of the servants would also have been prominent. The lack of a side corridor also lessens the degree of privacy for family members using the principal rooms.

Again there is no will for Francis Consitt, so it is difficult to assess his wealth. However, using lack of funds as an explanation for the restrictions of the

building is problematic. The plans and elevations that Consitt submitted to the Corporation point to the employment of an architect (YCA B45 House Book, 25 February 1785). Also, both the materials and decorations used in the property are of high quality. The front elevation is well-proportioned using red brick, built with the specific intent of being 'handsome' to those observing it from the street. Also some fine decorative features included inside point to the use of rooms for entertainment. It seems safe then to include Consitt within the ranks of the lesser gentry, and that the house was used as a means to participate in polite society. How then did these restrictions manifest in the use of rooms within the house?

As has been noted, the ground floor has been heavily modernised, but the upper floors were inspected by the Royal Commission. The eastern room on the first floor is roughly trapezoidal in shape. It was probably the main reception room as it is recorded to have a deep cyma recta cornice of some elaboration (NMR No 25 Blake Street, page 2). It is also on this side of the house that rooms that were approximately neat and square were able to be produced. Yet this does not mean that the room was ideally suited to entertaining, as it is also fairly cramped, being only 20 feet by 11 feet. The western room forms a dog-leg and was probably the main bedroom. Although the cornice present here is also cyma recta in form, it is far shallower and less elaborate than in the eastern room (*ibid*). There is a partition at the northern end forming a narrow closet which may well have functioned either as a dressing room or as a sleeping space for servants. On the second floor, the eastern room is again the principal site of decorative investment, although the cornice is not quite as elaborate as that on the first floor (NMR No 25 Blake Street, page 3). The western room is far smaller than its counterpart below and only runs in a narrow strip along the front of the building, being 22 feet by 6 feet. There appears to be no cornice in this room or in the rooms on the third floor (NMR No 25 Blake Street, page 4).

To some extent, the evidence from No 25 accords well with data gathered from other houses. In particular, No 5 and Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate. These houses show that the presence of a shop on the ground floor can disrupt the decorative language within the house. The first floor, using the evidence of internal decoration, is still used for the main reception room. It would therefore follow the design of private houses and provide guests with a similar experience.

The second floors of private houses were usually used as bedrooms and here either decoration in the form of cornices ceased or were extremely simple, However, where a building also includes a shop, the second floor appears to have been utilised as a substitute ground floor. This is seen in No 25, with the fine cornice in the eastern room, probably signifying a parlour or dining room. The lack of elaboration on the third floor is also consistent, as they would have been used as private bedrooms.

As was the case with the exterior elevations, No 25 also has some contradictions. It departs from the usual decorative language as the eastern side of the building appears to have been heavily favoured. Typically each floor has roughly the same level of decoration. So even though, in a narrow-fronted house, the first floor would consist of both a drawing room and a bedroom, both would receive the same decorative attention. This is not the case at No 25, as on both the first and second floors the western room received far less attention, with the implication being that those rooms were not used for entertaining. This may well have been because of their unusual sizes, caused by the old medieval streetline on which the uneven plot was placed.

Therefore in the case of No 25, as in other houses in York that were adapted from or constrained by older buildings, preference was given to those rooms that were neat, square spaces and could be easily molded to Georgian expectations. Those rooms that were unusual, or extremely narrow, in the case of the second-floor western room, were used by the family and servants but were not exposed to visitors. Even though these areas were not areas of public display, their existence would lead to alterations in the typical layout of the house. This would not only disrupt the language of decoration and plan form that helped to guide visitors through a house, it also signalled to those visitors that something was amiss and that provide a clue that the house had an older pedigree than perhaps its external appearance indicated.

No 15 Stonegate

This three-storey building (Figures 128, 129, 130, 131) is situated on the corner of Little Stonegate. It is formed from two wings dating to the fifteenth century (RCHME 1981, 228). In the mid-eighteenth century the eastern elevation facing Stonegate and the southern one facing Little Stonegate were refaced in brick.

The eastern façade is three bays wide and is in the Palladian style, made of brick in Flemish bond. On the ground floor are two nineteenth-century bay windows, with a central doorway, which has fluted jambs with moulded caps (NMR No 15 Stonegate, page 1). The first floor has two sash windows with moulded stone surrounds. The third, central, sash has a dentilled pediment on moulded brackets and an apron with balusters below. There is a broad band serving as a continuous sill to the first-floor windows and the nineteenth-century windows may mask a corresponding band below, which was a distinctive Palladian feature (RCHME 1972b, lxxxi). On the second floor are three sash windows, again with stone surrounds, and also with flat-headed arches of finely gauged brick. Above these is a deep moulded projecting cornice with modillions.

The southern elevation to Stonegate encompasses both the front and back wings. The front wing is one bay deep, and the rear three bays deep. The front wing is three storeys high, with an attic at the top. The sash windows on the first and second floors have moulded stone surrounds and flat-arch brick lintels. There are the remains of a plat band forming a sill for the first-floor window and the attic is lit by a semi-circular window. The rear wing is, in contrast, only two storeys high, built in Flemish bond. The ground floor is modernised, but the first floor has three sash windows with flat-arched brick lintels. Above these is a moulded and dentilled cornice, although of considerably less depth and elaboration than that on the western elevation.

The original property was a stable and loft that formed part of an inn named the King's Head (RCHME 1981, 228). It was linked to Nos 17 and 19 Stonegate, which is a three storey timber-framed building, three bays wide, with jettying on two floors. The alterations in the mid-eighteenth century were probably carried out by William Fleming, a bricklayer, who was the tenant in 1747 (*ibid*). No further details survive on Fleming, or the subsequent tenants. This is unfortunate, as the construction of detailed buildings biographies is particularly useful in illuminating how house and owner influenced each other and how the building was used and perceived. However, this does not mean No 15 has nothing to tell us.

Firstly the front elevation, facing Stonegate, is an unusual example of such sophisticated workmanship in late-eighteenth-century York (Hutchinson, nd). The use of the Palladian style is surprisingly elaborate, with well-

proportioned windows. In particular, details such as the central window on the first floor, with its pediment and apron, are rarely found in houses of this size in York. No 15 is only three bays wide and could not even be classed as a double-fronted house. As was noted in the case of 11 and 12 High Ousegate, decorative features such as these are usually only found in the large, prestigious mansion houses in the city, such as Castlegate House, the Old Residence in the Minster Yard and the civic Mansion House. The use of such elegant features in the front of No 15, would certainly have made the building stand out. This is particularly true in light of the context of the street, as it would have stood in marked contrast to the large timber-framed building next door, of which it was originally part, as well as many of the other houses along the street. It might be tempting to see this as an example of nouveau-riche aspiration, with a building that is just too sophisticated for its surroundings. William Fleming's finances are not known, but he must have had enough money to build the property and his occupation, that of a bricklayer, does not fit neatly into the list of polite trades of the leading merchants of the city. However, this is a problematic assumption. There are certainly other examples of fine houses in older surroundings. Cumberland House is a notable example of this. This large property with its elaborate interior was built in 1710 by William Cornwall, who twice served as Lord Mayor, and was also occupied by the Duke of Cumberland in 1746, after the Battle of Culloden (RCHME 1981, 151). This certainly puts it among the first rank of residences in York, yet it was also situated on the First Water Lane, which as we have seen was one of the poorest areas of the city. It therefore seems likely that contemporaries did not perceive houses such as No 15 Stonegate and Cumberland House as being out of place in their surroundings, or that the juxtaposition reflected negatively on either the taste of the owner or the architectural merits of the house. It is also worth noting that although William Fleming is listed as the occupier, this does not preclude him from having sub-let the property and that No 15 was an example of speculative building, aimed at attracting a high-status private tenant or a wealthy tradesman.

The interior of the property also needs to be examined. The ground floor has been largely modernized, yet contains some interesting features. It consists of two rooms, with one room largely occupying the front wing and the other

occupying the rear wing. At the extreme south-east end at the rear is a narrow transverse passageway, that was either added or rebuilt in the late nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 228). This passageway leads to the south-eastern hallway through a moulded plaster archway supported by pilasters with fluted imposts (Figure 132). The arch is also probably of nineteenth-century date. However, there are some original features. These include three cased beams in the front room (Figure 133), including a dragon beam, and one in the rear room. It is probable that these were cased in the eighteenth century, however their medieval, timber-framed origins would have been very apparent to any visitors or customers. Their presence would have been very obvious given the lack of any such features in new Georgian buildings. This, therefore, creates a marked dichotomy between the elegant Palladian exterior, which includes decorative elements worthy of a mansion house, and the downstairs interiors, with their reminders of older forms of architectural fashion and building materials. However, the front room is not entirely devoid of eighteenth-century features, as it also contains a deep projecting moulded cornice (Figure 134). Old and new features therefore existed together. Was this incongruous to residents and visitors? Or would the presence of these contrasting features come into focus at different times and also depending on the social level of visitors?

There is also the probability that the passageway at the end of the rear block was rebuilt rather than added to the existing structure. The Royal Commission note that the roof construction points to this possibility and this is strengthened by evidence from the southern elevation (Figure 135). Here the eighteenth-century brickwork changes abruptly after the window at the south-east end. The two-storey structure continues, with nineteenth-century brickwork, for approximately four feet before meeting the main nineteenth-century wing, which is noticeably taller. The probability of the wing terminating directly after a window is remote, given its visibility to Little Stonegate and the well-proportioned nature of the western elevation. It seems likely that either the rear room continued further back or that a passageway of some kind existed here in the eighteenth century. This is significant as the passage also includes a door at the southern end, leading onto Little Stonegate. The presence of a door here accords well with the other evidence from Stonegate, for side entrances to domestic space that are separate from the main doorway to the shop. If No 15

was not used as commercial space, then it could have been used as a servant's entrance.

On the first floor, there is more extensive evidence. The front room contains a moulded, dentilled plaster cornice (Figure 136). Yet, once again, the room also has cased ceiling beams, highlighting the older fabric. The rear wing is 14 inches lower than the front room and is made up of two rooms with a passage to the eastern side. The first room has a moulded cornice, of similar design to the one in the ground-floor front room, although not quite as deep (Figure 137). It is also bisected in two by a segmented archway, with continuous mouldings on the head and jambs. The second room has a duplicate moulding, but it also originally encompassed the passageway, as the cornice extends into this space.

On the second floor, the front wing has two rooms to the front, with a small closet room behind on the south side. These rooms have no cornices and intersecting ceiling beams. The south-west room has panelling of seventeenth-century date on one of the walls (some reset), although there may originally have been more as the Royal Commission records that the walls are 'covered' with panelling (NMR No 15 Stonegate, page 4). The room to the north-east, has reset seventeenth-century panelling on one wall and also two sections of exposed timber-frame (Figures 138, 139). The attic again contains two rooms to the front, bisected by the staircase.

Considering the evidence for these rooms, the decorative scheme is much more consistent with a private residence than with a building that contains a shop at ground-floor level. This in particularly true with regard to the rooms on the second floor, which are small and have minimal or reset decoration, as well as exposed sections of timber-frame. In other properties containing shops, these rooms have some degree of elaboration and are used for entertaining or as parlours, replacing the rooms on the ground floor taken up by retail space. The rest of the house also accords with the typical language of eighteenth-century homes. The first-floor front room has the most elaborate decoration, with its dentilled cornice, and was probably the drawing room. The ground-floor front room, with its deep moulded cornice, is next, closely followed by the first-floor back rooms, which were probably a dressing room, possibly also used for entertaining, leading into a bedroom. This leaves two bedrooms on the second

floor, where there was distinct lack of decoration and greater exposure of its medieval origins. These would, of course, be seen by the residents of the house, but as has been observed in other York houses, this seems to be acceptable if such details were not exposed to visitors. As in the case of No 25 Blake Street, this puts the servants and owners in the same category of the household, privy to the unadorned parts of the house, kept hidden from the outside. Here public display is all and much less attention is given to display in more private rooms simply for personal enjoyment.

Yet as already noted, the elegant Palladian front elevation gives no hint of the property's medieval origins, presenting a unified stylistic front to those passing in the street. However, that unity is shattered as soon as one enters and the wide cased beams are revealed on the ground-floor ceiling. A disjunction is therefore revealed between the interior and exterior, with owners and visitors gaining a different perspective than offered to pedestrians. These cased beams run throughout the interior and those older features are present in the same space as Georgian decorative cornices and archways. This disjunction between interior and exterior certainly provides two perspectives, but as noted already it does not necessarily mean that the lack of neat square rooms and unified Classical features necessarily put the owners at a disadvantage when entertaining other members of polite society.

Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate

This is a large three-storey house (Figures 140, 141) dating to around 1740 (RCHME 1981, 222). It is a double-pile house, with three to four rooms to a floor, although the fenestration is quite limited being only two bays wide. It is built of brick, in Flemish bond. On the first storey, the southern window has been replaced by a shallow bow window in the late eighteenth century, but the other is a sash with a flat-arched lintel of finely gauged bricks. Below these is a band forming a continuous sill for the first-floor windows. On the second storey, both sashes are original, again with brick lintels. Above these is a four-course brick band, over which is a stone-capped brick parapet.

Nos 18 and 20 were built in 1747 by Theophilus Garencieres (RCHME 1981, 222), an apothecary. The Royal Commission note that it was only converted into shops in the late nineteenth century, however a newspaper

advertisement from the mid-eighteenth century describe it as: 'In Stonegate, York, (well situated for business), THE HOUSE, SHOP, and GARDEN' (*YC* 4 February 1755). Garenciers therefore conducted his apothecary business in the house, as well as living in it. The 1755 advertisement announces that the property was available for renting, however it is likely that either this let did not occur or that occupation later reverted to the Garencieres, for in 1781 and 1787 his son, Theophilus Davye Garencieres, is listed in the trade directories as being an apothecary in Stonegate (Bailey's *Northern Directory*, *The York Guide*). When Theophilus Garencieres died in Malton in 1784, his obituary states that he resided in York 'upwards of 36 Years, in which Professional Character he was equalled by few' (*YC* 20 January 1784).

The Garencieres were also a genteel family. Theophilus Davye's obituary relates that 'This Gentleman was of an ancient family… of the male line of one of the Chaplains to William the Conqueror, who came over with him to this Kingdom' (*YC* 14 March 1803). This heritage is made poignant by its loss, as Theophilus Davye died without an heir, his only son having died suddenly in 1797 (*YH* 8 April 1797). His son was a lieutenant, serving on *The Queen*, a man of war, and was taken ill with yellow fever while on Cape St Nichola Mole. As the newspaper touchingly states 'He landed in the Island only three days before, and was then in perfect health.' The elder Garencieres served as Sheriff in 1771 and his son was an alderman who was Lord Mayor in 1796. Both receive glowing obituaries, with Theophilus Garencieres being described as a 'gentleman' (*YC* 20 January 1784), while Theophilus Davye is listed as 'Esq' (*YC* 14 March 1803).

The frontage of Nos 18 and 20 is handsome, but is nowhere near the quality of No 15, particularly in regard to the latter's Palladian features. The interior tells a different story. The interior was examined by the Royal Commission, and while permission was not granted for this researcher to conduct a photographic survey, the first two storeys of the shop are open to the public and were available to be observed. On the first and second storeys, there are three main rooms per floor, with a central corridor leading to the main staircase at the back. The north-eastern quarter of the house to the rear is taken up by a secondary staircase and two small closet rooms.

The ground-floor front rooms have been largely modernised, although there is the remains of a fairly simple cornice with fillets within them. However,

the north-west room to the rear, is fully panelled with raised surrounds and sunk panels (Figure 142) (NMR No 18 and 20 Stonegate, page 2). It also has a deep projecting moulded cornice, with dentils and modillions. The central staircase has an open string to the first half landing, after which it is of false cantilever construction, in common with other large houses in York of the period, including No 24 St Saviourgate and even probably the Mansion House (RCHME 1981, lxxxix). The first half landing was originally lit by a round-arched sash window, which now forms the entrance to the later rear wing (NMR No 18 and 20 Stonegate, page 2). At the head of the stairs on the first floor is a segmental arch, with plain pilasters and moulded imposts. The stairwell also has a modillioned cornice, similar to the ground floor, although without the dentilling (Figure 143). The Royal Commission only recorded the south-west room to the front, which has a dado rail with plain skirting and a fine projecting cornice. The other rooms are open to the public and show that the other front room to the east has an identical cornice that to the west. The room to the rear, to the north west, has a cornice with a similar profile, however, it is even deeper and more elaborate.

This evidence shows an interesting progression of decorative embellishment through the house. The ground floor front rooms have, as might be expected, fairly simple cornices suitable for a shop interior. The room to the south-west is noticeably larger than that to the east and was undoubtedly used as a shop, given the newspaper advertisement which demonstrated the presence of one (*YC* 4 February 1755). The one to the east may also have been used as commercial space or as a family room. The room to the rear is one of the finest in the house, with sunken panelling and a cornice enriched by both dentils and modillions and would have been used for private entertaining, probably as a dining room. The position of dining-rooms in eighteenth-century houses is uncertain and could be situated on either the ground or first floors, though the use of the ground floor was usually more common in rural locations and in narrow-fronted town houses (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 54). The raising of the dining room is also especially prevalent in houses where the ground floor was used for business (*ibid* 1990, 67). Therefore the size of Nos 18 and 20 might suggest that the panelled room was not used as a dining room, particularly given its proximity to the shop space directly in front of it. However, there are

examples in York of double-pile houses with dining rooms on the ground floor, including Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate in Chapter 3 and No 49 Bootham in Chapter 6. Panelling is also a common feature of high-status dining rooms in York and therefore it is probable that the paneled room in Nos 18 and 20 was used as a dining room.

Even though this room was used for entertaining, despite its placement behind the shop space, indicates that it was probably also used to entertain more illustrious clients. This element of the business many have been more important to an apothecary, given the private and potentially embarrassing nature of many illness. It would therefore have been useful, and perhaps even vital, for apothecaries dealing with high-status clients to have a private room in which the clients could discuss their ailments away from casual passersby entering the front shop. This indicates that there was not always strict demarcation between domestic and retail space and that room use could vary according to the time of day and the company present, particularly whether they were guests or clients. The fluid nature of space can also be seen at No 35 Stonegate, which we will examine later in the chapter. In the case of Nos 18 and 20, it is interesting as it indicates that a high level of decorative investment was focused on display for customers as much as for guests.

The first floor was undoubtedly used to entertain, indicated by the cantilevered staircase and particularly the stairwell with its modillioned cornice (the only other one in the house) and the archway leading to the rooms. However, the first floor also has unusual features. There are fine, deep cornices in all three rooms, typical of rooms used for show. Yet the room with the deepest, most elaborate cornice is the not to the front, as might be expected but to the rear. The moulding profiles of these first-floor rooms are very similar, so the difference is largely one of depth. This does suggest that this rear room was singled out for decorative treatment. The reasons for this are not readily apparent. On the first floor there is not the excuse of having to accommodate a shop at the front of the house, and given the space accorded to business on the ground floor, it is unlikely that clients were admitted upstairs. It may indicate a desire to further retreat from the noise of the street, yet it also disrupts to some degree the progression through the house expected by guests. Either this back

room was a bedroom or dressing room with privileged decoration, or it was a drawing room in an unusual position.

The relationship between commercial and domestic space is also significant. Although the present shop front does not date to the eighteenth century, it is highly likely that the original one incorporated its own entrance. Therefore the present one, leading to the original central hallway would have been used exclusively by the household. This, therefore, accords well with the evidence we have so far seen of commercial premises in York, where the shop and domestic areas are accessed separately. The hallway itself provides individual access to each of the rooms on the ground floor, thus also helping to differentiate and contain commercial and private space. The staircases are also of interest. As in other houses observed in York, the fine main staircase only rises to the first floor. The secondary or 'servants' staircase' rises the full height of the house. Therefore in order to access the bedrooms on the second floor, the occupiers would have had to use the servants' staircase. As we have already seen in several houses in Stonegate, this places the owners and servants on a similar footing as part of a larger household. This household is distinguished from outside guests by the degree of access to private parts of the house, notably the second floor and the external staircase. These private areas are significantly less decorated that the public areas of the house and highlight how elaboration in houses belonging to the lesser gentry, at least in the eighteenth century, was much more concerned with outward show than private enjoyment.

A few final points should be made. The first concerns the rear extension that was built around the beginning of the nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 222). This of two storeys and provides a long, thin room, roughly half the width of the frontage. On the first floor, this would in all probability provide an extra bedroom. However, it is the ground floor that is intriguing. In 1793 the medicated baths opened on Stonegate. A later advertisement describes the 'the many CURES and great RELIEF which have been received by numbers since the first institution of the BATHS' (*YH* 12 July 1794). The catalogue in the York Library lists this as belonging to Garencieres, although unfortunately the corresponding newspaper article is no longer extant. However, there is some corroborating evidence. The trade directory for 1798 (Universal British Directory Vol IV 1798) gives no separate listing for the medicated baths, it

therefore seems likely that they were run by a related tradesman such as an apothecary. In 1787 (*The York Guide*), only two apothecaries were listed and one of which was Garencieres and the other John Terry. By 1798, Garencieres had moved to Blake Street, but in Stonegate the directory still only listed John Terry, who had elevated his description to that of surgeon. It is therefore likely that one of these two men operated the medicated baths, with some weight leaning towards Garencieres given the catalogue listing. This interpretation is given added weight by the will of Dorothea Bethell who lived at a fine house on Bootham (No 33) and who we will meet again in Chapter 6. In the will Bethell gives five guineas to Mr Garencieres 'for the many hot and cold baths he has had upon my account' (BIUY PR 121, folio 212v)

Yet regardless of who was running the baths, there were some interesting implications for privacy. The 1794 advert states that 'they [the baths] are constantly kept open, and that a bath may be had at any hour of the day, by giving two hours previous notice at the Baths in Stonegate, York' (*YH* 12 July 1794). A bath would occasion greater need for privacy than afforded by a shop opening out onto the street and may explain the rear extension to Nos 18 and 20. This has little in the way of decorative embellishment, particularly on the ground floor where there is no evidence of a cornice. The opening of the medicated baths in 1793 accords well with the early-nineteenth-century date for the extension and may represent the need for commercial space that also had a degree of privacy. Yet, from the evidence of Dorothea Bethell's will, it was also a space that was not encountered along gender lines with female attendants giving baths to female clients and visa versa. Bethell was undoubtedly clothed while Mr Garencieres was giving her a bath but this would still have been an intimate social encounter, particularly in relation to the necessity for physical contact. While Garencieres was in Stonegate he was only an apothecary, therefore routine physical contact with his patients would have been minimal. The baths therefore created an intimacy and bodily proximity that was akin to that between a dressmaker or tailor and their clients but ignored segregation according to gender. The familiarity of this relationship is further emphasised by Garencieres being one of the witnesses to Dorothea Bethell's will.

The juxtaposition between the well-decorated interior and the exterior is also worth commenting on. The exterior, while generally smart and in the

classical vernacular of York, was far below the more elegant examples, particularly with regard to fenestration. A house of this size would be expected to have five windows to a floor, yet Nos 18 and 20 only has two. This is strange given the need for Garencieres to attract business with a fine shop display. Perhaps, the family name and position provided enough contacts and weight of reputation that such details were not so important. However, it contrasts with No 33, slightly further up the street, which was owned by an apothecary named Palmer in 1813. The house was illustrated by Henry Cave (R3463) and shows a large three-storey building that was built in the early seventeenth century (Figure 144) (RCHME 1981, 232). Yet what is of interest is the elaborate pargetting the illustration shows, which has unfortunately not survived. Although the building was timber-framed, the decoration would have proclaimed the building's high status. Also the pargetting was extremely unusual in York and made the building stand out as a landmark, something very useful to a commercial business.

No 31 Stonegate

This building (Figures 145, 146, 147, 148) seemingly dates to the late seventeenth century, although it was refronted in the late eighteenth century (RCHME 1981, 231). It is a narrow-fronted house, three-storeys high (with attics and cellars) and two rooms to a floor. On the north side is a covered passageway leading to Coffee Yard, which runs under the front half of the building and then runs alongside the back half, creating a roughly L-Shaped plan to the property on the first floor and upwards. It is built of good brick and while the ground floor has been largely modernized, Henry Cave's 1813 illustration (Figure 149) (Cave 1813, Plate II, YORAG R134) shows a shop front with a Regency bow window. Just above the ground floor is a fascia carried across the façade. This has applied ornamentation with floral paterae, of late-eighteenth-century date, in the Adamesque style (NMR No 31 Stonegate, page 1).

On the floors above there are two sash windows to a floor, all with flat-arched lintels of finely gauged brick. Two plat bands runs just below the first-floor windows, with one just above the fascia and a thinner band above serving as a continuous sill to the first floor windows. This is a distinctive Palladian feature, found in other houses in York such as Fairfax House and St Saviour's

Place (RCHME 1981, lxxviii). The eaves cornice is modern. The side elevation to the North East running to Coffee Yard is built in random bond and has a window and doorcase on the ground floor just after the covered passage and a blocked window in the rear block. The window has a flat arch, although of common rather than gauged brick. The entablature of the door architrave has enriched decoration in applied composition, with cherubs and floral pateraea and the jambs have transverse fluting and rosettes (Figure 147).

Turning first to the date of the building ascribed by the Royal Commission. This is problematic as there is evidence to suggest that this was originally a timber-framed structure. To begin with, although the front elevation is made of brick, the first floor is jettied. The ground floor is level with neighbouring shop fronts but the upper floors project out into the street. This is highly unusual in newly-built brick buildings and is a feature strongly associated with timber-framed buildings. Also in the second-floor front room is a transverse cased beam running parallel to the street and the remains of a wall plate on the north wall and a tie-beam on the east wall. Again, these are highly unusual features to find in properties newly built of brick. It therefore seems probable that the present structure incorporates elements of an earlier timber-framed building. It is also interesting that the illustration by Cave (Figure 149) (1813, plate II, YORAG R134) portrays this as a stuccoed timber-framed building, with jettying on the first and second floors. By 1814 No 31 had certainly been refaced and Cave is therefore taking liberties with his portrayal of Stonegate by making building appear more authentically medieval (the title of his collection is *Antiquities* after all). The only other building that Cave alters is this way is No 15, a building we know was originally timber-framed. It seems probable then that Cave also had reasons for believing that No 31 encased an earlier structure.

It seems credible to push the original building date back to the early seventeenth century, as from 1644/5 onwards it was illegal to use timber-framing in York (RCHME 1972b, lxxx), and the building was then subsequently remodelled. Although the signs of this earlier building may seem ephemeral, they are very visible from the street where the jettying would signal the presence of the older structure to passers by. This is particularly the case in York, where the presence of numerous medieval buildings would have made residents

knowledgeable and familiar with this feature. So despite the fine brickwork and the beautiful applied decoration on the shop fascia, the building was not a pure example of Georgian style, which could be admired unconditionally. It carried with it contradictions, in particular evoking an older style and older form of living that interacted and had a dialogue with the classical Georgian style and its overtones of order and regulation.

The ornamentation on the exterior was originally thought by the Royal Commission to be ascribed to the Wolstenholme family of carvers and gilders (NMR No 31 Stonegate, page 1) who provided much of the applied ornament in York during the late eighteenth century (RCHME 1981, lxxxii). Yet this changed when the owner of the property was discovered. It was owned by John Staveley, a carver and guilder (NMR No 31 Stonegate, page 6), who together with his brother William operated a business in Stonegate in 1798 (*Universal British Directory* Vol IV 1798). It is therefore extremely probable that the high-quality work displayed at No 31 was carried out by the Staveleys. Although John Staveley owned the property, he did not live there and it was occupied by Thomas Briggs (NMR No 31 Stonegate, page 6). Thomas Briggs ran a coffee house on the site known as Brigg's Coffee House (*YH* 21 July 1798; *YH* 24 August 1799), although there had certainly been a coffee house here earlier as an auction of the premises in 1795 specifically names it as a 'A FREEHOLD COFFEE-HOUSE' and provides an accurate description of its location (*YH* 24 January 1795).

Before the use of the coffee house can be discussed, the interior must first be examined. As noted above, No 31 is two rooms in plan, with a staircase in the middle. On the ground floor the front room is truncated due to the presence of a side passage to the north, while in the upper floors the front room is over the passageway, covering the full width of the property. The ground floor rooms have little decorative embellishment, with no surviving cornices (Figure 150). The doorway in the side passage leads directly to the staircase, and is original above first-floor level, being of late-seventeenth-century design with a heavy string and bulbous balusters (RCHME 1981, 231). The first-floor front room has accomplished ornamentation in the form of a fireplace, the dado rail, skirting, door architrave and window, all of which are heavily enriched with applied composition by the Staveley brothers (Figures 151, 152). The motifs

include satyrs' heads and grapes, ribbons and floral pateraea. The level of decoration is very fine and rarely seen in a narrow-fronted house in York, as it is more usually associated with double-fronted mansion houses. The cornice however presents an unusual feature as it does not match the decoration elsewhere in the room, as it is a fairly simple coved cornice, although it is deep with reeding along the bottom, and is probably of early-nineteenth-century date.

The back room on the first floor is not nearly as elaborate, with no cornice or decoration apart from a fireplace with a bolection-moulded surround. On the second floor, the front room is once again a focus for ornamentation, although it is less elaborate than on the first floor. The fireplace has a simple surround, but with a decorative frieze, in the style of the other applied composition, with ribbons, husk garlands and floral pateraea (Figure 153). There is no cornice and the sash windows have simple cyma-reversa mouldings. There are some other interesting features, as already noted, there is a transverse cased beam running parallel to the street and the remains of a wall plate on the north wall and a tie-beam on the east wall (Figure 154). Both of these signify the remains of an older, timber-framed structure within the building, a message that would also be conveyed to visiting guests. The back room again has no cornice and only a simple fireplace. Above are two attic rooms.

The coffee house space is of significant interest. Much attention has been paid to the early years of the coffee house in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Cowan 2001, 2004, 2005; Ellis 2008), although some stimulating work has been carried out on the later Georgian period (Barrell 2006). In the early years coffee houses had one large room with one or more tables set out for customers to sit at (Figure 155) (Cowan 2005, 80). These were large communal tables designed for free sociability and have been viewed by Habermas as ushering in an era where notions of rank could be set aside by those entering the coffee house and within its walls free discussion was encouraged (Barrell 2006, 80). The space is therefore seen as helping to structure these social encounters, although this picture has been viewed as over-idealised by later scholars, in particular whether rank could possibly have been suspended in public (Barrell 2006; Cowan 2007). However pertinent to the discussion is that by the late eighteenth century many coffee houses also had

separate booths as well as communal tables (Figure 156, 157) (Cowan 2007, 1194). This had two effects, firstly the booths created private space for discussion, but this was part of a larger change in which customers were no longer expected to engage with the company at large but could relax, read and drink, talking only with their chosen companions and not have to debate their words with casual listeners in (*ibid*, 1199). However, John Barrell (2007, 75 and 86) has highlighted two cases in which this new convention was not observed and radical sentiments expressed in coffee houses resulted in prosecution. The case involving John Frost is particularly interesting as the defence lawyer, Erskine, utilised the argument that 'words spoken in a public coffee house were words spoken in a private place' (*ibid*, 83). Furthermore he also specifically used distinctions in rank to undermine the testimony of witnesses, highlighting a changing mood shift in the apparent 'equal' sociability earlier in the century. Erskine insisted that the principal accusers, a 'hosier's son, an upholsterer and an apothecary' did not have enough knowledge of social etiquette to distinguish between public and private (*ibid*, 84).

Some elements of the early coffee house certainly seems to have carried through into the late eighteenth century. A bar was present at the head of the room and behind this the keeper of the coffee house would prepare the coffee and other drinks for customers, which would then be carried by serving staff (Cowan 2005, 80). This practice seems to have a long continuity as illustrations from 1800 (Answell's 'The New Blenheim Drop') and 1809 (Rowlandson's 'A Mad Dog in a Coffee House') (Figure 158) both show the presence of keepers behind waist-high wooden bars.

Using this research already conducted by scholars, it is possible to interpret the layout of No 31. There is very little ornamentation on the ground floor in the form of surviving cornices or panelling, and given the high survival elsewhere in the house and in York generally, such decoration probably did not exist originally. This accords well with the illustrative evidence (See Barrell 2006; Cowan 2005 and 2007; Ellis 2008) for many illustrations of eighteenth-century coffee houses depict bare floorboards and spare rooms with few decorative embellishments. The small front room on the ground floor was probably where the bar for preparing drinks was located while the back room was the main coffee room. However, of note is the small size of this back room.

It measures only 13 feet wide by 27 feet deep. Therefore accommodating rows of individual stalls (which would need to be at least six foot wide), open space for customers and serving staff to pass freely and possibly central tables, would be difficult. Although Thomas Rowlinson's 1809 print depicts a fight in a coffee house, the press of men and cramped conditions it shows might be typical of a smaller establishment. As Barrell (2006, 92) notes, true privacy from other listeners was impossible in a coffee house, given the slim partitions, and that it was something of a leisure pursuit to eavesdrop on others' conversations. Yet while it might be acceptable to overhear these discussions, it was important not to take notice of them and to interrupt or interrogate those talking in a private booth. No 31 shows how the physical space would exacerbate such issues and, dependent on the number of customers present, eavesdropping on private conversations would be inevitable. The convention of polite deafness would therefore have been brought particularly to the fore.

Yet these cramped conditions can also be found at another property in York where it can be established that it contained a coffee house in the eighteenth century. This is No 57 Low Petergate (Figure 159). This was originally built as a three-storey timber-framed building of two bays, jettied towards Petergate (RCHME 1981, 194). In the early nineteenth century the jetties were removed and the front elevation refronted in brick, while later in the century the frontage was reduced to one bay when Grape Lane was widened. There is also a rear wing, which appears to be basically timber-framed and although it has been much altered over the years, the present wing occupies roughly the same plot as it did in previously (NMR No 57 Low Petergate, page 2). Although the front range has been reduced by one bay, the rear wing is on a different alignment and always seems to have been one bay wide, running at a diagonal angle into Grape Lane. Therefore its width and length is roughly as it would have been before the widening at the head of the street in the late nineteenth century.

A newspaper advert from 1755 locates Perkins' Coffee House as 'fronting Petergate and Grape-Lane' (*YC* 22 October 1754). The only other property matching this description is Nos 59-63 Low Petergate, yet documentary evidence has linked this to Thomas Marfitt who built the house in 1746 and left it to his nephew, Thomas, on his death in 1766 (RCHME 1981, 194). Therefore

the attribution of No 57 as the site of Perkins' Coffee House is secure. As in No 31 Stonegate, the long narrow wing to the rear is in all probability the site of the main coffee room. This is strengthened by the description of the property as having a 'large Coffee-Room, and a larger chamber over' (*YC* 22 October 1754). The rear wing is roughly 14 feet wide by 42 feet deep. The room is considerably longer than in No 31. This would allow more seating, with perhaps one area for private booths and one for communal tables. However, the width is important, as it is scarcely wider than No 31 and the same problems would have arisen here. Private booths would have taken up considerable space, with little room for customers and staff to pass each other without the danger of jostling and awkward physical encounters. This is particularly true in a coffee house where the spilling of hot drinks was an added danger. A scene such as this is even the subject of an 1804 illustration by C. Lamb after G.M. Woodward ('A Sudden Thought') (Figure 157) which shows an elderly gentleman berating a young dandy, and pointing to a mass of broken glass or crockery and liquid spilling out onto the floor. The property's location is also reminiscent of another print. This one is by W.H. Prior and depicts Garraway's Coffee House before demolition (Figure 160). Although the shop frontage is Victorian, the shape of the plot is of interest. It depicts a corner location, with a narrow frontage and long returning back wing, very similar to No 57 Low Petergate and even, to some degree, to No 31 Stonegate. Corner sites seem to be a preference location for coffee houses and this may be that it was easier in these plots to create the long room needed for the main coffee room. This would be especially true in towns such as York where new buildings were often constrained by the old street layouts and the medieval burgage plots. However, it should be noted that not all coffee houses in York were small and narrow. In 1771, William Nicholson, who had taken the coffee house next to the George in Coney Street proclaimed in an advert the opening of 'A pleasant, new-built, large room, 37 Feet by 24 wide, and 14 Feet high' (*YC* 13 August 1771). This is considerably larger than the ones previously encountered and he specifically appears to be singling out members of the gentry to be his customers as he goes on to say it 'will be opened during the Race-Week for the Convenience of Gentlemen of the Turf.'

Yet drinking and reading newspapers and periodicals were not the only activities associated with coffee houses and York newspaper adverts from the

period, referencing numerous establishments, highlight the range of pursuits they could accommodate. Auctions were commonly held in coffee houses, selling houses, furniture and other goods. Brigg's certainly held auctions (*YH* 21 July 1798; *YH* 24 August 1799), which were probably held away from the public coffee room. Most coffee houses had rooms that could be booked for private functions (Barrell 2006, 76) and the first-floor back room is an obvious candidate for this in No 31. The front room includes some particularly fine decoration, however we have already established that ornamentation was not particularly required in coffee houses. It seems to be a rare instance in eighteenth-century consumption where at least some gestures towards fine interior details, at least in the form of a modest cornice, were not required. It is therefore likely that the front room was used for private entertaining and the back room for paying customers.

Other activities situated in coffee houses included the purchase of concert tickets, such as the 'CONCERT of Vocal and Instrumental Musick' in 'Mr. HAUGHTON'S Great Room in the *Minster-Yard*' in 1732, tickets for which could be purchased at the Greatian and Phil's coffee houses on Petergate and Carr's coffee house in Minster Yard (*YC* 27 February 1732/3). More dubious pleasures could also be purchased, such as 'an excellent purging Mineral WATER' at Harrison's Coffee House, 'An Account of its Virtues and the Experiments tried upon it may be seen at the said Coffee-House' (*YC* 8 July 1740).

Coffee Houses were also the venues for the meetings of particular societies. The York Convivial Society met at Baynes' Coffee House, where on one occasion they were served dinner at three o'clock precisely (*YC* 13 January 1806). Inns were also used for such meetings and these sometimes had a political dimension. The Rockingham Club met at the Black Swan on Coney Street (*YC* 25 September 1764) and in 1741 the Whig interest met at the George Inn, principally because the owner, Christopher Oldfield, was a passionate supporter and gave guarantees of quiet to his guests (Curtis 1929, 16). Clubs could also have ecclesiastical or literary focuses and Laurence Sterne, the later author of *Tristram Shandy*, was a member of a club that met at Sunton's Coffee House, near the George Inn (Cross 1909, 153). The presence of these clubs could therefore induce exclusion as well as sociability and create tensions between club members and other customers. This has been detailed by Ellis (2004, 179),

where in the 1750s the stockbrokers of Jonathan's Coffee House in London attempted to eject casual customers and create a space to which they would have exclusive use for three hours a day. The attempt failed but it demonstrates the tensions associated with such spaces. The close quarters of many coffee houses such as No 31 Stonegate in York, where overheard conversations were inevitable, would have led at certain times to these being contested spaces where the architecture and fittings, such as booths, provide only a flimsy veneer of separation which does not translate into actual physical privacy.

Another important point to raise is the masculine tenor of coffee houses. Recent work by historians has shown that there were cases of genteel women being present in coffee houses, yet these instances are not numerous and they mostly date to the Restoration era and the early eighteenth century (Cowan 2001, 143). Exceptional women do seem to have found acceptance in the coffee house and when certain activities, such as auctions, were being conducted they were positively welcomed. However, the general focus of the space appears to have been a masculine one and particularly coffee-house conversation, which Barrell (2006, 85) describes as an 'exclusively masculine practice, even homosocial rite'. *The Northern Atalantis, or York Spy*, a fictional piece published in 1713, highlights the masculine environment of coffee houses and how women might not actually have wanted to enter them. It recounts how the male protagonists entered Parker's Coffee House, which was 'the common Rendezvous of the Political Tribe' where

> 'all the young Ladies of the Town were desected, that lay under the unhappy lash of some of those Humourists, who judge not according to the Merit of the Person, but gratifie their own splenatick Capricous Tempers, with Reflections, Lies and Scandal' (Bland 1713, 35).

Stonegate was one of the centres for coffee houses in York (Biggins 1953), yet there is also other evidence for a masculine focus to the street. This principally comes from trade directories, which list the trades being conducted in the street. The earliest thorough directory in York is from 1787 (*The York Guide*), and further ones date from 1798 (*Universal British Directory Vol IV* 1798) and 1816-17 (*Pigot's General Directory*). For example in 1787 there were 40 shops, which accords well with the plot divisions known at the time, indicating that most houses along the streets contained shops on the ground

floor. Yet it is the nature of these shops that is also of interest. Amanda Vickery (2006, 32, 34) has shown that men could be just as interested in consumption as women in the eighteenth century and that certain types of materials were often the province of either men or women. Men were also responsible for leather goods and while these were often associated with equipment for coaches and horses, this may well have carried over into leather goods in general. Retailers that specifically targeted male customers included wig makers, barbers, watchmakers, tailors, tobacconists, stationers, wine merchants, saddlers, and coach makers (Vickery 2009, 128). Books were also openly consumed by men and this will be further explored in No 33, the site of Todd's bookshop. This does not mean that these shops were exclusively patronised by men, however they had a male focus. Vickery (2006, 13) has demonstrated that men also bought other items, perhaps less openly as they may have had associations with women or luxury. The important point with regards to the current chapter is those shops that have specifically male associations.

Using the criteria outlined by Vickery, it is therefore possible to analyse the shops on Stonegate, looking specifically at those that had links with either men or women. The results show that in 1787, shops with associations with men accounted for 35 per cent of the total number, while those with links for women made up 17.5 per cent. This trend continues in 1797, with 39.4 per cent of shops focusing on men and 23 on women. Therefore, more than double the number of retail outlets in Stonegate in the eighteenth century were targeting men. Coupled with the presence of coffee houses, which were not listed in the directories, this situates Stonegate as a gendered space, which had a focus on male activities and consumption. This is not to imply that polite women did not enter this space, but it was very much geared towards men. This was strengthened by the presence of the nearby Minster and the clergymen associated with it. The church also owned numerous properties in Stonegate, which they rented out and these needed to be administered.

Yet it is interesting to examine the other spaces in York that also have an emphasis on masculine shopping and pursuits. Coffee houses are difficult to track in York as they do not appear in the trade directories. Work carried out by James Biggins (1953) is invaluable, incorporating both newspaper adverts and church registers. The data that he complies is listed under individual coffee

houses and while these can be traced to particular streets, it is not always clear to what extent these are all individual establishments or whether in some cases the site remains the same and simply the name changes. However, using this data it is possible to assess the major concentrations of Coffee Houses in York. These include clusters in Stonegate, Coney Street, Low Ousegate, and particularly Petergate. This clustering is interesting because it also corresponds to the streets with some of the highest concentrations of surviving timber-framing in the city during the eighteenth century. This is particularly true in the case of Stonegate, as we have seen, as well as Petergate and Low Ousegate. Coney Street is more problematic, and the streetscape might seem predominantly of brick construction. However, there is certainly evidence of earlier structures. These include standing buildings evidence, such as Nos 16-22 Coney street, and also earlier illustrations depicting structures that have now been demolished. Of particular note is the former George Inn, a jettied medieval structure with later elaborate pargetting. Also a number of houses may simply have been refronted timber-frames. Nos 3, 5, 7 Coney Street was believed to largely be of eighteenth-century date (RCHME 1981, 125), until recent renovation work revealed large quantities of framing, indicating that the sixteenth-century house had largely survived. Also terrace rows that were completed in the mid-nineteenth century, such as 4-24 Spurriergate (a continuation of Coney Street), probably replaced timber framed structures (RCHME 1981, 122). Coney Street did therefore have concentrations of timber-framing along its length. This is significant as it is the only other street in eighteenth-century York where men are also the focus of consumption, although to a lesser degree than on Stonegate. Here, in 1787, 22.2 of the shops were geared towards men and 13.3 were geared towards women. There therefore appears to be a link between masculine spaces in eighteenth-century York and timber-framed architecture. The dominant attitude displayed by both eighteenth-century theorists and contemporary scholars is the importance of improvement, with an emphasis on flush facades, straight streets and elegant classical design. This homogeneity is rarely found in York, even on Pavement, the street geared towards fashionable clothing. Yet streets such as Stonegate are the antithesis of Classical design, with medieval houses reaching out into the street. Why then should they be a focus for polite gentlemen, since the trades

carried out were very much for the consumption of the gentry than for those of lower social status? Could this be a case where some of the elements of polite sociability, and the architectural features that came along with it, were only brought into focus when men and women were sociable together? This mixing of the sexes created a space that was more 'public' than one that was the focus of just one gender. As was the seen with the private parts of the domestic house, style was used less for personal appreciation than for show in company. If the company was exclusively male then this need for show was lessened and even dispensed with entirely. The space became more private. Also, as was the case with the Mayors' houses we have discussed previously, the timber-framed house might have been genuinely appreciated as a sign of ancient authority and antiquity.

The final aspect to be discussed in relation to No 31 is the use of private space. As noted previously, the external doorway from the side passage leads directly to the staircase. As was the case in many of the other houses on Stonegate, this allows for both occupiers and guests to enter directly the domestic space of the house without having to go through the shop, or in this case, coffee house. However, what is of interest is the elaborate applied decoration in the first-floor front room and less extensively in the second floor front room. This is of very high quality and rarely seen outside a mansion house. Its presence here is attributable to John Staveley who owned the property, which is a perfectly acceptable explanation, but is does not address the effect that this ornamentation would have had.

The positioning of the elaboration is somewhat unusual as you would expect the first floor back room to also be a focus, but this is explained by the need to use this as part of the coffee-house business. It is also interesting that the decoration present is attributable to the owner rather than the occupier. Many of the rooms, even those which would be expected to have some kind of public function, are noticeably bare, without even cornices. It is therefore probable that Thomas Briggs could not afford to improve the property. The fact that he was merely a tenant would not have been an issue as there are numerous examples on Stonegate, where there was a high degree of lets, of tenants making substantial alterations. Yet the very presence of these high-status features would have added considerable distinction when Briggs entertained guests. It also

appears to have given him an elevated sense of his own status. His will in 1810 records him as a gentleman (BIUY PR154, f352). This ascription may be in doubt as the occupations of the three friends who receive bequests are listed as weaver, brewer, and grocer. These are trades that were not aimed at the gentry or conducted by the leading tradesmen of York, who had access to polite society. This doubt is given further substance by his newspaper obituary, which does not describe him as a gentleman (*YC* 16 July 1804). The high-status decorations therefore appear to have been appropriated by Briggs and used to help structure his social position in a positive way, even though he was not responsible for their inclusion.

No 35 Stonegate

This property (Figures 161, 162) is made up of two wings, including a front range facing Stonegate and a rear wing behind, with a connecting link block between them. The front range is a three-storey timber-framed building, with attics, and dates to the fifteenth century (RCHME 1981, 232). The back range is also timber-framed, although only of two storeys with attics and dates to the early seventeenth century. Between these wings is a link block, dating to around 1700, which filled in the gap between them. The front elevation is jettied on the first and second floors, however the exterior is rendered and was heavily altered in the late nineteenth century, including the shop front and carved surrounds to many of the windows (NMR No 35 Stonegate, page 1). An illustration by Henry Cave from 1813 (Figure 144) (YORAG R2226) shows that while many features have been modified, the structure of the exterior is largely unaltered. The ground floor shop is shown with a central doorway, as it is today, but flanked by two Regency bay windows. The first floor is shown as having a canted bay window, although the one that survives today has late-nineteenth-century glass and framing. Flanking the window on either side was a column and a corbel projecting out below the second-floor jetty. However, only a modified version of the corbels survive today. On the second storey were three sash windows and two small windows on the attic level. A side passage runs along the northern wall of the building. This gives access to the linking block of brick construction, which contains a side doorway. The back elevation of the front block is also

brick built, of early-eighteenth-century date and has plat bands of two courses at first and second-floor level (NMR No 35 Stonegate, page 2).

The house operated as a bookshop from 1682 through to 1873, when it was acquired by the glass painter John Ward Knowles, who was probably responsible for most of the late-nineteenth-century alterations (Murray, Riddick and Green 1990, 90-91). The shop operated under 'The Sign of the Bible' and the first owner was Francis Hildyard, who was succeeded by his son John in 1731 (Cooper 1929). The business was taken over by John Hinxman in 1757 and then by John Todd in 1762. Todd was originally in partnership with Henry Southern, but this was dissolved in 1774 and Todd, followed by his two sons ran the business until 1837. The bookshop business will be discussed in detail, but first the interior must be examined.

The ground-floor front room has been largely modernised and leads into a small hall (Figure 163), which is also accessed by the side door from the passage. The front wing also contains the main stairway, which is of very early-eighteenth-century date and has turned balusters and moulded strings. The rear room (contained within the back wing) is fully panelled with Bolection-moulded panelling and there is a moulded panel above the fireplace that is flanked by pilasters (Figure 164). There is also deep moulded cornice that projects where it meets the pilasters and deep recesses on either side of the fireplace. Yet despite the elaboration of this room, it is not entirely of eighteenth-century design, as there are cased ceiling beams concealing the medieval fabric. At the rear is a narrow corridor containing a simple staircase and another external door (Figure 165). Here the timber-framing is exposed and very much in evidence.

On the first floor, the front room has a deep moulded cornice and the door has a moulded architrave on the inside (Figure 166). The fireplace is of late-eighteenth-century date with compositional mouldings, including an urn, festoons and pendants. It has a dentilled cornice shelf, and fluted frieze. Once again, this room shows investment in the ornamentation. However, this changes elsewhere in the house. Opposite the staircase (still in the front wing), is a small room with an attached closet. There is no cornice and the timber-framing is visible. This continues in the rear wing. These rooms were heavily altered in both the nineteenth century by John Ward Knowles and by twentieth-century occupation, however given the good survival elsewhere in the house it is unlikely

that these covered up or removed Georgian decoration. The rear wing consists of a series of three rooms. The first room to the north is the smallest and only contains a plain fireplace. The second room has seventeenth-century panelling that has been reset, although the simple eighteenth-century cornice and the cased ceiling beams are probably original (Figure 167). The rear room has similar qualities to the corridor room below it, with the timber-framing highly visible (Figure 168). The Royal Commission propose that this wing was originally not domestic but may have been workshops (NMR No 35 Stonegate, page 3).

On the second floor, the front room is again the largest and most elaborate, containing seventeenth-century panelling, as well as late nineteenth-century panelling (Figures 169, 170). The seventeenth-century panelling is mainly on the north-eastern wall and appears to be in situ with a frieze carved in low relief above it (NMR No 35 Stonegate, page 4). There is also an overmantel above the bolection moulded fireplace consisting of richly carved round-arched panels, similar to those found in the first-floor front room of No 58 Stonegate (NMR No 54-60 Stonegate, page 4). There are also two small rooms, and a small attic room above. The rear wing is only two storeys high and above the first floor are two attic rooms.

The use of the shop space within the house will be discussed first. There is a wealth of impressive work by literary scholars on both book production and reading practices (Colclough 2007; Lovell 1987), however less attention has been paid to the physical environment of the bookshop. There have been several studies that have examined this aspect, using primarily documentary and catalogue evidence, as well as contemporary illustrations (Figure 171) (Raven 1996; Jacobs 1999). Books were organized by printed format (folio, quarto etc) and also by genres, such as history and voyages and travel (Jacobs 1999, 51). The more portable format of octavo and duodecimo offered more genres to choose from but also 'monopolize both the distinctly modern class of "Romances, Novels and other Books of Entertainment" and the equally modern class of practical books of "Husbandry, Gardening, Cookery &c."' (*ibid*, 52). The libraries in fashionable resorts were as much about sociability and being entertained as the act of reading (Jacobs 1999, 58). By the early nineteenth century many libraries also strove to include other attractions, such as dancing,

playing billiards and other games (Colclough 2007, 95). Architecture was, as always, employed and an illustration for Hall's library in Margate consisted of a spacious hall with classical columns and adamesque detailing (Figure 172) (Jacobs 1999, 56). Scholars have warned that trade cards could provide a romanticized image of bookshop interiors (Raven 1996, 186) and the reliable illustrations that do survive are generally of the finest examples, such as the library in Margate. Therefore examining the case of Todd's bookshop in York is illuminating.

Todd had an accomplished business, building on the success of his predecessors and was praised by contemporaries such as John Nichols, who wrote in 1812 'Few Country Booksellers had exerted themselves with greater ardour and perseverance' (Feather 1985, 80). Todd also ran the circulating library from his shop on Stonegate (YML YK/017.4 TOD), an attraction important enough to be included in *Sotheran's York Guide* of 1796 (Sotheran 1796, 50). Self-interest undoubtedly played a part in its inclusion as Sotheran was part-owner in the enterprise (*YC* 6 June 1808). There are a number of catalogues still in existence for Todd's bookshop, as well as other evidence in the form of newspaper articles and indentures. It is therefore possible to combine this evidence with the examination of the physical fabric to explore how the internal spaces was utilised.

Libraries and bookshops were often combined together and helped support each other. The analysis by Skelton-Foord (1998, 352) of Marshall's library in Bath indicates that the library stock was often stored separately from the books that were for sale. Inside Todd's shop there was therefore probably a physical separation of the circulation library from sale stock. This is corroborated by later developments in the shop. By at least 1809 Todd began to lease the neighbouring property of 35A Stonegate. This is described as 'that Messuage Tenement or Dwelling House and shop with the new Building or long Ware Room behind the same' (YMA W/l/p 448). This accords with the physical evidence as an extension was built at the back of the property in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (RCHME 1981, 234). Todd was already in occupation of the property by 1809, as the evidence from the indenture for No 37 indicates (YMA W/l/p 450), and had in all likelihood made the alterations to the extension at the back of the house in the early nineteenth

century, which saw the blocking up of the southern side windows. He might well have been in occupation even earlier as a newspaper advert from 1808 advertises the sale of the circulation library, specifically stating that 'The premises may be continued by the Purchaser of the Library, and the whole entered on immediately.' (*YC* 6 June 1808). The separate premises for the circulation library was certainly not the case in 1766 when the circulation library catalogue was published as it specifically states that the library was housed 'At the BIBLE in *Stonegate*, YORK' (YML YK/017.4 TOD). It is therefore likely that No 35A in part housed the circulation library and may even have continued to do so after 1808, as the property is shown to remain leased to the Todd family until at least 1823 (YMA W/m/p 280). The attempted sale may therefore have been unsuccessful.

The earlier occupation of No 35A is also corroborated by two watercolours by Henry Cave of Todd's bookshop dating to 1797 (Figures 93, 173) (YORAG R122, 379_1_PCF). This shows a long narrow room lit by three skylights. The problem is however that a room matching these features does not exist in No 35, the primary site of *The Sign of the Bible*. Of particular concern are the three skylights as all the rooms in No 35 have attics above them. Yet this problem is solved when one takes into account No 35A, particularly with its 'long Ware Room' (YMA W/l/p 448). This is only one storey high, with no attic space above. It could therefore accommodate the skylights, although this cannot be verified as the present roof has a modern corrugated covering. The current list description (list.english-heritage.org.uk) has been amended from the original case file to include the connection with Todd, however there are several problems with this entry. Apart from giving no documentary sources for this ascription, it lists the dates of Todd's occupation as 1762 to 1837. This is inaccurate as in 1795 No 35A was divided into two properties, occupied by 'Christopher Ware sadler and John Yule bookbinder' (YMA W/k/p 539). The dates appear to have simply been taken from the dates when the Todds were in business (Murray, Riddick and Green 1990, 91), and so therefore the end date must also been seen as conjectural.

However before the acquisition of No 35A in the very late eighteenth century, *The Sign of the Bible* housed both the library and the retail books. The first issue to consider is one of space – where were the books housed? The

importance of this question is given further weight when one considers the number of books involved. In 1766 the Circulation Library contained 2,487 titles (YML YK/017.4 TOD), however the retail bookshop contained far more. Todd's sales catalogue of 1775 boasts upwards of ten thousand volumes and this appears to be largely accurate for while the entries only go up to 5,500, many of these single entries include multiple volumes (YML YK/017.4 TOD). The trend of large amounts of retail volumes certainly continues. The 1792 sales catalogue lists 50,000 volumes (YML YK/017.4 TOD). There are only 13,535 entries listed, but again single entries contain multiple volumes. This largely consisted of the libraries of Marmaduke Tunstall of Wycliffe Esq and Lady Fagg of Wood End, but also included a large assortment of new books. Furthermore this collection was not to be sold quickly at auction, in which case space would not be so much of an issue, but would be on sale from 12 June (the date of the catalogue) until Christmas. This indicates that the shop would have to accommodate the display and storage of these books. Other examples include a catalogue in 1783, listing 30,000 volumes (YML YK/017.4 TOD) and another one for 50,000 volumes in 1800 (YML YK/017.4 TOD).

The shop therefore regularly accommodated a huge number of books, as well as two distinct businesses – the library and the retail trade. So where were they located in the house? The ground floor front room was certainly one space, as it was the usual location for retail space. The ground floor back room might also be expected to serve the same purpose. However this room is fully panelled and is one of the most elaborately decorated rooms in the house, as well as one of the few in this medieval house fully fitted out in eighteenth-century style. There is no physical evidence of bookcases having been fixed to the panelling and having floor-to-ceiling cases typical of bookshops would have covered up all the panelling. Given the investment the room received and its level of decoration compared to the rest of the house, it is highly unlikely therefore that this room was used to display books. It might have been used to entertain more select clients, but that does not solve the problem of the huge amount of books. As has already been noted in the previous chapter on High Ousegate, to put these numbers in perspective, a contemporary bookshop in York that occupies the site of No 13 High Petergate with a floor plan of 16.5ft by 33ft has only approximately six thousand books.

Therefore moving upwards in the house, once again the front room has elaborate decoration and would have been used for entertaining rather than retail. This leaves the three rooms in the rear block that the Royal Commission thought was originally workshop space. Each of these rooms follow on from the other and there is no corridor flanking them. If these rooms had been used for domestic purposes, it would have created problems for privacy, particularly as the central room had no separate access. They also contain very little in the way of eighteenth-century decoration and were therefore a focus for later Victorian alterations. It is therefore highly probable that it was these rooms were used as display space for the bookshop.

We therefore are left with two spaces for book display. The ground-floor front room and the first floor back rooms. It seems likely that the first floor was used for sale items and the ground floor as the library. The front room, while comparatively small, would have been large enough to house the library stock, while the first-floor back range with its interconnected rooms would have been the logical place to place the far more numerous sale items. The use of the first floor would also allow customers deeper access into the house and retail customers were more likely to be known to the owner, than the more casual trade of the library which would rise and fall depending on such factors as the winter season and the York races.

The work conducted by Jacobs (1999, 51), has shown that books were organized by printed format and within these were organized by genres. Contemporary illustrations show neatly ordered shelves, with polite customers socializing and picking books off the shelves (Raven 1996, 182). Jacobs (1999, 54) explores how this browsing might have occurred and while he notes the problems this might cause for a customer, he investigates how the classification system might help a customer. Once a specific book on the shelf was found, it would be surrounded by books with a similar title and genre. Jacobs also argues that this classification helped to structure the browsing experience and that it conveyed meanings of order and status, with large (and more expensive) folios on the top shelf and given elite status, away from the smaller books within easy reach of the general public.

Todd's catalogues generally reflect this ordering, with separate sections for Folio, Quarto, Octavio and Duodecimo. However there are some problems.

We have already established that Cave's illustration of Todd's bookshop depicts the later circulating library. It shows a generally ordered appearance, but it disrupts the structuring principals established by Jacobs. The large folio volumes are on the bottom shelf, not given the privileged position of the top shelf. Also the duodecimo volumes are placed sporadically around the room. There is a small bookcase inserted into the left hand wall, specifically designed to hold these volumes (which are too small for the regular shelving) and there is a larger example inserted into the arch on the right hand wall. Duodecimos are also stacked on the floor at irregular intervals in the room. Therefore finding books unaided simply by catalogue number and size of volume in Todd's would have been difficult at best, particularly as the bookshelves do not include labels (denoting particular genres) that some of the other bookshop images include (Raven 1996, 182). Finding a book on the shelves according to the title would also have been hampered by the system of alphabetization employed at Todd's. The Circulation Library catalogue goes through three cycles of the alphabet just in the duodecimo section alone, possibly linked to when they were acquired. Therefore even if you found books of the right size and genre on the shelf, you could not just run through the alphabet to find the title you were seeking as it might be in a completely separate alphabet run.

Scholars have noted that trade cards from the 1740s and 1750s show circulation library subscribers in a domestic setting, attended on by the proprietor. By the 1780s a different picture emerges, with examples from Margate and Ramsgate depicting the patrons themselves as the star attraction in a large classical hall that could seat three hundred people as a polite space to congregate (Colclough 2007, 91). However, *The Sign of the Bible*, conforms to the earlier domestic model far more than the large social spaces depicted in the later illustrations. These large classical buildings were mainly in the newly formed commercial districts of resort towns (Colclough 2007, 93). It begs the question of why Todd's bookshop did not conform to this model? York was the major centre for polite society in the north, attracting genteel visitors for the races and the winter season, as well as the lesser gentry who resided in the city all year round. Why then is both the library and the bookshop in a venue where space was extremely restricted, which would discourage browsing (let alone socializing) and where the majority of the sales stock would be on the first floor

adjacent to the domestic space of the house. Also the building itself is emphatically medieval, still retaining its timber-framed and jettied appearance, in contrast to the classical design depicted in *Hall' New Margate and Ramsgate Guide* (c.1790). It is also in a street that retained a high proportion of earlier building fabric and few nods to the classical vernacular that was prevalent in other parts of the city.

The answer may lie in how the different parts of the building were designed to operate and who was expected to come to the shop. The circulation libraries in general hoped to attract an exclusive clientele (Raven 1996, 182) and this would certainly have been the case in York given that much of its retail and leisure trade was designed to satisfy the gentry who were attracted to the city. As we have already see, Todd had created a very well-established business (Feather 1985, 80) and his library catalogue specifically addresses 'the GENTRY, CLERGY, and OTHERS who have or may hereafter be kind enough to favour this Library' (YML YK/017.4 TOD). The popularity of the library can also be seen in its regulations which state that 'No Subscriber to have more than One New Book at a Time, nor keep it above Six Days', which indicates not only the demand for the latest titles but also that readers would have had to plough through them at a fast rate in order to return them on time. Catering to the desire for the latest fashionable works was a key element of the circulation library (Skelton-Foord 1998, 352) and Todd's library typified this, making a point of emphasizing that numerous copies of the latest books would be available, even if they did not appear in the catalogue.

> '*Besides what are already specified, four or five of every New Book, or Sett of Books, (especially of the instructive or entertaining type) shall be purchased as soon as published, for the sole Use of the Subscribers; so that they may be morally certain of never being disappointed of Things that are NEW."* (YML YK/017.4 TOD)

The 'NEW' could hardly be more emphatic.

However, it is worth questioning how the library space in Todd's bookshop was used. As has already been noted, the ground-floor front room is small, being only 18ft wide and 25ft deep. There are some illustrations that depict the front rooms of circulation libraries, notably Ackermann's 'The Library' (1813) and a satirical print called 'The Circulation Library' published by

Laurie and Whittle (1804) (Figure 174). Both prints show typical eighteenth-century shop interiors with long wooden counters running the length of the shop behind which stand the staff. The books are set on the wall, behind the counter. Therefore the practice of relaxed browsing would be difficult, if not impossible as the counter stands between the books and the customer. The practice of searching for keywords that Jacobs (1999, 54) describes and looking through books in similar physical locations as ones already read, would be highly problematic here. The shopkeeper would always stand as an intermediary, books would have to be specifically requested or recommended by the staff, rather than a customer-directed browsing.

Circulation libraries have been viewed as female spaces (Colclough 2007, 89), however in the case of Todd's it is worth questioning whether this was a space in which they were encouraged to linger. It is small, with browsing extremely curtailed. Also the nearby shops on the street were largely geared toward masculine rather than feminine consumption and would have been out of the way of the leisured shopping trip. It was even a space that did not even need to be entered at all as the catalogue states 'Subscribers, to prevent being disappointed of the books they want are desired to send a List of Eight or ten different Numbers (or the titles) taken from the Catalogue' (YML YK/017.4 TOD). This was obviously a regular practice, with borrowing conducted remotely rather than in person. The possibilities for browsing would have changed when No 35A started to be leased, allowing for a more customer-led experience. Although many of the difficulties in finding a volume noted above would still have applied.

Analysing the types of books sold is also of interest. Interestingly Todd's Circulation Library catalogue is not one known to literary historians and is not one of the twenty-two extant catalogues for eighteenth-century Britain that have been documented (Jacobs 2003, 19). It also contains a higher proportion of fiction than other catalogues of the period. Lowndes library in London only had 10 per cent devoted to fiction, while in Todd's catalogue 38 per cent of the books are in duodecimo format, the great majority of which are fiction titles. This contrasts with his retail business. In a sale's catalogue from 1775, only 18 per cent of the books are in duodecimo format, and another one in 1790 only contains 15.5 per cent in duodecimo format. This does not translate into an

exact percentage of the number of fiction titles for sale, but it is a rough approximation. Skelton-Foord (1998, 349) has questioned the assumption that polite families would not have dared purchase the latest fashionable novels due to concern for their social image. Todd's catalogues do show that the library contained roughly double the amount of fiction as the books that were for sale. The novel in the Romantic era has been perceived as morally dubious and that the accumulation of a large number of fiction titles on the bookshelves of a wealthy household might not have been something they wished to display (Skelton-Foord 1998, 349; Colclough 2007, 89). The Circulation Library Catalogue (YML YK/017.4 TOD) has novels by established authors by Richardson and Defoe, but it also includes more questionable works such as 'Amorous Friars, or the Intrigues of a Convent', 'Sisters, or the History of Lucy and Caroline Sanson, entrusted to a false Friend, 2 vols.', and 'Parish Girl (History of a) 2 vols', as well as non-fiction titles such as 'Adultery anatomized, in a select Collection of Trials for Criminal Conversation, from the Infant Ages of Cuckoldom to the present Times, 2 vols.' Displaying this aspect of your consumption and therefore your taste might actually have been something you wished to conceal, at least in more formal gatherings. The emulation of taste in this context therefore takes on an interesting dimension, something not necessarily intended for general public display, but mitigated by close friendship, age or gender. This also had a spatial dimension. These were not books to be displayed on the walls of the library but kept in the bedroom of the reader and read there or in the private parlour. Borrowing therefore concealed a person's reading taste and did not expose it to the gaze of the casual visitor.

The space allocated for the retail trade creates a different environment. This is located on the first-floor, and includes much more room than allocated for the library. It would be away from the bustle of the street and the front shop room and would also have not included counters, allowing customers direct access to the books. This would have been a different type of customer, although not necessarily a different class, as a degree of wealth was needed to be able to afford to purchase books. This space therefore allows much more possibilities for lengthy browsing, as well as enough room for seating. Although Todd's print shows No 35A next door, the environment it portrays is probably very similar to how the first-floor rooms in No 35 would have been furnished, with floor-to-

ceiling bookshelves, as well as containing displays of prints. It would also have a much more domestic aspect to it as it is deeper into the house and adjacent to the private rooms of the household. These would not necessarily have been hard-and-fast distinctions and this is illustrated by an event that takes place when Francis Hildyard was the proprietor. The Laurence Sterne, the author of *Tristram Shandy*, recounts in a letter to Archdeacon Blackburne having an argument with Hildyard in 1750. The details of the quarrel are not relevant here, but it does illuminate the special arrangements in the shop. Sterne notes how:

> 'I step'd into his Shop, just after Sermon on *All Saints,* When with an Air of much Gravity and Importance, He beckond me to follow Him into an inner Room; No sooner had he shut the Dore…' (Sterne 1967, 26)

The room that Hildyard leads Sterne into is the panelled rear room on the ground floor. As already noted this was not shop space. It is fully panelled and probably served as both a parlour and dining room as it is one of only two rooms that would have been suitable for entertaining. However, as seen here, it could also be used for more exclusive or private business. There are no marks of having had bookshelves attached on the panelling, although two small bookshelves might have existed in the recesses on either side of the fireplace (though this certainly does not obviate the need to use the first floor to house the huge number of books). The back room was therefore a private space that could also be used for business. Yet they are interrupted by a third party:

> 'I know not whether The Chancellors stepping in at this Instant & flapping to the Dore, Did not save his tender Soul the Pain of the last Word; However that be, He retreats upon this unexpected Rebuff, Takes the Chancell^r aside, asks his Advice, comes back Submissive, begs Quarter' (Sterne 1967, 26)

However, it is the manner of the interruption that is of interest as The Rev. William Herring enters this back room without knocking. It shows that persons of certain rank (and presumably valued customers) had entry to this private space without being escorted there by the proprietor. Therefore because of the amount of room needed to accommodate the large number of books, the distinction between private and public space in Todd's bookshop is blurred. There are other examples, such as the panelled back room in Nos 18 and 20, of using ground-floor rooms for both entertaining and also convenient for private

business. The necessity of using the first floor in No 35 for retail books accentuates this process. As in many other houses on Stonegate in the eighteenth century, there is a side entrance to the house that is distinct from the shop door. This is next to the stairs, however these stairs would not just be used by the household but by customers accessing the first-floor retail space. This situation would have changed once No 35A was acquired, however the constrained arrangements at the principal shop would have existed for most of the eighteenth century. This obviously has implications for just how private space was available to the family, with only one room on the first floor and two on the second floor (including the master bedroom) suitable to be used as bedrooms by the family, which included two sons and two daughters. This interpretation of the lack of bedroom space is strengthened by the fact that in 1795 Todd's son John was living in lodgings opposite the shop in Nos 48 and 50 (W/k/p 573).

No 37 Stonegate

No 37 (Figures 175, 176) is a double-fronted house of three storeys built in the middle-to-late eighteenth century (RCHME 1981, 234). It was originally two properties of unequal depth that were combined in the early nineteenth century. The shopfront dates to the early nineteenth century and has a central door with fanlight flanked by two bow windows. To the south is another entrance to the house which comprises of a doorcase with fluted pilasters and a bowed frieze with floral stops. The six-panelled door is surmounted by a fanlight and a tympanum with garlands and a mask. The front elevation is made of good red brick in Flemish bond with four sash windows to a floor, all well proportioned in accordance with Palladian ideals, with flat-arched lintels of finely gauged brick. There is a deep timber moulded cornice with small modillions.

In the late eighteenth century it formed part of a range of three houses owned by the prebendary of North Newbald, comprising No 39 and No 37 (which at this time was two properties). In 1795 they were occupied by Mark Clark widow plumber and glazier John Clough bricklayer and John Westoby Palmer haberdasher and linen-draper (YMA W/k/p 539). By 1809 the properties had been amalgamated and are described in an indenture as 'lately in two Houses' (YMA W/l/p 450). It was taken over by a William Brown and then

by a firm comprising William Hebden, John Copley and Bryan Hebden who were also linen-drapers. Therefore, as was observed in the properties on High Ousegate, even when the occupiers change the trade still continues in the same location.

Before examining the shop business in detail, the interior of the house needs to be examined. On the ground floor to the south is a flagged passageway, accessed by the separate external doorway and leading to a rear staircase. From the ground floor to the bottom flight of the first floor the staircase is made up of narrow early-nineteenth-century balusters, while above this the original survives, utilizing a Chinese fret pattern (NMR No 37 Stonegate, page 2). In the main room on the ground floor are two slender fluted columns (Figure 177). These support the wall above, where the remains of a narrow partition can still be seen. This corresponds to the narrow passage on the southern side and it is probable that each of the two houses originally comprising No 37 had separate access via a side passage. To the rear is an early-nineteenth-century domed rooflight which covers a small extension dating to the early nineteenth century (Figure 178).

On the first floor to the front is one large room, divided on the southern side by a partition to form a long, narrow space accessed by a wide square-headed opening (Figure 179). To the rear are two rooms, to the north and south. The front room was originally partitioned down the middle to form two rooms when the property was in two parts, so that each house had one room to the front and one to the rear, mirroring the layout on the second floor when it was surveyed by the Royal Commission (NMR No 37 Stonegate, page 3). In the case of the southern side of No 37, the rear room was small being only 8.1 feet wide. The remains of the original cornice that was in the southern front room can still be seen in the long, narrow alcove and comprises a fairly simple coved cornice, although with some elaboration in the form of reeding above and below the cove (Figure 180). The early-nineteenth-century fittings that replaced it are more elaborate. These include a deep moulded cornice that has faded but enriched detail can still be seen, and was probably an egg-and-dart motif (Figure 181). There is also two shallow, round-arched recesses on the southern wall. The decorative detail continues elsewhere, with an elaborately decorated overdoor in the southern rear room, with a broken pediment and adamesque applied

composition and probably dates to the early nineteenth century (Figure 182). A deep cornice, also of early-nineteenth-century date, is present in the northern rear room.

On the second floor the nineteenth-century decoration disappears and the original eighteenth-century work remains. Cornices survive in the three major rooms, the front two rooms and the northern rear room. These are fairly simple but have some elaboration. The cornice in the southern front room has a cove and ovolo separated by a small fillet (Figure 183) and the north rooms have the same cornice – twin coves with reeding on the bottom (Figure 184). The attic rooms have pitched ceilings covering half of the rooms and no features of note.

The southern part of No 37 was owned by John Palmer, linen-draper and haberdasher, in the late eighteenth century. An advert in 1803 reveals that he had two shops on Stonegate: No 37, which is described as a 'warehouse' and contained the wholesale business and a retail shop opposite (*YC* 22 August 1803). 'Opposite' however must however have been a rough approximation as the tenants occupying Nos 44 to 60 in the period have all been traced through the indentures in the Minster Archives and do not match that of John Palmer. The 1803 advert also declares that he is giving up the retail business (and the premises) in 'in favour of Mr. WILLIAM WELBANK' although he is carrying on the wholesale business. Yet this only lasts until 1806 when Palmer died after a few days illness 'to the inexpressible grief of his friends' (*YC* 14 April 1806). The next record of the property comes in 1809 when it is leased to 'Messrs William Hebden and others', although the indenture records that a William Brown occupied it previously, which must have been after Palmer's death (YMA W/l/p 450). The conversion of the two houses in to one is dated to the early nineteenth century on stylistic grounds (RCHME 1981, 234) and this accords with the documentary evidence. The indenture of 1795 describes it as having three tenements (YMA W/k/p 539), but by 1809 it is named as 'that Messuage Tenement or Dwellinghouse (lately in two Houses)' (YMA W/l/p 450).

There are several notable aspects which are worth emphasising. The first is the size of shop. The original shop that Palmer occupied was located in the southern portion of the present No 37. This was only a narrow-fronted property, and the shop space (excluding the separate side passage) was only 7.5 feet wide.

This is extremely narrow. Furthermore, Palmer was a linen-draper, and although this shop was not meant for retail trade and thus having to cater for private customers, it would still have necessitated presenting bulky bolts of cloth for storage and display. This adds to the previous evidence from both Stonegate and High Ousegate, which demonstrates that the size of shops in the eighteenth century and the implications for how the space was used and experienced has been seriously neglected by scholars of consumerism.

The second aspect is the mounting evidence from properties in Stonegate and High Ousegate, that a change ocurred in the early nineteenth century with regard to space in shops and in particular the amount of room that is deemed necessary. No 37 was amalgamated into two properties with a short extension at the back. Even then in the early nineteenth century this was deemed too small to house both the retail and wholesale sides of the linen-drapery business and an advert in 1819 proclaims that Hebden, Copley, and Hebden have 'Enlarged their Premises' so that they can also carry out the retail trade (*YCH* 21 January 1819). This enlargement probably corresponds to the further extension at the back of No 37, giving it a probable date of the early nineteenth century. Such extensions of existing businesses in this period can also be seen at No 35, where Todd's bookshop 'The Sign of The Bible' was enlarged to include the next-door property No 35A. Nos 18 and 20, already a large double-fronted house, was also given a rear extension. This can also been seen at No 19 High Ousegate, a property that was originally one room deep and was extended in the early nineteenth century. While this evidence is not conclusive, it does point to a change in attitude among shopkeepers with regard to the amount of space necessary for their business. The existing architecture and street plans of York made large-scale building problematic, so instead we see evidence for extensions and amalgamations – an attempt by owners to solve the problem of space without having to give up valuable locations in the city centre.

The domestic aspects of No 37 are also of interest. The unification of No 37 and the internal decorative investment in the early nineteenth century largely follow patterns observed in other properties in York during the Georgian period. This decoration was of considerably higher quality than had been present before but is largely concentrated on the first floor. This follows the arrangement in other houses that combine a retail shop on the ground floor with domestic space

above. Here the first floor remains the main reception space, as was the case in solely domestic properties, and the second floor becomes the substitute ground floor, including the parlour. Therefore while the eighteenth-century cornices on the second floor are fairly simple, they do have some elaboration and demonstrate that to some extent they were meant for show as second-floor rooms in purely private houses have little to no decoration. Yet as noted, the nineteenth-century investment is largely confined to the first floor and this indicates that there was probably some change in the use of the house at this time. When the two houses were amalgamated into one, No 37 effectively became a double-fronted house and therefore all the reception rooms could be contained on the first floor and it was not necessary to replace the decoration on the second floor as most of these were probably used as family bedrooms.

The unification of No 37 also creates problems for movement through the house as the layout does not conform to a typical double-fronted house. Here the staircase is on the southern side, rather than in a central position, and there is no central landing to provide easy access to all the different rooms in the house. Rather at No 37 there is a progression from room to room, starting with the front room and progressing to the northern rear room. The anomalous room is the rear room to the south, which in theory also provided a through passage to the rear room to the north and is also very small, being only 8.1 feet wide, which seems to confirm this function. Yet it is also the room with the single most highly decorated feature in the building – the elaborate overdoor with Adamesque composition. This decoration imbues this small room with a privileged status and it may well have been used as a dressing-room used for entertaining more select gatherings.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the street of Stonegate. Scholars studying the urban landscape during the eighteenth century have largely focused on areas that saw substantial improvement during the period, particularly with the construction of new houses in the classical style, made predominantly of brick. Stonegate, in contrast, had one of the highest concentrations of medieval timber framing in the city during the eighteenth century and it is therefore illuminating to study those areas of the city that were not redeveloped at this time. Given the

unimproved nature of the street, one might expect the shops and accommodation to have catered to the lower segments of society, however the reverse is the case. Documentary evidence demonstrates that virtually every house on Stonegate accommodated a shop on the ground floor and these were selling goods aimed at genteel members of society. They were not just targeting the gentry but the male members in particular, with approximately forty per cent of the shops selling goods with specifically male associations. These included woollen-drapers, tailors, breeches-makers and sellers of leather goods (particularly saddlers). Books also were openly consumed by men. This does not mean that these shops were exclusively patronised by men, however they had a male focus, as opposed to circulation libraries which were explicitly marketed at both men and women. Stonegate was also one of the major concentrations of coffee houses in York during the period. This positions Stonegate as a being a gendered space, which had a focus on male activities and consumption. This association was strengthened even further by the presence of the Minster and the clergy associated with it, as well as the numerous properties in the street owned by the church. This does not mean that polite women did not enter this space, but it was very much geared towards men.

This also creates associations between men and older or unimproved space. Scholars focusing on eighteenth-century cities have drawn a direct link between improvement (particularly in the form of architecture) and the gentry, with polite spaces housing polite society. However the evidence from Stonegate leads to the construction of a more complex dynamic. Here timber-framed architecture is associated with genteel men and leads one to question the direct correlation between gentility and improvement. Could elements of the performance of polite society (and the classical architectural qualities associated with this) only come into focus when men and women were sociable together? Was classical architecture only necessary when show was called for? This further complicates the relationship between public and private, with the mixing of the sexes creating a space that was more 'public' than one that was the focus of just one gender. As was the seen with the private parts of the domestic house, style was used less for personal appreciation than for show in company. If the company was exclusively male then this need for show was lessened and even dispensed with entirely. The space became more private.

This chapter has also examined how shop spaces were articulated and experienced. It has looked at a number of establishments, including those of a woollen-draper, a linen-draper, an apothecary, a bookseller and a coffee-house owner. Many ground-floor shops, in York and throughout England, have seen extensive redevelopment in the two hundred years since the end of the Georgian era and consequently research on the physical fabric has been minimal with the exception of the few well-preserved examples. However, although these floors have been largely modernised, this does not mean they have nothing to offer scholarly enquiry. The size and dimensions of the floor allow for nuanced analysis of how the space would have been encountered, particularly in relation to the room available for browsing and the typical fixtures that would have been present in shops of this type. This thesis has illuminated the cramped conditions of the woollen-draper at No 7 St Helen's Square and the engraver at No 25 Blake Street and the location of the medicated baths at Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate. The analysis of the coffee house at No 31 Stonegate, has highlighted the ambiguities of private and public space, where personal conversations could be easily overheard. Also No 35 Stonegate has explored how both a bookshop and circulating library would have been encountered.

Consideration of the floor plan also allows for analysis of how movement through the shop would have occurred and the relationship of retail and domestic space. Many of the shops on Stonegate included evidence of separate entrances to the domestic areas of the house. These entrances were often on side elevations that were less elaborate than those where the shop front was located. This indicates that even though the domestic entrance would have been used to receive guests, and therefore in other contexts was important for display, here it was less important than the need for retail display. The ambiguity of domestic and retail space is also highlighted in a number of properties, where rooms would have been used both for private entertaining and also for receiving more select clients.

The chapters of this thesis have so far examined domestic residences and shop space on a variety of streets, all with different characteristics and with different concentrations of both classical Georgian buildings and older timber-framed structures. This thesis will now turn to Bootham, a street outside the city walls, yet still in close proximity to the Minster. It was predominantly a

residential street and also contained a row of fine Georgian houses, which saw extensive internal redevelopment in the early nineteenth century. This following chapter will therefore examine whether Bootham was a liminal space due to its position outside the city walls and also how decorative schemes and room use changed during the early nineteenth century.

Chapter Six
Bootham

This chapter focuses on the street of Bootham (Figures 185, 186, 187, 188) and returns to a neighbourhood dominated by domestic buildings. It builds on the work detailed in the Castlegate chapter and the Micklegate research outlined in the methodology. Bootham was an elite residential street and contained numerous fine properties. In particular, it contained a row of elegant houses (Nos 39-61) which were described by the Royal Commission as 'one of the most distinguished groups of houses in the City' (RCHME 1975, 54) and which form the focus of the chapter. Like Castlegate, these houses also saw extensive investment in the early nineteenth century and therefore allow for the development of ideas outlined in that chapter. Specifically, the change that occurs to internal decorative schemes at this time and the implications of this for room use.

However, Bootham also had a mixed character. It was outside the city walls and contained the York Asylum, designed by the architect John Carr in 1777 (VCH 1961, 469). The western end of the street, from the asylum grounds to where the street joins Clifton, was also very sparsely developed, with only a few houses and mainly consisting of fields, giving parts of the street a rural character. This highlights the ambiguous nature of Bootham, being both part of the eighteenth-century city and its genteel society but also being separate from it. As we will see, this is also reflected in the character of the owners and occupiers of the polite houses on the street. Two distinct groups of owners stand out. The first is genteel single women, both widows and women who had never married, who acted as the primary householder. The second group comprises members of the lower ranks of the lesser gentry who are on the rise and beginning to establish their credentials in genteel society. How both these groups interacted with the liminal character of the street is a theme that will be explored throughout this chapter.

No 33 Bootham

No 33 (Figures 189, 190) is a fine three-storey double-pile house with attics built in the middle of the eighteenth century (RCHME 1975, 55). The front elevation

is built in Flemish bond and is four bays wide. All the windows have flat-arched lintels of finely gauged brick and the moulded cornice, while bold and projecting, is fairly simple. This is probably a replacement that dates to the nineteenth century, although eighteenth-century in character. The entrance occupies the second bay and is reached by a short flight of four stone steps. The door surround is surmounted by a pediment and has pilaster jambs with sunken panels. There is also a broad plat band at first-flour level and narrow band forming a continuous sill to the first-floor windows. This combination of stone bands is a Palladian feature frequently found in the York houses designed by John Carr (RCHME 1972b, lxxxi) and while No 33 is not attributed to Carr, it certainly displays his influence. The plat bands are further elaborated by the inclusion of another broad band at second-floor level and a narrow continuous sill on the ground-floor windows. This elaboration of bands is also found in several fine houses in the City, including Garforth House and Micklegate House on Micklegate (RCHME 1972b, lxxxi). This points to the aspiration inherent in the design of the house, if not its final realisation, as No 33 does not include many of the more elaborate external features found in the Micklegate houses. No 33 was constructed by a master builder named Robert Clough who built the house between 1752 and 1755 (RCHME 1975, 55) and despite not being a professional architect Clough's work in Bootham and Gillygate 'stands out', according to the Royal Commission's inspectors (*ibid*, l).

The interior has four rooms to a floor in plan, although the positioning of the doorway in the second bay and the adjoining entrance hall creates an uneven division of space, particularly on the ground floor. Here, the rooms on the eastern side are far narrower and smaller than those on the western side, and this is reflected in the level of decoration accorded to them. The entrance hall has plain skirting and a fine plaster cornice with modillions and floral paterae, which is enriched with egg-and-dart mouldings along the base (Figure 191). The hall ends in a moulded archway with pilaster jambs with moulded caps and bases, before curving to the west to meet the stairway hall. There is also a secondary staircase at right-angles to the entrance hall, between the front and back rooms.

The south-west room to the front is a large square room and has a deep plaster cornice with narrow reeding, dating to the early nineteenth century

(Figure 192). There is also a round-headed recess in the centre of the northern wall. The back room to the west has a fine deep plaster cornice with large projecting fillet that is original, dating to the building of the house in the mid-eighteenth century (Figure 193). There are also two narrow round-headed recesses on the southern wall. The eastern rooms in contrast, are far narrower than their western counterparts and have no fittings of note, in particular they have no cornices. This suggests that they were originally undecorated, given the high survival rate of cornices elsewhere in No 33.

The main staircase rises to the first floor in the rear in a fine staircase hall (Figure 194). There is a round-headed window flanked by Roman Doric pilasters and a moulded arch enriched with egg-and-dart (RCHME 1975, 56). Above the arch there is further plaster decoration in the form of swags with ribbon ties. The bold cornice is heavily enriched with deep modillions interspersed with floral paterae and the faint traces of further decoration along the base. The room to the western front, like its counterpart on the ground floor, has a cornice of early nineteenth-century date (Figure 195). It is also identical in design to that on the ground floor, having narrow reeding on the top reaching onto ceiling, with thicker reeds towards the base. There is also a fireplace of dated by the Royal Commission to the late nineteenth century (NMR No 33 Bootham, page 2), although the rather sparse Adamesque decoration and the fluted jambs also accord with the early nineteenth century and align with the other alterations of that period (Figure 196). The front room to the west also has an identical cornice to that in the eastern room, although no other features have survived. An opening appears to have originally linked the two front rooms, although this has now been blocked up (*ibid*).

The back rooms, however, are of a slightly different character, with the surviving decoration dating to the original construction of the house. The cornice in the back room to the west also has similarities to its ground-floor counterpart, yet it is still distinct (Figure 197). Some of the design elements are similar, such as the pronounced fillet, yet it is deeper and more elaborate, relying on repetitive cyma-reversa components, and dating to the mid-eighteenth-century. This design is also found in the eastern back room as well (NMR No 33 Bootham, page 2). On the second floor, all the surviving cornices, in the front and back rooms, are original and of mid-eighteenth-century date

(Figure 198). Yet again, they share some design similarities with other original cornices, found on the back rooms on the ground and first floors. However, these cornices are shallower and simpler than their counterparts on other floors.

This evidence will be used to explore how the domestic space was used in the past. It is first important to ascertain who was living here in the eighteenth century. Throughout this thesis it has been demonstrated that the identification of the owner is a crucial step in buildings biographies, allowing consideration of how the house and owner influenced each other. As has already been noted, the documentary evidence provides a secure correspondence between the house built by Robert Clough and the present No 33. Dated September 1755, it describes a 'new erected messuage Tenement… on the East side of the said street Between the messuage House and premises of Henry Bains the North West side thereof and the messuage and premises of George Gowland late in possession of William Clark and now of Thomas Stamford, known by the name of the Black Horse on the south east side thereof' (YCA, E94, 4). The Black Horse Inn is noted on the 1852 OS map and is on the east side of the present No 33. Having a secure foundation of the original owner, it is then possible to trace the owners throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by means of the rate books. The parish boundaries in York are extremely complex, demarcating spaces that divide streets and create convoluted dog-legs. This can create problems when trying to determine which parish has authority over a particular street. Bootham is no exception with a number of areas along the street coming under the authority of St Michael Le Belfrey in High Petergate. These detached areas are not consistent, but are marked on the 1852 OS map. It is therefore possible to construct a timeline from Mr Clough's new house in June 1753 to January 1848 (BIUY PR Y/MB 55-64). These include Mrs Bethel (1754 to 1777), (1777 to 1780), N Pigott Esq (1780 to 1793), William Strickland Esq (1793 to 1809), John Pemberton Esq (1810 to at least 1822), John Mills Esq (from 1829 to at least 1830), John Robert Mills (from 1835 to 1848). The rate books are not complete and so where there are gaps it is not possible to ascertain when one occupation ended and another began. Also the rate books list owners/occupiers when the rates were collected and as this was often on a yearly basis, the dates are only approximate.

It is not possible to uncover details about many of these individuals. However, in terms of their individual wealth, the property itself is revealing. No 33 was consistently among the highest-rated dwellings in the parish and this is of particular note as the parish included houses in Bootham as well as High and Low Petergate, which were among the wealthiest streets in the city. In 1793, for example, it was the third highest-rated single dwelling in the parish. Therefore while evidence for the finances of the occupiers is difficult to find, they must have had a high degree of wealth to be able to afford the house and its expenses such as rates.

Nathaniel Pigott, together with his son Edward, were noted astronomers and settled in York in 1780 (BIUY PR Y/MB 56). Their biographies and the details of their residence in York have been ably researched by McConnell and Brech (1999), who also specify No 33 as the site of Pigott's house, although in this regard no references are given for this ascription. At the end of the garden in No 33, some 200 yards from the street, Pigott built an observatory, apparently modeled on the one in Greenwich (McConnell and Brech 1999, 311). The observatory consisted of two octagonal rooms, each about 14 ft in diameter, and this housed a 6ft Dolland achromatic telescope, as well as several smaller telescopes and Pigott boasted of it in a letter to Herschel (McConnell 2004). The Pigotts' time in York was also enlivened by friendship and by scandal. Edward became friends with the young John Goodricke who was elected to the Royal Society at the age of twenty-one, although their work together who abruptly terminated by Goodricke's early death in 1786 (*ibid*). Pigott, meanwhile, had set his sights on the estate of his cousin, the childless Lady Fairfax of Gilling Castle. This appears to have resulted in Pigott taking advantage of or even attempting to defraud Lady Fairfax, with the disagreement only being settled by a Private Act of Parliament (McConnell and Brech 1999, 309). Nathaniel Pigott left for the Continent in 1785 and did not return until 1792 (McConnell and Brech 1999, 312). However, he still leased the house until 1792 (BIUY PR Y/MB 56) and it appears to have been used by Edward sporadically.

Pigott's legacy lived on in the fabric of the house, principally in the form of the observatory. When the next tenant, William Strickland, left in 1809, the subsequent advertisement did not mention the observatory and was simply described as:

> 'FREEHOLD DWELLING-HOUSE, with the Garden and Appurtenances behind the same, very eligibly situated in Bootham' (*YC* 22 September 1806).

However, when John Pemberton left in 1822, the property was advertised as:

> 'Valuable FREEHOLD PROPERTY, OBSERVATORY, &c. *BOOTHAM, YORK*... Capital Well-built substantial DWELLING-HOUSE, in complete repair, with suitable Out-offices... Observatory erected at a considerable expense, Coach-House, and Stables' (*YC* 9 March 1812)

The observatory was obviously seen as a selling point that would be attractive to a learned gentleman, perhaps with an interest in natural philosophy.

Having cast some light on the occupants of No 33, it is now useful to discuss what the physical evidence of the house can tell us about how it was used and experienced. There are two distinct phases discernable in the internal fabric. The first is the original build, with the decorative elements dating on stylistic grounds to the middle of the eighteenth century. This is corroborated by the documentary evidence that places the construction of the house between 1752 and 1755. The second phase dates to the early nineteenth century. Yet the spatial location of these different phases is also of interest. The original fabric is present in the rooms at the back of the house on the ground and first floors and throughout the second storey, while the newer, nineteenth-century decoration is only in the front rooms on the ground and first floors. This highlights two important issues. The first is that the decorative investment in the Regency period was exclusively in the rooms typically given over to entertaining. Given the time-frame involved, the two most likely candidates are William Strickland Esq (resident from 1793 to 1809) and John Pemberton Esq (resident from 1810 to at least 1822). Although little is known about these individuals, the changes made to fabric of the house does point to participation in polite society. It therefore seems probable that the tenants were active in the social life of the city at least at the level of the lesser gentry. This is also backed up by the advertisements which highlight the eligibility of a house on Bootham. Therefore we have to be wary about assuming that just because Bootham was outside the City walls that the location was seen as marginal, with the inhabitants not participating fully in the life of the city. This is a concern that we will return to throughout this chapter and, as we will see, one that does not provide neat

solutions. It is one mitigated by the time periods involved, the status of individuals and also by the gender of the inhabitants.

The use of decoration between these two periods of the mid-eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century also points both to continuity and change. The location of the decorative investment in the Regency period demonstrates that those rooms that had been used for entertaining in the Georgian period were still being used for the same purpose. Large, double-pile houses such as No 33 offered the possibility of locating all the entertaining rooms on the ground floor, allowing for a more private first floor with all the bedrooms located at a safe distance from the public rooms. This type of layout was used to some extent throughout the eighteenth century and in the fashion epicenter of London the location of drawing rooms fluctuated considerably (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 54). We have seen several examples of this over the course of the thesis, such as No 9 and 11 Castlegate. However in York, it was far more prevalent for the main reception rooms to be on the first floor. No 33 shows that this practice was still in use in the early nineteenth century, and that visitors were still being allowed deep into the house, onto the first floor which also included private bedrooms.

The evidence from No 33 Bootham does not simply demonstrate continuity, as there is considerable change in decorative language between the two phases. The original decorative scheme in No 33 corresponds closely with that observed throughout this thesis and is the dominant language throughout the eighteenth century. This scheme sees the level of decoration differing according to the floor on which room is located. So that the ground floor has good decoration, the first floor has the best decoration and the second floor receives minimal investment. This decoration scales up or scales down according to the wealth of the occupants and the status of the house but the ranking according to floor remains the same.

However, the changes that occur to the house in the early nineteenth century do not conform to this. The two front rooms on the first floor include identical cornices. This is not unusual, particularly as they were originally linked. However, what is unusual is that the ground floor front room also has an identical cornice. If it had been following the standard pattern we would expect for this to perhaps be of a similar design but several degrees lower in

elaboration. Instead we have the same identical cornice. This points to a disruption of the decorative language that saw the use and position of rooms in the house differentiated by visible signs. These signs would be accessible to both visitors and the family members. But here rooms are not distinguished and similar weight is given to rooms on both the ground and first floors. This suggests the desire for a unified aesthetic throughout the house (or at least those parts exposed to visitors) but it also meant that room use could perhaps be more fluid that it had previously.

This evidence contributes to the discussion in the Castlegate chapter which saw several of the houses receiving similar investment in the early nineteenth century, investment which also disrupted the decorative language of the eighteenth century. This investment did not create a coherent new language that systematically replaced the old. Instead a variety of different schemes were employed, which demonstrates that at this time there was a willingness to experiment in how domestic space was ordered and experienced. But it also suggests that there was no agreed-upon scheme, which meant that how a building was to be read, particularly by a casual visitor, was by no mean certain and that the visual clues of how to behave and the purpose of a particular room were not as fixed as it had been previously. This is a theme that will be explored throughout this chapter as Bootham provides evidence of considerable investment in the nineteenth century and so the different strategies employed can all be examined.

Nos 41 and 43 Bootham

Nos 41 and 43 (Figures 199, 200) are part of a terrace of four houses, which also comprises No 39 and 45. They date to 1748 (RCHME 1975, 56), with each house being three storeys high with attics. The range has been much altered and restored and the front of No 45 was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century (RCHME 1975, 57). Nos 41 and 43 are no exception to this alteration. No 43 has large bow windows on the ground and first floors that were added in the late nineteenth century and the external door to No 41 was removed some time after the middle of the century as it is still present in a photograph dating to the 1940s (Figure 201) (Y9_BOO_1265 YCA). However, No 41 still retains much of its original fenestration and so it is still possible to reconstruct the original

façade of each house. The front is made of good quality red brick in Flemish bond. Four stone steps led up to the doorcase on the ground floor and the frontage is four bays wide. The windows are roughly in proportion, in accordance with classical design, with the principal floor (the first floor) having large windows, approximately twice the height of the squat square windows on the second floor (Cruickshank and Burton 1990, 139). The windows all have lintels of finely gauged brick with keystones, and the western window of each house on the first floor (above the door) is singled out for special elaboration, having double keystones. The terrace is unified into a whole by a number of features. There are wide stone plat bands at first- and second-floor levels and stone quoins at each end of the row, with the western ones still surviving as part of the rebuilt No 45. The quoins alternate between long projecting stones and shorter ones flush to the brickwork. The cornice still survives over No 39, with the one over Nos 41-43 a modern restoration, and is a fine, bold projecting moulded cornice with modillions.

The houses were built as a speculative development by Thomas Griffith on land that had formerly been a garden (NMR No 39-45 Bootham, page 3). Griffith occupied No 45, which had the largest plot, and let out the other three houses. Speculative building, particularly on the large scale seen in London, was rare in York. The city was constrained by the medieval city walls and the centre was already densely built up. Therefore being able to purchase and demolish large plots of existing housing was extremely problematic. Where speculative building did occur, it was mainly due to a number of extenuating factors. The fine houses on High Ousegate (Nos 11-14) were created thanks to a fire in the late seventeenth century that cleared a large swathe of the street, while the terrace of Cumberland Row was able to be built in 1745 due to the construction of New Street, created from the demolition of a derelict house (RCHME 1981, 147 and 167). Therefore where building of this kind did occur in York it was small scale and sporadic.

Strangely, this picture was not radically different from what was occurring in London in the early eighteenth century. The small-time builder did not necessarily have much ready cash available and could sell-off the shell of a building (though roofed and floored), leaving it to be completed by the first occupier, which could result in a great diversity of finishes (Cruickshank and

Burton 1990, 117). This small-scale development also resulted in groups of houses with a wide variety of ornamentation, with fine distinguished houses located next to smaller dwellings. In London, this type of development changed by the end of the eighteenth century and though there was contrast between houses this was mainly on a street-by-street level than between individual properties along the same street (*ibid*). This helps to explain the development of Bootham, particularly the juxtaposition of the two properties already looked at. Nos 41-43 have some fine external features, typically found in grand mansion houses, such as the use of quoins, a bold cornice and keyblocks on the lintels. However, the individual properties are very narrow, having frontages of only 18ft. This therefore creates a disjunction between the grand overall impression of the terrace as a whole and the constraints of an individual house. It also contrasts with the fine large house of No 33, also constructed by a builder.

The two sets of properties also appear to exemplify the different types of building that could occur. No 33 appears to have been completed by Clough himself, something which occurred when the builder did not need an immediate return on his investment. This interpretation is strengthened by the newspaper evidence in the nineteenth century, in which interested enquirers are still being directed to Messrs Clough in Manchester (*YC* 9 March 1812). Nos 41-43 by contrast appears to have been owned (and possibly the building completed) by at least one of the occupants, which helps to explain the internal diversity of the original phase of the houses, rather than there being uniform decoration throughout.

Yet who were the owners? The external physical evidence might point in two directions. The houses were certainly narrow, but the overall appearance of the terrace fitted in well with the polite landscape of Bootham. This appears to have resulted in occupiers who were certainly polite and on the level of the lesser gentry, but were also either widows or spinsters, and often did not have large families to accommodate. As with No 33, it is possible to trace the occupiers through the rate books, although Nos 41-43 were in the parish of St Giles (YCA M13, M14, M14a, M14b). The documentary evidence shows a complex history of amalgamation and division regarding Nos 41 and 43 and the complexity is mirrored in the physical evidence. Therefore we will first consider

the internal evidence for the properties before looking in detail at the occupiers (No 41 and 43 will be described together as they are now one property).

No 43 is now two rooms in plan, with an entrance hall to the west and a staircase to the rear. However the house was originally entered into through the front room, which took up the whole of the frontage. Later, probably in the early nineteenth century, the hall was created. Evidence for the original scheme exists in the form of reset panelling on the west wall of the front room (NMR Nos 39-45 Bootham, 7) and a wide, arched recess that extends from the present hallway through into the front room (Figure 202). This recess probably included the doorway that led to the rear staircase. The room to the front is fully panelled with tall fielded panels above a moulded dado rail (Figure 203). Above the fireplace is an eared square panel, with a round arched recess to the east. A three-headed arched recess extends to the west. This is now blocked, with half of it in the entrance hall. There is a deeply-moulded plaster cornice that projects where it meets the fireplace which also dates to the middle of the eighteenth century (*ibid*, 8). This room also includes a number of features from the early nineteenth century, these include a fine doorcase on the eastern wall, leading into No 41. This includes a cornice with compositional ornament and an architrave of sunk, reeded panels that in the top corners meet square panels with inset paterae. There is also a fireplace, with a frieze of a seated Venus dating to the same period, probably by Thomas Wolstenholme (*ibid*).

The back room of No 43 has no cornice decoration and its southern end has been portioned off to form a passage running from west to east through Nos 43 and 41 and bisecting the front and back rooms. This passageway is mirrored on both the first and second storeys.

In No 41 the external door also originally led into the front room, until a hallway was created in early nineteenth century (*ibid*, 6). The hallway includes a cornice of the Regency period, which helps to date its creation and at its end, as it meets the through passage between Nos 43 and 41, there is a moulded three-centred arch with fluted pilasters with Corinthian capitals (*ibid*, 7). The front room of No 41 is simpler than that of No 43 as it consists only of a moulded dado rail with fielded panelling below and a fireplace of mid-nineteenth-century date. It therefore has no cornice and was only paneled below the dado. This is likely to have been a cost-cutting measure rather than a deliberate choice, given

the other evidence in the house and the fact that leaving a room unpanelled above the dado had only just become fashionable (Parissien 1995, 132) and was therefore unlikely to have influenced York yet. The back room of No 41 has an early-nineteenth-century fireplace, with paterea in corner panels and a simple eighteenth-century cornice. The final room on the ground floor of No 41 was created by the removal of the original staircase, and has an early-nineteenth-century cornice with fluting (*ibid*, 5). However, when this space was created in the early nineteenth century it was originally open (without a door and partition) and led directly into the through passage. The evidence for this exists in the cornice which extends out into the passage. The purpose of this space, given its position, is difficult to determine.

On the first floor, the general layout is repeated. The front room of No 43 is fully paneled, similar to the room below, with long fielded panels above the dado and above the fireplace is a square, eared panel this time with egg-and-dart enrichment (Figure 204). There is also a deep projecting cornice with dentils. All of these features date to the first phase of the house in the mid-eighteenth century. The fireplace dates to the early nineteenth century and has a thinly reeded, pulvinated surround with enriched borders and square panels at the angles. The interior surround has wider concave reeding along the frieze, paterea in the corner and centre panels and foliage along the sides. The original fireplace was originally smaller as the Regency replacement cuts into the room panelling (*ibid*, 13). Also dating to the Regency period is a shallow recess in the eastern wall bracketed by reeded pilasters and inset with a modern door, which led to the front room of No 41.

The back room of No 43 has a dentilled cornice similar to that in the front room (Figure 205). However, the original room layout has been disrupted by the creation of the west-east through passage between No 43 and 41 (Figure 206). The former fireplace of the back room is now in the passage and converted into a cupboard, and the original cornice from the back room extends into the passage. The through passage also has elaboration in the form of a series of arches. At the western end is a moulded arch with reeded pilasters and Corinthian capitals, which is mirrored by an identical arch at the eastern end. These arches date to the early nineteenth century.

The front room of No 41 has now been sub-divided but originally took up the full frontage, the evidence of which exists in the form of a reeded cornice dating to the Regency period which runs from the front room to the side rooms created at the western end (Figure 206). The window architraves also date to this period and the upper corners are embellished with paterea in square panels. The doorway to the original front room is also embellished with decorative features from the early nineteenth century (Figure 207). On the inside is a moulded arch, identical to those in the through passage, with reeded pilasters and Corinthian capitals. Set within this is a reeded doorframe with paterea in square panels in the upper corners and above this a compositional ornament of a seated Minerva (*ibid*, 12). On the outside the reeded doorway is mirrored, although without the ornamentation. Both of the two back rooms of No 41 have few contemporary features and no cornices.

On the second floor, there is a similar arrangement of a through-passage between Nos 43 and 41, although without the embellishment of the arches. The front room has a projecting moulded cornice, although not as elaborate as those on the preceeding storeys and without dentilling and dating to the original construction of the house in the middle of the eighteenth century (Figure 209). The other rooms, both in Nos 43 and 41, have no cornices, although there are fireplaces with reeded and paterae panels in the front and back rooms of No 41 (*ibid*, 16).

The house therefore has a complex history of amalgamation, yet how does this fit in with the documentary evidence? No 43 was originally occupied by Mrs Fysh, who took up occupation in 1751 and in No 41, Mrs Warrens took up residence in 1754 (YCA M14). However, something strange occured in 1772, because from this time the two houses were rated together and both occupants were named as 'Mrs Fish and Mrs Warrens houses' (*ibid*). Mrs Fysh owned both houses, as she referred in her will to:

> 'my two houses, the house I live in and the one tenanted by Mrs Warrens' (BIUY PR 122, folio 494)

The will also makes it clear that there are two Mrs Warrens, who were perhaps sisters-in-law. It could therefore be a case that the rate books are simply noting both the owner and the occupier. However this is unusual in the rate books of both St Giles and St Michael Le Belfrey, as it is usually just the occupier who is

listed. It also does not account for why it took until 1772 for the rate books to include this information. It might simply be the case that Mrs Fysh bought the house at this time. It might also be a foreshadowing of the physical linking of the two houses that occurs at the turn of the century. Although the architectural evidence points to a date in the early nineteenth century, this linking in the rate books might indicate that some internal communication between these houses was established at this time before the later structural changes properly constructed the link.

Mrs Fysh died in 1778 (BIUY PR 122, folio 494) and the two Mrs Warrens either died or left No 41 by 1784. Yet from 1778 until 1785 the two houses continued to be rated together (YCA M14), which possibly strengthens the case that some kind of physical link was already in existence. Then from 1785 to 1791 it is listed under separate entries, until 1791 when the entry reads 'Mrs Langley's two houses' (YCA M14). Mrs Langley was one of Mrs Fysh's chief beneficiaries. Francis Langley and Catherine Langley were the nieces of Mrs Fysh (BIUY PR 122, folio 494) and they both inherited Nos 41-43, with at least one of them living there by 1791. We also cannot discount the possibility that both of them were living there, as the rate book entry for Mrs Warrens disguised the fact that there were two of them. Mrs Langley lived in the house until 1809 (YCA M14a) and it is highly probable that the work on the houses undertaken during the Regency period dates to her occupation. This includes the major structural linking of the two houses and the elaboration of a number of reception rooms, particularly in No 41.

Yet how does all this evidence, both archaeological and documentary, aid our understanding of how these houses were used and experienced? Starting with the original phase, one of the striking differences between the two houses is the contrast in the level of decoration in No 43 and No 41. No 43 may have been of a modest size, but the level of decoration was notable. The front rooms on the ground and first floors are fully panelled. The first floor rooms include dentilled cornices and even the cornices on the second floor, which in many houses were either absent or very simple, are fairly elaborate. This contrasts with the case of No 41, where most of the decoration dates to the remodelling in the Regency period and even then two of the rooms on the first floor (the primary floor for entertaining) had no cornices at all. This suggests that this was a case, as

outlined by Cruickshank and Burton (1990 117), of the final finish of a house being left to the first owners rather than the builder. Therefore Mrs Fysh appears to have outfitted her own house in fine style but provided only the bare essentials in No 41. This highlights how even though two houses had the same exterior, this does not necessarily indicate the richness of the decoration within or the wealth of the occupants.

The second period of interest is in the early nineteenth century, which saw a major rearrangement of the house. This coincides with Mrs Langley taking up residence in both houses, possibly with her sister. The rearrangement allowed the limitations of a narrow-fronted house to be ameliorated by combining two of them into one. Yet how this combination occurred is rather strange. The obvious solution to combining these houses would have been to use the front door of No 41 as the main entrance and to keep its staircase, eliminating the one in No 43. This would have provided the essential plan of a double-pile house. There would have been a central corridor with rooms leading off to the left and right, providing easy access to all the rooms. Also the staircase of No 41 would serve as a central staircase, providing easy access between floors. Instead, No 43 was selected for the front entrance and its staircase retained. This necessitated the creation of an west-east through passage on all the floors. This not only disrupted existing rooms, particularly the back rooms of No 43, but also allowed much more restricted access to all the rooms. This is particularly apparent on the ground floor, where, in order to access the front rooms, a visitor would have had to walk down the entrance hall of No 43 and then circle back round to the former entrance of No 41 where the doorways to both front rooms were located. It provides the illusion of a decorated processional way, but it is also convoluted, disrupting the easy access between rooms that is a hallmark of Georgian architecture.

The rearrangement of the house also does not allow for it to be used easily as two houses subsequently. However, that is exactly what occurred. Mrs Langley died or left the house in 1809, after which it quickly reverted to two entries in the rate books (YCA M14a). The front door of No 41 was certainly retained until the 1940s, which can be seen in the photographic evidence, indicating its continued use as a separate residence. This is not necessarily problematic, but what is a problem is how residents of No 41 moved between

floors. The staircase of No 41 was removed and the Regency cornice that existed in its former space helps to date this event. Therefore while certain doors could have been blocked up, the staircase of No 43 must have served both houses. The through passage between the front and back rooms would also have been used by both households. This would certainly have had implications for privacy. Servants from both households would have had to use the stairs and for the residents of No 41, simply moving from the ground to first floors would have necessitated going into someone else's home.

However, what was the wealth of the occupants? As has already been noted Mrs Fysh certainly had some degree of wealth in order to be able to buy both properties and outfit her own house well. She was also related to minor aristocracy as her cousins were Mrs Thompson who lived at No 47 Bootham (and also owned the manor of Osbaldkirk) and Lady Fagg (BIUY PR 122, folio 494), who was more properly referred to as 'Dame Sarah Talbot', but was a 'widow commonly called Lady Fagg during her natural life' (BIUY PR 128, folio 254). Francis and Catherine Langley, as nieces to Mrs Fysh, were of similar rank and the level of decoration employed in the refurbishment of Nos 41 and 43 in the early nineteenth century also speaks to their wealth.

The final issue to consider is the gender of these occupants. It is noticeable that Mrs Fysh, Mrs Warren and Mrs Langley were all widows (or else the names of their husbands would have been noted in the rate books). Widows, particularly of the rank of Mrs Fysh and Mrs Langley, were not excluded from polite society but they were certainly not central to its operation, particularly as they appear not to have had children and therefore would not be players in the marriage market. As we will see over the course of the chapter, Bootham appears to have attracted widows and spinsters in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly in the string of fine residences on the north side of the street. This opens up the possibility that these women were creating a community for themselves, both for socializing and support, having to some extent been pushed to the margins of the one created by polite society. If this interpretation is correct, then it cast the link between Mrs Fysh and Mrs Warren in a new light from being one of simply landlord and tenant, to one of close ties that may have included some kind of physical link between their homes. Mrs Fysh largely left bequests to family members, but both Mrs Warrens were

included in the list of individuals left 'a one guinea ring' (BIUY PR 122, folio 494). Other individuals left the same bequest were several other residents from Bootham or nearby streets, including Mrs Pigot, Mrs Livesey and Mrs Egling, as well as Mrs Twiselton and Mrs Humphreys in Micklegate. The possibility of this community of women on Bootham will be further explored as we move further down the street.

No 47 Bootham

No 47 (Figures 210, 211) is a very fine Georgian house is three storeys high with attics and was built in 1753. Although it is four bays wide, the same as No 33, it only has two rooms to a floor and follows the conventional plan of a narrow-fronted house. No 47 was built by the well-known architect John Carr and incorporates a number of features that are typical of his work (RCHME 1975, 58). Carr also built Harewood House in Leeds and the county lunatic asylum, also situated on Bootham a little way further up the street. Carr was one of the eighteenth century's most prolific English architects who established a reputation that went far beyond the local Yorkshire area, with five of Carr's designs appearing in the fifth volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (Hall 2004).

The front façade is built in Flemish bond of good red brick and is four bays wide. All the windows have flat arches of finely gauged brick, above which, on the ground and first floors, are moulded stone cornices unsupported by brackets. The windows are elegantly proportioned, although it is likely that those on the second storey have been lowered and would originally have been almost square (NMR No 47 Bootham, 2). The doorcase is reached up a flight of two stone steps and has a simple moulded cornice, which matches those above the windows, and is supported by console brackets. There is a wide stone plat band at first-floor level with a narrower band above it that forms a continuous sill for the first-floor windows. This distinctive feature has already been discussed in relation to No 33 and proved to be influential with York architects. There is also a narrow band forming a sill to the ground-floor windows. The roof cornice is wooden and heavily moulded.

Internally, there is an entrance hall to the west on the ground floor, with one room in the front and another in the back. The frontage is 36ft wide, only slightly less than the 35ft of No 33, yet here there are only two rooms to a floor.

The advantage of this is that the rooms, particularly the reception rooms can be large and grand and a size typically found in a larger mansion house. This layout also allows for the inclusion of two staircases – a main staircase at the rear that rises only to the first floor and a secondary staircase, fitted between the front and back rooms, that rises the full height if the house. The ground floor entrance hall has a moulded round-head archway at the northern end with plain pilasters and moulded capitals (NMR No 47 Bootham, 2). There is also a moulded dado rail with fielded panels and a deep moulded and enriched cornice, elaborated with egg-and-dart. All of these features date to the original building of the house, as does most of the internal decoration. The floor is paved with grey and white veined marble (*ibid*). The front room is fully paneled above the dado rail with oblong sunken panels and there is a deep moulded cornice (Figure 212) (NMR No 47 Bootham, 3). The doorcase has an entablature with a moulded cornice enriched with egg-and-dart and a decorated frieze with foliage. The fireplace is eared and enriched with a pulvinated frieze and cornice. Over the fireplace is an eared overmantel panel with carved pendants down each side of foliage and fruit and the panel is all based on a band of Greek key (*ibid*). The back room, used as a kitchen, has no ornamentation and a large fireplace with a segmental head.

The main staircase rises to the first floor and has a dado rail with panelling. On the half landing is a moulded and enriched large round-headed window of two orders with pilasters and the ceiling has a moulded and enriched border with plaster panels and foliage decoration (Figure 213) (NMR No 47 Bootham, 4). The front room, like the one below, is heavily ornamented, although of an even greater elaboration and described by the Royal Commission as 'splendid' (*ibid*) (Figure 214). The deep moulded plaster cornice has egg-and-dart enrichment and a centre foliated ceiling piece. The doorcase and the three windows all have carved decoration to the architraves and there is a moulded dado rail. The elaborate marble fireplace has a dentilled cornice with a frieze of foliage and fruit and console brackets on the jambs with similar decoration. The overmantel has a broken pediment and is enriched with egg-and-dart and garlands of fruit and flowers. The back room is also richly decorated with a deep moulded plaster cornice enriched with egg-and-dart, dentils and acanthus leaves. The door architrave and the cupboard has decoration of acanthus leaves

and the three windows also have carved decoration of ribbons and flowers. There is also a small room adjacent to the secondary staircase, between the front and back rooms. This has a simple plaster cornice and plain walls.

The second floor is accessed by means of the secondary staircase. From the ground to the first floor this was used exclusively by servants, while from the first floor upwards it was used by the whole household. This is also reflected in the architecture, as the first flight has a closed string and plain square newels which the remaining staircase has an open string and turned newels (NMR No 47 Bootham, 5). So far all the decoration described has been from the first phase of the house in the middle of the eighteenth century, yet on the second floor there are some signs of alteration. The front room to the east has a reeded cornice dating to the early nineteenth century (Figure 215), and the room to the west has a simple cornice of two coves also dating to the Regency period (Figure 216). A similar cornice can be found in the western back room. In the eastern back room there is more complex phasing. The main part of the room has an original moulded cornice and while it is certainly not as fine as those in the rooms below, shares some of the same design features, namely the combination of a deep fillet followed by a narrower one (Figure 217). At the western end of the room is the remains of a narrow passage that was constructed in the early nineteenth century. The evidence for this can be seen in the reeded cornice (similar to that found in the front room to the west) forming the outline of the passage (Figure 218). There is also a bay window of a similar period.

Who were the owners of this fine house? John Carr designed the house for Mary Thompson who was the widow of Edward Thompson, who had been the MP for the City of York (1722-42) and a Lord of the Admiralty (RCHME 1975, 58). He died in 1742 and Carr built No 47 in 1753. While Edward Thompson was not a member of the aristocracy, he stood very high in the ranks of the lesser gentry, particularly due to his parliamentary position. Mary also had an aristocratic cousin, Dame Sarah Talbot (known as 'Lady Fagg') and another cousin, Mrs Ann More of Carlton House, was 'late sub-Governess to the Lady Louisa Daughter to her Royal Highness the late Princess Dowager of Wales' (BIUY PR 128, folio 254). Mary also had a landed estate in the manor of Osbaldkirk, probably through marriage (*ibid*). The level of decoration in No 47 is very fine and reflects their wealth and station. Employing a noted architect

such as John Carr to design the house, who also worked on fine town mansion houses and country estates, also highlights their position. In a street of fine houses, No 47 still stood out.

However, of interest is who took over the property next. Mary Thompson died in 1784 and the next owner to move in was Leonard Pickard and his family (BIUY PR Y/MB 56). Pickard had a connection with Mrs Thompson as he was the 'Steward and Receiver of the Rents of my said devised estates' (BIUY PR 128, folio 254). Thompson left most of her estate to family, in particular her cousin William John Banner (and his family) and her niece Mrs Byron, however Pickard received the sum of one thousand pounds as well as farm and land in Osbaldkirk and Long Grange (*ibid*). His brother, 'Reverend Thomas Pickard of the City of York clerk' was also given the presentation of the parsonage at Osbaldkirk if none of the sons of William Sotheron were eligible (*ibid*). No 47 was originally given to Thompson's niece Mrs Byron, but in a codicil Leonard Pickard was given the opportunity to purchase it for the bargain price of one thousand guineas. Pickard therefore went from being the steward of Mrs Thompson's estates and on the bottom rung of the lesser gentry to being a propertied individual with a number of farms and a fine house on Bootham. His rise is reflected in his will at the time if his death in 1801, with the value of his estate estimated to be £5,000 (BIUY PR 145, folio 343). This signifies wealth but not to a substantial degree. However the family's fortunes continued to rise and the estate of his son, William Leonard Pickard, was valued at £12,000 (BIUY PR 233, folio 328). As has been noted, Leonard Pickard lived in No 47 until his death in 1801. His wife, Ann, continued to live in the house until her death in 1821, whereupon she was succeeded by her son who continued to live in the house until at least 1848 (BIUY PR Y/MB 56-64).

The wills of both Mary Thompson and Leonard Pickard also provide revealing insights into their personal possessions. It details a:

> 'Silver Tea Pot and Silver Cross for the middle of the Table also a Silver Tea Chest or Caddy and a Silver Sugar Basket which were my late sister Eleanor Moon's' (BIUY PR 128, folio 254)

These items would certainly have not looked out of place in the fine drawing room of No 47 (the first-floor front room) and they are left to 'such of the Miss Langley's as were executrixes to Mrs Fysh' (*ibid*). These were the Langleys who

inherited No 41-43 Bootham, discussed above. The tea set therefore traveled from the fine architect-designed house of No 47 to Nos 41-43. Yet while the latter house was only designed by a builder, Langley (either one or both of them) added many decorative features to the house, providing a fit setting for the silver. The use of 'Miss' in the will to describe the Langleys is also interesting as it suggests that they were unmarried. Early in Langley's occupation of No 41-43, the rate books describe them as Miss before moving to Mrs for the bulk of their residence there (YCA M14, M14a). However, it is possible that this was a mistake on the part of the assessors and that they were spinster sisters who lived together. Mrs Thompson also left 'the late Mr Thompson's picture set in gold for a watch' (BIUY PR 128, folio 254) to her niece Mrs Byron and 'my hook diamond ring' to Dame Sarah Talbot (*ibid*). Thompson also left Leonard Pickard all her pictures except 'my family ones at Osbaldkirk which I would have go along with the house' (*ibid*).

Leonard Pickard's will is also equally revealing. He gives to his wife:

> 'the Tortoise Shell Tea Caddy mounted with silver which was the said Mrs Thompson's And a Silver Stand for a Tea pot' (BIUY PR 145, folio 343)

He also gave her 'a Quarto bible in which are the Thompson's arms and the large Common Prayer book printed by Baskerville' (*ibid*). To his daughters Mary and Margaret he gave a gold box 'with like plain gold rings therein late Mrs Thompson's and my mother's' (*ibid*) and also:

> 'Small portraits of the said late Mrs Thompson in crayons and of her daughter Miss Thompson in oil, a miniature portrait of my late brother William set in Gold and two drawing in chalk Portraits of my brother Thomas and the late Mr Robertson' (*ibid*)

The combination of bequests is interesting as it displays a seemingly indiscriminate intermingling of the Pickard family's items with the personal items of Mrs Thompson and her family. Both are given equal weight and mentioned in the same sentence. In one particular case, the gold rings of Pickard's mother and Mrs Thompson are kept together in a gold box, both equally valued. This indicates not just a reverence by Pickard for the benefactor to whom he owned so much but also an appropriation of her family history, so that the Pickards almost became a surrogate branch of the Thompson family

and benefited from their accrued status, having already benefitted from their wealth.

Pickard's will also illuminates how items were used in No 47. There is the bequest of a 'Grand piano Forte by Longman Clemente and Co' and 'the portrait of a sitting dog' which was hung in the 'drawing room in my house in Bootham' (*ibid*). On the upper staircase were 'paintings, fossils and drawings', a 'painting of Boys' hung 'over the Door of my own room' and 'the portraits of two ladies… over the doors on the lower staircase' (*ibid*). There were also portraits of notable dignitaries including 'Arthur Onslow esq late Speaker of the House of Commons' and 'the late French King taking his last leave of his Family in a gilt frame', the last of which was not inherited from Mrs Thompson but given to him by her cousin Mr Banner. Pickard also distinguished in his will between 'my own room' and 'the best lodging room' (*ibid*). These different terms might simply denote the same room, but it could also indicate that Pickard did not sleep in the best lodging room on the first floor, leaving it for perhaps his wife or even left empty for guests. This would certainly have had implications for privacy as in would mean that Pickard's bedroom was not on the first floor, and therefore his personal space was not as permeable or in as much risk from outside intrusion. It is also possible that Pickard is referring to the small room on the first floor between the front and back rooms. However, this is one of the smallest rooms in the house and the cornice is far simpler that even the original one in the second-floor back room. It therefore seems likely that this small first-floor room was either a private dressing room that was not meant for any kind of public entertaining or a servant's room (or possibly a combination of the two).

Many of Pickard's paintings were sold after his death. An advertisement in the York Courant declares:

> 'SALE by AUCTION OF PRINTS, PAINTINGS, &c… Mr. T. M. BROMBY, Ever anxious to amuse the public eye, begs leave to announce that he has, with every possible exertion of judgement and attention, formed a *Selection of Curiosities* calculated to gratify the Connoisseur, and excite the admiration of the cursory observer. It consists of an Infinity of PRINTS, PAINTINGS, &c… in which expence was no impediment to their excellence.' (*YC* 31 May 1802)

The article goes on to reiterate 'the intrinsic merit of the *whole*' and even comments on Pickard's taste and character, describing:

> 'the well known judgement of the Gentleman from whose Museum a part of them is extracted' (*ibid*)

This certainly indicates that Pickard had continued to build on the pictorial legacy that had been given to him by Mrs Thompson and also suggests that he had antiquarian interests, linking him to the scientific and intellectual communities of York.

The internal fabric of the house is also illuminating. As has been discussed, the interior decoration is very fine and is comparable with some of the finest houses in the city, although on a reduced scale as the frontage of No 37 is far narrower that some of the city's other mansion houses. No 37 is 36ft wide, while, for example, Bathurst House is 44ft, Micklegate House is 63ft and Fairfax House is 50ft. Therefore while the interior style was comparable with these fine house, the number of rooms was not, particularly in terms of those rooms given over to polite entertaining and more private rooms (or at least those into which a more select group of visitors would be invited) such as libraries and parlours. It was admirably suited to Mrs Thompson's needs, a widow whose only daughter had died young, however a whole family of Mrs Thompson's rank would have felt constrained. This perhaps why the house was offered to Pickard. His own status (rising up from the lower ranks of the lesser gentry) did not match the sumptuous interior of No 47 but it did match the house's layout, essentially an admittedly large, but narrow-fronted dwelling.

Also of interest are the changes made to the second floor in the early nineteenth century, which, given the timeframe, can be ascribed either to Ann Pickard or her son, Rev William Leonard Pickard. The original, eighteenth-century cornice in the eastern back room is moulded with fillets and is of a depth and detailing not usually found in second-storey bedrooms. Yet it is to scale with the rest of the house given the fine level of decoration on the ground and first floors. It therefore tallies with the typical language of eighteenth-century decoration, where the second-storey is given the least attention of all the floors.

However, what is interesting is that in the early nineteenth century, the attention originally given the floor was not deemed sufficient. Three of the four

rooms have Regency cornices, and it is logical to deduce that these were added to rooms that had previously been bare of decoration. The room to the rear to the east did have an original cornice which survived, although the room was given the added feature of a short narrow passage to the west, where again a nineteenth-century cornice was added. During the eighteenth century, these second-floor rooms were largely undecorated as they were not exposed to visitors and only in the finest mansion houses was any level of decoration apparent. Yet in No 47, the original level of decoration was not thought to be sufficient by the householders of the early nineteenth century and more was added. This suggests a shift in design schemes and room use and rooms that were not by any measure public began to be decorated. Is this the start of private enjoyment of a house's interior as opposed to the wish for public display?

No 49 Bootham

This property (Figures 219, 220) dates to the late seventeenth century and is a rare example on Bootham of a house displaying evidence of fabric earlier than the eighteenth century. Unlike the rest of the City, Bootham has little medieval or early modern fabric, which the Royal Commission speculates is due to the siege of York that occurred in 1644 as part of the English Civil War (RCHME 1975, xlix). The area of York suffered particularly during the siege due to the attempt to storm King's Manor, which included the blowing up of St Mary's Tower on Bootham (Wilson and Mee 2005, 18). No 49 was originally two narrow houses at right angles to the street, with two storeys and attics. In c.1738 the front half of the house was heightened to three full storeys and the elevation facing the street remodelled (RCHME 1975, 59). The back half was completely rebuilt in 1965, but not before it was recorded by the Royal Commission (*ibid*).

The front elevation is built in good red brick in Flemish bond, although there is a clear differentiation between the colour and brickwork of the first two storeys and the upper floor. The house is four bays wide and all the windows have flat arches of finely gauged brick with stone keyblocks. The doorway is in the second bay to the east and dates to the second half of the eighteenth century (NMR No 49 Bootham, 1). It has fluted pilasters and simple capitals, with a plain frieze and an open pediment. At the far eastern end is a blocked doorway

opening with a flat-arched lintel that may have been one of the openings into the original twin houses. This helps to date rusticated quoins running down sides of the building, as they mask the blocked opening and its arch. The quoins must have therefore been part of the refashioning of the façade when it was heightened (*ibid*). There is a wide stone plat band at first-floor level and a projecting molded string at second-floor level that was probably the original timber cornice. The current cornice is more elaborate, being a deep and boldly projecting moulded cornice with modillions.

The two different phases are also present in the interior of No 49, with the front of the house dating to the eighteenth century (c.1738) and the back of the house to the late seventeenth century. No 49 was the scene of a riot in 1757 and the house is described as being 'gutted and destroyed' (Drake 1788a, 228). Many household goods and furniture were undoubtedly destroyed at this time, however decoration in the form of cornices and fireplaces probably survived to a large extent. This is demonstrated by the presence of seventeenth-century fabric on all floors, although it is possible that some of the Georgian fittings date to after this period as this just fits in with the stylistic dating of these features to the second quarter of the eighteenth century.

No 49 is a double-piled house, with four rooms to a floor. The door is similarly placed to No 33, being off-centre in the second bay to the east. However unlike No 33, the rooms in No 49 are much more regular and in particular it allowed for the creation of two rooms (instead of one) in the front suitable for entertaining. This is largely due to the size of the frontage, with No 49 extending 41ft and No 33, 35ft. The entrance hall has a moulded round-headed arch at the northern end with plain jambs and moulded capitals (Figure 221). This dates to the second quarter of the eighteenth century and fits with the refurbishment of the house c.1738, although as previously mentioned could possibly have been fitted after the riot in 1757. There is also a dado with bolection-moulded panelling, however this must be earlier, dating to the very early eighteenth century and was therefore part of one of the houses before remodelling occurred. Interestingly, there is no ceiling cornice present, nor is there evidence that there ever was one, as the arch rises to the full height of the ceiling.

The front room to the west is fully panelled with rectangular fielded panels above the moulded dado and an eared panel above the fireplace (Figure 222). The moulded fireplace has a pulvinated frieze with plain jams and there is a deep moulded cornice that projects on either side of the fireplace. All of these features date to the second quarter of the eighteenth century and are in line with the redevelopment of the house at this time. However, there is also a cased beam running east to west along the centre of the room (Figure 223). This does not date to the Georgian period and is a ceiling beam from the earlier phase of the house in the late seventeenth century. However attempts have been made to incorporate this feature into the eighteenth-century aesthetic by running the ceiling cornice along each side of the beam.

The front room to the west shares many of the same decorative features and style as the room to the west (NMR No 49 Bootham, 2). It is panelled above the dado rail with similar panelling as in the room to the west. The cornice and fireplace are also very similar, as is the presence of a cased ceiling beam decorated with the later ceiling cornice. The major difference between the rooms is a deep moulded doorcase leading to the hall. There is some evidence of the blocked external side opening that was observed on the façade. There is no sign of the doorway but there are marks on the plaster ceiling that indicate the removal of a passage wall (NMR No 49 Bootham, 2). This evidence fits with the earlier interpretation that the passage was removed at the time of the remodelling of No 49 c.1738. However the presence of marks in the plaster ceiling, as well as the cased ceiling beams in both front rooms and the bolection panelling in the hall suggests that while the remodelling in the front half of the house was extensive it was not total and that signs of the earlier phase and structure of the house were still present.

In the rear half of the house the retention of earlier decoration was more extensive, although as has already been noted this was all demolished the later twentieth century. The rear room to the west was a kitchen and had a seventeenth-century chamfered transverse beam (NMR No 49 Bootham, 2). The remains of a side entrance also date to this period, indicating that this was originally a lobby-entry house in form. It is very unusual to find this type of plan form in an urban setting, particularly in York and it might have been an indication of Bootham's real or imagined marginality in the seventeenth

century, with some houses taking on features than were typically rural in character. No 49 and Bootham as a whole were only a short distance from the city walls, yet at least in the seventeenth century this distance might have been great enough for it to have been considered separate from the city and its typical social practices. Whether this marginality continued into the eighteenth century will be further analysed below.

The back room to the east is the smallest room on the floor, being only 11ft wide and has plain walls and ceiling, although there is a fireplace with a pulvinated frieze and moulded and dentilled cornice (NMR No 49 Bootham, 3). The staircase to the rear has an open string but also incorporates elements of earlier-seventeenth-century fabric and was probably the site of the original staircase to the eastern house. Earlier fabric can also been seen in a small projection to the west of the staircase that was probably originally a closet (*ibid*).

On the first floor, the front room to the west has a moulded plaster cornice that is nevertheless fairly simple, dating to the second quarter of the eighteenth century (Figure 224). As in the front rooms on the ground floor, this room also has a cased ceiling beam with the cornice running down the sides. The front room to the east has similar features, with an identical cornice and a fireplace with a moulded cornice and pulvinated frieze (Figure 225). The first-floor landing incorporated further evidence of the earlier phase of the house. The landing was divided in half by a beam representing the division between the two original properties with the western half having a moulded plaster ceiling of seventeenth-century date.

The western room to the rear had few features apart from a ceiling beam with chamfered stops (NMR No 49 Bootham, 4). However, the eastern back room had fine decorative details and despite that fact that this room is in the older section of the house, these all date to the early-to-mid-eighteenth century (*ibid*). These included a deep projecting moulded cornice that was enriched with foliage and a fine fireplace with a decorated frieze and moulded cornice with both dentilling and egg-and-dart enrichment. The doorcase is described as being of 'outstanding quality' (*ibid*) with a pulvinated frieze with decorative foliage and a moulded cornice with egg-and-dart detailing. The architrave is also enriched with egg-and-dart. On the second floor, the rooms to the front

were heightened during the remodelling work in the eighteenth century (NMR No 49 Bootham, 6). The front rooms are full height but have few features and no cornices, with those to the rear were attic rooms and part of the fabric of the original houses. They were incorporated into the gables and probably used for servants.

Who lived in No 49? Like Nos 33 and 47, No 49 was in the parish of St Michael Le Belfrey and a nearly complete list of tenants can be found for the property from 1745 until the middle of the nineteenth century (BIUY PR Y/MB 55-64). The linkage of the list of tenants found in the rate books with the present No 49, is given further support by the list of occupants in the 1830 trade directory (*Parsons & White Directory of the City of York*), which gives house numbers for the first time. This shows Thomas Donkin living at 19 Bootham, next door to the Rev. William Leonard Pickard (who we met previously living at No 47) and Lady Margaret Johnstone who lived in the fine mansion of No 51 (RCHME 1975, 60).

The first tenant recorded in the rate books is William Bowes Esq who lived there from at least 1745 until 1767 and who was then followed by his widow Mrs Bowes (from 1767 to 1790) (BIUY PR Y/MB 55 and 56). The will of William Bowes does not include an estimation of his wealth but it does detail extensive property in Wigginton, Huntington, Clifton and Haxby (BIUY PR 111, folio 23). It is also probable that it was Bowes who undertook the redevelopment of the house c.1738 (RCHME 1975, 59) and there is also evidence that the Bowes family owned the property in the early seventeenth century (Hurd 2012, 3). It is therefore reasonable to assume that William Bowes was wealthy. Mrs Bowes was followed by Lady Fowles (or Fowlis) who lived at No 49 from 1792 to 1812. No details or will exists for Lady Fowles, although her title alone signifies her high status. Therefore from the middle of the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century all of the owners/occupiers were of gentry or lesser gentry status and also resided in the house for long periods of time. However after Lady Fowles's death, the property changes hands quickly. Samuel Wormald Esq lived at No 49 from 1812 until Jan 1815 and Arthur Cayley Esq from 1816 to 1818 (BIUY PR Y/MB 56-58). This short-term occupation was not, however, out of choice as both Wormald and Cayley died in the house. They appear to have been of a similar status as the previous occupants. Arthur

Cayley's will indicates a financial portfolio as well as high-quality personal goods, with him leaving 'all my property in the funds or elsewhere money in my bankers hands' (BIUY PR 162, folio 151), as well as 'my gold snuff box', 'glass wares wines and other liquors in my cellars and elsewhere' and 'my printed books' (*ibid*). However given both Cayley and Wormald's short stays in the house it is probable that they were elderly or in ill health when they took up occupation in No 49. Indeed, they might well have moved to No 49 to be closer to the city and more immediate medical attention.

There are gaps in the rate book records after this date but a Donkin Esq lived at No 49 from at least 1829 to at least 1830, with Mrs Legard living there from 1835 to 1847 (BIUY PR Y/MB 59-64). No details are recorded for Mrs Legard, but Donkin was listed in the 1830 trade directory as a 'land agent' (*Parsons & White Directory of the City of York*). This would probably place him in the lower ranks of the lesser gentry and a good deal below those of the previous occupants. This builds up a detailed account of the biography of the house. In the middle of the eighteenth century, Bowes redeveloped No 49 as a fine double-pile house with a few internal features of a very high quality. There is every indication given how this house was fitted out and built that it used by Bowes for entertaining and taking part in polite society. After William Bowes death his widow lived there for a number of years, followed by another widow Lady Fowles. They would certainly have been of the status to participate in the York society, although their position would not have given them a central role. The next two occupants (Wormald and Cayley) are elderly or infirm and in 1830, No 49 was occupied by a land agent. Therefore, there is evidence for a downward trajectory in the status of the house and its occupants. This began with the occupation of the house by widows and the extent that the property would have been used as a forefront of entertaining. The downward trajectory continued with the ill health of the occupants and their inability to participate in polite society and then to Dorkin. He was, at best, of the lower ranks of the lesser gentry. However his residence in No 49 signalled the rise in his fortunes and he could be described as a parvenu. The individual stories of this house and the ones previously described, help to build up a picture of Bootham in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and how it was used and perceived. In

particular it highlights the changing character of the occupants and how they used the somewhat liminal status of the street to their own advantage.

The other topic to discuss in relation to No 49 is how the house was adapted from its seventeenth-century form. As has been noted, the original form of the building was as two late-seventeenth-century houses of two storeys with attics (RCHME 1975, 59). As we have seen in previous chapters, the inclusion of medieval and early modern fabric can create problematic room use in an eighteenth-century house. Neat square rooms, that were typical of the period, were often unable to be produced and the lack of long, straight corridors prevented easy access routes between rooms. However, as has been noted in the Stonegate chapter, this problem does not really apply to the seventeenth century. House plans of two rooms to a floor had become common and while decorative details differed, this could easily be adapted to eighteenth-century expectations.

At No 49, the two houses were easily combined into a double-pile house with four rooms to a floor, all of a decent size. The ground floor in particular could suffer as the hallway would take up valuable space, but the front rooms of No 49 both had decorative features suitable for entertaining and for show. The original side entrance to the western property is of interest as evidence of a rural house type being present in essentially an urban setting in the late seventeenth century. However, this did not affect later phases as it was in the kitchen and not exposed to anyone but the household. However, not everything was hidden and evidence of earlier fabric could be seen in the ceiling beams in the front rooms on the ground and first floors. Although some attempt was made to integrate them into a Georgian aesthetic by casing the beams and running the ceiling cornice along them, this could not adequately disguise them. Such beams did not appear in newly-built houses of the eighteenth century and so would betray to any visitors the presence of an earlier building. Despite the decoration present in the rest of the room, the apparently unfashionable past would still be visible.

On the first floor, constraints and compromises are also in evidence. The seventeenth-century plaster ceiling was preserved on the first-floor landing, presumably because this was 'old-fashioned' feature the occupiers did not mind displaying as it was high-status and elaborate. However, it also caused problems

as it only reached across the western half of the landing, leaving the eastern half bare. This disrupted the unity of decoration within a room sought by eighteenth-century interior decoration. Also of interest is the interior decorative language. In most respects No 49 conforms to the standard stylistic scheme outlined earlier. There is one important difference and that is that the finest rooms are not located on the front of the first floor but rather to the rear. There are a number of possible explanations for this. These might include the desire of the Bowes (who renovated the property) to keep the original plaster ceiling. This would have necessitated keeping the existing room divisions and the back rooms were simply more suitable for entertaining. The Bowes might also have wished to keep visitors out of the front rooms with their tell-tale ceiling beams. This was unavoidable on the ground-floor due to the existing layout but perhaps more of an option on the first floor. The final possibility is what could be termed a wish to retreat from the street. Most eighteenth-century properties in York, whether narrow-fronted houses or mansion houses, had their main reception room facing the street on the first floor. There is evidence in Castlegate of major reception rooms starting to face the garden in the early nineteenth century and, as we will see when we discuss the streetscape as a whole, there is evidence of this happening in Bootham at the same time. No 49 might therefore provide early evidence of a retreat away from the front of the house and exposure to the public street. What could this mean? One explanation is that ostentation did not have to be so publically performed and that privacy away from the hurly-burly of a busy street was to be valued more.

No 55 Bootham

This property (Figures 226, 227) is one of a pair of narrow-fronted houses that form a unified façade dating to the third quarter of the eighteenth century. It is five bays wide, with both of the two doorcases occupying the central bay. The windows are well-proportioned, with the ground-floor and first-floor windows having flat-arched lintels of finely gauged brick. The first-floor windows are also embellished by moulded cornices unsupported by brackets. These are similar to the stone window cornices in No 47, which has led to the suggestion that John Carr may have been the architect (RCHME 1975, 60). At first floor-level there is a broad plat band, followed by a narrow band that form at continuous sill for the

first-floor windows. There is also a boldly projecting cornice with dentils and modillions. However the harmony of this fine façade is disrupted by a blank window in the centre of the first floor. The window framing and glass were retained but behind it is a blocked space where the partition wall between the two houses is situated. The doorcases are covered by a Doric porch that was added later in the early nineteenth century. Also added in the early nineteenth century is an extension on the western side of No 55 which is two bays wide and projects out into the street. This was originally only two storeys high, but a third storey was later added. Some of the architectural detailing of the main house is carried over to this extensions, including the plat band and the flat-arched lintels. However, the detailing and use of proportion is not nearly as accomplished.

The house was built by John Lund, who was a land surveyor (*ibid*). However, the documentary records reveal quite a complicated biography. John Lund appears to have built the house in 1766, before the house was divided in c.1771 (*ibid*). It is only from 1776 that Mr Lund's houses appeared in the correct position in the rate books to identify them as the present No 53 and 55 (YCA M14). This attribution is confirmed by later evidence. In 1830 the trail of occupiers in the rate books that began with Mr Lund leads to Miss Thompson in No 53 and Mrs Donnison in No 55. This is corroborated by the 1830 trade directory (*Parsons & White Directory of the City of York*), which also lists these names as living in No 21 and No 22, right next door to the fine mansion house of Lady Johnstone, who lived at No 20, which is the present No 51 (RCHME 1975, 60).

The trail of occupiers of Nos 53 and 55 in the rate books is therefore secure. However, what is problematic is the division of the two houses and whether or not No 53 was tenanted or not. From 1776 until 1812, the rate books list John Lund, followed by either 'houses' or 'two houses'. As we have already seen, the rate books for St Giles and St Michael Le Belfrey usually list the occupier, even if the owner is someone else. So in the case of No 33, Mrs Bethel and Nathaniel Pigott Esq were listed in the rate books even though they were tenants of Mr Clough. Moreover, even where entries include the phrase 'two houses' this does not necessarily mean separate occupants, as we saw with Nos 41 and 43 where there is structural evidence for the linking of the houses at this

time. However given the lack of a physical link between Nos 53 and 55, the Royal Commission appear to be correct in their interpretation that the house was originally built by Lund as one house and subsequently divided in two c.1771 (RCHME 1975, 60). The date of 1771 for the division of the house comes from a trust deed (*ibid*). This was a settlement for the marriage of John Lund Jnr and Ann, the daughter of William Harrison of Leeds and details 'two new built messuages' (*ibid*), one of which is in occupation of John Lund the elder and another by Mrs Robinson. Mrs Robinson makes no appearance in the rate books and the situation with John Lund Jnr is also confused as there appear to have been two of them. John Lund Jnr is mentioned in the marriage settlement and another died in Bootham in 1812 at the age of 33 (BIUY PR 156, folio 181). The Royal Commission note both of these, yet do not appear to see the contradiction of a man dying in 1812 aged 33 but getting married in 1773 before he was born. It is therefore probable that there were two John Lund Jnrs, with the first one also dying young. Which John Lund is mentioned in the rate books is also problematic as there appears to be a seemless switch over between father and both sons. The name 'Mr Lund Jnr' appears sporadically in entries in the 1780s before just reverting back to 'Mr Lund'. Mr Lund senior died in 1806 (BIUY PR 150, folio 456; *YC* 24 March 1806), after which Mr Lund (presumably the second son) began to be referred to as Esq in the rate books. Given this complicated history, it appears likely that as well as Mr Lund senior living in one house, one or both of his sons also lived in the other at different times during the period of the Lunds' occupation.

The interior of No 55 is also of interest. The hall has a moulded round-headed arch at the northern end, with plain pilasters and moulded capitals (Figure 228). There is also a cornice dating to the early nineteenth century. The room to the front has a deep moulded projecting cornice and on the west wall are two round-headed recesses that bracket a blocked fireplace (Figure 229). These features all date to the middle of the eighteenth century. The room to the rear also has a deeply moulded cornice that is very similar in design to the front room, although slightly less elaborate (Figure 230). Between the two rooms is a corridor that connects to the nineteenth-century wing (Figure 231). This corridor appears to have been part of the original design before the house was altered as the cornice from the back room does not carry forward into this space

(as it does on the first floor). This may have been the site of a secondary staircase before division. The rooms in the wing are bare of any elaboration and were probably used by servants or as bedrooms for an expanding family. Both of these explanations are possible as the most likely candidate for constructing the early nineteenth-century extension is the second John Lund Jnr. He married in 1804 (*YC* 15 October 1804), had a son in 1810 (*YC* 23 April 1810), before dying in 1812 (*YC* 4 May 1812). The timeframe therefore fits, as does the need for expanded accommodation. This explanation is given further corroboration by the fact that the later residents of No 55 until 1830 were single women or spinsters (YCA 14a, 14b).

The staircase leading to the first floor has an open string and turned balusters, although this changes to a closed string from the second storey to the attic. The room to the front has a deep moulded cornice, that is nearly identical to the ground-floor rooms, with the same combination of fillets and cyma-reversa elements (Figure 232). The blocked fireplace projects with recesses at either side. The back room again has the same cornice design, which this time carried forward into the east-west corridor leading to the later wing which bisects the two rooms (Figure 233). On the second floor, the front room once more has a cornice design that echoes those on previous floors, although here it is not quite as deep (Figure 234). To the east, another front room has been created from the frontage of No 53, with the cornice terminating at this eastern wall. This wall is a recent addition as the Royal Commission recorded a ceiling scar in this location and the front room of No 55 extending into this space (NMR No 53 and 55 Bootham, 5). Yet this appropriation of the second floor of No 53 must have been after the house was converted as, the Royal Commission also record the cornice terminating at the ceiling scar. In the back room, there is a simple cornice, although it is still of some depth (Figure 235).

The evidence from No 55 therefore develops some important themes. The first is the decoration of No 55, which does not follow the standard language of embellishment in the eighteenth century. This language highlights differentiation between different floors and sometimes even rooms on the same floor. In particular it highlights a distinction between public reception rooms and more private spaces, as well as distinguishing between downstairs dining room and upstairs drawing room. However in No 55 this language is ignored

and instead the internal spaces have few distinguishing differences in decoration to tell them apart. This is in stark contrast to No 53 where the decorative scheme follows the standard trajectory, with, for example, a fine embellished cornice in the first floor front room (finer than that in No 55) and then very simple coved cornices on the second floor.

The decoration of No 55, therefore, did something different. Firstly, it did not provide visual clues to visitors as to the kinds of space they were entering and the kind of behaviour that was appropriate to that setting. The decorative language of the eighteenth century allowed visitors to navigate a house even if they were unfamiliar with it, as it provided embedded clues as to social conduct and the types of activities that might take place there. These are absent from No 55. We might assume that the typical locations of reception rooms at the front of the house were retained at No 55, but there is little in the physical fabric to corroborate this. The second aspect of No 55 that diverges from the norm is in the decoration of the second-floor rooms. These were usually bedrooms and were emphatically private spaces reserved for use by the household. Yet here, especially in the front room, the level of decoration is higher than found in most houses of this period. In particular it does not scale with the decoration found on the other floors, being only moderately less elaborate. Therefore even in the house's private areas, space was not distinguished and elaboration was accommodated even when it was not meant for show and could only be enjoyed by the family. We have already seen examples of this in other houses along Bootham, yet these all date to the early nineteenth century. The curious case with No 55 is that it occurs in the later part of the eighteenth century. Is this merely a case of deliberate experimentation or does the somewhat liminal space of Bootham, provide more possibilities for such experimentation to occur?

The second theme of interest is the character of the occupants. The Lund family built No 55 and occupied it for a long period, from c. 1766 to 1812. The house has a fine proportioned façade, which includes some fine details, such as the window cornices, that are found in some of the mansion houses of York. However, John Lund was not a gentleman securely established in the ranks of the lesser gentry. He was a land surveyor and his wealth at the time of his death was only estimated to be £1,000 (*Universal British Directory Vol IV 1798*, York section, 953-980; BIUY PR 150, folio 456). He therefore seems to have belonged

to a rising family, in much the same way as the Pickards were in No 47. After the death of John Lund Jnr in 1812, his widow did not stay in the property and there was a succession of tenants until the late 1830s (YCA M14a, 14b). However, what is interesting is that they are almost exclusively either widows or spinsters, with the only male appearing on the list being Mr John Brooke who occupied No 55 in 1837. As we have already found with other houses along Bootham, the evidence for No 55 Bootham demonstrates how, during the second half of the eighteenth century and into the first quarter of the nineteenth century, there was a concentration of two distinct groups. The first is men with rising fortunes who were using a distinguished new house, with fine architectural details, to declare their move upwards through the ranks of the lesser gentry. However, while Bootham was among the finest streets in York, it was not the most fashionable and the large mansions of the established families can largely be found elsewhere. It therefore perhaps gave scope to those who wanted to proclaim their new status, but in turn did not disrupt the peace of the higher gentry who lived elsewhere. The second group is also significant, being widowed and unmarried women. This helps to build up the case for the existence of a group of women on Bootham, who created a community of shared interests. This is not suggest that there was an organized group and that all the women existed on the same terms with each other. Instead, the concentration suggests the organic formation of an informal community, which would have at different times and with different people involved mutual support and sociability.

No 57 Bootham

No 57 (Figures 236, 237) was built in the middle of the eighteenth century and was described in a conveyance of 1759 as 'new erected' (RCHME 1975, 61). The house was originally only two storeys high and remained so during the eighteenth century and Regency periods. In c.1830 the house was heightened and the façade took on its current form (*ibid*). No 57 is a double-pile house which is three storeys high and five bays wide. The entrance door is in the central bay and the whole bay projects approximately 3 inches from the wall. The whole of the front is stuccoed and there are wide plat bands at first and second-floor levels. There is also a moulded cornice with narrow modillions.

The windows are well proportioned but have no signs of embellishment. As has been noted the central bay projects outwards and has an elaborate doorcase. It has doubled Tuscan capitals to the jambs, above which is a plain frieze and a moulded and dentilled cornice. Above the cornice, in line with the jambs are two fleur-de-lys on plinths. The second-floor window in the centre also has a simple apron, although originally there were aprons on all the second-floor windows as seen in photographs dating to the 1940s (NMR No 57 Bootham). There is also an extension to the west, although it is modern above the ground floor. The ground floor of the extension is stuccoed and in the style of the rest of the house, placing its construction probably in the nineteenth century.

The interior of No 57 follows the conventional layout of a double-pile house with four rooms to a floor and a staircase to the rear. This probably follows the original conception of the house, however most of the interior decoration dates to the remodelling in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The entrance hall has a moulded round-headed arch with plain pilaster and moulded capitals. The front room to the east has a moulded cornice of the first half of the nineteenth century (NMR No 57 Bootham, page 2). It consists of a deep cove, with a narrow band of egg-and-dart enrichment above this and a wide one below. The front room was linked to the rear room by a flat-arched opening although this has now been blocked up. The arch has a simple moulded cornice with a plain frieze and moulded jambs that have sunken panels and chevrons. The rear eastern room has exactly the same moulded cornice as the front one (Figure 238). The eastern half of the house on the ground floor therefore made up one continuous room. The front room to the west has a fireplace with reeded jambs and carved floral garlands in the top corners and a frieze with carved curving lines. These are very similar in style to those on the first floor of No 51, the mansion house owned by Sir Richard Johnstone and afterwards by his widow (NMR No 57 Bootham, 2). It also has a moulded cornice.

The room to the rear has no features and was possibly used by servants, as was the nineteenth-century extension, which like its counterpart in No 55 is two rooms in plan. The staircase has an open string and is one of the few internal fittings of the eighteenth century. There are also several small closet extensions to the rear (NMR No 57 Bootham, 1). That to the east providing

closets on two storeys and one in the centre that rises the full height of the house. The central closet was probably added c.1830 and also houses a round-headed window on the half landing to light the stairwell.

On the first floor the front extends the full width of the house and is designed in a similar manner to the eastern half of the ground floor with two rooms separated by a flat arch (Figure 239). There are identical moulded cornices in both rooms. These are richly ornamental, with a narrow band of egg-and-dart along the bottom and an enriched band of foliage running along the ceiling. The arch is similar to that in the ground floors rooms, although is more elaborate with sunken panels on both the frieze and the jambs and moulded capitals on the jambs. A passage between the western rooms has a simple reeded cornice dating to the early nineteenth century, and the back room is lacking in any decorative detail. There was originally no passage between the rooms on the eastern side as the simple reeded cornice from the back rooms extends out into the passageway. The rooms on the second floor have very deep but simple coved cornices (Figure 240).

Who were the occupants of No 57 during the eighteenth century? The house falls under the jurisdiction of St Giles and the rate books can trace the list of occupiers from 1770 to 1836 (YCA M14, 14a, 14b). These consist of Mrs Woolfe (1770 to 1776), Mrs Warbutton (1776 to 1792), William Burgh Esq (from at least 1798 to 1808), Mrs Burgh (1808 to 1819), Mrs Crosbie (1819 to 1822), Mrs Cattley (1822 to 1823), Rev A. H. Beckwith (1823 to 1828) and Miss Maria Salvin (1828 to at least 1836).

Two features stand out in regard to this list. The first is the occupation of William Burgh. The Royal Commission state that Burgh died in 1808, which accords with the documentary sources. However they also state that he lived at No 57 for forty years (RCHME 1975, 61), which as we can see from the rate books is incorrect. Yet he is also the occupant for which the fullest biography is available. Dr William Burgh was a close friend and executor of the Whig poet and churchman Canon Mason (NMR 57 Bootham, 2). His will also records a fairly high degree of wealth, with an estimated estate of £7,000 (BIUY PR 153, folio 163).

The second feature is the continuation of the theme discussed in previous Bootham houses of a high proportion of female occupants of No 57. For the

period from 1770 until at least 1836, there was a male householder for only 15 of those years and for the rest of the period the main householder was either a widow or an unmarried woman. Of particular interest is Maria Salvin. We encountered her previously as living for over 10 years in No 55 before she moved in 1828 to No 57. Salvin's occupation coincides with the period when the major renovation work occurred in the 1830s and the house took on its present appearance.

Maria Salvin therefore went from No 55, with its fashionable frontage and well-decorated interior to No 57, which had the advantage of being a double-pile house with four rooms to a floor. Salvin is only estimated to have £600 at the time of her death (BIUY PR 204, folio 273), this is a low amount and could well not be accurate as estimates on wills are notoriously problematic. It could also indicate that Salvin spent her money during her lifetime, including the refurbishment of No 57. Salvin was also a spinster, and refers to herself as such in her will (*ibid*). Salvin had a marginal position in early nineteenth-century society due to her marital status. This was exacerbated by her faith, as her will reveals that she was a Catholic who requested the Ulster College for New Priests to say ninety masses for her soul (*ibid*). Yet this marginal status did not prevent Salvin from living in a fine house or from upgrading to a larger property and carrying out renovation work. Salvin created the domestic environment that she desired, one that was not afraid of ostentation or display, and did not allow her lack of a husband to stand in her way.

The use of space in No 57 is also of interest. As we have seen in the houses so far examined along Bootham, there is evidence for experimentation in the use of rooms and their decorative schemes in the early nineteenth century. Yet while this evidence exists it is not uniform and No 57 provides an example of a house that despite being outfitted well into the nineteenth century, it still follows the decorative language of the eighteenth century. Therefore the finest decoration in this house is reserved for the first floor, followed by the ground floor, with the third floor a distant third. So along Bootham there is evidence for both experimentation and conformity to older traditions during the nineteenth century. It is not possible to provide a detailed breakdown of the evidence for experimentation and conformity on Bootham and Clifton as a systematic survey of all the surviving fabric is outside the scope of this PhD and much of the Royal

Commission's survey of these areas does not include detailed descriptions of the interiors. However, the evidence uncovered both in Bootham and in Castlegate demonstrates that particularly in the finest houses on these streets there was an active negotiation as to how interior spaces were used and experienced, both by members of the household and visitors.

The Streetscape

The origins of Bootham (Figures 185, 186, 187, 188) may have been quite ancient as it follows the line of the Via Principia out of the Roman fortress. John Speed's map of 1610 shows houses built up on both sides of the street from Bootham Bar to St Mary's Tower (Figure 1). After this, fields and trees are illustrated, although the map only continues for a short way past Marygate. Chassereau's map of 1750 develops the story of the street, with Wandersford Hospital now marked, as well as a row of houses extending west of it (Figure 3). However this row only extends a short way and once again the area beyond is taken up with fields and trees. Bootham therefore has a complicated development, being both adjacent to the City of York and closer to the Minster than many other parts of the City, but also outside the walls and in some ways retaining a rural character.

The physical evidence on Bootham for structures earlier than the eighteenth century is scarce. The evidence from No 49 has already discussed and there are a few other houses that contain earlier fabric. Nos 21-23 is a two storey building that was originally constructed in the late seventeenth century to an L-shaped plan and contained decorative elements of the period in the form of a wall painting and a fine staircase (RCHME 1975, 55). Also on the north side of the street and again dating to the late seventeenth century is No 35 Bootham (Figure 241). This is next door to the fine Georgian house of No 33 and was better adapted to eighteenth-century expectations, at least in the latter part of the century. In the middle of the eighteenth century, the house was heightened to the three full storeys and a moulded timber cornice with modillions added. The majority of internal decoration also dates to this period, with some fine ceiling cornices and fireplaces enriched with egg-and-dart (NMR No 35 Bootham, 8). However, the house also betrays its earlier origins and is three rooms to a floor instead of two, one behind the other. This might seem like a

minor point, except that it means that the end room to the north is only accessible from the room in front. A hallmark of eighteenth-century houses is of corridors and halls that allow easy access to all the rooms, however the plan of No 35 necessitates a different living arrangement. The occupant of the northern back room of No 35 is prevented from coming and going without being observed by whoever is in the room in front. This allows for greater control and observation and impinges on the privacy of the occupant.

On the southern side of the street there is No 8 and 10 Bootham (Figure 242). Theses are a pair of two small two-storey houses only one room deep. They ostensibly date to the early eighteenth century, however on a return visit the Royal Commission discovered timber framing in the party wall on the first floor and attic (NMR No 8 and 10 Bootham, 1). They tentatively date this to c.1650. This seems largely a guess, particularly as building in timber was banned by the City Council in 1644/5 (RCHME 1972b, lxxx). Furthermore, the illustration of both the wall bracing and the roof truss is much closer in type to examples from the sixteenth century (RCHME 1981, lxiv and lxxi).

This lack of earlier fabric is unusual given the high degree of preservation in the rest of York and is attributed by the Royal Commission to the Siege of York (RCHME 1975, xlix). It is highly probable that the Civil War inflicted much damage on Bootham, yet we cannot assume that this destruction was universal. This is demonstrated in the illustrative evidence. An 1827 illustration by George Nicolson (YORAG R1319) shows that both sides of the street, up to Gillygate to the north and the entrance to King's Manor to the south, had timber-framed buildings in the early nineteenth century that still retained their original facades and had jetties at first and second floor level. Another view of Bootham Bar by an unknown artist in 1805 (Figure 243) (YORAG R2413) also shows jettied buildings. The presence of these buildings is further confirmed by a newspaper article that records the demolition of buildings in this spot in 1832:

> 'Bootham Bar – On Monday the workmen commenced taking down the houses between Gillygate and Bootham-bar, in order to widen the street on the North side of the bar. We hope we shall hear no more of the demolition of the bar itself.' (*YG* 7 April 1832)

Therefore while the houses of Bootham did see some destruction during the Civil War, this was not complete and timber-framed buildings were still part of the streetscape in the eighteenth century, at least close to the Bar.

The character of the street is further influenced by the distinction between the two sides of the street. On the north side there are several fine houses, including No 33, which we have already examined, and No 25 which was a wide, double-fronted house in Flemish bond with a dentilled and modillioned cornice. It was owned by Mr Thomas Gilbank, who served as sheriff in 1785 (NMR 25 Bootham, 5). Even so, it is only past Wandersford Hospital that the run of fine eighteenth-century houses really begins, beginning with No 39-43 until No 61. Yet this stands in stark contrast with the south side of the street, particularly up to St Mary's Tower. Here there are no polite Georgian houses and instead there was a row of small properties abutting the City walls. These were only one-room deep and frequently only two storeys high, seen in both the illustrative and archaeological evidence (Figure 244) (YORAG R10; NMR Nos 8 and 10 Bootham, 1). Therefore there was a sharp disparity between the larger properties on the north side of Bootham with their classical frontages and wealthy occupants and the smaller dwellings to the south.

The mixed character of the street is also visible in other aspects of the street. An illustration from 1840 depicts a numbers of street booths clustered around St Mary's Tower and also on the other side of Marygate (Figure 245) (YORAG R44). These booths are varied in appearance with one having a large umbrella and several seats available and others made op of low-slung cloth tents. The depiction of the booths is considered to be accurate by Murray, Riddick and Green (1990, 46), although the artist may have simply been inspired to include them from reading Drake, who theorises that the name of the street derives from the booths erected for the weekly fair of the abbot of St Mary's (Drake 1788a, 169).

However the presence of booths does accord with other evidence. The stretch of Bootham on the south side of the street from St Mary's Tower to Ingram's hospital contains no surviving houses dating to the eighteenth century. This is corroborated by the 1850 OS map (Figure 188) which only shows six houses along this stretch, three of which are still standing, with two dating to the 1840s and one to the early nineteenth century (RCHME 1975, 63). Given the

good survival of fabric elsewhere on the street, it is likely that few houses of a substantial nature existed during the Georgian period, particularly during the eighteenth century. One house that did exist along this stretch was the Cockpit, which was roughly opposite No 49 (Drake 1788a, 228). The Cockpit was used for cockfighting, with bouts occurring every day (*YC* 14 December 1742). Cockfighting has been seen by scholars as part of a repertoire of 'disorderly customs' made popular by the lower orders (Sweet 1999, 121). These customs went against the polite culture of the upper middle class and lesser gentry and attempts were made to remove them physically from urban environments (*ibid*, 171, 202). Stobart *et al* also acknowledge the presence of cockfighting and note that:

> 'Disruptions to polite performances could thus (temporarily) compromise the street as respectable and civil space' (Stobart *et al* 2007, 110).

The 'temporarily' is a crucial qualification which marginalises the extent to which Georgian polite spaces also included elements that were disruptive to the performance of polite society. The Cockpit was a permanent building, probably timber-framed and stood opposite some of the finest classical houses on Bootham. It therefore stood as an ever-present contrast to both 'improved' architecture and the 'orderly and rational' society it helped to construct (*ibid*, 109). The Cockpit also saw its share of disturbances. In 1757 'the lower class of people', including yeomen and farmers, were protesting against changes to the militia laws which forced them 'to contribute equally with the rich' (Drake 1788a, 227). On 15 September, the deputy lieutenants of the militia were due to meet at the 'cockpit-house without Bootham Bar' where the constables would give in their lists of those 'qualified to serve in the militia' (*ibid*). 'A large body, armed with clubs and other unlawful weapons' went to the cockpit but apparently could not find the lieutenants and so 'after drinking all the liquors in the house, they gutted and pulled it down' (*ibid*). They then went on to gut Mr Bowes's house, No 49, as he was apparently sympathetic to the new regulations.

These tensions are not just transitory but should be fundamental to our conception of eighteenth-century urban life. Stobart *et al* even acknowledge that cock-fighting was enjoyed by the gentry yet downplay the extent to which these would therefore be sites of disparity both in terms of the physical urban

environment and social make-up, with the upper classes mixing (or at least in the same physical space) as those of lower social status. This can be seen in Bootham, with a newspaper advertisement announcing 'the long Main of Cocks' that took place for the best part of a week between Tuesday and Saturday in 1805 (*YC* 11 March 1805). The event therefore lasted for a considerable time, yet also of interest are the participants as it took place between 'Lord Mexborough and Sir Francis Boynton, Bart'. Boynton eventually won the day and presumably the bragging rights. So, in York, the gentry were participating in cockfighting into the nineteenth century.

The presence of the Cockpit on Bootham helps to illustrate that it may actually be unhelpful to talk of disruption and disturbance in terms of eighteenth-century towns and cities. The ideals of urban improvement were undeniably important but that does not mean they were always to the fore or that they were always applied. The day-to-day experience of these spaces would have provided significant and repeated contrasts of old and new architecture and practices and that it is these that helped to structure how people experienced the street and the meanings that they subscribed to it.

Time depth is also an important consideration when analysing Bootham. As this chapter has shown, the row of fine houses on the north side of the street (Nos 39-61) gradually gets developed over the course of the second half of the eighteenth century. Yet on the south side there are no houses currently dating to this period and it is doubtful that any existed at the time. Based on the evidence of the later 1852 map, it is probable that there were only fields and the gardens of the Marygate properties running at right-angles to the main street of Bootham. This once again highlights the liminal character of the neighbourhood. Despite its close proximity to the city walls and the presence of classical town houses, Bootham also exhibited rural qualities that set it apart from other areas of the city. It is only in the second quarter nineteenth century that the area starts to become developed with houses built opposite Nos 39-61. Past the grounds of York Asylum there were virtually no houses in the eighteenth century, except Nos 8 and 10 Clifton, and again it is in the nineteenth century that concerted building occurs, particularly on the corner where Bootham turns into Clifton, with detached villas and rows of terraced housing.

Bootham therefore illustrates the complex early rise of the suburbs. This was primarily a nineteenth-century phenomenon, with the migration of the middle classes away from urban centres (Newman 2001, 162). In the eighteenth century, Bootham was not occupied by the middling class but by elite female householders and lesser gentry families on the rise. Yet as we have seen, while they were part of polite society they were either not central to its operation or only just starting to establish their polite credentials. The status of these owners has striking parallels with the street itself, being both part of the city of York, but also separate from it. A row of fine houses (Nos 39-61) were created during this period, but the street only receives serious development during the nineteenth century. So the ambiguous nature of the street during the eighteenth century, particularly conflicting indications of its suitability for genteel living, many be an indication of why its suburban, middle-class character developed over the course of the nineteenth century.

Finally, the presence of public buildings needs to be considered, particularly as this contributes to the street's liminal character. The street contained two hospitals (Wandesford Hospital and Ingram House) and the York Asylum. The presence of the hospitals might initially be seen as lowering the status of the street, as they catered to the poor (RCHME 1975, 49). Yet this was not the complete picture, as Wandesford Hospital in particular was designed for 'poor maiden gentlewomen' (RCHME 1975, 51), therefore women who were part of genteel society. Also while York Asylum was a lunatic asylum for those with mental illnesses, it was also a beautifully designed house by the noted architect John Carr, who designed No 47 and some of the finest domestic houses in the city (RCHME 1975, 47). The asylum was even described by contemporaries as 'the villa of a nabob' (Mason 1788 cited Akehurst 2011, 74). Therefore all these buildings contribute to the ambiguous character of the street, being both genteel and classical, but also catering to those on the fringes of that genteel society.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the distinctive character of Bootham, particularly in regard to its inhabitants. During the course of the eighteenth century, a row of fine houses with classical frontages was created along the north side of the street. Yet while these were owned and occupied by members of the gentry and

lesser gentry, they also formed two distinct groupings. The first comprised single women, both widows and women who had never married, who acted as the primary householder. These were genteel women, a number of whom were minor aristocracy or their relations. This opens up the possibility that these women were creating a community for themselves, both for socializing and support, having to some extent been pushed to the margins of the one created by polite society. The second group comprised members of the lower ranks of the lesser gentry who were on the rise and beginning to establish their credentials in genteel society. Therefore both of these groups were somewhat peripheral to polite society and this was mirrored in the location of Bootham. The street was among the finest streets in York, yet it differs from Micklegate and Castlegate in being outside the city walls. Therefore both the street and the residences to some extent appear to be liminal or marginal, despite the fact that this was elite space in the eighteenth century.

The second major theme of the chapter was the examination of the change to domestic space during the early nineteenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, one decorative scheme remained dominant. This scheme saw the level of decoration differ according to the floor on which the room was located. So that the ground floor had good decoration, the first floor had the best decoration and the second floor received minimal investment. This decoration scaled up or scaled down according to the wealth of the occupants and the fineness of the house but the ranking according to floor remained the same. However, during the early-nineteenth-century decorative schemes began to no longer conform to this model. This was already observed in Castlegate and Bootham, which also saw significant decorative investment in this period, mirrored this change.

One change was where the ground floor and first floor employed identical decorative schemes. If these had been following the standard pattern we would expect the ground floor to perhaps be of a similar design but several degrees lower in elaboration. This meant that these houses did not provide visual clues to visitors as to the kinds of space they are entertaining and the kind of behaviour that was appropriate to that setting. The decorative language of the eighteenth century allowed visitors to navigate a house even if they were

unfamiliar with it, as it provided embedded clues as to social conduct and the types of activities that might take place there. These were now absent.

This new scheme could also lead to elaboration of the second-floor rooms. These were usually bedrooms and were emphatically private spaces reserved for use by the household. In some of the Bootham properties, the level of decoration starts to be only moderately less elaborate than found on other floors. Therefore the house's private areas were not distinguished from public space. This leads to the consideration of whether this was the start of private enjoyment of a house's interior as opposed to the wish for public display. However it is important to emphasise that there was no unified decorative scheme to replace the old eighteenth-century one and in the houses on Bootham there was evidence for both experimentation and conformity to older traditions during the nineteenth century. The conclusion chapter will now highlight the major themes of the thesis and also highlight the direction of future work.

Chapter Seven
Conclusion

This thesis has made an important contribution to archaeological understanding of pre-modern urban housing. It has demonstrated how the detailed and systematic analysis of standing buildings can be combined with a close reading of contemporary documentary sources to pioneer a 'biographical' approach to houses and their inhabitants in the long eighteenth century. Three major research themes have emerged from this analysis. First, the re-examination of the eighteenth-century streetscape has enabled me to make a new and distinctive contribution to the discourse of urban improvement. Second, the close analysis of access routes, fixtures and fittings has generated a new understanding of the uses and meanings of interior domestic space. Third, the reconstruction of retail space within the townhouse has greatly enhanced our understanding of consumption practice in the pre-modern town. Structuration theory (Barrett 1994, Graves 1989) proved to be a useful lens through which to view the urban environment of eighteenth-century York. The theory views material culture as not simply a passive reflection of contemporary life but as actively helping to structure social relations (Giddens 1985, 271). The consequence of this is that the physical world both constrains and enables the social life of which it is a part. The material culture helps to set parameters around the possible archaeological interpretations and also provides evidence which can be employed to validate a particular argument. It is therefore not simply a case that any interpretation is equally valid, a free-for all where anything goes, as some critics of post-processualism have argued (Fleming 2006). Structuration theory provided the theoretical framework for the analysis of both space and material culture in this thesis and also informed the relationship between the physical evidence and the social life of the period.

The Streetscape

The study of urban landscapes in the eighteenth century has largely been the province of historians, art historians and social geographers. To date, historical archaeologists have made little contribution to this debate. This reflects research priorities within historical archaeology itself, where buildings'

archaeologists have tended to focus on the study of undocumented vernacular buildings, rather than their polite counterparts. The theoretical paradigms underpinning the historical interpretation of the urban landscape as not simply a reflection of social experience but also the medium through which urban society is structured and created, have much in common with recent historical archaeologies (Johnson 2010; Giles 2000; Gilchrist 1994; Barrett 1994). What this thesis has challenged however, is an assumption common to both historical and historical archaeologists' recent writings that what was being structured was the Georgian order of 'order, regulation and respectability' (Stobart *et al* 2007, 110). This thesis has demonstrated that existing research has consistently underestimated both the number and visibility of earlier houses within the pre-modern streetscape. The research presented in this thesis has revealed that such buildings were often medieval and timber-framed structures that were not simply retained because of a lack of understanding of 'fashion' or an absence of financial resource. Rather, such buildings often appear to have been deliberately retained and incorporated into a diverse and eclectic streetscape in which the juxtaposition of old and new was a deliberate architectural strategy. This appears to have been the story of many provincial towns, and future research might explore how cities such as Chester and its medieval rows underwent a very similar pattern of 'almost continual reconstruction and refacing' (Stobart *et al* 2007, 97) that, far from being a symbol of 'regulation' were rather a palimpsest of phases.

By recreating and analysing in detail the streetscape of York, this thesis has been able to develop a new hypothesis about one of the most important provincial cities in the north of England, and one which lay at the centre of Borsay's original study of 'urban renaissance'. One of the benefits of such a detailed intra-site study has been the revelation of profound differences within and between the streets within the city; something often missed by historians in their desire to generalize across a series of pre-modern towns and cities. De Certeau's writings were particularly helpful in analysing the streetscape as a whole (De Certeau 1984, 93). He advocates the practice of viewing the city from ground-level, as contemporaries would have experienced, rather than rely on top-down topographical representations. Of course, overhead maps were being produced during the eighteenth century, but this does mean that this is how

contemporaries conceptualised the city around them. Maps can also encourage scholars to view streets as physically bounded spaces or zones, without considering how movement between spaces would have occurred.

Pavement and High Ousegate were the major shopping streets in Georgian York, with an emphasis on fashionable clothing. The physical and documentary evidence of the appearance of these streets presented in this thesis contrasts with the scholarly characterisation of an improved townscape. Pavement as it existed in the eighteenth century has largely disappeared, yet it can still be reconstructed. The majority of the buildings were in the classical vernacular style and were smart, if unspectacular, Georgian buildings. However, there were also concentrations of timber-framing. There were two sets of medieval row houses, as well as the still surviving Herbert House and No 28 Coppergate. The owners of the shops that operated out of medieval premises may not have been among the wealthiest merchants in the city, but they were far from poor. Many of the shops were catering to those of high status and their premises do not seem to have affected their capacity to operate their business. If one of the main shopping streets in York during the eighteenth century, one that specifically catered for the fashionable clothing market, did not conform to the ideal of urban renaissance, it raises profound questions about the usefulness of the concept.

The mixed character of the street is also born out in High Ousegate, although in a subtly different manner. Here, the majority of the housing was of eighteenth-century build due to an earlier fire. This did not mean that the buildings were symmetrical or sought to present the uniform frontage consistent with the ideals of urban renaissance. There were considerable differences in size and degree of elaboration. Nos 19 and 20 High Ousegate, in contrast to the numerous other fine properties on the street, were small three-storyed houses with few decorative embellishments. However, both of these shops were specifically catering for the gentry market. In the 1780s, No 19 was owned by Mr Yates, a linen-draper and No 20 by Mr Spence a bookseller. These were not simply smaller outlets struggling to compete with the bigger, more up-market shops as Robert Spence was one of the wealthiest shopkeepers in York. The fact that the retention of the 'old' had significance for these shopkeepers is reflected in the fact that attached to the fine classical frontage of Nos 11 and 12,

and Nos 13 and 14 were reminders of older architectural styles, specifically wooden lean-to projections common in the late-medieval and early-modern houses of the city.

The study of York has demonstrated that we should not seek to characterize the story of the development of the urban environment as one of the inevitable rise of improvement. Pavement and High Ousegate were among the most fashionable streets in York, with high concentrations of shops selling goods aimed at the gentry, in particular, linen- and woollen-drapers, mercers and booksellers. Here too, there is clear evidence of mixed facades that persisted well into the nineteenth century. This corroborates existing research by the author on Micklegate (Chapter 2). Here, there are several examples of medieval and early modern fabric being deliberately re-utilised in the eighteenth century, such as No 2, 4 and 6 Micklegate. The exterior of this house was timber-framed and the main reception room inside had seventeenth-century panelling. Here, Alderman John Wakefield, who was Lord Mayor in 1766, appears to have deliberately used the 'old-fashioned' nature of his home to emphasise his links with the history of the city and his own legitimacy as a civic leader. This was also seen in the house of Henry Raper who lived on High Ousegate. Raper served as Lord Mayor, was a wealthy tradesman but also occupied a large timber-framed house.

While the rhetoric of politeness may have emphasised the need for symmetry and order in the city streets, the evidence from York leads us to question how much this mattered in practice. While aspects of this diversity has been acknowledged by scholars (Stobart 2008, 83), the rhetoric of politeness is still considered to be an important yardstick by which to determine the fashionability and politeness of a town (Sweet 2002, 361). This thesis argues that such an assumption, which rests on underlying models of diffusion and emulation of 'fashionable' architectural styles, is deeply problematic. If we accept that the architecture of the pre-modern town both structured and reflected contemporary attitudes then this mix of old and new appears to be telling us something significant about the nature of Georgian provincial society itself. Could old and new in fact sit comfortably together in a vernacular style? Such a re-interpretation raises important new questions about the status and

identity, social practices and the material culture of both well-established and nouveaux riche members of eighteenth-century urban provincial society.

In two of the streets examined in this thesis, Stonegate and Bootham, consideration of urban improvement also intersects with gender in interesting ways. Stonegate had one of the highest concentrations of medieval buildings in York during the eighteenth century, with the street dominated and characterised by timber-framed houses. However, this did not prevent it from being used as a polite space. Stonegate, like Pavement and High Ousegate, was a major shopping street, with virtually every house accommodating a shop on the ground floor, and it catered predominantly to the genteel market. Unlike High Ousegate and Pavement, more than double the number of retail outlets in Stonegate in the eighteenth century were targeting men. Coupled with the presence of coffee houses and the nearby Minster, this situates Stonegate as a gendered space, which had a focus on male activities and consumption. This is not to imply that polite women did not enter this space, but it was very much geared towards men.

These streets, therefore, seem to offer some tantalizing evidence for specific intersections of status, gender identity and architectural milieu. One explanation for this phenomenon might be that some of the elements of polite sociability, and the architectural features that came along with it, were only brought into focus when men and women were sociable together. This mixing of the sexes created a space that was more 'public' than one that was the focus of just one gender. As was seen with the private parts of the domestic house, style was used less for personal appreciation than for show in company. If the company was exclusively male then this need for show was lessened and even dispensed with entirely. The space became more private. Also, as was the case with the Lord Mayors' houses we have discussed previously, the timber-framed house might have been genuinely appreciated as a sign of ancient authority and antiquity.

On Bootham, the situation was different. Here, there was some evidence of a mixed character to the street, but on the north side of the street there is also a distinctive run of fine eighteenth-century properties, including one house designed by the noted architect John Carr. These properties include superior classical facades and internal decorative features comparable with some of the

fine houses on Micklegate and Castlegate. It is noticeable that many of the residents of this distinctive string of fine houses on Bootham were either widows or spinsters during the eighteenth century. A number of these women were either members or relatives of the minor aristocracy, including Mrs Fysh, Francis and Catherine Langley, Mrs Thompson and Lady Johnstone. Widows, especially those of high rank, were not excluded from polite society but they were certainly not central to its operation. This was particularly true if they did not have children, as was the case with a number of these women, and therefore would not have been players in the marriage market, which necessitated regular appearances at public venues such as the assembly rooms and the New Walk.

Bootham therefore appears to have attracted widows and spinsters in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This opens up the possibility that these women were creating a community for themselves, both for socialising and support, having to some extent been pushed to the margins of the one created by polite society. Bootham was a polite residential neighbourhood, yet was also outside the walls of the city. This poses the question of how liminal or marginal this elite space was in the eighteenth century? For although the properties are of fine quality, the large mansions of the established families can mainly be found elsewhere. Bootham therefore perhaps gave scope to widows and unmarried women to create a community of shared interests.

The wider landscape of the city is also important. In the eighteenth century, towns are seen by scholars as developing a 'critical mass' of polite spaces (Stobart *et al* 2007, 59), which could be utilised for a number of complimentary activities. They highlight the rise of specialist areas of polite leisure, high-status shopping and elite housing, and see them as areas that were not separate but situated in close proximity to each other. However, this can lead to a tendency to see eighteenth-century urban landscapes as being distinctly zoned, with elite houses and services all within easy reach of one another and separate from unimproved or lower-class space. This not only creates a dichotomy between polite and unimproved space but it also means that polite spaces become synonymous with improvement and classicism, when the reality might be much more complex.

This diversity of fabric can be seen in one of the archetypal forms of Georgian urban planning, the square. Squares are viewed as crucial elements of

the redeveloped and reimagined urban spaces of the eighteenth century, often forming the centrepieces of improvement plans (Stobart *et al* 2007, 92). They were spaces that allowed for polite promenading and the opportunity for elite members of society to see and be seen. Yet St Helen's Square, to the south of Stonegate and the only polite square in the city at the time, does not conform to this ideal. During the eighteenth century, the 'square' was only a funnel-shaped area with the broad end abutting St Helen's church and the narrow end hardly wider than a normal street. As *Eboracum* laconically observed, it was called a square 'though nearly triangular' (Drake 1788b, 91). On the western side of the street there were also prominent timber-framed buildings. However, this was still a polite space. It contained high-status shopping and a variety of buildings with regular, elegant facades, including the architecturally distinguished Mansion House. Therefore, as we have seen on numerous occasions in this study, old and new stood side by side and in a city such as York it was often very difficult to sweep away all traces of the past. Visitors and residents could not look about and seen an improved square, which testified to new fashions and also the ability of squares to sequester its polite occupiers away from the rest of urban life. Here older forms intruded on the present and the constricted space did not allow for uninhibited promenading.

The street of Castlegate also helps to illuminate these issues. The surviving houses on Castlegate largely date from the Georgian period and appear to support the view of urban historians that the landscape of the eighteenth-century city became more ordered and regular. However, this view is misleading, as leading off from Castlegate were the three Water Lanes. These predominantly consisted of timber-framed buildings and contained some of the poorest inhabitants of the city. In the nineteenth century, they were considered slums with a tenth of those who died in the cholera epidemic of 1832 coming from the Water Lanes. The sight of these places could not be kept separate from the gentry walking the streets of York. Nor could the elite spaces be kept exclusive from those of lower status, who might be gawking at the wares or simply using the street as a thoroughfare. The city was a dynamic place and movement through it must always be born in mind.

Domestic space

The topic of domestic room use has also emerged as a significant theme in this research. The majority of Georgian houses examined in York dating to the eighteenth century confirm the initial findings of my earlier research on Micklegate. This highlighted the use of a decorative scheme that remained dominant throughout the eighteenth century. This scheme saw the level of decoration differing according to the floor on which the room was located. The ground floor had good decoration, the first floor had the best decoration and the second floor received only minimal investment. This decoration scaled up or scaled down according to the wealth of the occupants and the fineness of the house, but the ranking according to floor appears to have remained the same. The decoration in a particular room, therefore, helped to structure the social activities that took place there.

This evidence cast doubt on the apparent steady rise in the desire for privacy noted by scholars, culminating in the Georgian house (Johnson 2010). For the ground-floor rooms, and so those most accessible to the street, were commonly the parlours that were used by the family for their everyday living. However the more formal rooms, including the drawing room, were generally on the first floor and this arrangement allowed guests deeper access into the home. Therefore, if privacy had been the primary consideration then this arrangement would have been reversed. In Georgian houses the private life of the family that took place in the front parlour would have been quite vulnerable to intrusions from the street, particularly noises, smells and sights, while the formal rooms on the first floor would be elevated above the hustle and bustle of the street. The privileged position of the drawing room may therefore signify a deliberate attempt to minimise in these rooms the danger of exposure to the outside world. The room layout thus placed greater importance on display and the comfort of guests than on the family's need for privacy. Furthermore, in narrow-fronted houses the first floor was also commonly the site of the principal bedroom. This layout of the floor, with bedroom commonly opposite the drawing room, also lessened the segregation between public and private space.

The thesis has furthered the investigation of room use in two significant ways. The first is the exploration of how domestic space was altered when it was placed above a ground-floor shop and the second is the indications of a change

in room use that occurred in the early nineteenth century. In many properties on both High Ousegate and Stonegate, there was evidence of disruption of the eighteenth-century decorative scheme where domestic space was placed above a shop. Here, the first-floor decoration was consistent with other properties in York, particularly the front room, which was often singled out as the primary reception room. The second floor was often used for bedrooms and, as these rooms were not used for display, they often only had either non-existent or minimal decoration. However, when the home was above a shop, this changed and there was evidence of elaboration on the second floor that is unusual for its position.

So how was domestic space accommodated above a shop? The evidence does not suggest that everything was simply 'moved up a floor' and that the first floor then functioned as the ground floor, and so on. In fact, the evidence from the first floors was very much in keeping with other eighteenth-century houses around the city. It therefore seems much more likely that the first floor was used primarily for entertaining and accommodating master bedrooms, as was the usual practice in Georgian town houses. This allowed the most formal and visible areas of the house on the first floor to retain their usual function and curtailed the intrusion of shop space into the fabric of the house. The second floor could then function as a mixture of floors, incorporating a front parlour which was traditionally situated on the ground floor and bedrooms, usually situated on the second floor. Visitors could therefore enter the house and have their expectations of the normal layout of a Georgian house confirmed. They would have been able to navigate with confidence the familiar surroundings of the first-floor entertaining rooms. It was only the family and the wider household that would have had to contend with unfamiliar or awkward elements caused by this contraction of space and floors.

The majority of shops on High Ousegate and Stonegate provided separate access points to the domestic areas of the house, with external doors leading directly to stairways and the upper floors of the buildings. Yet shops could also have more ambiguous intersections of retail and domestic space, particularly with regard to the back rooms on the ground floor. A number of examples can be seen Stonegate. Back rooms at No 35 and Nos 18 and 20 were used as dining rooms, with the interior decoration consistent with this use. Yet

back rooms could also be used to entertain more select clients. General evidence for this practice exists in the documentary record, with inventories recording the existence of 'the Back-shop' (Morrison 2003, 34) and trade cards showing similar divisions, with the back room providing a more domestic feel (Cox and Walsh (2000, 101). More specifically, there was evidence in York houses of back rooms being used for more private business. In the case of the No 35, there was evidence of a genteel customer entering this back room without knocking. This shows that persons of certain rank (and presumably valued customers) could have entry to this private space without being escorted there by the proprietor. The evidence therefore suggests that the distinction between private and public space could be blurred. In the case of Nos 18 and 20, this was exacerbated by the presence of the medicated baths in the rear of the building. Admittance to this area would have necessitated the use of the central corridor on the ground floor. This provided access to the stairs and the domestic areas of the house and further blurred the lines between space used by the family and that used by patients.

The second important issue raised by this thesis with regard to domestic space is the apparent change in room use towards the end of the period under study. In both Castlegate and Bootham, there is extensive evidence of either new houses built in the early nineteenth-century or changes made to the decoration at this time. As noted above, the typical eighteenth-century decorative scheme saw the level of decoration differ according to the floor on the room was located on.

However, the changes that occur to the houses on Castlegate and Bootham in the early nineteenth century did not conform to this model. Several different patterns emerged from my analysis. The first saw the ground floor and first floor employ identical decorative schemes. If these had followed the standard pattern, the ground floor might have been expected to be of a similar, but less elaborate, design. The creation of a similar level of decoration in rooms on both the ground and first floors suggests the desire for a unified aesthetic throughout the house (or at least those parts exposed to visitors), but it also meant that room use could perhaps be more flexible than previously. It also meant that these houses did not provide visual clues to visitors as to the kinds of space they were entering and the kind of behaviour that was appropriate to that

setting. The decorative language of the eighteenth century allowed visitors to navigate a house even if they were unfamiliar with it, as it provided embedded clues as to social conduct and the types of activities that might take place there.

This new scheme could also lead to elaboration of the second-floor rooms. These were usually bedrooms and were emphatically private spaces reserved for use by the household. During the eighteenth century, these second-floor rooms were largely undecorated, as they were not exposed to visitors and only in the finest mansion houses was any level of decoration apparent. Yet in some of the Castlegate and Bootham properties, the level of nineteenth-century decoration of these rooms was only moderately less elaborate than that found on other floors. This raises interesting questions once more about the uniformity of interior decoration and the meaning of decoration for private use as well as public display. Here private enjoyment for the family, and possibly private display, starts to be incorporated into interior design.

The Castlegate properties also yielded important evidence for changes to first-floor decoration. In the eighteenth century, all first-floor rooms would traditionally be decorated to a similar level, yet here only the front, entertaining room was decorated and the back bedrooms were left entirely bare. It seems that in the early nineteenth century these first-floor bedrooms were no longer also being used as exclusive reception rooms and did not therefore require the level of decoration they had hitherto received.

However, it is also important to note that in the early nineteenth century there were still houses that despite being outfitted well into this period, followed the decorative scheme of the eighteenth century. There is therefore evidence for both experimentation and conformity to older traditions during the nineteenth century. The houses on Castlegate and Bootham demonstrate that while there was a disruption to the eighteenth-century decorative scheme, this investment did not create a coherent new scheme that systematically replaced the old. Instead a variety of different schemes were employed, which demonstrates that at this time there was a willingness to experiment with how domestic space was ordered and experienced.

Retail Space

Some aspects of consumer space have been discussed above, in relation to both the streetscape and domestic space. However, the thesis also specifically examined the experience of shopping during the period. Structuration theory proved to be a useful approach, teasing out the meanings of these internal spaces (Giddens 1984, 1985). Scholarly research on eighteenth-century consumer practices has consistently ignored the evidence of the standing buildings. The justification for this neglect is that the physical evidence has been largely destroyed and documents and illustrations are a more fruitful source of evidence. There is some justice to this observation. Where the overall building has survived, the ground floors have invariably been heavily modernised, with even decoration such as cornices removed or covered over with boards. As this thesis has demonstrated, this absence of internal fixtures and fittings does not mean that the physical evidence has nothing to contribute to scholarly interpretations – the space itself can also be informative. What were the dimensions of the property? Did it have large, spacious rooms or were they narrow and confined? Was the house two rooms or four rooms in plan, or even just one? The answers to these questions enable scholars to interpret the possibilities and limitations of the space, and how it would have structured the consumer experience. For example, how easy was it to move around? Was there a back room to entertain more valued customers? Consideration of space also ties in closely with buildings biographies, in particularly the ability to link a physical structure to an occupant. This enables scholars to analyse how specific consumer experiences, such as a bookshop, would have operated in specific, defined spaces.

This thesis examined the physical spaces of a range of sites of consumption, including a linen-draper's, bookshop, apothecary's and coffee shop, and analysed how the practices particular to these businesses would have worked in these spaces. The amount of available space was often a central consideration. Although many of the shops studied were geared towards the gentry market, they were characterised by being extremely small and narrow. This characteristic has often been ignored in previous studies. For example, while Claire Walsh (1995, 161) created an extremely interesting reconstruction of Martha Braithwaite's goldsmith's shop in London from an inventory taken in

1746, she neglected to comment on that fact that the shop was only 7ft wide. Many of the York properties studied followed this model and could often be classified as small, following Peter Guillery's (2004, 40) definition of a 'small house' as one with a frontage of less than 20ft.

Scholars have argued that shopping was increasingly being practiced as a leisure pursuit during the period (Walsh 1995, 161) and that browsing was a key component of this (Hann and Stobart 2005, 183). However, the York evidence raises important questions about the nature of this experience. For example, No 19 High Ousegate was occupied by a linen-draper and had a frontage 17ft wide, which would only allow about 12ft for browsing. The shop was also extremely shallow, being only one room deep. The archaeological evidence suggests that shopping must have been a rather intimate, and sometimes crowded experience, with customers forced to push past each other simply to move around many shops. Rather than being a secluded haven located away from the street (Cox and Walsh 2000, 87), many shops must have forced social interactions, including inter-class interactions, on customers.

Similar themes were explored in other shops, particularly with regard to coffee shops. Brigg's Coffee House, No 31 Stonegate was reconstructed, to reveal the small front room on the ground floor as the location of the bar for preparing drinks, while the back room was the main coffee room. However, once again of importance was the small size of this back room. It measured only 13 feet wide by 27 feet deep. Therefore accommodating rows of individual stalls (which would need to be at least six foot wide), open space for customers and serving staff to pass freely and possibly central tables, would be difficult. As Barrell (2006, 92) notes, true privacy from other listeners was impossible in a coffee house, given the slim partitions, and that it was something of a leisure pursuit to eavesdrop on others' conversations. Yet while it might be acceptable to overhear these discussions, it was important not to take notice of them and to interrupt or interrogate those talking in a private booth. No 31 shows how the physical space would exacerbate such issues and, dependent on the number of customers present, eavesdropping on private conversations would be inevitable. The convention of polite deafness would therefore have been brought particularly to the fore.

Several bookshops were also examined, particularly No 35 Stonegate, which operated under 'The Sign of the Bible' during the eighteenth century. Two main areas were located for the display of books, the ground-floor front room and the first-floor back rooms. However, these would need to accommodate two businesses, the circulation library and retail trade. Both of these catered to genteel customers, though circulation libraries in general hoped to attract an exclusive and fashionable clientele (Raven 1996, 182) and this would certainly have been the case in York given that much of its leisure trade was designed to satisfy the gentry who were attracted to the city. The availability of novels was emphasised and subscribers were assured that '*they may be morally certain of never being disappointed of Things that are NEW."* (YML YK/017.4 TOD).

It seems likely that the first floor was used for sale items and the ground floor as the library. The front room, while comparatively small, would have been large enough to house the library stock, while the first-floor back range with its interconnected rooms would have been the logical place to place the far more numerous sale items. The use of the first floor would also allow customers deeper access into the house and retail customers were more likely to be known to the owner, than the more casual trade of the library which would rise and fall depending on such factors as the winter season and the York races. An important factor revealed by the analysis was the number of books the property had to accommodate. In 1766 the Circulation Library contained 2,487 titles (YML YK/017.4 TOD) and the 1792 retail sales catalogue lists 50,000 volumes (YML YK/017.4 TOD). The shop therefore regularly accommodated a huge number of books, as well as two distinct businesses – the library and the retail trade.

This would have had implications for how the space was experienced. In the case of the circulation library, the practice of relaxed browsing would be difficult, if not impossible given the number of books, the probable presence of a counter and the shopkeeper always standing as an intermediary. However, the space allocated for the retail trade created a different environment. This was located on the first-floor, and included more room than allocated for the library. It would be away from the bustle of the street and the front shop room and would also have not included counters, allowing customers direct access to the books. This space would have had a much more domestic aspect to it as it is

deeper into the house and adjacent to the private rooms of the household. It would also have allowed more possibilities for lengthy browsing, as well as enough room for seating. Although the floor-to-ceiling bookshelves needed to accommodate the books would still have rendered browsing problematic.

These examples once again demonstrate the potential of an archaeological and an interdisciplinary analysis to shed new light on the diversity and distinctiveness of the urban provincial shopping. It raises new questions about the nature of commercial space and consumption practice in the long eighteenth century.

Future research

One of the most important contributions of this thesis is in highlighting the role that archaeology can play in interpreting the social life of the eighteenth century. In Britain, the eighteenth century has been largely ignored by archaeologists, with the period considered to be of little interest. There are a small number of scholars working on eighteenth-century country houses (Finch 2008, West 1999), but when it comes to cities there is an echoing silence. Discussion of urban housing and landscapes largely stops with early-modern timber-framed structures and then only picks up again in the nineteenth century. Even here scholarship is heavily focused not on cities as a whole but on purpose-built workers' housing (Newman 2001, 91). This situation is even more apparent when considering the below-ground archaeology. For example, until very recently it was standard practice at the York Archaeological Trust to remove by machine not just the eighteenth-century evidence but all post-medieval material in order to reveal the, apparently more interesting, medieval layers. This practice has now been reversed and the Hungate excavations have revealed a wealth of detail about the margins of nineteenth-century York (Giles and Rees Jones 2011).

Eighteenth-century scholarship has, in turn, largely ignored archaeology. The big debates revolving around urban landscapes, such as improvement, consumer culture and domestic space have carried on with little input from those who specialise in material culture and therefore this form of evidence is frequently missing from discussions. There are notable exceptions to this, including Matthew Johnson, Sarah Tarlow and Roger Leech (Johnson 1996,

Tarlow 2007, Leech 1999a, 1999b). In the United States, the eighteenth-century has received more attention and been the focus of a number of eminent historical archaeologists (Deetz 1996, Glassie 1979, Leone 2005, Upton 2008). These contributions have largely revolved around the conception and development of the Georgian Order thesis. This has led to a number of problems. These analyses frequently have little engagement with the theories of urban renaissance and improvement being put forward by historians, even though they are essentially describing the same phenomenon, so that the two disciplines are essentially talking past each other. It is also possible that the construction of the Georgian Order thesis itself has contributed to the neglect of the eighteenth century by archaeologists. If the housing is all the same, symmetrical and ordered, then is there really any point studying it? Surely a few examples will do and then we can extrapolate the rest? This thesis has demonstrated that such neglect is not justified and the material culture of the eighteenth-century is extremely varied. Two of the strengths of archaeology as a discipline are a concern for spatial analysis and a close engagement with the physical evidence. Both of these concerns allow for a detailed and complex understanding of urban life in the period to be constructed, one that highlights how life was experienced on a day-to-day level and the role that material culture played in this. By actively engaging with this evidence, archaeology can significantly contribute to the larger scholarly debates of the period.

The thesis has encouraged scholars to look more critically at pre-modern provincial towns and the diversity of their building fabric. In particular it has challenged national models of both urban improvement and Georgianisation, highlighting that assumptions of conformity are overly simplistic. It has demonstrated that timber-framed buildings were a visible and numerous component of the pre-modern streetscape and that their presence cannot simply be ascribed to lack of finances or the slow diffusion or emulation of fashions from London. New Georgian buildings were also varied in their size and level of decoration, and regularity of appearance cannot simply be ascribed simply because a building has classical features. Old and new structures stood side-by-side on the eighteenth-century street and their impact and the meanings ascribed to them needs to be re-evaluated. This also has implications for the

cultural diaspora, with eighteenth-century towns within the United States being a prime area for future research.

The project has also made important contributions to methodology. Eighteenth-century urban houses have not been thought to have the complex stratigraphy of earlier domestic buildings, particularly medieval town houses. Therefore, they have been largely ignored by buildings' archaeologists. This thesis had demonstrated that such complex phasing does exist. Furthermore, when considered alongside close analysis of access routes, plan forms and fixtures and fittings, studies of these houses have the potential to illuminate the domestic experience during this period. This is particularly true when combined with documentary sources to produce buildings biographies. Here, the house and the owner can uniquely be studied together, revealing the life histories of both and enabling the study of how architecture and people influenced each other. It is buildings biographies which have the greatest potential to reach across all time periods encompassed by historical archaeology.

Abbreviations used in the text

BIUY	Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York
NMR	National Monuments Record
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England
VCH	Victoria County History
YC	*York Courant*
YCA	York City Archives
YCH	*York Chronicle*
YCL	York City Library
YH	*York Herald*
YMA	York Minster Archives
YML	York Minster Library
YORAG	York Art Gallery
YG	*Yorkshire Gazette*

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BIUY PR 111, folio 23, will of William Bowes
BIUY PR 121, folio 212v, will of Dorothea Bethell
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BIUY PR124, f544r, will of Thomas Wilson
BIUY PR 128, folio 254, will of Mary Thompson
BIUY PR 139, f.495v, will of George Ewbank Jnr
BIUY PR 140, f369r, will of Peter Johnson
BIUY PR 145, folio 343, will of Leonard Pickard
BIUY PR 150, folio 456, will of John Lund
BIUY PR153, f127v, will of Henry Raper
BIUY PR154, f1r, will of Thomas Willans
BIUY PR154, f352, will of Thomas Briggs
BIUY PR 155, f89r, will of Dorothea Johnson
BIUY PR 156, folio 181, will of John Lund
BIUY PR170, f153r, will of Robert Spence
BIUY PR 177, f269v, will of John Mason
BIUY PR 204, folio 273, will of Maria Salvin
BIUY PR 233, folio 328, will of William Leonard Pickard
BIUY PR Y/MB 55-64, overseers assessments for the parish of St Michael Le Belfrey
BIUY YM/D/HES/XV/9, acquittance relating to the will of Thomas Chadwick
BIUY Tuke, The Tuke papers

NMR No 25 Blake Street, York
NMR Nos 8 and 10 Bootham, York
NMR 25 Bootham, York
NMR No 33 Bootham, York
NMR Nos 41 and 43 Bootham, York
NMR No 47 Bootham, York
NMR No 49 Bootham, York
NMR No 55 Bootham, York

NMR No 57 Bootham, York
NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate, York
NMR No 7 Castlegate, York
NMR Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate, York
NMR No 16 Castlegate, York
NMR No 29 Castlegate, York
NMR No 5 High Ousegate, York
NMR Nos 11 and 12 High Ousegate, York
NMR Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate, York
NMR No 19 High Ousegate, York
NMR No 20 High Ousegate, York
NMR No 21 High Ousegate, York
NMR No 57 Low Petergate, York
NMR No 7 St Helen's Square, York
NMR No 15 Stonegate, York
NMR Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate, York
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NMR No 35 Stonegate, York
NMR No 37 Stonegate, York
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Watch House and postern
YCA Y912, maps of York by Dr William White, c1782
YCL Y769.5, tradesman's billhead for Henry Raper

YMA W/a-p, registers of documents passing the Common seal of the Dean and Chapter
YML YK/017.4 TOD, J.Todd's catalogues

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The View From the Street: Housing and Shopping in York during the Long Eighteenth Century

Volume Two

(Two Volumes)

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Archaeology

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Contents

Volume Two

List of figures

Figures

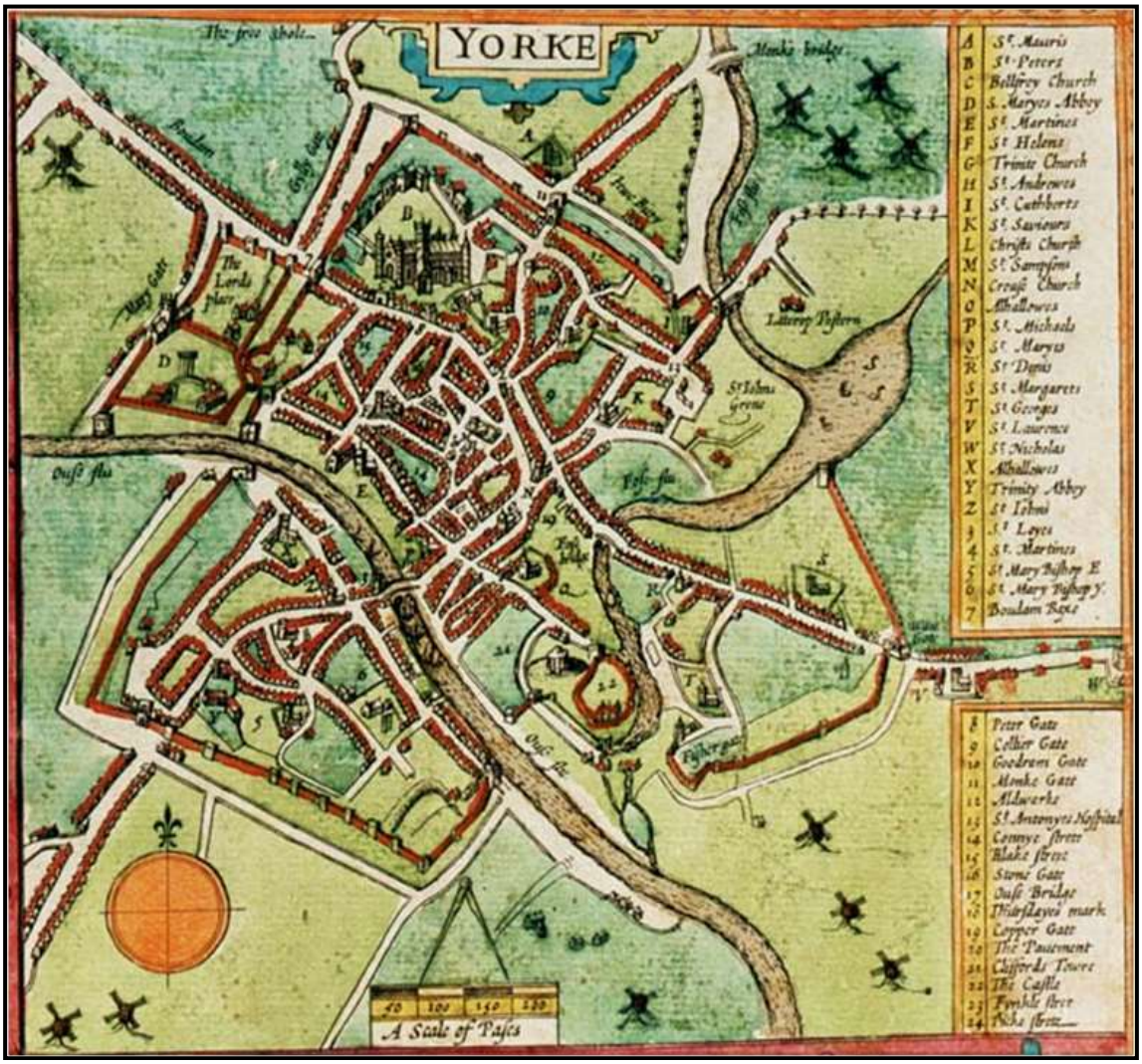

Figure 1: John Speed's plan of York, 1618 (YCA)

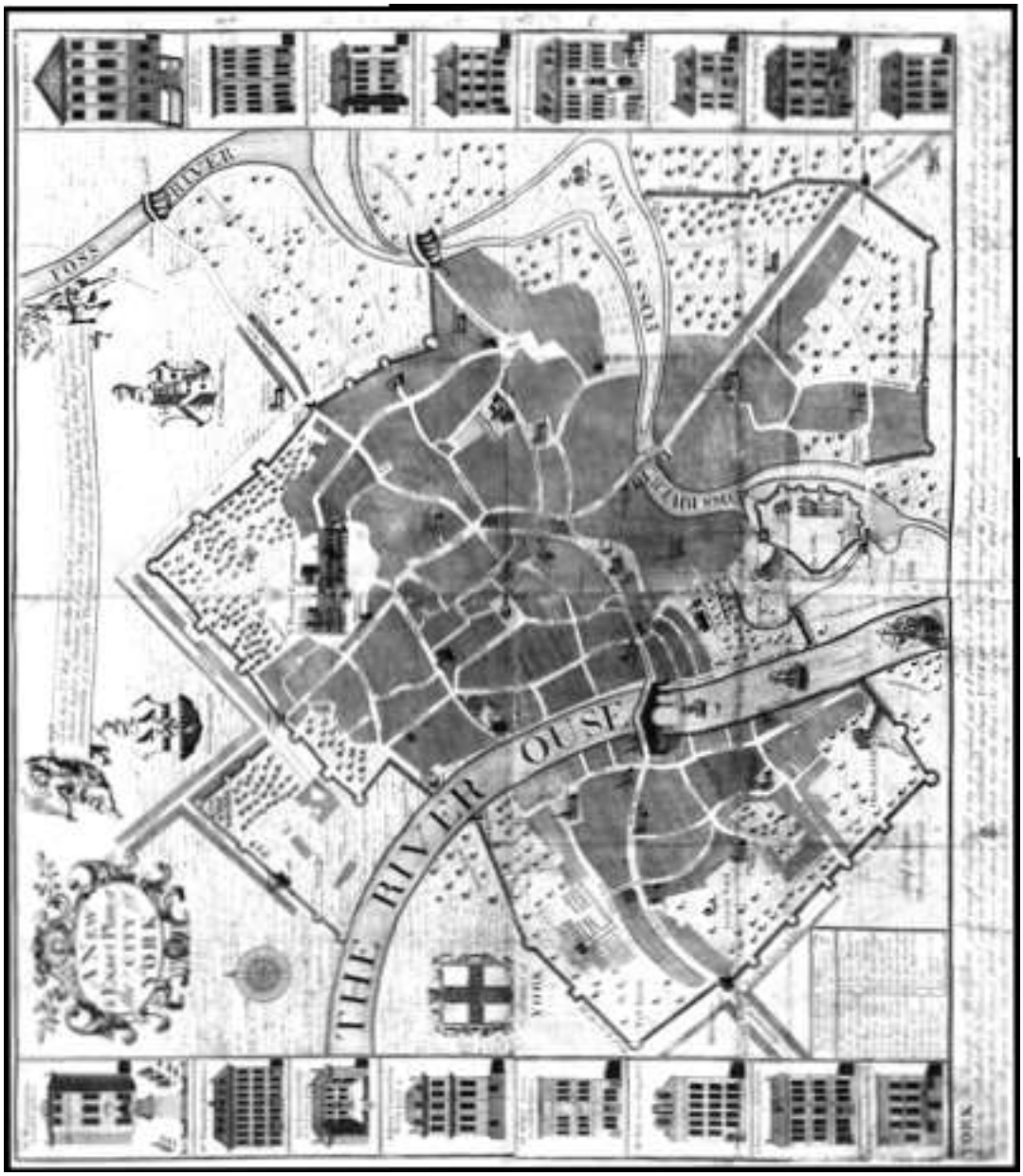

Figure 2: John Cossins's plan of York, c. 1727 (YCA)

Figure 3: Peter Chassereau's plan of York, 1750 (YCA)

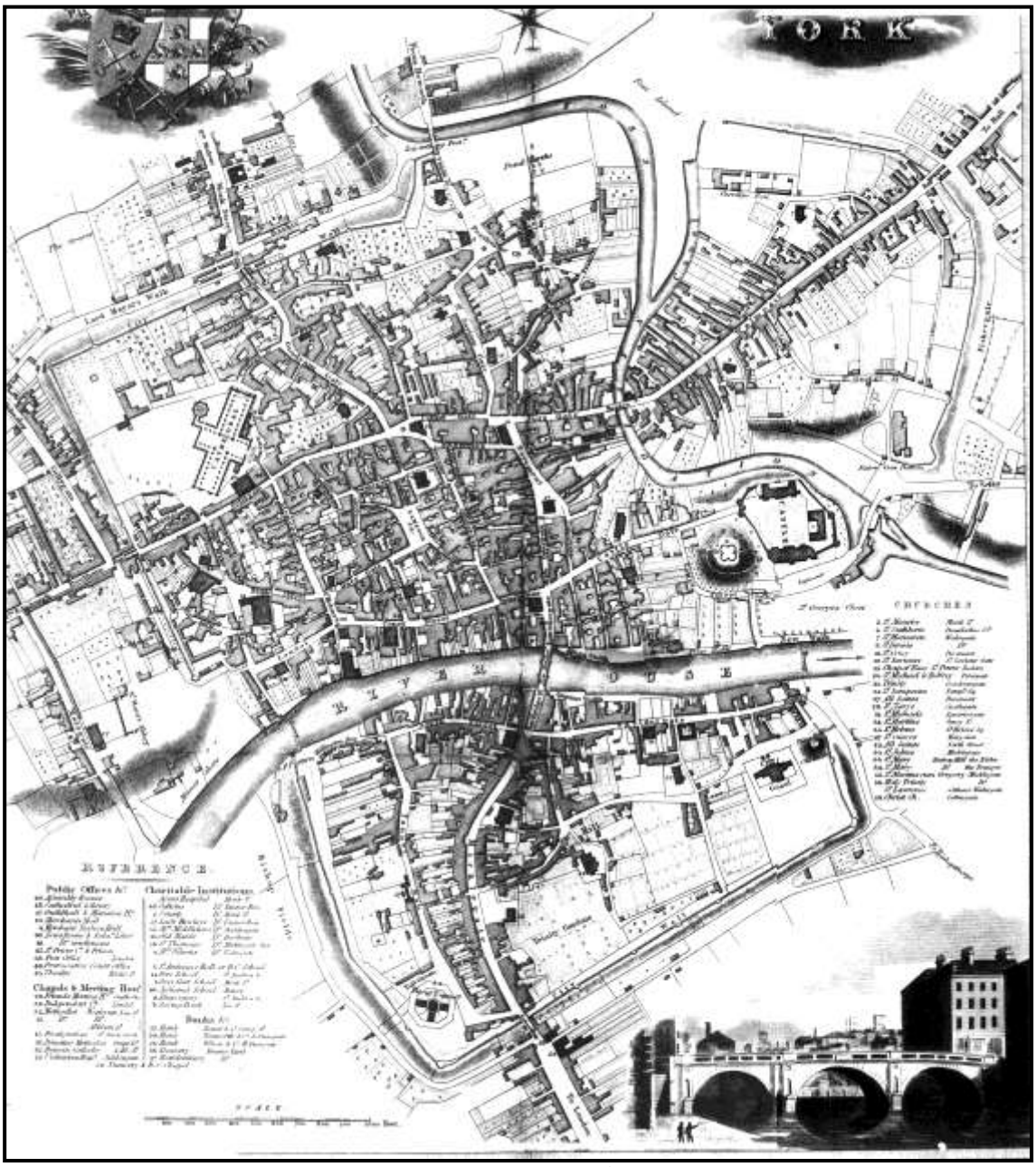

Figure 4: Alfred Smith's 1822 map of York for Edward Baines 'History, Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York' (YCA)

Figure 5: Modern map of York showing the position of streets featured in PhD

Figure 6: Front elevation of Nos 19 and 21 Micklegate

Figure 7: Front elevation of Nos 53 and 55 Micklegate

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 8: View of the bottom end of Micklegate, c. 1904, showing façade of Nos 2, 4 and 6 Micklegate (y9_mic_2049 YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 9: Truncated back range of Nos 2, 4 and 6 Micklegate, dating to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (from RCHME Nos 2, 4, 6; Crown copyright, NMR)

Figure 10: Front elevation of Nos 35 and 37 Micklegate

Figure 11: Front elevation of No 69 and 71 Micklegate

Figure 12: Front elevation of Nos 57 and 59 Micklegate

Figure 13: Front elevation of Nos 118 and 120 Micklegate

Figure 14: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Castlegate. Buildings used in case studies are marked with modern house numbers (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Figure 15: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Castlegate and surrounding streets, including the Water Lanes (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Figure 16: View of Castlegate, at western end facing east

Figure 17: View of Castlegate, in central section facing east

Figure 18: Façade of Nos 1 and 3 Castlegate

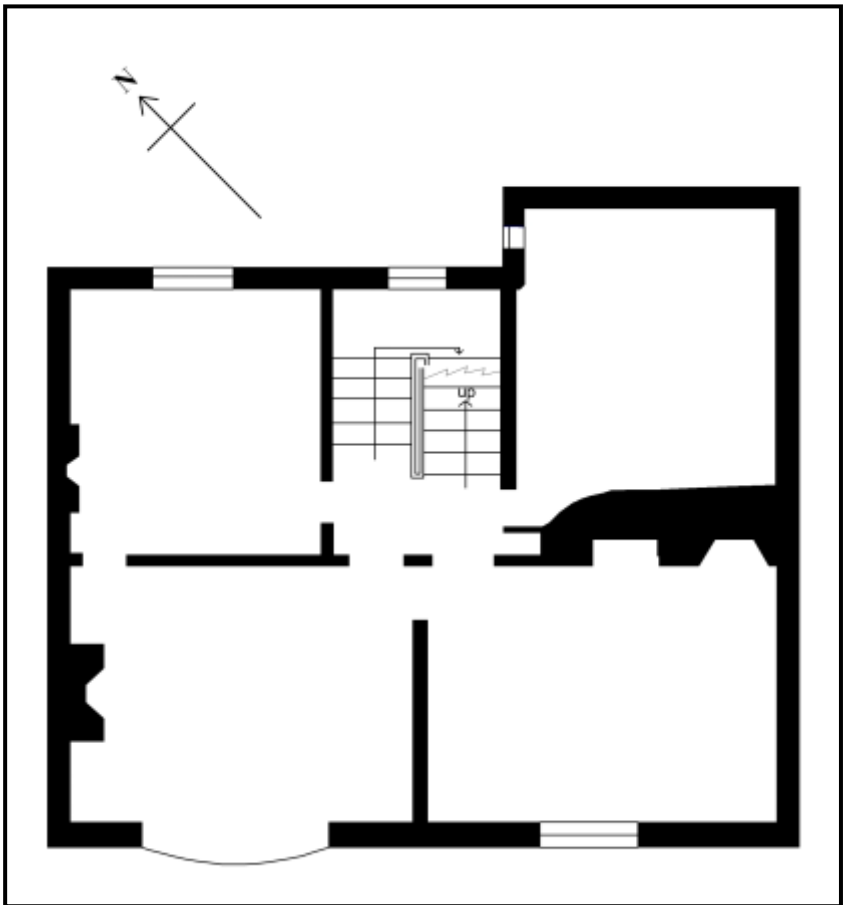

Figure 19: Schematic plan of first floor of Nos 1 and 3 Castlegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR Nos 1, 3 Castlegate)

Figure 20: Façade of Nos 1 and 3, showing cornice

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 21: Schematic map of the western end of Castlegate, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 22: Schematic map of the western end of Castlegate, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Figure 23: Façade of No 7

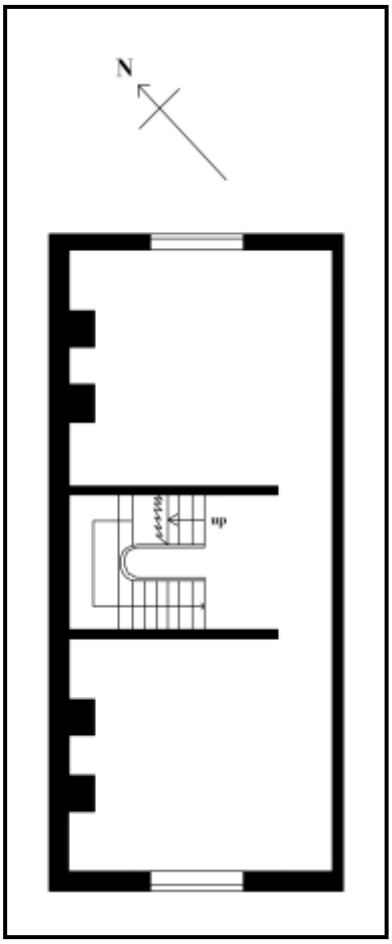

Figure 24: Schematic plan of first floor of No 7 Castlegate

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 25: Illustration of a chemist's shop in Cambridge in 1810 (Morrison 2003, 71)

Figure 26: Façade of Nos 9 and 11

Figure 27: Northern façade of No 11, showing extension

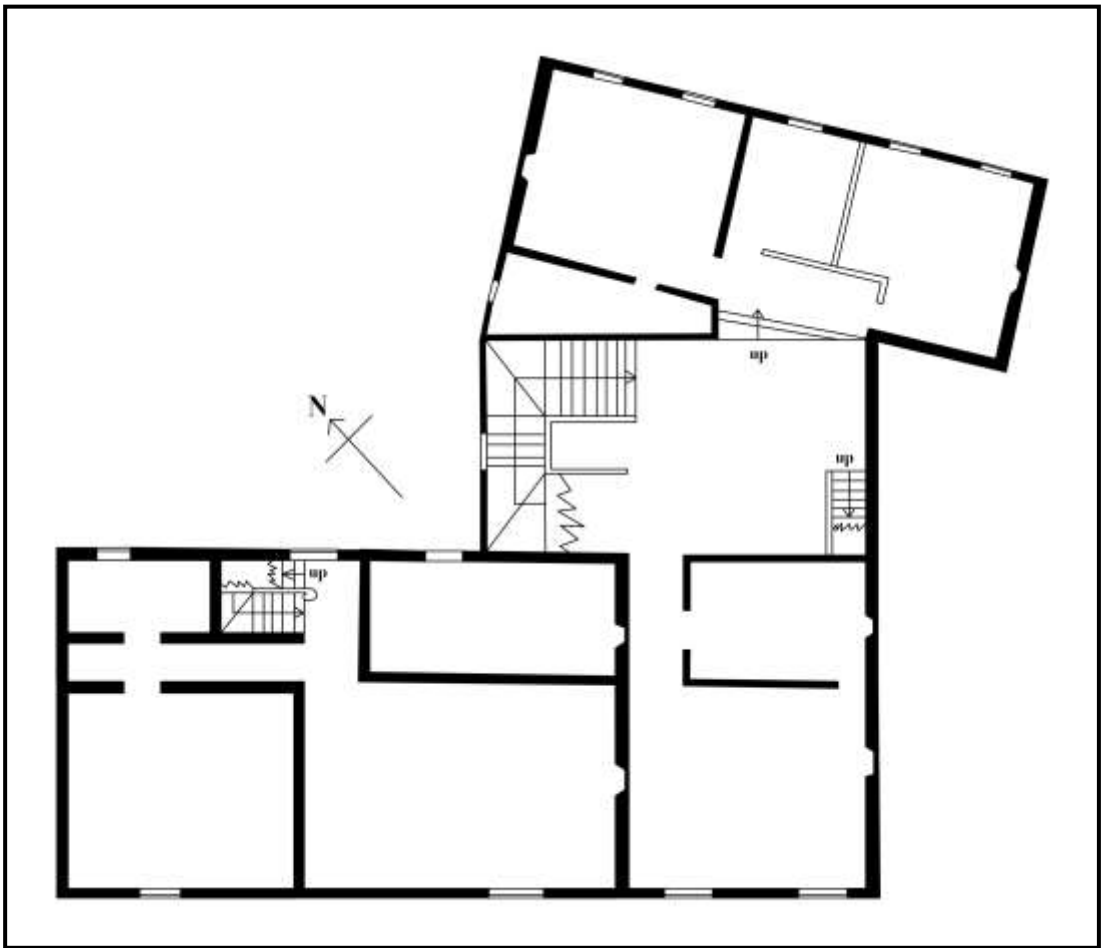

Figure 28: Schematic plan of first floor of Nos 9 and 11 Castlegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR Nos 9, 11 Castlegate)

Figure 29: Masonry blocks in the cellars under No 11

Figure 30: Detail of façade of No 9

Figure 31: Central front room on first floor of No 9

Figure 32: Staircase at back of No 11

Figure 33: Cornice in first-floor east room of rear extension

Figure 34: Cornice in first-floor west room of rear extension

Figure 35: Cornice in ground floor west room of rear extension

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 36: View of First Water Lane by Francis Bedford, 1853 (YORAG R8)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 37: Nineteenth-century view of Middle Water Lane by H Waterworth (YORAG R383)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 38: Nineteenth-century view of Far Water Lane by H Waterworth (YORAG R141)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 39: View of Castlegate from Far Water Lane, George Nicholson, 1837 (YORAG R699)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 40: Photograph taken in 1903 of Nessgate as it joins with King Street (formerly First Water Lane). It shows the timber-framed Star and Garter Inn.

Figure 41: Façade of No 16

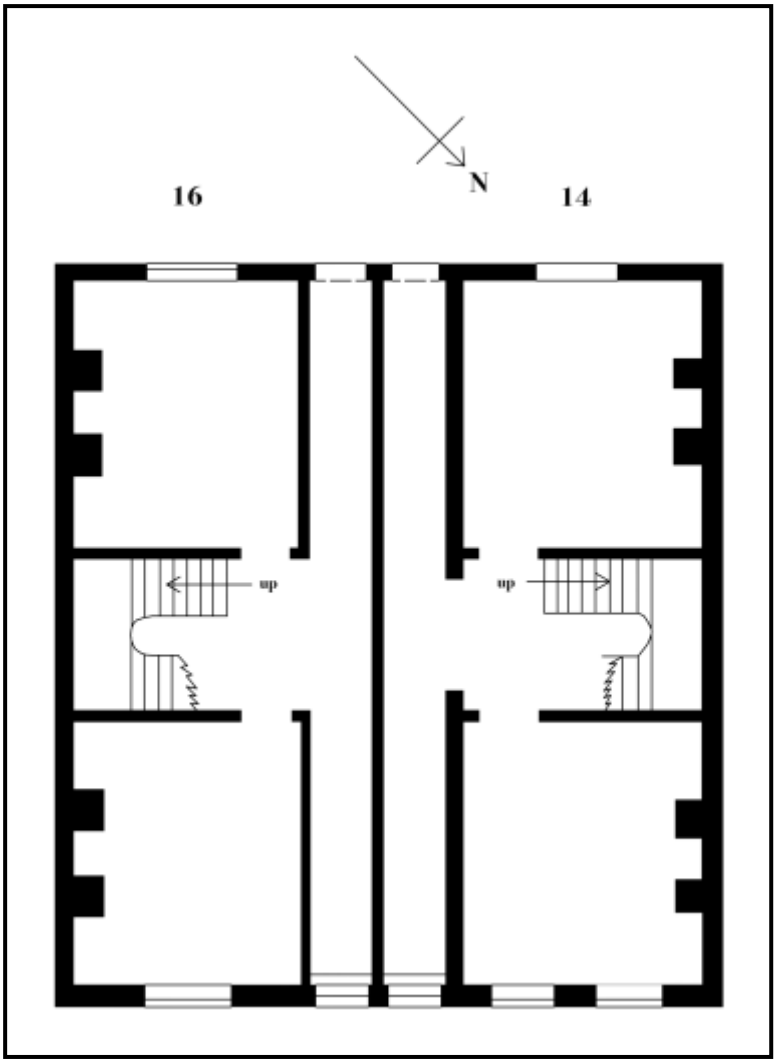

Figure 42: Schematic plan of ground floor of No 29 (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 29 Castlegate)

Figure 43: Façade of No 16 showing cornice

Figure 44: Ground-floor front room of No 16, showing cornice

Figure 45: First-floor front room of No 16

Figure 46: First-floor back room of No 16

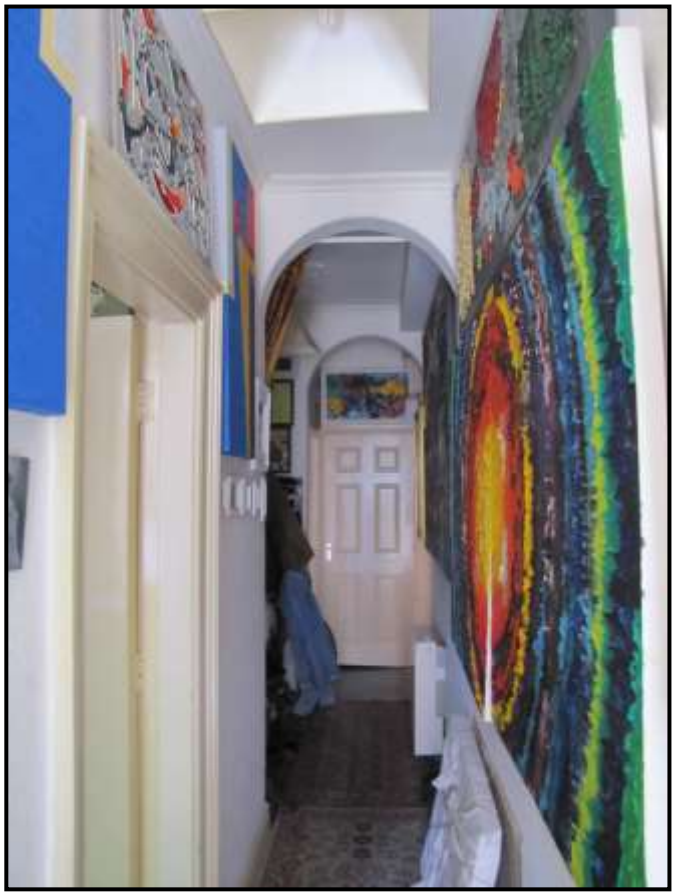

Figure 47: Ground-floor hall of No 16

Figure 48: Façade of No 29

Figure 49: Side entrance and west façade of No 29

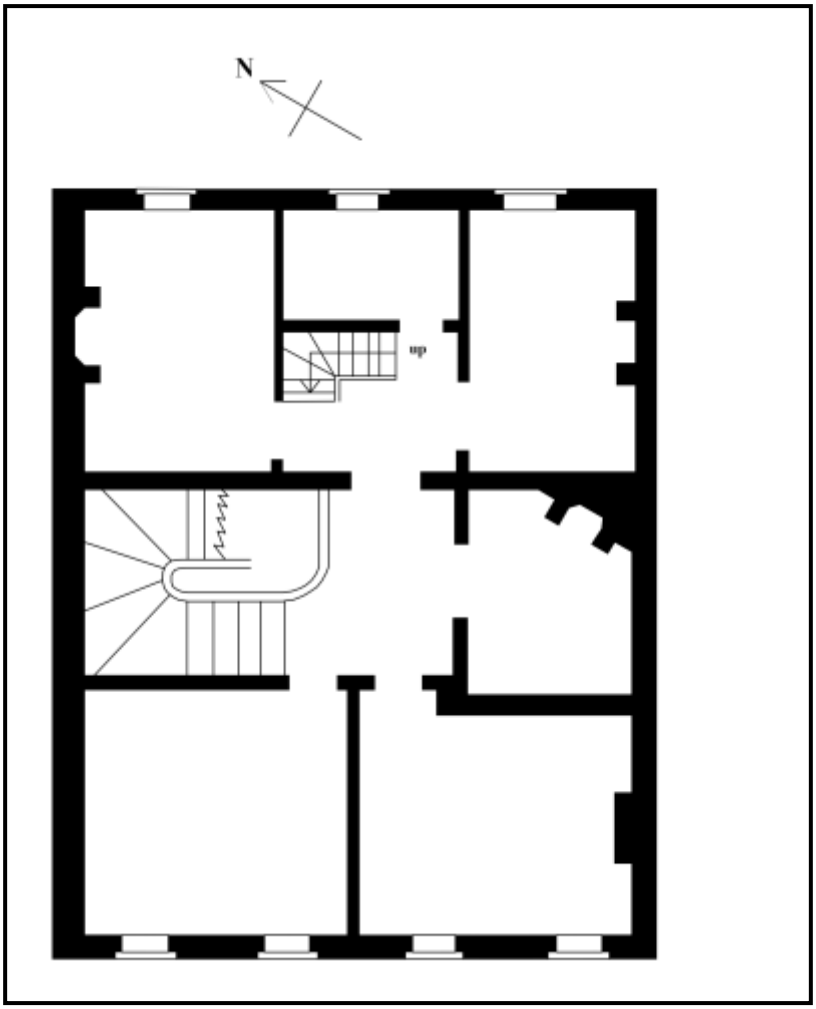

Figure 50: Schematic plan of first floor of No 29 Castlegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 29 Castlegate)

Figure 51: Entrance hall of No 29

Figure 52: Detail of front (eastern) half of entrance hall, showing cornice

Figure 53: Detail of back (western) half of entrance hall showing cornice and columns.

Figure 54: Ground-floor of No 29, south-east room

Figure 55: Ground-floor of No 29, south-west room

Figure 56: Ground floor of No 29, north-east room

Figure 57: Ground floor of No 29, north-west room

Figure 58: First-floor of No 29, south-east room

Figure 59: First-floor of No 29, south-west room

Figure 60: Rear staircase of No 29 leading to attics

Figure 61: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Tower Street (previously Castlegate Postern Lane) (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 62: Schematic map of the eastern end of Castlegate, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 63: Schematic map of Castlegate Postern Lane, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 64: 'New Terrace Walk' by Nathan Drake, (YORAG 211_1_PCF)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 65: Map showing Samuel Waud's house on Castlegate Postern Lane, 1801 (YCA, PH106/1907)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 66: View of Castlegate Postern by Henry Cave, 1795-1805 (YORAG R3155)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 67: Map of William Tuke's house on Castlegate Postern Lane, 1795 (YCA, K65)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 68: Photograph of Tower Street flooded in 1892, showing prison walls (YCA Y97_6862_h)

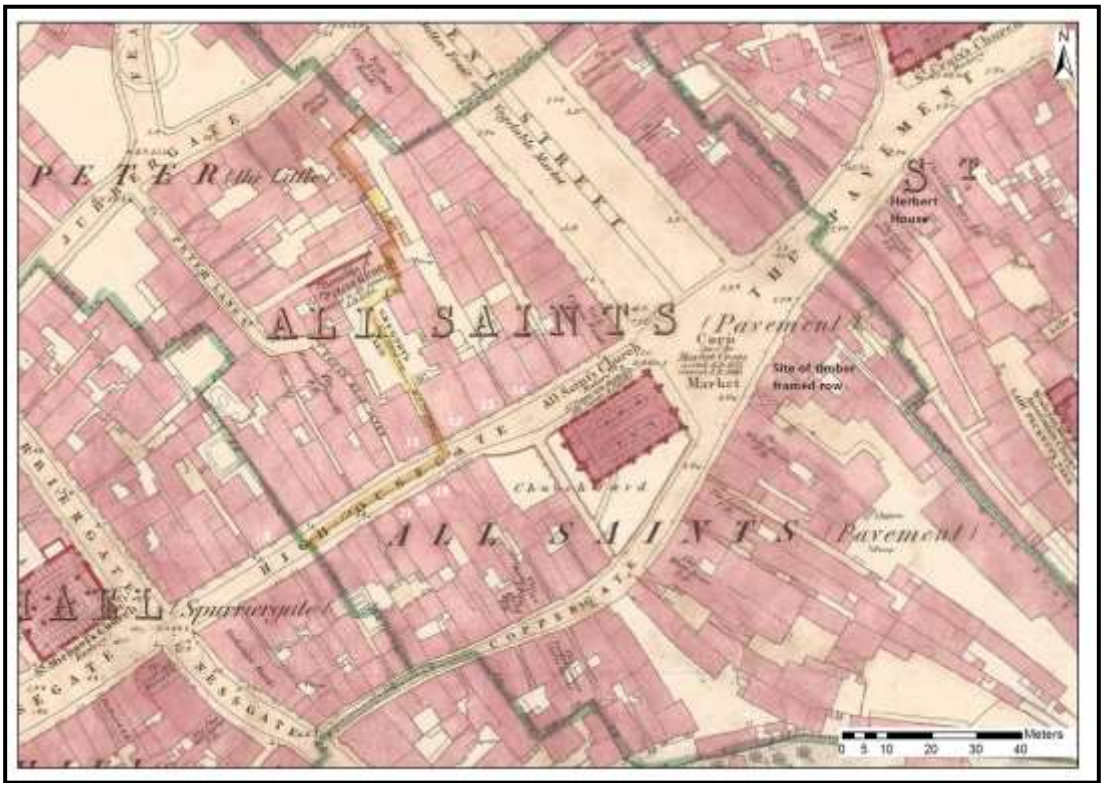

Figure 69: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing High Ousegate and Pavement. Buildings used in case studies are marked with modern house numbers (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 70: Schematic map of the High Ousegate, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 71: Schematic map of the Pavement, produced by Dr White c.1782 (YCA)

Figure 72: High Ousegate

Figure 73: Pavement

Figure 74: Façade of No 5 High Ousegate

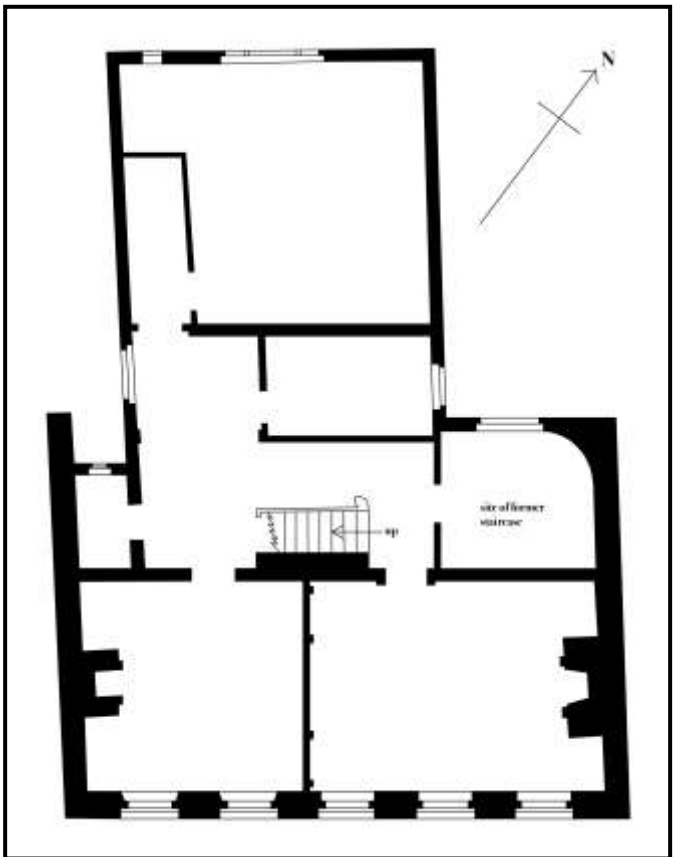

Figure 75: Schematic plan of first floor of No 5 High Ousegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 5 High Ousegate)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 76: Rear view of No 5 High Ousegate (RCHME case file, NMR No 5 High Ousegate; Crown Copyright NMR)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 77: Detail of front façade of No 5 High Ousegate, showing rainwater head and cornice (Crown Copyright NMR)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 78: Eastern front room on the first floor of No 5 High Ousegate (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 79: Façade of No 11 and 12 High Ousegate

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 80: Façade of No 11 and 12 High Ousegate (Crown Copyright NMR)

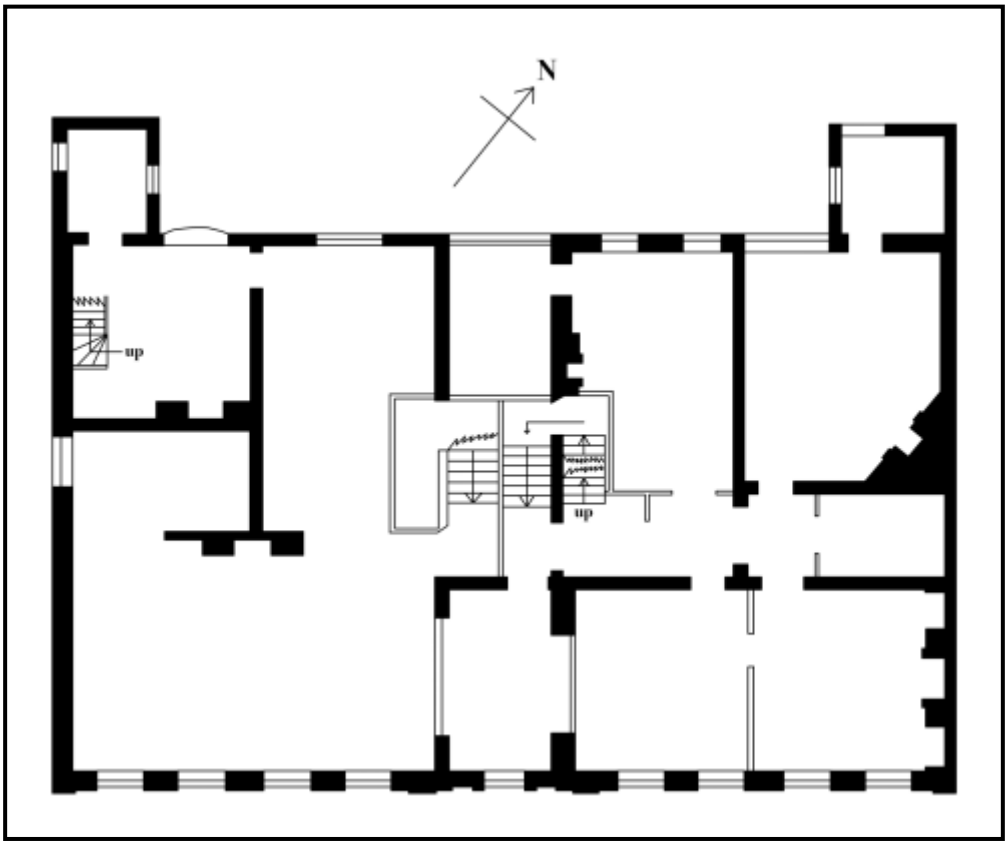

Figure 81: Schematic plan of first floor of No 11 and 12 High Ousegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 11 and 12 High Ousegate)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 82: Detail of façade of No 11 and 12, showing rainwater head and cornice

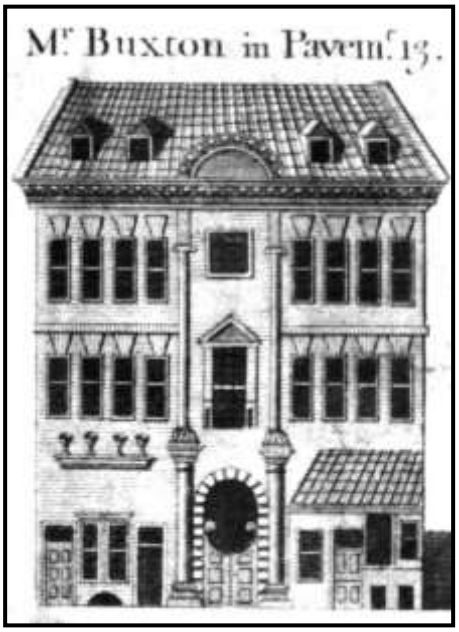

Figure 83: Detail of John Cossins's plan of York, c. 1727, showing Nos 11 and 12 High Ousegate (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 84: View of Cheapside, London by Robert Thacker, 1680 (Morrison 2003, 34)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 85: Detail of front room door, first floor of No 12 (Crown Copyright NMR)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 86: Detail of inner landing, first floor of No 12 High Ousegate (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 87: Façade of Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 88: Façade of Nos 13 and 14 (Crown Copyright NMR)

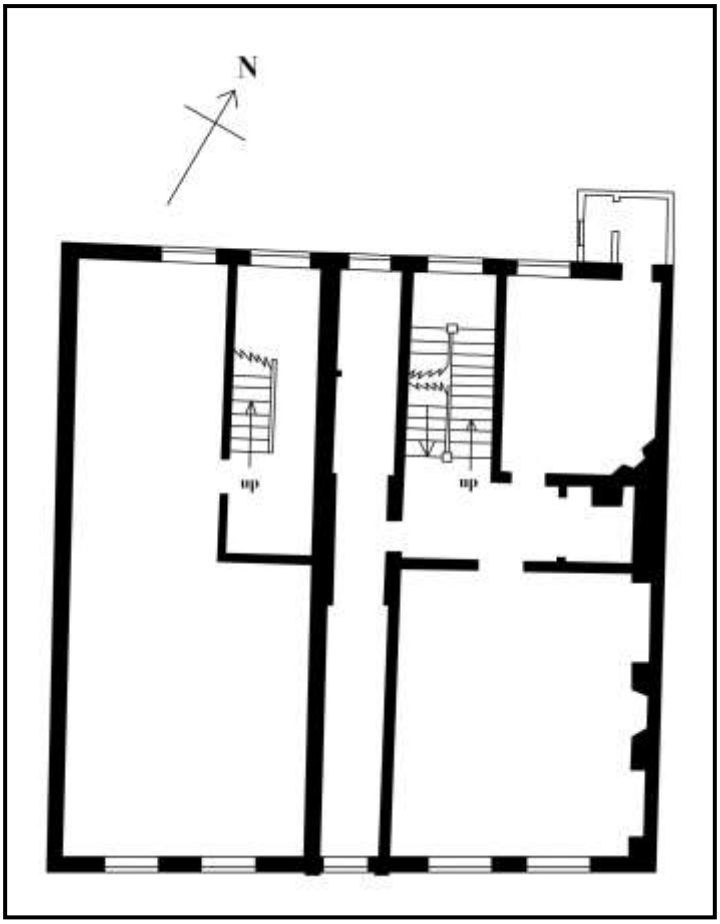

Figure 89: Schematic plan of first floor of Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 90: Detail of façade of Nos 13 and 14, showing cornice and rainwater head (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 91: Detail of John Cossins's plan of York, c. 1727, showing Nos 13 and 14 High Ousegate (YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 92: View of the interior of James Lackington's bookshop in Finsbury Square, London, by Ackermann, 1809 (Morrison 2003, 38)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 93: View of John Todd's bookshop in Stonegate by Henry Cave, 1797 (YORAG R122)

Figure 94: Detail of fireplace in cellar of No 13 with original brickwork behind

Figure 95: Façade of Nos 19, 20 and 21

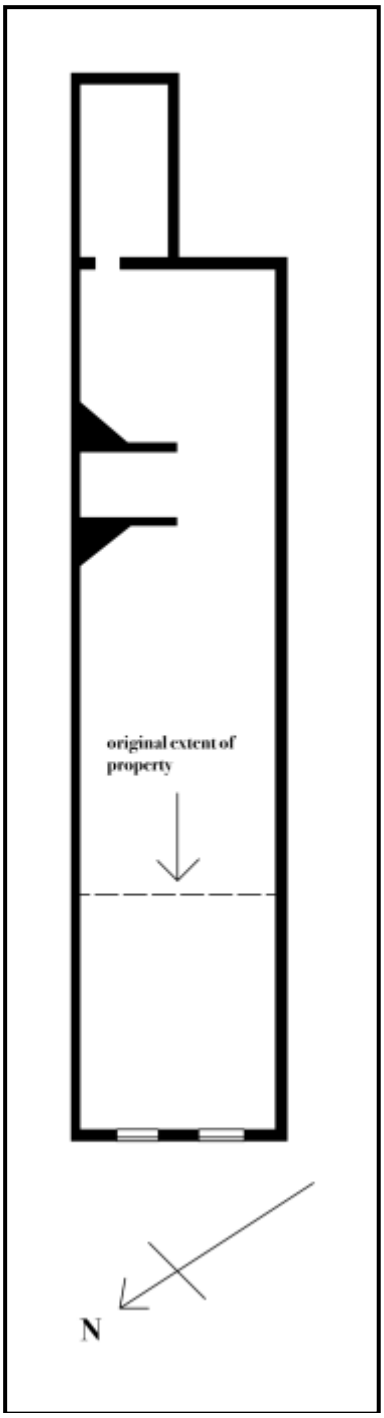

Figure 96: Schematic plan of first floor of No 19 High Ousegate. No plan exists for No 20 (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 19 High Ousegate)

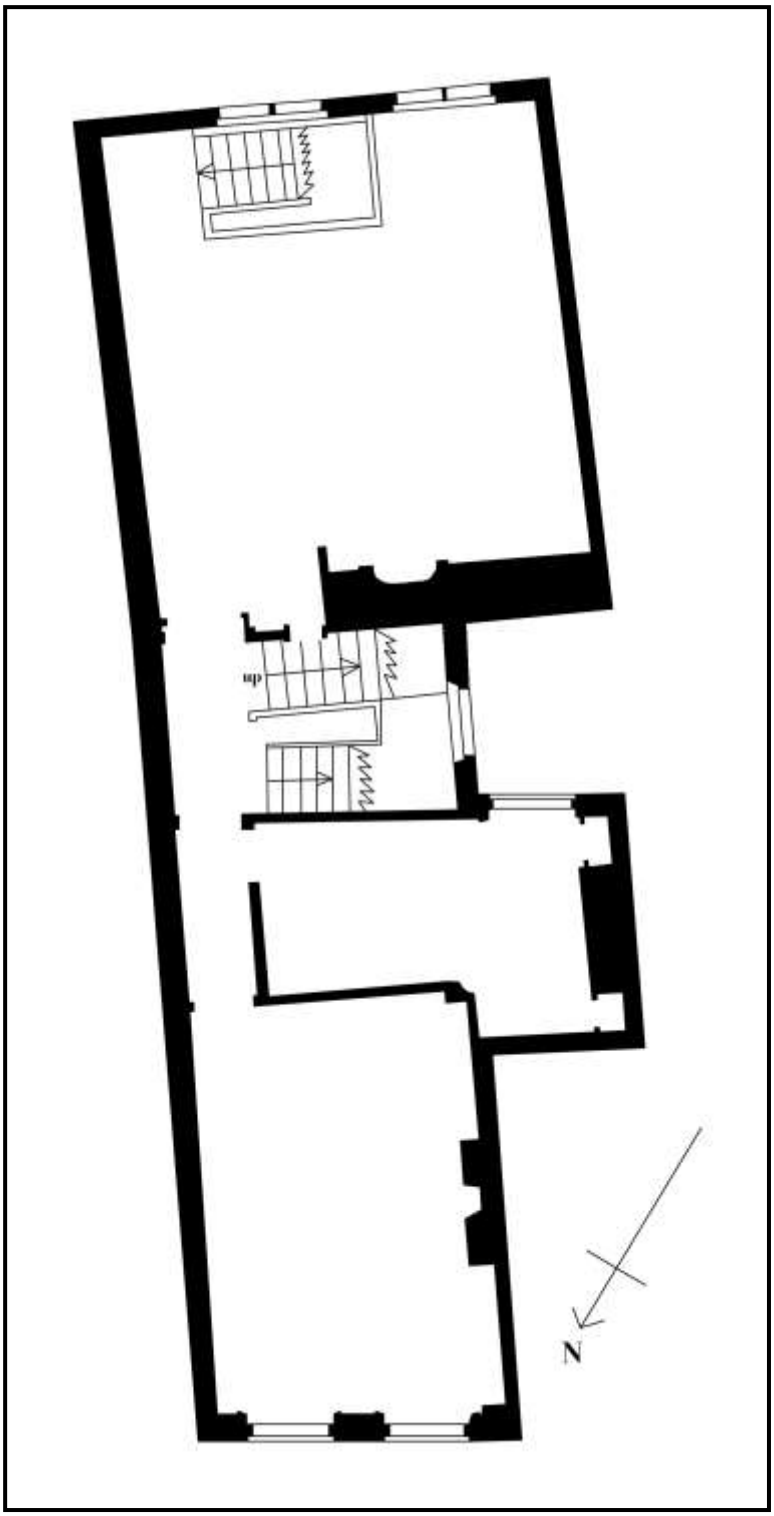

Figure 97: Schematic plan of first floor of No 21 High Ousegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 21 High Ousegate)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 98: Claire Walsh's reconstruction of a goldsmith's shop in London, taken from an inventory in 1747 (Walsh 1995, 161)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 99: Tradecard of Benjamin Cole, c1710 (Cox and Walsh 2000, 137)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 100: Tradecard of Dorothy Mercier (Cox and Walsh 2000, 91)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 101: Illustration of a draper's shop from the 1812 edition of *Evelina* by Francis Burney (Cox and Walsh 2000, 100)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 102: Illustration of a draper's shop from *Ackermann's Repository*, 1809 (Morrison 2003, 39)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 103: Early 1900s photograph of High Ousegate showing timber-framed house (y_11396 YCA)

Image deleted for reasons of copyright

Figure 104: View of Pavement by Thomas White, 1802 (YORAG R230)

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Figure 105: Photograph taken in the 1880s of Pavement showing a timber-framed row on the right-hand (east) side of the picture before the construction of Piccadilly (y9_pav_11042, Ryedale Folk Museum)

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Figure 106: View of Pavement by JC Nattes, 1803, showing timber-framed rows on both the left (east) and right-hand (west) sides of the street (YORAG R1539)

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Figure 107: View of Pavement leading into High Ousegate, by an unknown artist, c.1780-1810 (YORAG R5114)

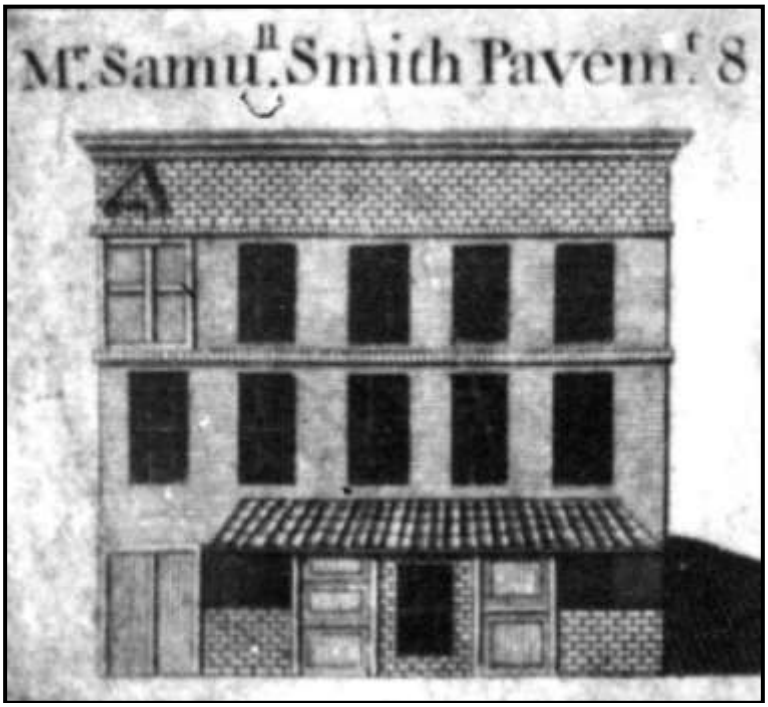

Figure 108: Detail from John Cossins's plan of York, c. 1727, showing house on Pavement (YCA)

Figure 109: Façade of Herbert House

Figure 110: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Stonegate. Buildings used in case studies are marked with modern house numbers (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Figure 111: Southern part of Stonegate, looking towards St Helen's Square

Figure 112: Northern part of Stonegate, looking towards St Helen's Square

Figure 113: Front façade of No 7 St Helen's Square

Figure 114: Side (western) façade of No & St Helen's Suare, facing Stonegate

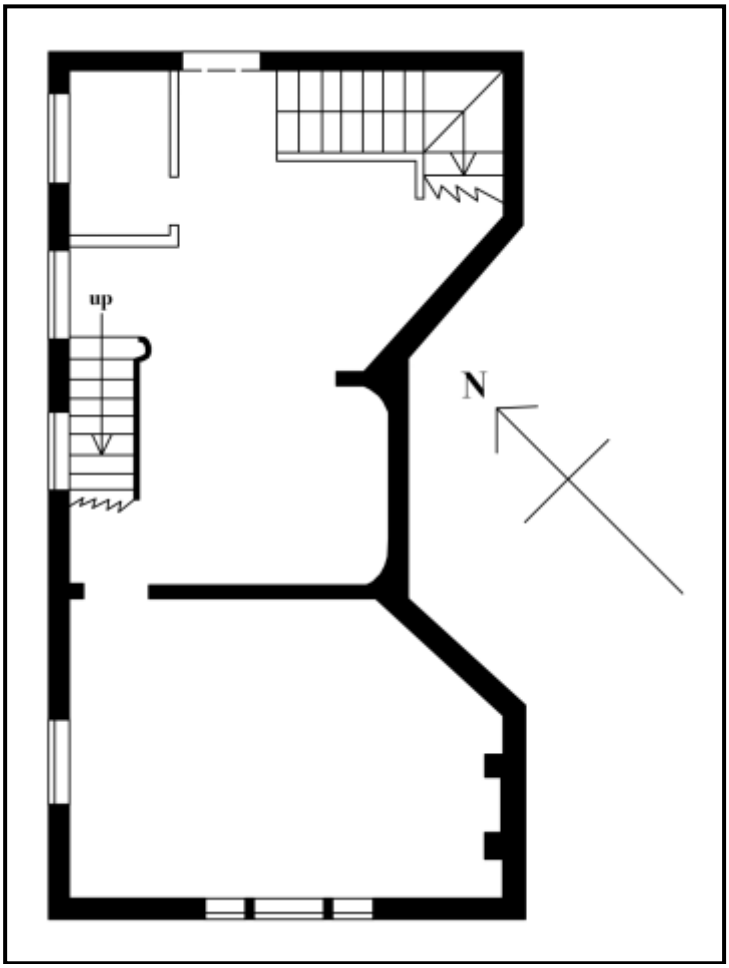

Figure 115: Schematic plan of first floor of No 7 St Helen's Square (based on RCHME case file, NMR No No 7 St Helen's Square)

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Figure 116: Photograph dating to the 1930s of the western façade of No 7 St Helen's Square (y9_3668_c YCA)

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Figure 117: Photograph dating to the 1930s of the front façade of No 7 St Helen's Square (y_11322 YCA)

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Figure 118: Detail from a view of Stonegate by John Buckler, 1816, showing No 7 St Helen's Square (Brown 2012, 141)

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Figure 119: View of Stonegate by Charles Dillon, c.1850, showing No 7 St Helen's Square (Brown 2012, 141)

Figure 120: St Helen's Square and the Mansion House from Stonegate

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Figure 121: Photograph taken in the 1920s of the York Tavern (Y_11541 YCA)

Figure 122: Blake Street, showing the Assembly Rooms

Figure 123: Front and side (eastern) façades of No 25 Blake Street

Figure 124: Front façade of No 25 Blake Street

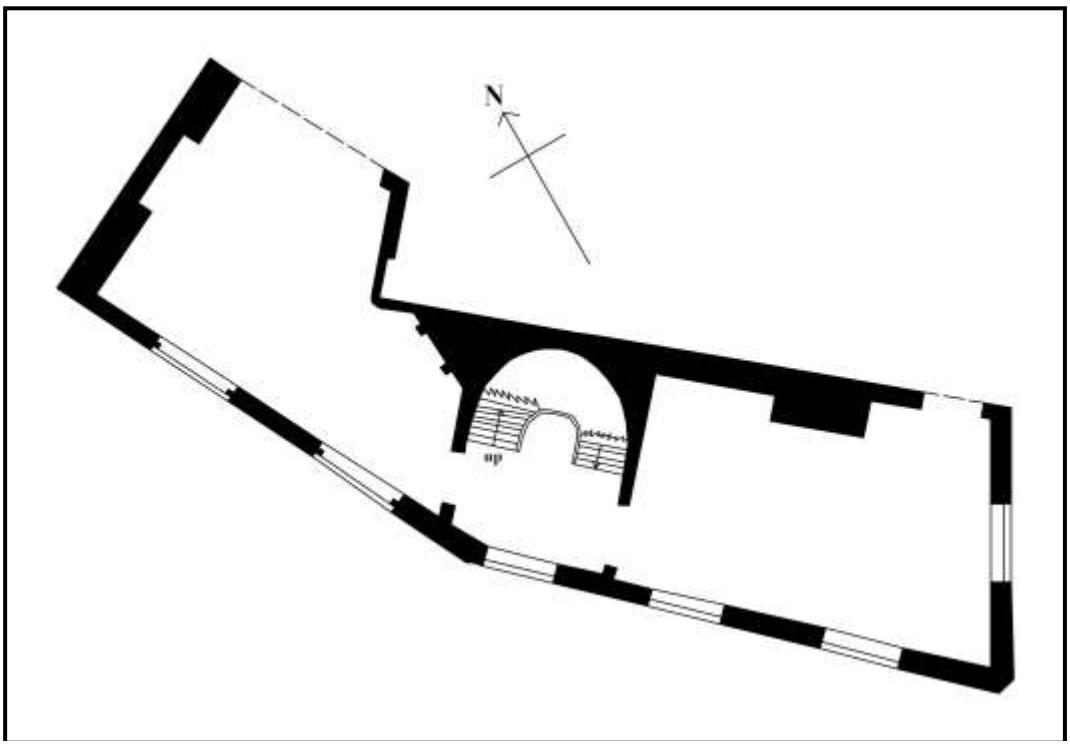

Figure 125: Schematic plan of first floor of No 25 Blake Street (based on RCHME case file, NMR No No 25 Blake Street)

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Figure 126: View of St Helen's Square by an unknown artist, c.1830, showing No 25 Blake Street (YORAG R3166)

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Figure 127: View of Blake Street by Henry Brown, 1838, showing No 25 Blake Street (YORAG R2994)

Figure 128: Front and side (southern) façades of No 15 Stonegate

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Figure 129: Front façade of No 15 Stonegate (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 130: Southern façade of No 15 Stonegate

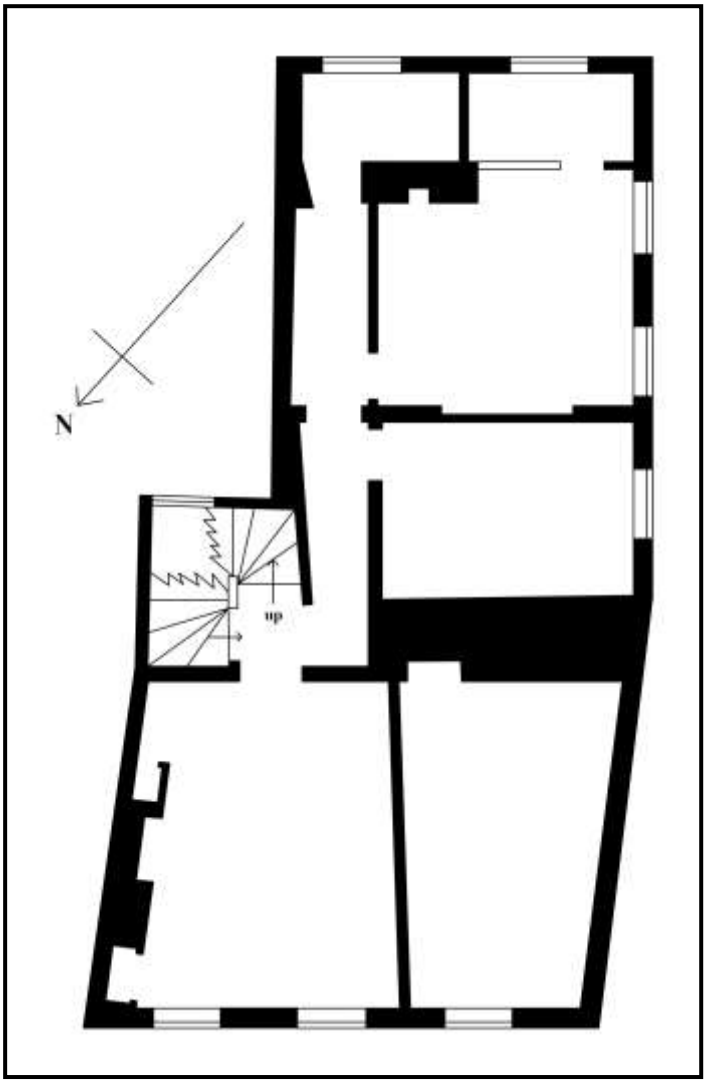

Figure 131: Schematic plan of first floor of No 15 Stonegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No No 15 Stonegate)

Figure 132: South-eastern hallway on ground floor of No 15 Stonegate, showing archway with pilasters

Figure 133: Ground-floor front room of No 15 Stonegate, showing cased beams

Figure 134: Detail of ground-floor front room of No 15 Stonegate, showing cornice

Figure 135: Side (southern) façade of No 15 Stonegate, showing rear block

Figure 136: First-floor front room of No 15 Stonegate, showing cased beams and cornice

Figure 137: First-floor rear wing, showing cornice and segmented arch

Figure 138: Second-floor, south-west room of No 15 Stonegate, showing seventeenth-century panelling

Figure 139: Second-floor north-east room of No 15 Stonegate, showing exposed timber-framing

Figure 140: façade of Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate

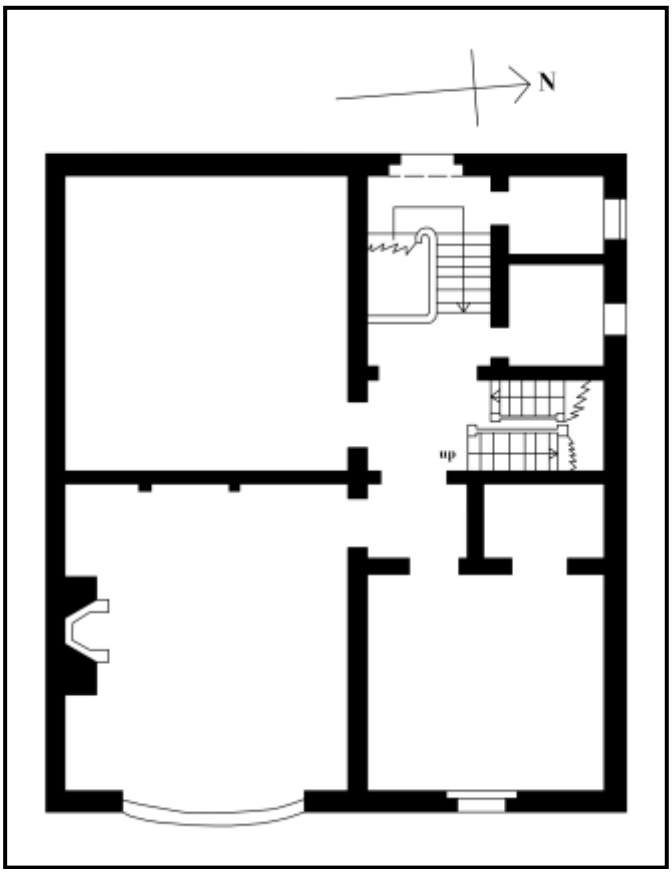

Figure 141: Schematic plan of first floor of Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR Nos 18 and 20 Stonegate)

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Figure 142: Ground-floor, north-west room, showing cornice and paneling (Crown Copyright)

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Figure 143: First-floor stairwell, showing cornice (Crown Copyright)

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Figure 144: View of Stonegate by Henry Cave, 1813, showing No 33 (right) and No 35, 'The Sign of the Bible (left) (YORAG R3463)

Figure 145: Façade of No 31 Stonegate

Figure 146: Side (north) façade of No 31 Stonegate

Figure 147: Detail of side (north) façade of No 31 Stonegate, showing door

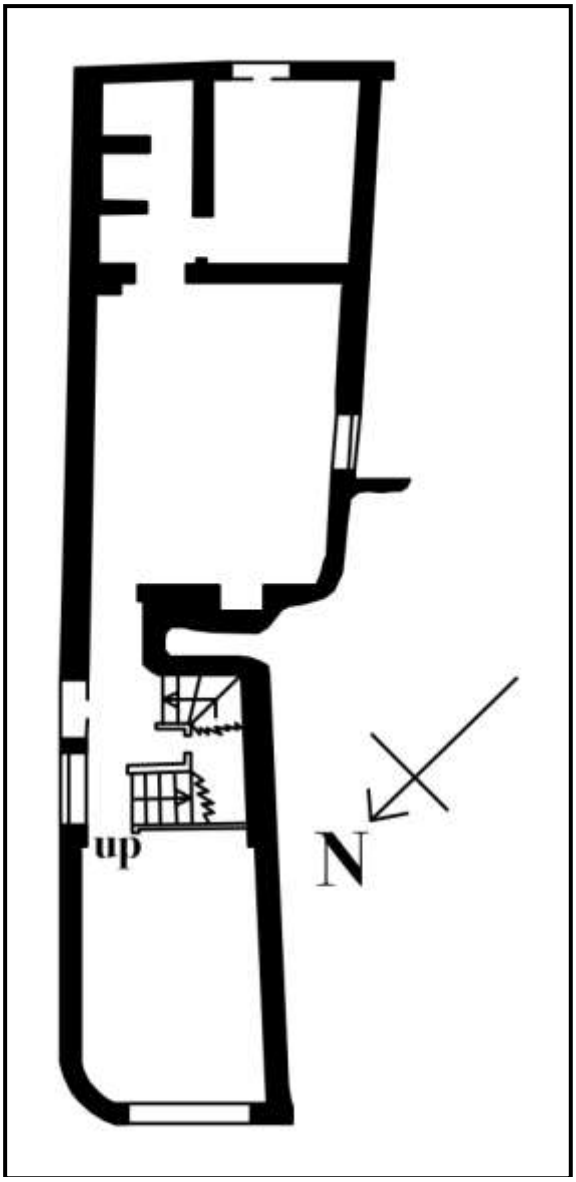

Figure 148: Schematic plan of the ground floor of No 31 Stonegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 31 Stonegate)

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Figure 149: View of Stonegate by Henry Cave, 1813, showing No 31 Stonegate (third from left) and No 15 Stonegate (far right) (YORAG R134)

Figure 150: Ground-floor front room of No 31 Stonegate, looking towards the rear

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Figure 151: First-floor front room of No 31 Stonegate, showing fireplace (Crown Copyright NMR)

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Figure 152: First-floor front room of No 31 Stonegate, showing door and dado rail (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 153: Second-floor front room of No 31 Stonegate, showing fireplace

Figure 154: Second-floor front room of No 31 Stonegate, showing cased ceiling beam and wall plate on the north wall

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Figure 155: Interior of a coffee house by an unknown artist, c.1700 (Cowan 2007, 1194)

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Figure 156: 'The Silent Meeting' by Cruickshank, 1794 (Cowan 2007, 1196)

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Figure 157: 'A Sudden Thought' by C. Lamb after G. M. Woodward, 1804 (Cowan 2007, 1195)

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Figure 158: 'A Mad Dog in a Coffee House' by Thomas Rowlandson, 1809 (Barrell 2006, 89)

Figure 159: Façade of 57 Low Petergate

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Figure 160: Garraway's Coffee House in London, by W.H. Prior, c.1878 (Cowan 2007, 1198)

Figure 161: Façade of No 35 Stonegate

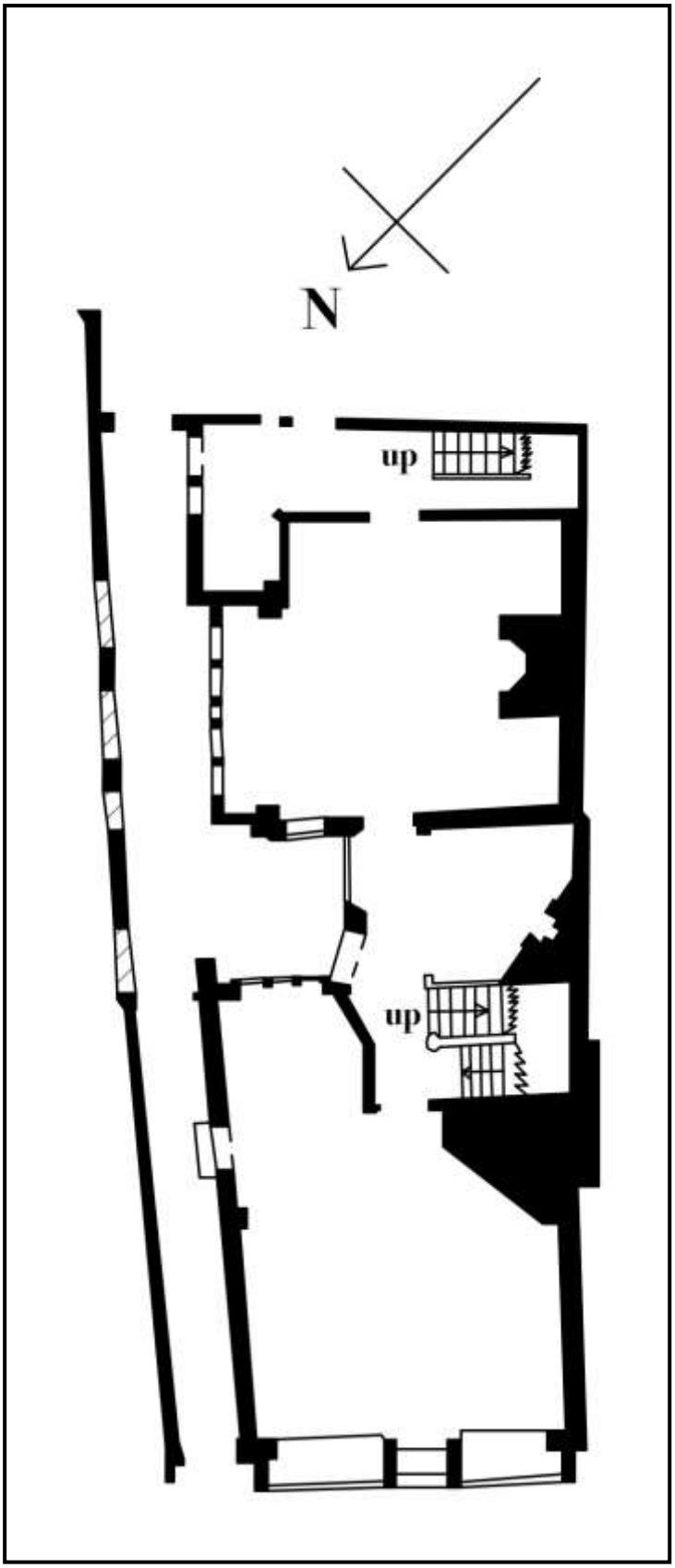

Figure 162: Schematic plan of ground floor of No 35 Stonegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 35 Stonegate)

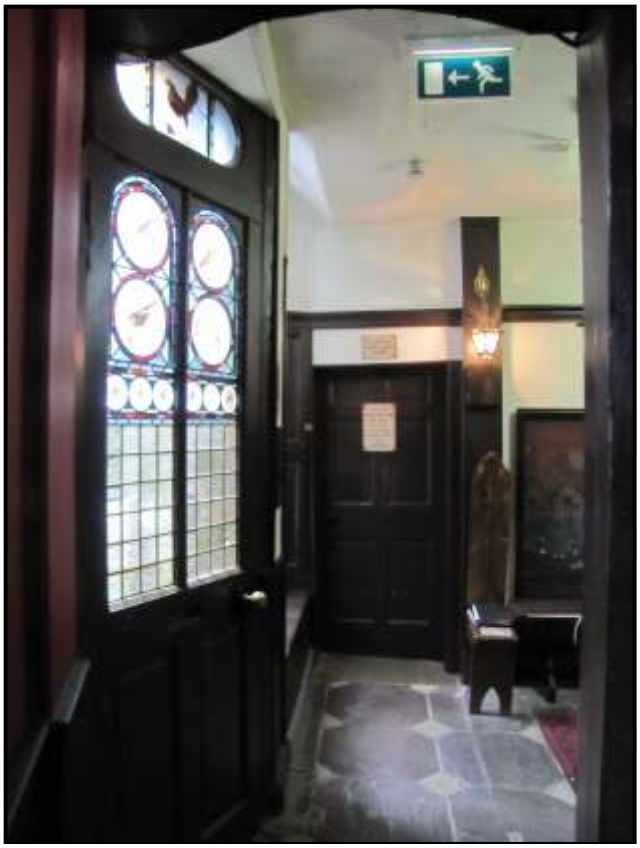

Figure 163: Small hall on ground floor of No 35 Stonegate

Figure 164: Ground-floor back room of No 35 Stonegate, showing panelling, arched recesses and cased ceiling beams

Figure 165: Narrow corridor at the rear of the ground floor of No 35 Stonegate, showing exposed timber framing

Figure 166: First-floor front room of No 35 Stonegate, showing fireplace, cornice and doorcase

Figure 167: Middle room of rear wing on the first floor of No 35 Stonegate, showing reset seventeen-century paneling

Figure 168: Rear room of the rear wing on the first floor of No 35 Stonegate

Figure 169: Second-floor front room of No 35 Stonegate, showing seventeenth-century paneling

Figure 170: Second-floor front room of No 35 Stonegate, showing overmantel

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Figure 171: Book label from Wright's Circulating Library (Jacobs 1999, 56)

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Figure 172: Hall's Library in Margate, 1789 (Jacobs 1999, 56)

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Figure 173: View of Todd's bookshoOp by Henry Cave, 1797 (YORAG 379_1_PCF)

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Figure 174: 'The Circulation Library' published by Laurie and Whittle, 1804

Figure 175: Façade of No 37 Stonegate

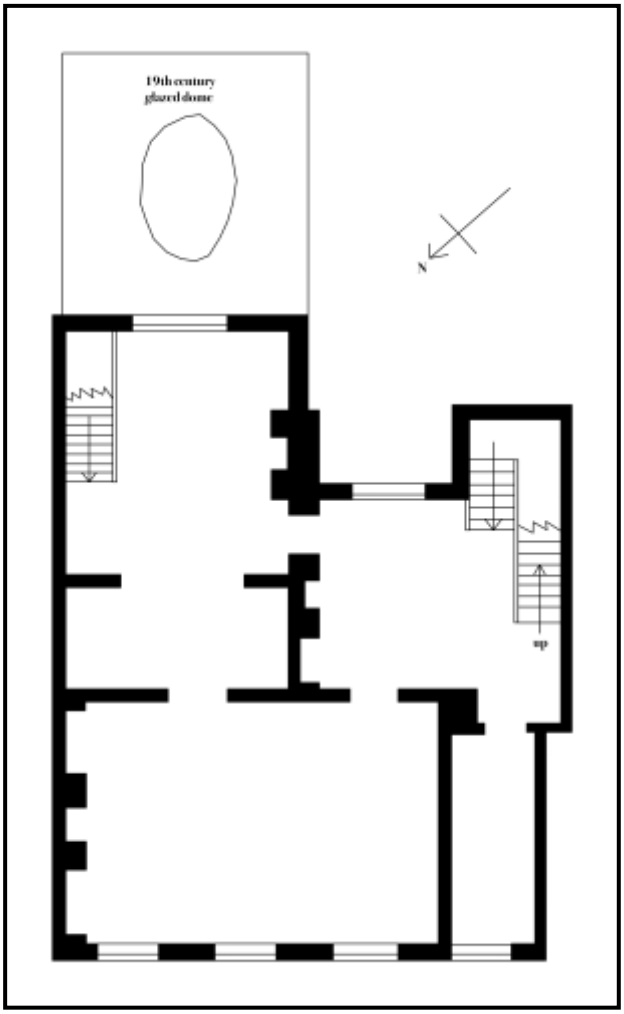

Figure 176: Schematic plan of first floor of No 37 Stonegate (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 37 Stonegate)

Figure 177: Ground-floor front room of No 37 Stonegate

Figure 178: Ground-floor extension, showing domed rooflight

Figure 179: First-floor front room of No 37 Stonegate, facing south

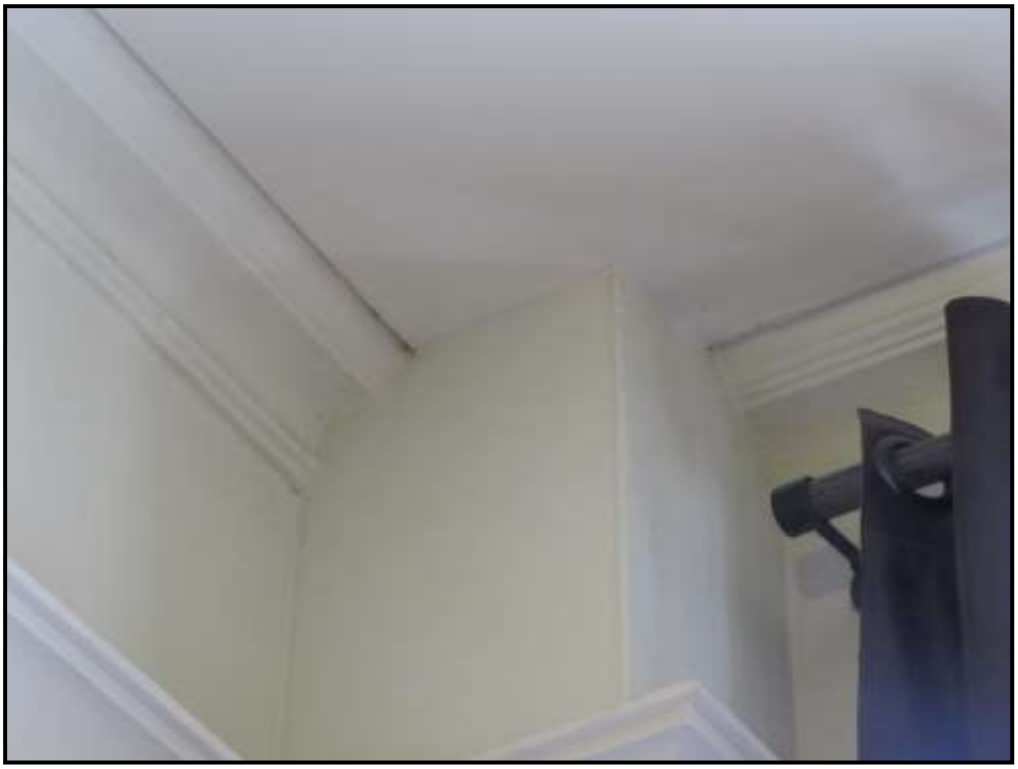

Figure 180: First floor front room, southern alcove of No 37 Stonegate, showing original cornice

Figure 181: First floor front room of No 37 Stonegate, showing faded cornice

Figure 182: First-floor rear south room, showing decorated overdoor

Figure 183: Second-floor south room of No 37 Stonegate, showing cornice

Figure 184: Second-floor north-west (front) room of No 37 Stonegate, showing cornice

Figure 185: Bootham, facing Bootham Bar and the Minster

Figure 186: Bootham, showing the row of fine Georgian houses (Nos 39-61) on the right-hand side of the street

Figure 187: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Bootham. Buildings used in case studies are marked with modern house numbers (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

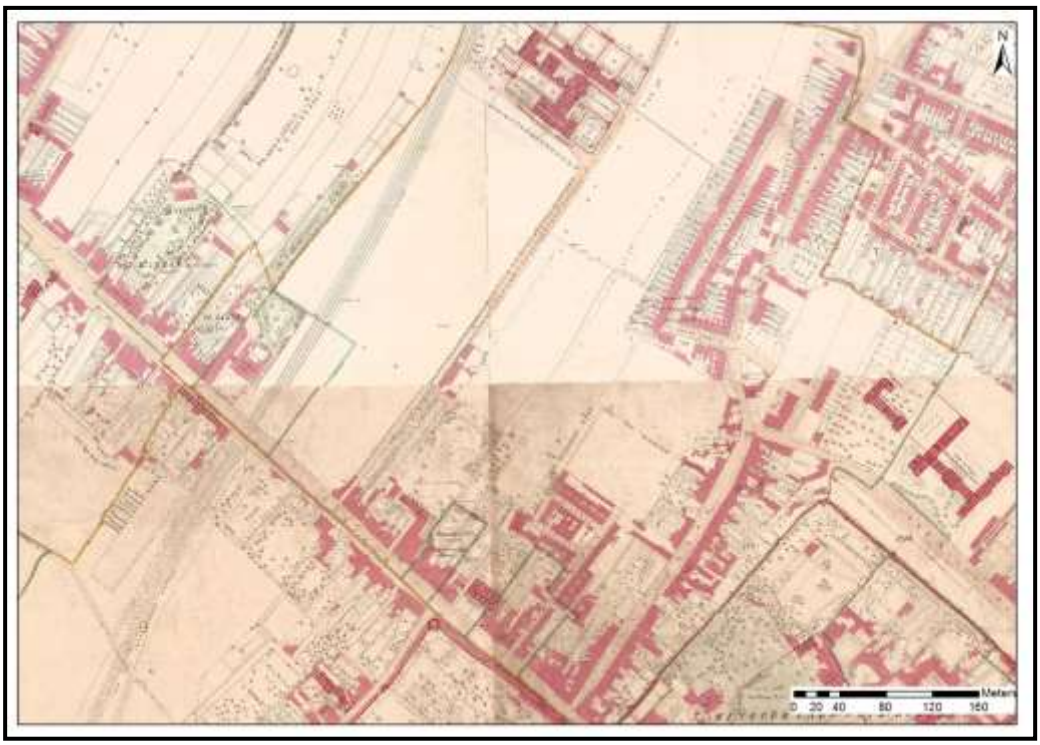

Figure 188: Detail of 1852 Ordnance Survey map of York showing Bootham (YCA; rectified in GIS by Gareth Dean for University of York project)

Figure 189: Façade of No 33 Bootham

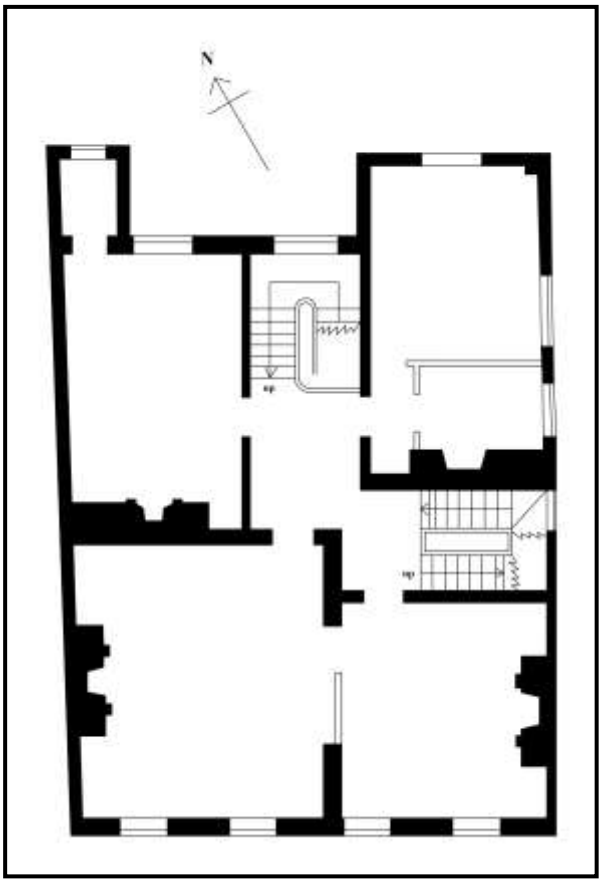

Figure 190: Schematic plan of first floor of No 33 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 33 Bootham)

Figure 191: Ground-floor entrance hall of No 33 Bootham, showing moulded archway and cornice

Figure 192: Ground-floor south-west front room of No 33 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 193: Ground-floor north west back room of No 33 Bootham, showing cornice and recess

Figure 194: First-floor staircase hall of No 33 Bootham, showing window and cornice

Figure 195: First-floor south-west front room of No 33 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 196: First-floor south-west front room, of No 33 Bootham, showing fireplace

Figure 197: First-floor north-west back room of No 33 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 198: Second-floor south-east front room of No 33 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 199: Façade of No 41 and 43 Bootham

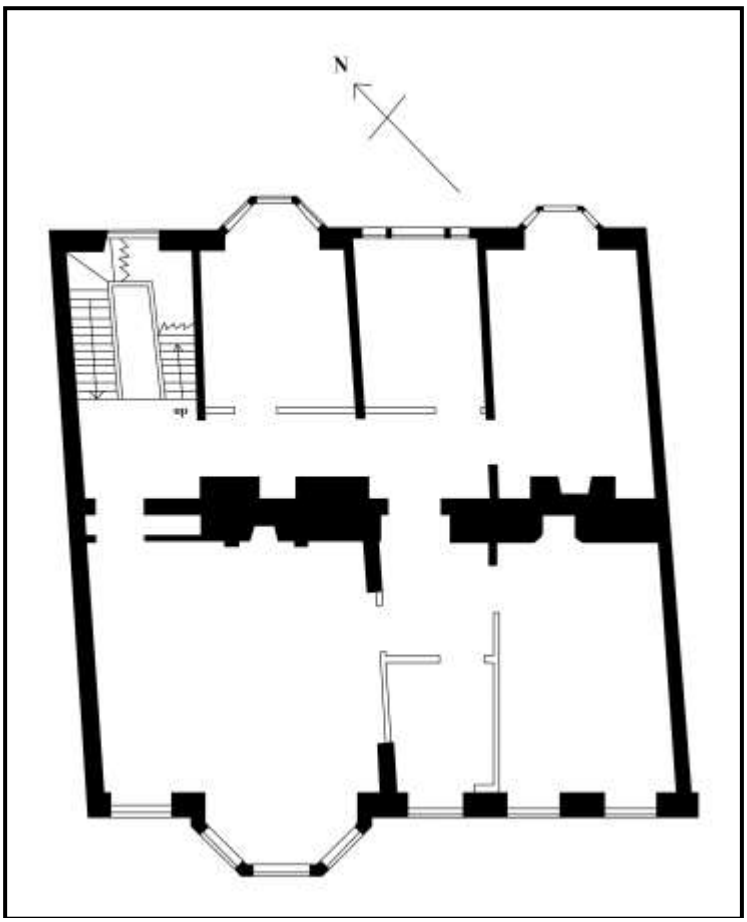

Figure 200: Schematic plan of first floor of Nos 41 and 43 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR Nos 41 and 43 Bootham)

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Figure 201: Photograph from the 1940s, showing Nos 41 (left) and 39 Bootham (y9_boo_1265 YCA)

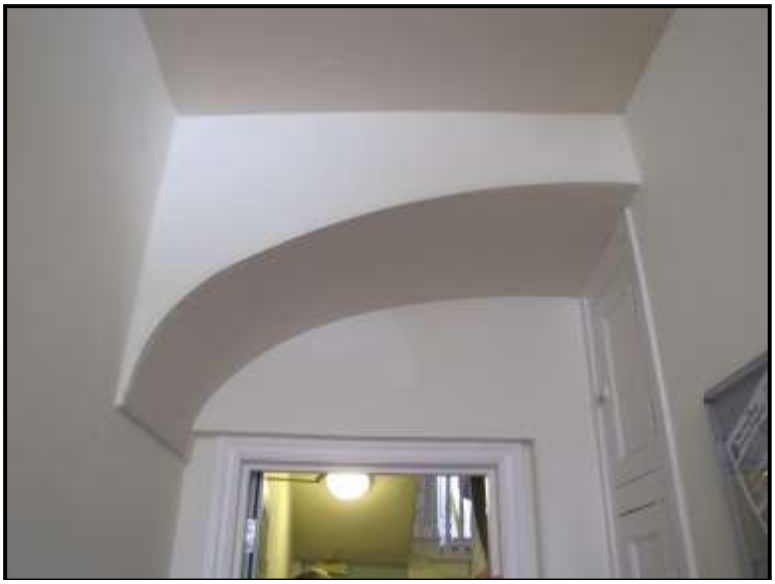

Figure 202: Ground-floor hall of No 43 Bootham, showing arched recess extending into current front room

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Figure 203: Ground-floor front room of No 43 Bootham, showing panelling, fireplace and cornice (Crown Copyright NMR)

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Figure 204: First-floor front room of No 43 Bootham, showing paneling, fireplace and cornice (Crown Copyright NMR)

Figure 205: First-floor back room of No 43 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 206: First-floor east-west through passage (facing west) of No 43 and 41, showing arch at western end

Figure 207: First-floor front room of No 41 Bootham, now subdivided, showing cornice

Figure 208: First-floor front room of No 41 Bootham (facing north), showing inside of decorated doorway

Figure 209: Second-floor front room of No 43 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 210: Façade of No 47 Bootham

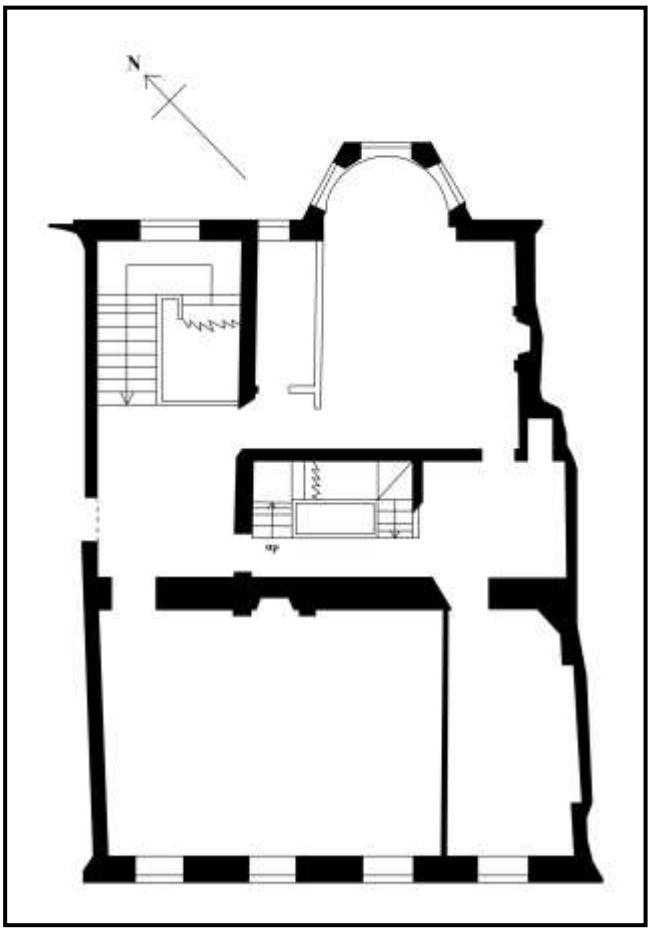

Figure 211: Schematic plan of first floor of No 47 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 47 Bootham)

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Figure 212: Ground-floor front room of No 47 Bootham, showing panelling, cornice and fireplace (Crown copyright)

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Figure 213: Decorated ceiling of No 47 Bootham (Crown copyright)

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Figure 214: First-floor front room, showing cornice (Crown copyright)

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Figure 215: Second-floor eastern front room, showing cornice

Figure 216: Second-floor western front room, showing cornice

Figure 217: Second-floor eastern back room, showing cornice and outline of nineteenth-century passage

Figure 218: Second-floor eastern back room, showing cornice in nineteenth-century passage

Figure 219: Façade of No 49 Bootham

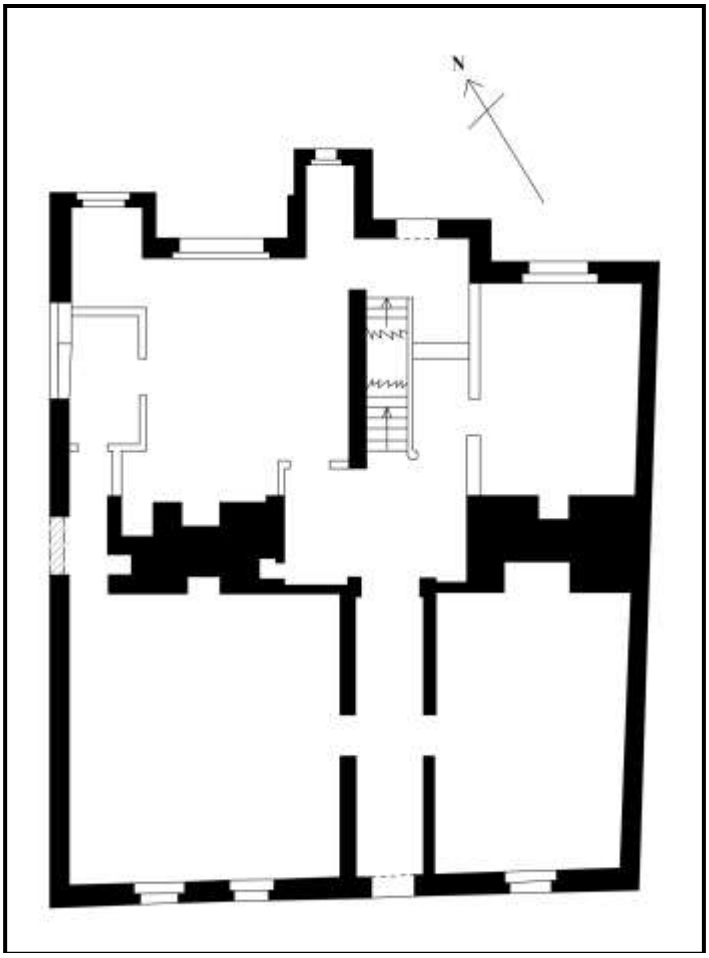

Figure 220: Schematic plan of ground floor of No 49 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 49 Bootham)

Figure 221: Ground-floor hallway of No 49 Bootham, showing moulded arch

Figure 222: Ground-floor front (west) room of No 49 Bootham, showing paneling and cornice

Figure 223: Ground-floor front (west) room of No 49 Bootham, showing cased beam and cornice

Figure 224: First-floor front (west) room, showing cornice and cased beam

Figure 225: First-floor front (east) room, showing cornice and cased beam

Figure 226: Façade of No 55 Bootham, showing No 53 (right), No 55 (centre) and extension to No 55 (left)

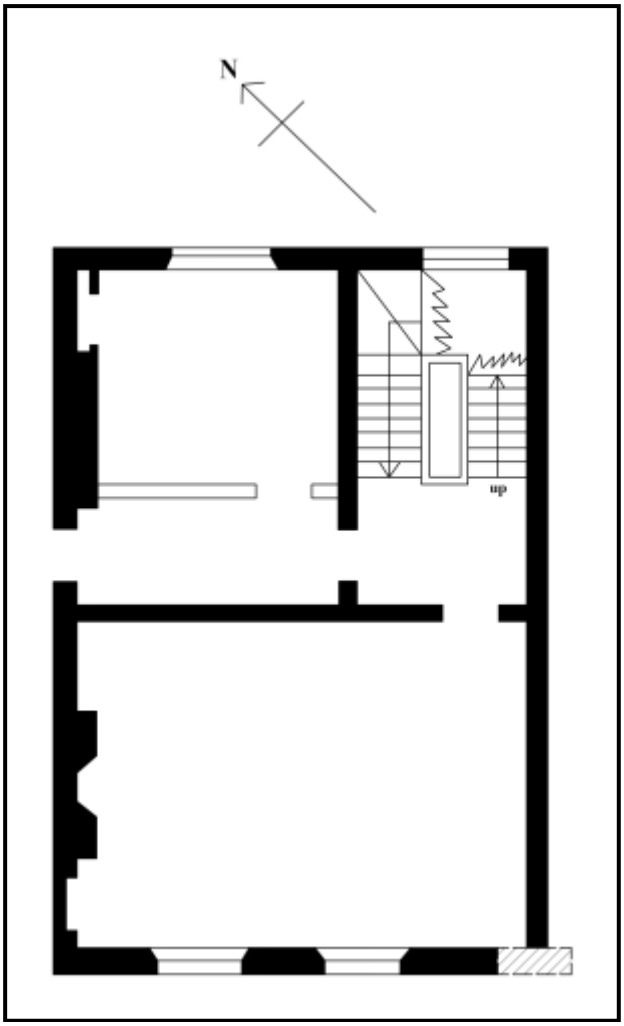

Figure 227: Schematic plan of first floor of No 55 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 55 Bootham)

Figure 228: Ground-floor hall in No 55 Bootham, showing cornice and moulded arch

Figure 229: Ground-floor front room of No 55 Bootham, showing cornice and round-headed recesses

Figure 230: Ground-floor back room of No 55 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 231: Ground-floor corridor between front and back rooms of No 55 Bootham

Figure 232: First-floor front room of No 55 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 233: First-floor corridor between front and back rooms, showing cornice

Figure 234: Second-floor front room of No 55 Bootham, showing cornice terminating in eastern wall

Figure 235: Second-floor back room of No 55 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 236: Façade of No 57 Bootham

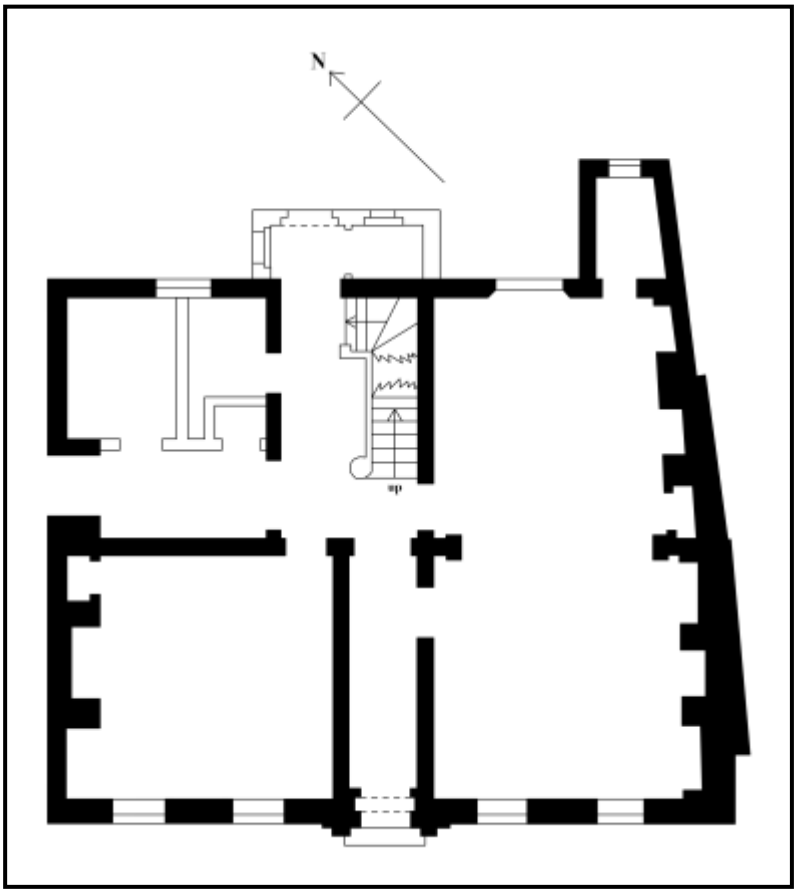

Figure 237: Schematic plan of ground floor of No 57 Bootham (based on RCHME case file, NMR No 57 Bootham)

Figure 238: Ground-floor rear east room of No 57 Bootham, showing cornice and flat-arched opening

Figure 239: First-floor south-west (front) room of No 57 Bootham, showing cornice and flat-arched opening

Figure 240: Second-floor south-west (front) room of No 57 Bootham, showing cornice

Figure 241: Façade of No 35 Bootham

Figure 242: Façade of Nos 8 and 10 Bootham

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Figure 243: 'A View of Bootham Bar' by an unknown artist, 1805 (YORAG R2413)

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Figure 244: View of Bootham by Thomas Shotter Boys, c.1840 (YORAG R10)

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Figure 245: View of Bootham and St Mary's Tower by Henry Barlow Carter, 1840 (YORAG R44)