

STRAY D or Aolen from about Charles-lown, on the 23d of March laft, in the night, a bay horfe 14 hands high, with a flar in his forehead, and branded on the

mounting function he is about 9 years old, and does not pace. Whenever bring him to me, thall have TWENTY POUNDS Reward. Joleph Word.

For LONDON-directly, The Ship Beulab, JOHN RICHEY Mafter, ( A Prime Sailer. ) ILL carry about 600 barreis of rice; great part of sh Ch is ansauy cheared ; and has good accommodations for pallepyers, For Freight or pallage, pleafe. to apply to the faid mafter, lying at Mr. Mores's wharf, or to For Cowes, Holland, or Hamburgh, The Ship PATIENCE JOHN EITCARNE Master, [Having good Accommedations for Paffongers. COR Freight or Paffage, agree with the faid Ma-Her, on board the faid fhip, now lving at Mr. Mette's Wharf, For PORTSMOUTH direct The Ship Edinburgh, (Well accommodated for Foffingers,) Thomas Arnott Mafter, TTILL fail towside the end of this month. . Kor Paffege agree with the feid maller, on board at Cape Simmen's wharf. ----TA For LONDOL i. article, or any a other Fatt of Great-Britain Or HOLLAND, The Ship MINERVA, ( A Prine Selier ) PATRICK JAMES Maker. OR Freight or Fallaye, agree with the faid Ma-John McCell. far. . . For- LONDON directly. The Snow Localy Eabrera, a Prime Sailor, ROBERT DAVIS Mafter, 1 Fins good Accommodations for Paffengers. FilLL certainly fall the laster and of this month, having two thirds of her cargo already angas . For freight or palitye, agree with faid militer FIT DE inging Pittering, & fimanelli

# A SURVEY OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY IN CHARLESTON, 1732 - 1770

BY

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#### ABSTRACT

The documentary research was undertaken in order to expand and refine the preliminary archaeological preservation plan for the city of Charleston. Research focused on newspaper advertisements as a source of information on site location. Advertisements were recorded systematically for the period 1732-1770. From the research, information is presented on clusters of merchants and craftsmen sites within the city, changing trends in these locations, and trends of land use in the colonial city. The trends of multiple land use and the fluidity of the colonial society are discussed in reference to archaeological site interpretation, and the implications of such activities are stressed as a caution for future archaeological investigations. The project was funded by a Community Development Grant from the City of Charleston and by a federal matching Historic Preservation Grant from the Department of the Interior, administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. This matching grant was made possible under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended.

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#### INTRODUCTION

The historical importance of the city of Charleston has long been recognized, by both the citizens of Charleston themselves and by the many visitors who pass through the city. The area encompassed by the city of Charleston was first settled by the English in 1670. Charleston prospered, and by the 1730's had changed from a frontier community to an important port and urban center. During the eighteenth century Charleston was the forth largest urban center in the American colonies (Bridenbaugh 1955), the center of trade for the plantation economy of the southeast, and the home of peoples from a variety of backgrounds. Charleston continued to be a focal point of American development until economic developments following the War between the States resulted in its decline.

Charlestonians have long been interested in the history of their city, and have had an effective, ongoing program in historic preservation since the 1930's. Because of the preservation of its uniqueness and charm, thousands of tourists visit Charleston every year. Continued preservation of and research on its historic past is important for Charleston.

Despite the long tradition of an interest in the city's history, archaeology has only recently come to play an important role in a greater understanding of this history. One reason for this is that historical archaeology has been a recognized discipline only since the 1960's and an awareness of historical archaeology's potential contribution to urban studies is even more recent (Salwen 1973: 151-168; Staski 1982: 97-133). The preparation of an archaeological research design for Charleston (Zierden and Calhoun 1982a; 1982b) represents a major step in the endeavor to identify, preserve and protect Charleston's archaeological resources.

This newspaper study underscores the importance of documents to historical archaeological research. The present study greatly increases the understanding of early site location in Charleston, and provides valuable information for the study of Charleston as an urban site.

#### Importance of Archaeology

Historical archaeology developed as a field of research distinct from other areas of American archaeology because, unlike prehistoric research, written records are available for the populations being studied. This documentary resource, in turn, affects the interpretation of the material remains of past behavior (Deagan 1982a: 153). At the present time, historical archaeologists take several approaches to archaeological research and are contributing to a range of concerns and interests.

The earliest thrust of historical archaeology was as a supplement to historical studies, especially in the form of architectural and restoration studies. Many historical archaeological studies are still oriented toward this goal, with valuable results. The public interpretation programs resulting from such projects are important to the recognition of the discipline as a valuable source of information.

An important development from this historically oriented thrust has been termed the reconstruction of past lifeways (Deagan 1982a: 160). This emphasis was part of the shift from the archaeological examination of the sites of famous historical figures to that of the anonymous American citizen. Historical records are often biased towards the upper class - those with the time and ability to leave extensive written records. Such archaeological research has focused on those groups of Americans who are poorly or incorrectly

represented in the written record (Deagan 1982: 161; Glassie 1977: 29), including Afro-Americans (Singleton 1980; Otto 1975; Fairbanks 1972), Asian-Americans (Schuyler 1980), and Hispanic-Americans (Deagan 1982b). This approach to historical archaeology has an important role to play in archaeological research, and can result in a more objective view of American history.

In addition to augmenting and altering the historical record, recent investigations have addressed questions of anthropological interest. A primary focus of such research has been the testing and verification of patterning in the archaeological record. The basic premise underlying such research is that human behavior is patterned, and this patterning will be reflected in archaeological patterning. The recognition of these patterns (South 1977) and the examination of these patterns as part of a more general research question (Lewis 1976; Deagan 1982b) will enhance our understanding of past human behavior. Studies of this type have recently expanded to include examinations of patterns in contemporary material culture (Rathje and McCarthy 1977; Gould and Schiffer 1981), resulting in an all-encompassing aspect of the discipline that has been labeled "the science of material culture" (Deetz 1977b). An extension of this "science of material culture" approach has been the development of cognitive studies (Deetz 1977a; Glassie 1975), aimed at discovering and defining the mental structures and cognitive systems of people through material culture. Historical archaeology, then, is focused in many directions, and can contribute information to a variety of problems.

Urban archaeology is a quite recent development in the field of historical archaeology, and the results of most urban projects are yet

to be well circulated within the discipline. Urban archaeology poses its own particular set of problems and advantages, both in terms of methodology and research orientation.

Unlike the surrounding countryside, the city is a scene of major and numerous land alterations. Because of this, the archaeological record is often deep and well preserved, but disturbed and mixed by subsequent activities. These deep deposits, plus the relative scarcity of contiguous areas of open space, pose special methodological problems that archaeologists have only begun to address (See for example Deagan Benton and Bostwick 1976; Dickens and Bowen 1980; Rubertone and Gallagher 1981; Honerkamp,Council and Will 1982). The urban archaeologist is working in an environment of current and intensive use. Because of this the urban archaeological site may be intensely and complexly disturbed, often leaving little evidence of previous surfaces. Studying the nature of this disturbance, though, can significantly contribute to an understanding of urban processes, and to an appreciation of the particular potential of urban archaeology to recover information (Staski 1982).

The most recent focus of urban archaeology is the examination of urban processes themselves. Under this model, which has been termed by Salwen (1973) as "archaeology <u>of</u> the city", archaeology can contribute to an understanding of the specific processes of urban development (Staski 1982). The city is viewed as both the environment and the subject of research. Work under this approach can help elucidate the process of urban cultural evolution, thereby making archaeology relevant to studies of present behaviors. The validity of this approach has been amply demonstrated in the Tuscon Garbage Project (Rathje 1977; Rathje and

McCarthy 1977). Dickens and Bowen note that research under this paradigm, especially on nineteenth and twentieth century deposits, can contribute to better archaeological techniques, since the behaviors studied are part of a still-active continuum (Dickens and Bowen 1980: 51).

Archaeologists have noted that a major tool in urban archaeological studies is the wealth of documentary evidence available for such sites. Staski notes that record keeping is an important part of administrative services, and urban centers have the facilities for long term collection of these documents. Careful studies of these materials allows for a well-documented historical outline of the physical and social characteristics of a city (Staski 1982: 120). Such a well-planned and detailed study is essential in order to interpret the complex archaeological record found at an urban site, and to place such events within a larger perspective. Such research is also an efficient manner in which to survey a city. The following report is part of an ongoing effort in this direction for Charleston.

#### Project Background

In an attempt to efficiently integrate the preservation and/or recovery of archaeological resources with the development goals of the city, the Charleston Museum received a grant form the city to prepare an archaeological preservation plan for Charleston. Phase I of this research was designed to evaluate the archaeological potential for all areas of the peninsular city and to make recommendations to city planners. The goals of Phase I were two-fold:

1) To ascertain on a general level the length and type of occupation for all areas of the peninsular city.

2) To pinpoint the location of specific structures, and the remains of specific activities in the city.

Primary documentary sources were examined for information pertaining to the archaeological resources in Charleston. These resources include historic maps and plats, Charleston City Directories, censuses, city ordinances, city yearbooks, family paper collections, Records of the Secretary of the Province, the Shaftsbury papers, and a variety of miscellaneous notes and documents. In addition, numerous secondary sources on Charleston in particular and the Southeastern United States in general were consulted. This was done to place Charleston's history in a national, and even international, perspective and to avoid repetition of data already compiled. All site locations have been recorded as accurately as possible on contemporary maps and aerial photographs.

The product of Phase I research is a skeletal outline of the land use history of Charleston. This skeletal outline contains general information on the length and density of occupation for all areas of peninsular Charleston. As a result of this research, preliminary recommendations have been made to the City concerning the probable nature and extent of archaeological resources at several sites. The results of Phase I research are outlined in a preliminary report submitted to the City of Charleston (Zierden and Calhoun 1982b).

#### Project Methods and Goals

Phase II of the research project is designed to refine and expand this skeletal outline of Charleston's growth and development. Information is

lacking on the type and density of occupation for the city for both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For the nineteenth century a variety of sources are available from which such information can be extracted. These include censuses, tax lists, city directories, and newspapers. But prior to the incorporation of Charleston in 1783, few such records are available. It was determined that the best sources for such information would be a thorough survey of eighteenth century newspaper advertisements.

Research began with the first edition of the South Carolina Gazette in 1732. Because of time constraints and the wealth of data available, research was terminated at 1770, approximately the beginning of the transitional period leading to the Revolution. These later periods will be the subject of a later, separate study.

The primary purpose of the research was to determine the location of commercial activities within the eighteenth century city. This would be accomplished by recording the addresses of merchants who advertised in the South Carolina Gazette. Such information would allow a definition of the eighteenth century commercial core of the city, and changes in the location and focus of these areas. The data will also facilitate a definition of the range of early craft activities in the city and the location of such activities. A recognized bias of this approach is that not all merchants and craftsmen living and working in Charleston chose to advertise in the newspaper. Thus the newspaper ads will not totally reflect the commercial activities of the city. Yet the extensive information they do contain may serve as a basis for recognizing general trends in the city.

In addition to this primary focus, extensive data was obtained on the land use patterns of eighteenth century Charleston. Such data will be of importance to future archaeological investigations in Charleston on the site-specific level. Data was also obtained on the range of material culture being imported into Charleston and on shipping activity in the port city. Such subjects are outside the scope of this particular project and will be incorporated into later work.

All advertisements and items of related interest were recorded on index cards and filed systematically at the Charleston Museum. Over 7000 items were recorded.

Chapter II seeks to explain eighteenth century South Carolina's position in the British Empire and its effect on the colony's development. Chapter III discusses the effect of these activities on the Charleston landscape. The project is summarized and recommendations are made in Chapter IV. Lists of colonial craftsmen and merchants are contained in Appendix I.

#### CHARLESTON'S ROLE IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In the seventeenth century, Britain's possessions were scattered throughout the world. Despite domestic political turmoil, she retained and improved her position of dominance throughout the seventeenth century until, by the end of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1713, she ruled the seas. Her North American colonies were only a small part of the vast empire which England accumulated. The English government did not view them as political and economic entities entitled to a voice in imperial policy. Instead, the members of the ruling classes considered them agricultural appendages which should serve as both a source of raw materials and a market for the mother country's manufactured goods.

To ensure that Britain's colonies would increase her wealth and not that of her rivals, an economic policy of mercantilism was adopted to regulate her dependents' trade. Mercantilism was an indefinite, loosely defined concept seldom wholly agreed upon by either its adherents or detractors. Its two basic principles, the importance of trade to the British Empire and the necessity to secure a favorable balance of trade in England's favor, served as rallying points for manufacturers, merchants, and landholders eager to exploit their country's holdings.

In the early seventeenth century, the North American colonies were not significant enough to merit much attention. This was just as well, as the rulers of England were too preoccupied with trying to keep their heads to spend too much time, energy or money on their overseas possessions. By the time Charles II gained the throne in 1660, the colonies were beginning to give

indications of their future worth. Virginia and Maryland were already exporting more than seven million pounds of tobacco annually, much of which never reached England, and the merchants of New England traded around the world.

Under Charles II, a consistent, definite commercial policy for the colonies was first evolved. These Navigation Acts had four major sections. The first dealt with shipping. This provision stated that all goods imported or exported from any of the plantations possessed by the British government in Asia, Africa, or America must be carried in ships which belonged to, and were built by, citizens of England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed, or any of the said colonies. In addition, the captain and three-fourths of the crew of these vessels must be English. Secondly, it was declared that goods grown, produced, or manufactured in Africa, Asia, or America could only be imported into England in ships navigated, built, or owned as described above. Finally, it was enacted that no goods of foreign growth or manufacture should be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernsey, Jersey and Berwick-upon-Tweed, unless they came directly from the place of production or those ports from which the goods and commodities were usually shipped (Beer 1948:36).

The final clause of the Navigation Acts which proved significant to the growth and development of the American colonies was the enumeration of certain goods. According to mercantilist thought, the colonies were to provide the mother country with the raw materials needed for home industries which she was otherwise forced to import from her rivals. Sugar, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, speckle-wood and various types of dye-woods, such as fustic and braziletto, the products of the West Indies and Southern colonies, were all placed on the enumerated list. This meant that these commodities could be shipped only to England, Ireland, Wales and Berwick-upon-Tweed and that

they must be transported in ships owned and manned by Englishmen. Furthermore, all ships sailing with enumerated goods on board were required to give bond to land at some part of England, Ireland or Wales (Beer 1948:38-39). Any enumerated commodity could be re-exported from England by English or colonial merchants. This, however, would force the price of the goods to advance to such a point that it would be extremely difficult for the merchant involved to make a profit. Thus this aspect of trade was largely controlled by English factors (Andrews 1938:88).

Of the enumerated commodities, only tobacco could be raised in England but that was forbidden by law. Northern American products - grain, fish and naval stores - were not included on the enumerated list because they were readily available in the mother country. As the manufacturing capacity of England increased, so did the demand for goods to supply her industries. Gradually other articles were enumerated. High duties were levied upon these goods, however, to save the English producer from bankruptcy.

Molasses and rice were soon placed among the enumerated goods. Spain and Portugal were the major European markets for rice which, before South Carolina became a producer, they imported from Egypt and Lombardy. Soon South Carolina had become a serious rival and was monopolizing the Portuguese market and moving into that of Spain. At this point, Parliament was persuaded that the colony's ability to export rice directly to Portugal and Spain was detrimental to English commerce and rice was placed on the enumerated list. The increased freight charges necessitated by this change in status inflated the price of American rice by a third, thus largely forcing South Carolina out of the European rice trade. Finally, by an act passed in 1730 and an additional one in 1735, the rice producers of the Southern colonies were granted the right to export rice directly to any European port south of Cape Finisterre. Almost immediately, American rice had captured its

former market. This indulgence did not, however, extend to the markets of Holland and Germany, the area of the Caribbean and the Spanish Main where some of the best markets were located. This was not remedied until 1764 and 1765 when a series of new acts of revenue and trade opened up the region south of North and South Carolina and Georgia to their rice trade (Andrews 1938:97).

Naval stores and copper were also placed on the enumerated list. As Britain's navy became more and more prominent in European wars, her demand for naval stores increased proportionately. Unable to herself produce a sufficient amount, she was forced to rely on Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Russia for hemp, tar, pitch and masts. This trade created an unfavorable balance of trade for England as these countries refused to be paid in English manufactures and insisted on monetary reimbursement (Beer 1948:55-56). Economists frowned upon this outward flow of specie (in 1703 England's overbalance of trade in this area amounted to 350,000 pounds) while statesmen shuddered at England's dependence on European rivals for materials vital for her naval power (Andrews 1938:103).

The final inducement to find another source of supply for naval stores came at the beginning of the eighteenth century with a shift in Sweden's attitude. At this point, the Swedish Tar Company refused to let England have any pitch or tar except at its own price, despite the fact that money was offered in exchange. Furthermore, the Company decided that only Swedish ships were to be employed in transporting these goods to England and that they, the Company, would determine the quantity delivered. This implicit economic blackmail, combined with the turbulent diplomatic situation on the European continent, convinced the British that the time had come to rely on her American colonies. At the beginning of the War of the Spanish Succession, naval stores were enumerated and bounties granted on tar, pitch, rosin or turpentine, hemp, masts, yards and bowsprits (Beer 1948:94-95).

The act of 1660 covered two of the main objectives desired by the Navigation Acts - the increase of shipping, to bolster England's merchant marine, and the enumeration of certain colonial goods, for the increase in English revenue, greater supply of raw materials, advancement of England's growing domestic industry and enhancement of the Englishman's lifestyle. There was one final objective yet to be achieved. That was insuring that all commodities desired by the colonists would pass through England, thus establishing it as the sole export center to the plantations. To accomplish this final goal, the Act for the Encouragement of Trade was passed on July 27, 1663. Under this statute, two provisions were made which required that all commodities of European growth, production and manufacture intended for the colonies must first be carried to England, Wales, or Berwickupon-Tweed, in lawful shipping, legally crewed, and there put ashore before being transported to America. When this occurred, the same drawback was allowed, except later on foreign ironware and cordage, as was allowed to goods under similar circumstances re-exported to foreign countries (Andrews 1938: 108).

There were some exceptions to this act. One of these was salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland. A great deal of the salt came from the Isle of May, one of Portugal's Cape Verde Islands, as the English had been granted the sole right of exportation by Portugal in the treaty of 1661. Later, Pennsylvania, New York, Nova Scotia and Quebec were granted the same privilege. The Southern colonies attempted to persuade the government but to no avail; they were forced to obtain the salt needed for the curing and packing of their beef from either the Northern colonies at double freight and a much higher price, or produce their own through the evaporation of salt water. They were able to obtain salt from Turks Island, one of the Caribee Islands, but the southerners asserted it was of a much poorer quality

#### (Andrews 1938:109).

The restriction on salt had a detrimental effect on South Carolina's export of beef. On Novermber 23, 1749, South Carolina's Governor James Glen, in an address to the Commons House of Assembly, declared,

Our Country abounds in Cattle and lies commodiously to the Sugar Colonies and foreign Settlements for a market.

Despite this hopeful boast, in 1748 the value of South Carolina's exported beef was less than one tenth that of indigo and could not compare even with that of tanned leather. The cause of this was not primarily the amount of beef offered for export but rather the inferior quality of the cured beef compared with that of the Northern colonies. By being forced to rely primarily on American salt, which Governor Glen declared was "of so corrosive a Nature that it waste what it should preserve," South Carolina could scarcely depend on her beef as a valuable export (Gipson 1960:143-144).

Another exception to the Act for Encouraging Trade was servants, horses and provisions from Scotland and Ireland and, later, linen from the latter country. This ceased to apply to Scotland after the Act of Union in 1707 and provoked some delightfully innovative evasive tactics on the part of the Irish, as when some shippers classified candles and soap as "provisions" and, when queried, offered to prove their point by consuming the goods in question. In one such case which was brought to trial, a

witness swore that soap was victuals and that one might live upon it for a month, which the jury readily believed and found (for the defendant).

There are some suspicions that Irish exporters exploited this privilege and carried contraband goods during wartime and manufactured goods in times of peace, but nothing conclusive has been proven (Andrews 1938:109-110).

Thirdly, wines from the Azores, Madeira and, generally, the Canaries were also exempt. A great deal of English business was done through Oporto and Lisbon. Portugal had been an ally in the War of the Spanish Succession

and the Metheun Treaty of 1703, which facilitated the export of English textiles there in return for an import duty on Portuguese wines which was one-third lower than that on French wines, had promoted trade relations between the two countries (Marshall 1962:13). There has been some doubt as to whether salt and wine were the sole commodities thus imported into the colonies in the eighteenth century, despite the Navigation Acts. There are claims that, in addition to the two legal goods, Southern European imports also included oranges, limes, currants, raisins, olives, anchovies, Leghorn hats, Barcelona handkerchiefs and other luxury goods. These items, in fact, are frequently advertised in the South Carolina Gazette throughout the years 1732 - 1770. The American Inspector-General's ledgers do not list such items but, if they were imported, then they were presumably either smuggled or the customs officers were not strictly enforcing the Navigation Acts. The latter case is entirely possible as small amounts of salt were imported directly to the Southern colonies despite its prohibition (Shepherd and Walton 1972:103n).

The problem of establishing a favorable balance of trade in commerce with the colonies was the next area to come under scrutiny. Colonies were supposed to provide not merely the raw materials needed for England's home industries, but also a market for the goods thus produced. To ensure that the colonists would import their manufactured goods from England and not develop their own industries, Parliament passed a series of laws restricitng colonial manufactures. Governors were instructed to discourage, and report on, incipient cottage industries. Thus documentation may not reveal the entire truth. The letters of William Gooch, Governor of Virginia, to the English Board of Trade frequently contained derisive remarks about a Yorktown potter. In 1732, he reported,

The same poor potter's work is still continued at Yorktown without any great improvement or advantage to the owner or any injury

to the trade of Great Britain.

In 1739, Governor Gooch wrote, "The poor Potter's Operation is unworthy of your Lordship's Notice." These statements are strikingly contradicted by archaeological evidence which implies both a great deal of potting activity and a fairly high standard of quality (Hume 1963:223).

Manufacturing was most prevalent in the Northern colonies. There was a marked absence of even rudimentary industry in the South. This was due neither to a deficiency of interest or skill, but rather a lack of incentive. As the South had highly desireable staple exports which commanded a ready market in England, she had no need to develop any type of of industry. Economically, it was much more profitable to employ a unit of labor in agriculture than in manufacturing. In addition, the extensive network of navigable rivers throughout the South facilitated the transport of raw materials in bulk, thus providing a further disincentive to spend time and money on producing a finished product.

The Northern colonies were not able to grow such valued crops as did the South. Around 1640 in Massachusetts, the staple goods of the colony were wheat, oats, peas, barley, beef, pork, fish, butter, cheese, timber, tar and boards. These commodities enabled the farmers of Massachusetts to feed,

not only...their Elder Sisters, Virginia, Barbados, and many of the Summer Islands that were prefer'd before her fruitfulness, but also the Grandmother of us all, even the firtil Isle of Great Britain.

The landed class of England, however, had too much power to allow this trade to go unchecked. Under Charles II the earliest Corn Laws were put into effect. Designed to protect the country's own agricultural sector, formidable customs duties were put on foodstuffs, such as dye, barley, peas, beans, oats and wheat. Also during this reign, the importation of salt provisions, including beef, pork, bacon and butter from England's colonial

possessions was totally prohibited. Finally, the whale-fisheries of New England were discriminated against with the imposition of high duties on oil and blubber caught and exported to England. Without a trade with England, the Northern colonies were obliged to find a middle market for their goods and become more independent of England in regard to manufactured goods.

The North and South did share two common factors which rendered any real development of manufacturing difficult. The abundance of land in relation to labor and capital, and the limited size of the potential market, both favored the development of agriculture. Also, the small scale on which colonial manufacturers would have to produce would not allow them to maintain competitive prices with the larger English industrialists. The lack of division of labor in colonial manufacturing exacerbated this problem. Benjamin Franklin commented,

Manufactures, where they are in perfection, are carried on by a multiplicity of hands, each of which is expert only in his own part, no one of them as master of the whole; and if by any means spirited away to a foreign country, he is lost without his fellows. Then it is a matter of extremist difficulty to persuade a complete set of workmen, skilled in all parts of manufactory, to leave their country together and settle in a foreign land. Some of the idle and drunken may be entice away, but these only disappoint their employers, and serve to discourage the undertaking. If by royal munificence, and an expense that the profits of the trade alone would not bear, a complete set of good and skillful hands are collected and carried over, they find so much of the system imperfect, so many things wanting to carry on the trade to advantage, so many difficulties to overcome, and the know of hands so easily broken by death, dissatisfaction, and desertion, that they and their employers are discouraged altogether, and the project vanished into smoke.

This generalization did not apply to such industries as household manufacturing, shipbuilding, iron production and flour milling. Thus high wages and a limited division of labor conspired to promote importation of English goods rather than colonial industry (Shepherd and Walton 1972:23-24).

England was not content to rely on her superiority in manufacturing to secure her market. Instead, the government took steps to ensure that there would be little, or no, competition with her goods. In addition to instructing

the provincial governors to watch for, and discourage, any serious industry, England also passed several statutes dealing with colonial manufactures. The three restrictive acts which most affected the colonies' manufacturing were those placed on the production of woolens, hats and finished iron The act on woolen goods allowed production for personal use, but goods. forbade any type of manufacturing for the public. This was not strictly enforced and, in 1743 and 1745, two separate weavers advertised in the South Carolina Gazette (South Carolina Gazette March 7, 1743; South Carolina Gazette January 14, 1745). A hat industry had developed enough in the early eighteenth century to provoke the English Company of Feltmakers, in 1731, to petition Parliament to prohibit the exportation of hats from the American colonies. They asserted that the Northern American colonies were not only exporting their hats to foreign markets, but were also shipping them to England. The statute was passed but not strictly enforced and, in 1759, one writer mentioned that Pennsylvania made beaver hats superior to those produced in Europe.

Iron was present in all of the North American colonies. By the 1720's, the Southern colonies were producing bar and pig iron and exporting it to England in very small amounts. The Northern colonies, especially New England, produced iron in smaller quantities but were already beginning to use it to make finished products in connection with their ship building and fisheries. Despite this, the colonies in the early eighteenth century were largely dependent on England for their finished iron products. On an average, between 1714 and 1717 the colonies imported from England 35,631 pounds worth of wrought iron and nails. They also imported unwrought iron from the mother country as colonial mines could not produce a sufficient amount. The Southern colonies manufactured very few iron wares but exported more raw iron and even partially supplied the Northern colonies with raw materials

for their iron manufacturing.

To discourage and, hopefully, halt the production of iron wares in the American colonies, in 1750 a bill was passed that,

I. Bar iron may be imported duty free to the port of London, and pig iron to any port of England.

II. No mill or other engine for rolling or slitting iron, no plating forge to wrok with a tilt-hammer, nor any furnace for making steel, shall be erected in the colonies. If so erected it is to be deemed a common nuisance (Beer 1948:81-89).

James Glen, Governor of South Carolina, emphasized this law by issuing a proclamation, which declared that, "no mill or other engine, forge, or furnace for making steel can exist in the colonies " (<u>South Carolina Gazette</u> Dec. 3-10, 1750). Due to this bill, the amount of pig iron exported from the colonies to England in 1745 was 2,228 tons while by 1755 it had risen to 3,425 tons. In 1757, a statute was passed allowing bar iron to be imported free of duty into any English port. This act was extremely beneficial to the English for, while in 1750 the colonists exported scarcely any bar iron to England and, in 1754, only 271 tons, in 1764 they exported 1,059 tons (Beer 1948:84-86).

In addition to the Navigation Acts and restrictions on manufacturing, the British government also had a system of bounties and drawbacks. Many of these are not important to a consideration of the colonies, but two bounties, those on naval stores and indigo, were significant.

A bounty was granted on naval stores to promote their production in an effort both to supply English shipping and to support the development of an export commodity for the Northern colonies. Unfortunately for the Northern colonies, the great pine forests were located primarily in the Carolinas. The Carolinians rapidly added tar, pitch, rosin, turpentine, hemp, masts and bowsprits to their exports. South Carolina's tar was generally made from dead wood in contrast to the Baltic manufacturers who used green trees. As the British Navy, which was the largest consumer of exported tar,

preferred tar produced by the Baltic method, there was a reduced demand for Carolina tar in the second decade of the eighteenth century. To compensate for this declining market, the South Carolinians began to concentrate on the manufacture of pitch. Shipbuilders, however, needed pitch less than tar and soon the increased supply of pitch glutted the market. In an effort to encourage the South Carolinians to produce desirable tar, the English government made the bounty on tar applicable, after September of 1724, only on that produced according to the Baltic method. This specification soon became irrelevant as the act legislating the bounties expired in 1724 and was not re-enacted until 1729, when the subsidies were revived in a reduced form.

The withdrawal of the bounties for the period 1725 - 1729 resulted in a significant decrease in the production of tar and pitch. The lowered bounties established in 1729 failed to stimulate the development of these two commodities and, for an average year between 1734 and 1737, Charles Town's exports of tar and pitch were only slightly more than fifty percent of what they had been in an average year from 1717 to 1720. Many colonists turned from the production of tar and pitch to the manufacture of turpentine and rosin. South Carolina's larger planters devoted themselves increasingly to the cultivation of rice and, from 1725 to 1731, the annual volume of Charles Town's rice exports tripled (Waterhouse 1973:123-125).

Rice became a mainstay of the South Carolina economy. In December of 1744, however, a committee was appointed in Charles Town to investigate the causes of the decline of the rice trade. They concluded that it was,

chiefly owing to the great Freights, high Insurance, Scarcity of Shipping, and other extraordinary Charges on Trade, occasioned by the present War (War of Austrian Succession), which has reduced the Price of Rice so low, that it will not pay the Expence of raising and manufacturing it....(South Carolina Gazette:Dec. 10, 1744)

This situation persisted and, in November of 1745, a letter to the editor

published in the <u>South Carolina Gazette</u> referred to the low price of rice and, mentioning how people were beginning to try the cultivation of other crops, suggested wine, silk, oyl, and indigo as viable alternatives (<u>South Carolina Gazette:Nov. 4, 1745</u>).

Indigo had been experimented with throughout the early years of the South Carolina colony. Eliza Lucas (later Pinckney) first planted indigo in 1741 and succeeded in producing seventeen pounds. Initially, the Assembly granted a bounty on indigo to encourage its production. As more and more planters successfully cultivated the plant, the bounty became too expensive to maintain and was finally dropped in 1746 when the production of indigo reached five thousand pounds (Bentley 1977:60).

Great Britain annually imported over six hundred thousand pounds of French indigo. The possibility of weaning their country from dependence on their archrival France for its supply of this dye induced English legislators in 1748 to grant a bounty on all indigo produced in America and exported to England (Gipson 1960:135). The promised bounty and rumours of the high prices which Carolina indigo was bringing in the English market persuaded many planters to concentrate on this crop. The terms of the act establishing the bounty, however, specified that the subsidy would be paid to the importer, not the exporter. It was expected that this would in turn be passed on to the planter in the form of higher prices paid for their product. Such was not the case, perhaps because of the often poor quality of the Carolina indigo offered for sale (in the Prices Current for Carolina Produce quoted in the South Carolina Gazette, it is specified that the price listed for indigo refers to "good" indigo). Consequently, although many Carolinians continued to grow indigo, the amount exported remained relatively small throughout the late 1740's and early 1750's.

Indigo production was finally stimulated by the outbreak of the Seven

Years War in 1756. The alliances of this war naturally excluded French and Spanish indigo from the English market, thus raising the demand for Carolina indigo. In addition, the increased insurance rates imposed on rice shipped from Charles Town raised its price in Europe and resulted in a decrease in demand. The lowered prices subsequently paid for rice in Charles Town provided an added inducement for planters to diversify their crops (Waterhouse 1973: 130-131).

South Carolina's position in the British Empire rendered her vulnerable to the vicissitudes of European politics. As an English colony, she was subject to attacks on her territory and commerce by England's enemies. Eighteenth century Europe was wracked by lengthy and hardfought wars. As the major European nations had commercial enclaves and colonial settlements around the world, conflict naturally spread into areas hitherto immune from the consequences of European rivalries. The War of the Spanish Succession, the war of the Austrian Succession and the French and Indian War, which served as both a preliminary, and extension of, the Seven Years War, all disrupted the commercial life of the British Empire, including South Carolina.

In times of war, the British merchant marine served as a source of supply and as an adjunct to the English navy. In each of the conflicts, English vessels were used as warships or carriers by the navy. Many British ships became privateers and others, provided with Letters of Marque, carried on trade but were also empowered to capture any foreign vessel they might encounter. In addition, the number of ships available for commerce was further depleted by the hazards of sailing the seas in time of war. From 1702 to 1708, the French

captured 1,142 British vessels; in the period 1739 to 1742, the Spanish took 337 ships (Ashton 1954: 146).

Charles Town, as the major export center of the Southern colonies. suffered from this disruption of trade. Wars necessarily entailed a limitation of markets for British goods. The dangers involved in shipping these goods resulted in high insurance rates which inflated the price of commodities to the point where demand often decreased proportionately. In 1744, a notice in the South Carolina Gazette informed its readers of the arrival of Captain Hutchins from Philadelphia, whose ship had been chased four days in succession by two privateers (SCG May 7, 1744). An issue in 1745 announced that at least three enemy privateers were cruising the South Carolina coast and, in December of 1748, following the conclusion of the War of Austrian Succession, ships' commanders complained that Spanish privateers were still seizing British vessels (SCG Dec 7, 1748). Wars were also presaged by the appearance of privateers, as when in December of 1753, it was reported that the French were keeping armed vessels in the Windward Passage and that this would probably develop into a major dispute (SCG Dec 3, 1753).

Charles Town made efforts both to protect its own trade and to prosper from the capture of rival ships. In 1743, Captain Thomas Frankland, Commander of His Majesty's ship the Rose,

Had the Thanks of the Merchants of the Place, for his Vigilance and Care in suppressing the <u>Spanish</u> Privateers that infested this Coast. As a further Token of their Esteem, they then presented (him) with a handsome Silver Bowl." (SCG Feb 21, 1743).

By 1744, some of the principal men in town had outfitted the <u>Recovery</u>, a privateer ship of more than 200 tons, which was daily expected from

England, and another Charlestonian was building a large snow destined for the same purposes. Prizes taken by the privateers were brought into a British port and, if condemned, their cargoes sold and the proceeds divided between the government, ship's owners, and crew. As a major port Charles Town profited from this traffic.

Throughout the various wars, there were many notices of French and Spanish vessels being brought into the South Carolina harbour. In December of 1744, Captain Thomas Frankland's <u>Rose</u> escorted into Charles Town's port the French ship <u>Conception</u> of 400 tons, 20 guns and 326 men, including passengers. Reported to be one of the richest prizes taken since the beginning of the war, the ship was bound from Carthagena to Havana and had on board,

"800 serons of Cocoa, in each of which 'tis said is deposited as customary a Bar of Gold, 68 Chests of Silver Coins (already found) containing 310,000 Pieces of Eight, private Adventures in Gold and Silver Coins, and wrought plate of equivalent value.

There was also a complete set of Church plate, large quantity of gold buckles and snuff boxes, a "curious Two-Wheel'd Chaise of Silver, the wheels, axle and c. all of the same metal", diamonds, pearls, and other precious stones, and a large amount of gold. "Fresh discoveries of treasure are constantly made" and

"some gold was secreted even in the Knees... the Heels of the Prisoners' Shoes having been made hollow were also full of gold" (SCG Dec 24, 1744).

Privateering was so common and profitable in Charles Town that, in a South Carolina Gazette of 1745, mention is made of the office of the Commissioners for Distributing Moiety of Prizes taken from Spaniards (SCG Feb 25, 1745) and, later in the same year, a notice was inserted

of the King's demand that the practice of privateer commanders taking it upon themselves to ransom prisoners of war and prize ships must be stopped (SCG Oct 14, 1745).

Few of the cargoes of prize vessels were as spectacular as that of the Conception, but most proved profitable. In June of 1745, the cargoes of two French prizes, consisting of French sugars, indigo, cotton, coffee, mahogany plank and sweet meats, were sold on Captain Frankland's Wharf. As soon as the goods were disposed of, the prize ships themselves were to be sold (SCG June 1, 1745). Similar practices continued throughout the Seven Years War; in April of 1756, an advertisement in the Gazette read,

Just imported from Antigua...a parcel of neat Claret and White Wines, brought directly from Bordeaux, in a French Vessel, lately taken by one of His Majesty's Ships of War, to be sold at public vendue... (SCG Apr 1, 1756).

Privateering ensured that, despite restrictions on navigation, imports and exports, goods from all of the European nations and their colonies entered the ports. Smuggling and casual execution of the acts also mitigated the desired effect of many of England's commercial statutes. England's enforcement of her laws regulating the commerce of her colonies can be divided into three periods: a lenient phase prior to 1696, a strict administration which lasted throughout the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, and a lenient period under Prime Minister Walpole which ended with the advent of the Seven Years War in 1756 (Beer 1948: 131).

Throughout England's history, smuggling had been endemic. Although deplored by lawmakers, the common people and many nobles not only encouraged but actually participated in illicit trade.

In St. Augustine, archaeological remains have indicated the extent to which colonists, despite claims to the contrary, indulged in illegal trade with the British colonies (Deagan 1982a: 160). Smuggling, therefore, was seldom regarded as a heinous crime except by those such as customs officers who were obliged to combat it. Nonetheless, there was apparently very little illicit trade in the Southern British colonies and it was said of South Carolina that, "No country in this part of the world hath less illegal trade..." This was due not to any greater degree of lawfulness but rather to the nature of the exports of the Southern colonies. Tobacco, rice and naval stores all commanded a ready market in England. There was little incentive to send them elsewhere, due to various concessions on the part of the British government, and the manufactures desired by Southerners were easily and cheaply obtained in England. There were, however, two branches of illicit trade in which Southerners indulged. One was the smuggling of tobacco from one colony to another to avoid payment of the duty imposed on enumerated commodities carried from colony to colony. The other occurred primarily during the War of the Spanish Succession when the commercial laws were laxly enforced and trade with the West Indies was particularly feasible and profitable.

The Northern colonies, however, were not so obedient. Due to their lack of a profitable and dependable market in England for their exports, the Northerners were forced to engage in trade with foreign countries. Their trade in fish with Newfoundland was often illegally supplemented by the importation of wines, brandies, and other European goods. They also carried on an extensive trade in fish with Portugal and Spain. On their return journey, ships were allowed to carry salt and small amounts of wine and fruit. Quite naturally, many captains

saw little need to limit themselves so severely. Fish was also exported to Toulon and Marseilles and French products were imported directly from these ports (Beer 1948: 132-136). The prohibitory duties imposed on French goods meant that such highly desirable items as French silks, linnens, and millinery could only be obtained through illicit trade, much of which occurred in the French and Dutch West Indies. Seldom are French goods advertised for sale in the <u>South Carolina Gazette</u> and, when those such as French silk and French brandy are mentioned, their place of origin is not specified (SCG; Andrews 1938: 362-363). The East India Company's monopoly of the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope was subverted by New England, whose trade with the pirates in the areas of Madagascar, Scotland and Ireland was also a profitable source of illicit goods (Beer 1948: 136).

As of July 4, 1776, South Carolina's commercial life was no longer regulated by a country an ocean away with conflicting, and often opposing, interests. Mercantilism had not proved a real hardship upon this Southern colony. Despite regulatory acts involving her shipping, imports and exports, South Carolina had prospered under English rule. The colony's commodities had commanded a ready market in England and provided it with a favorable balance of trade. Following the conclusion of the Seven Years War, however, conditions changed. Whereas previously the English government had been motivated primarily by economic theory and mercantile interest groups, the growing national debt forced the English to reconsider the colonies' contribution towards the Empire's upkeep. It seemed only reasonable that the American colonies should pay a greater portion of the amount required for their support and defense. To secure collection

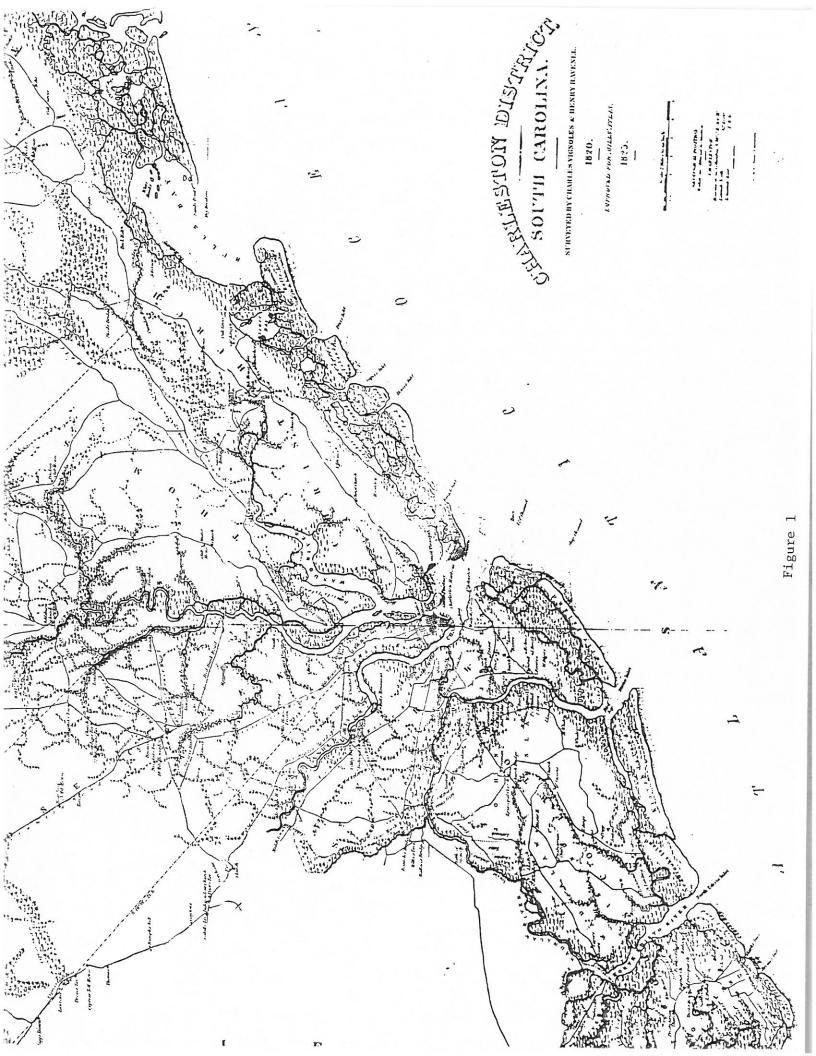
of these monies, Parliament sought to tighten the administration of the Navigation Acts and their corollaries. It also sought to impose several direct and indirect taxes upon the American colonists. Soon, however, the people of the colonies found a rallying cry in the idea of "No taxation without representation". It was agreed that Parliament had the power to legislate for the American colonies; it was not agreed that that body also had the power to tax them. The struggle which had begun in an effort to alleviate Britain's national debt evolved into a political quarrel predicated upon precedents implied in the Magna Charta. Thus began the breaking of the ties which had bound the American colonies to England.

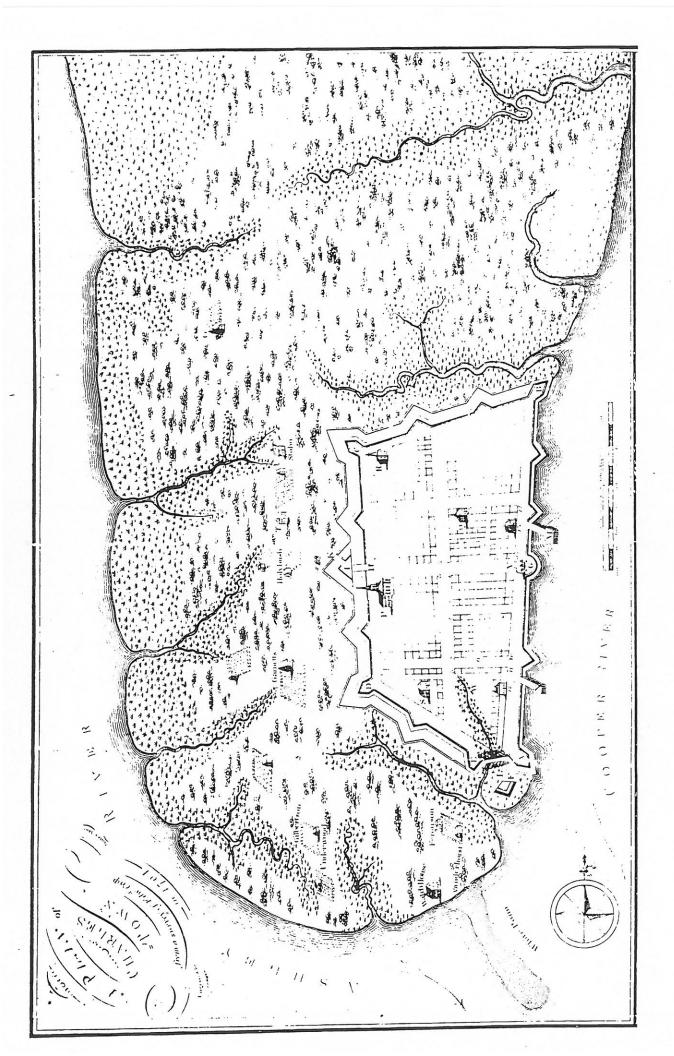
#### CHARLESTON'S COMMERCIAL LANDSCAPE

When the settlers of the new Carolina colony decided to move their village from Albemarle Point on the Ashley River to the peninsula formed by the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers (Figure 1), they were seeking a more favorable location for their town. The new town was built on the banks of the Cooper, between two marshy creeks which are present day Market Street and Water Street (Figure 2). Unlike the smaller Ashley River, the Cooper was wide and deep, and its banks consisted of relatively high bluffs and little tidal marsh (See Figure 3). This area no doubt offered the best conditions for a port town. The high bluffs were ideal for wharf building and, unlike the Ashley, the channel of the Cooper from these bluffs to the mouth of the harbor was relatively free from shoals (See Stoney 1976: 13).

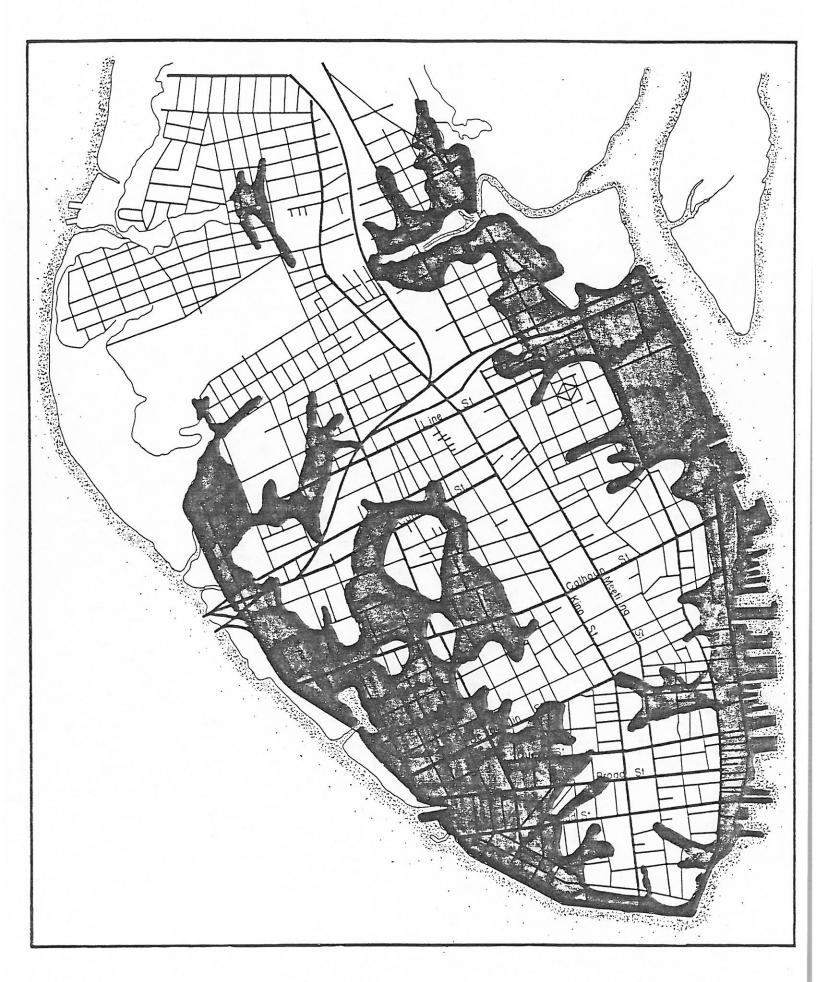
The new town was laid out according to a plan called the Grand Model. The town covered the three hundred acres from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street, utilizing the central square identified with Philadelphia and the narrow, deep lots characteristic of seventeenth century British colonial towns (Reps 1965: 177, fig. 7). Allowance was made for wide streets; the principal streets were the avenue running along the water, present day East Bay Street, and Broad Street, running west from the waterfront towards the Ashley (Aiken 1809).

The entire town was fortified by the construction of garrisons and walls which surrounded the town (see Figure 2), but the town soon expanded beyond its walls. Even as early as 1704 a few scattered houses were located outside these walls. All of these are located





# Figure 2



to the south and west of the fortified town. This trend of an initial growth west towards the Ashley, and only then north towards the Neck, was to continue throughout the course of Charleston's development.

The colony first began to plant crops for mere subsistence. They also began to raise livestock, principally cattle, for this purpose. Cattle raising proved very successful and soon the colony was importing beef to the West Indies (see Wood 1975: 32). This along with skins from the Indian trade were the colony's earliest exports. From the beginning days of the colony, though, the proprietors were searching for, and encouraged the development of, a profitable staple. Englishmen planted diverse seeds such as cotton, indigo, ginger, grapes, olives (Wood 1975: 27) and flax and hemp (South Carolina Gazette: Feb 12, 1753).

It was during the decade of the 1730's that Charleston made the transformation from a stable frontier port to a commercial center for a much expanded hinterland. There were several reasons for this evolution. The inefficient proprietary government was replaced by a royal administration in 1719, integrating the colony more closely with the rapidly expanding and increasingly centralized politico-economic system of Great Britain (Lewis 1976: 19). The reduction of aboriginal threat through disease and warfare and the removal of the Spanish threat, partially through the colonization of Georgia, opened the backcountry to settlement. This expansion of the colony inland was given official sanction with the township plan of 1730 which projected a series of frontier settlements to be settled by small farmers. With the development of rice as a profitable staple, the plantation economy expanded,

bringing with it a financial stability and enough capital to entice merchants and factors to remain in Charleston and reinvest their earnings rather than returning to England (see Rogers 1980: chap. 3).

Charleston's location on a good port meant that it served as a collecting point for colonial export commodities and a distribution center for imported goods (Sellers 1934: 5). In addition, Charleston was the terminus of the British Indian trade in the southeast (Crane 1956: 108). The growth and prosperity that began in the early eighteenth century and mushroomed in the 1730's continued through the eighteenth century.

The commercial expansion of Charleston was matched by remarkable physical growth. The 1739 map of Charleston (Roberts and Toms 1739) indicates that the city had expanded well beyond the original city walls and that the growth was primarily to the west (Figure 4). The city spread west to the banks of the Ashley River, encompassing the Mazyck Lands, and south to the tip of the peninsula, though much of the peripheral area was only sparsely occupied. An examination of two city maps from the late eighteenth century (Petrie 1788; Bonner 1802) suggest that subsequent growth to the north proceeded more slowly and, instead, the areas already occupied in the early eighteenth century were subject to more intensive occupation (Figures 5 and 6). Examination of these three cartographic sources suggests that the general settlement pattern for the eighteenth century was an initial westward growth prior to a northward movement; from the core commercial area along the Cooper River, development first moved west to the banks of the Ashley River before proceeding up the Neck (See Figure 7).

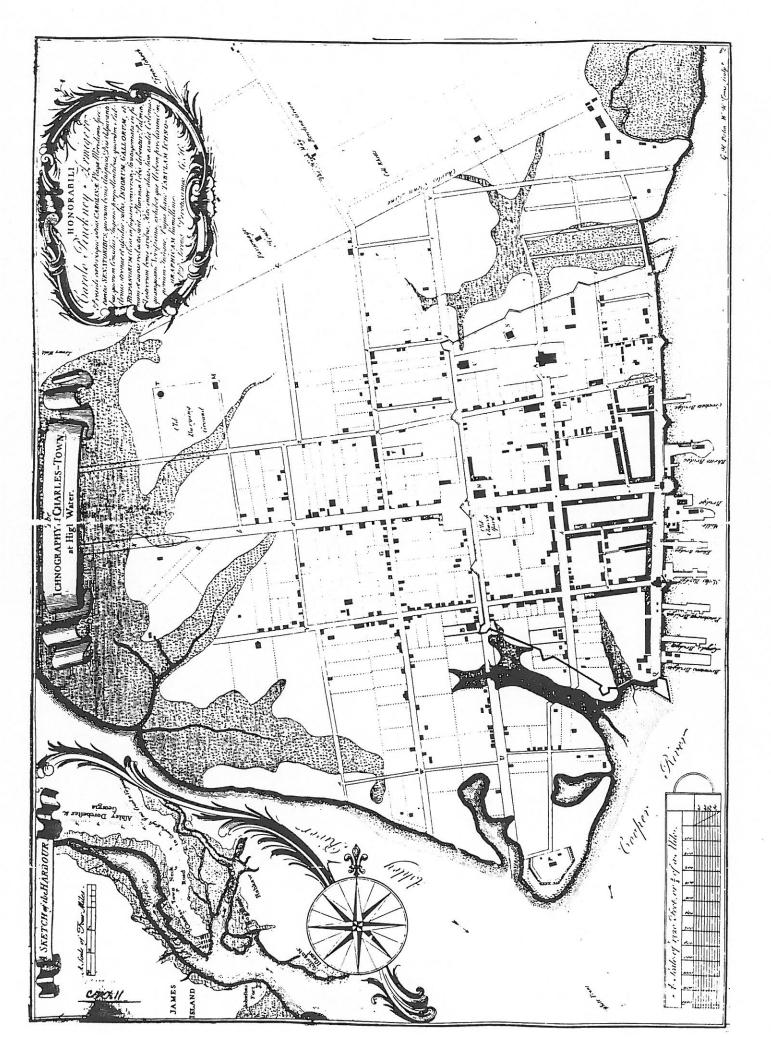
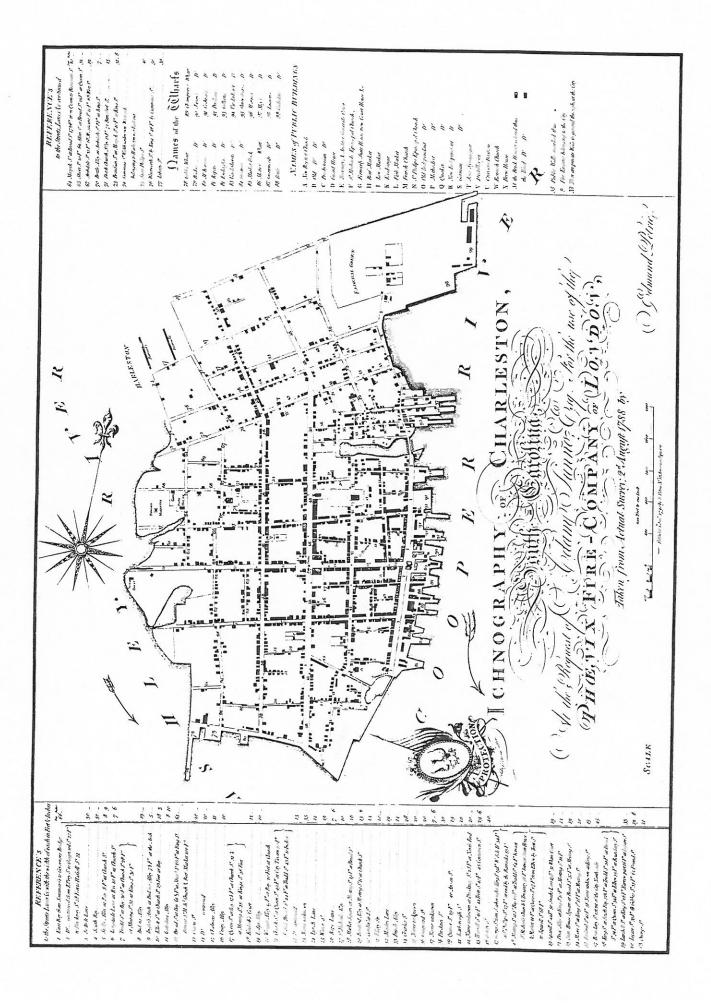


Figure 4



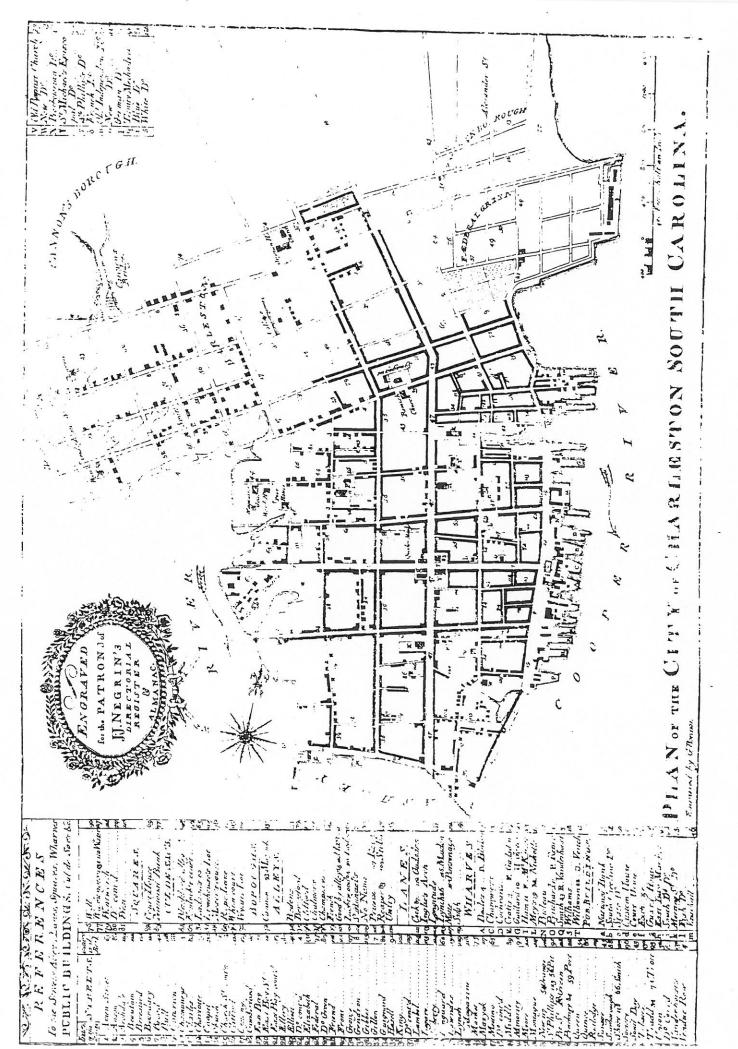
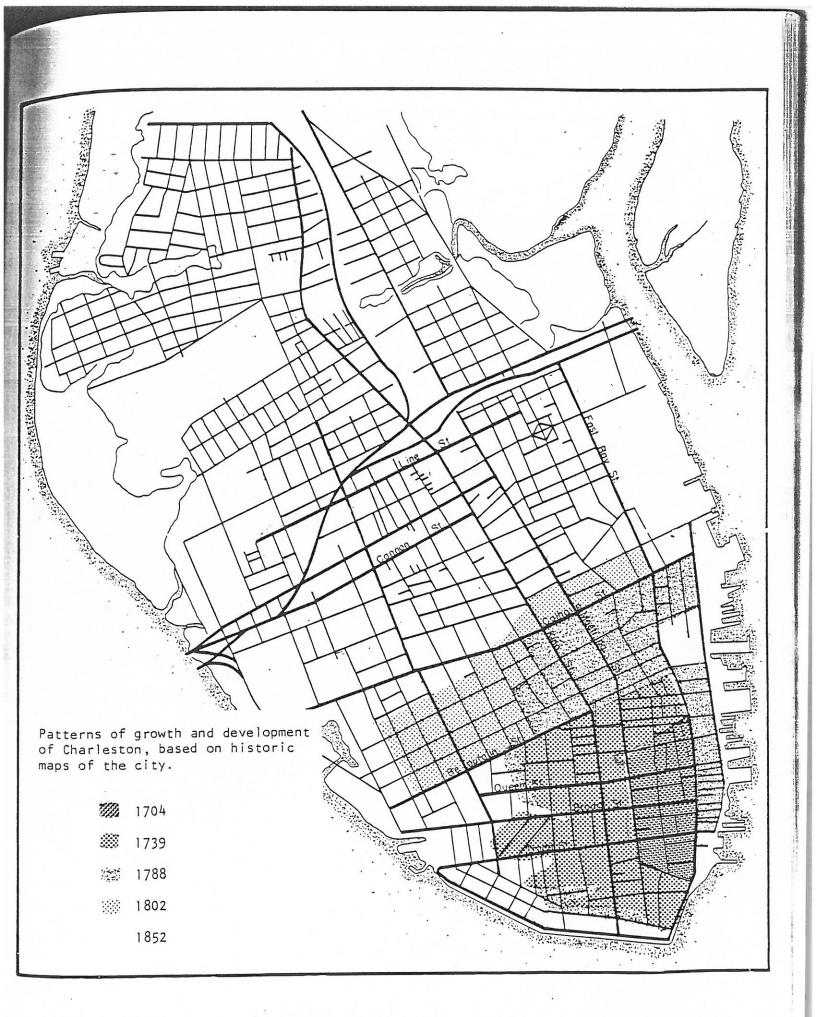


Figure 6



The trends of primarily westward growth and increasingly intensive occupation were supported by the newspaper research.

Examination of the newspaper advertisements for the period of 1732-1770 indicates that, in addition to developing in a westerly direction, Charleston was actually oriented on an east-west axis. This is in contrast to the nineteenth and twentieth century orientation on a north-south axis, in which King Street and Meeting Street are the primary thoroughfares and the center of commercial activity (see Rogers 1980: 61-62).

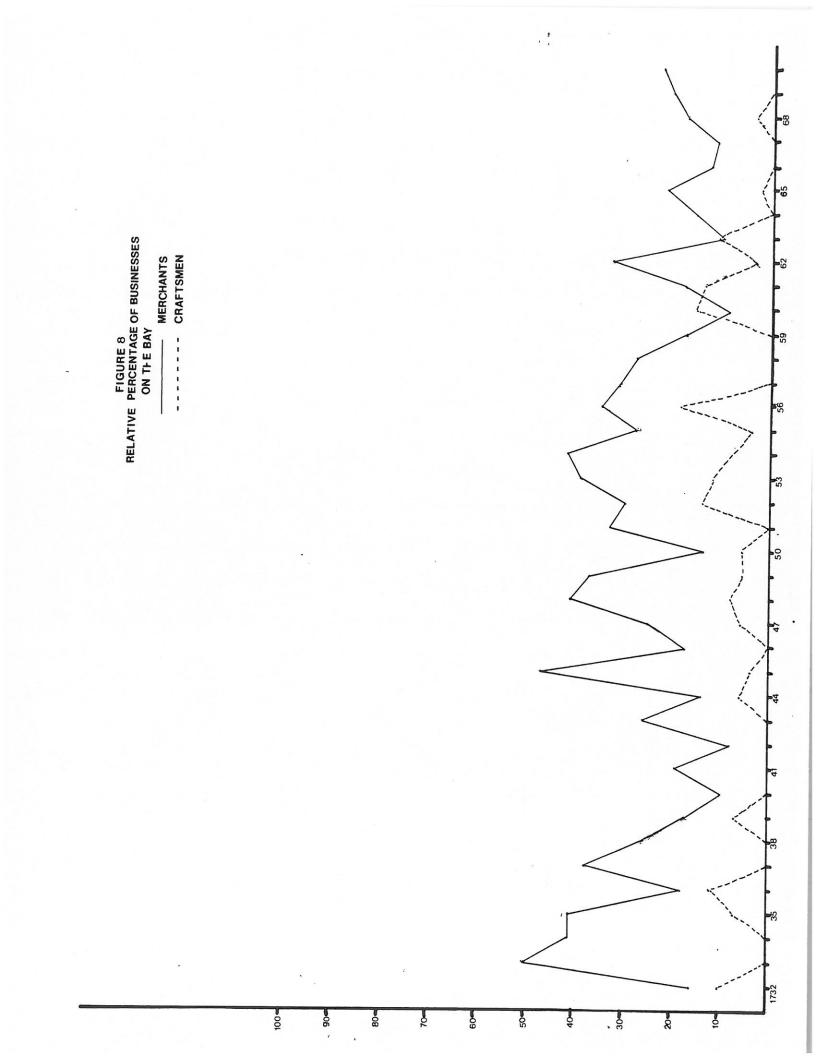
An essential point to bear in mind prior to examination of specifics is the bias inherent in this body of data. The body of merchants and craftsmen advertising in the Gazette do not represent the entire population engaged in commercial activities. Many merchants and craftsmen living and working in Charleston may not have advertised for a variety of reasons. This is especially true for the more established merchants, such as Henry Laurens. Therefore, the figures presented represent only those individuals in the newspaper advertisements and may not be an accurate representation of the entire population. Sporadic advertising by others may account for some of the fluctuations seen in figures 8-17. Nonetheless, the large sample size and its unbiased nature does make it a valid base for determining general trends.

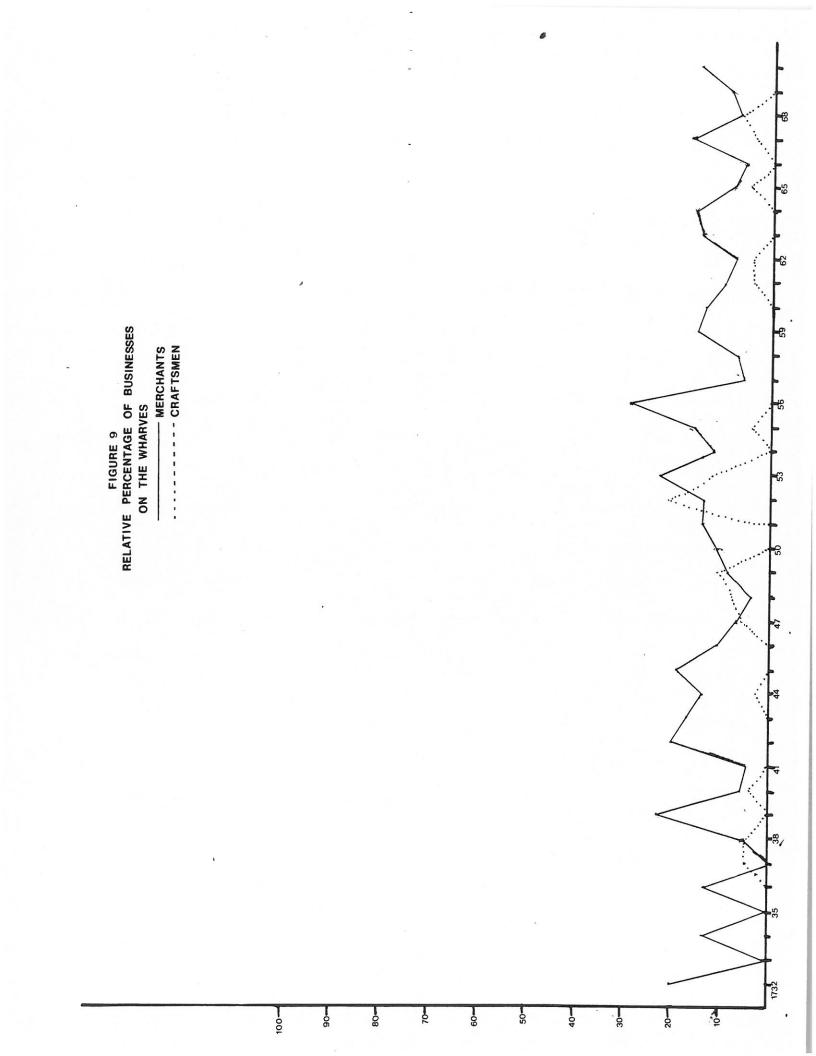
The primary focus of commercial activity in Charleston was, as one would expect in a port city, the waterfront. For the colonial period, 26 per cent of the merchants were located on East Bay Street (Figure 8) with an additional 14 per cent located directly on the wharves (Figure 9)/ (Figures 8-17 show the relative percentages of merchants and craftsmen

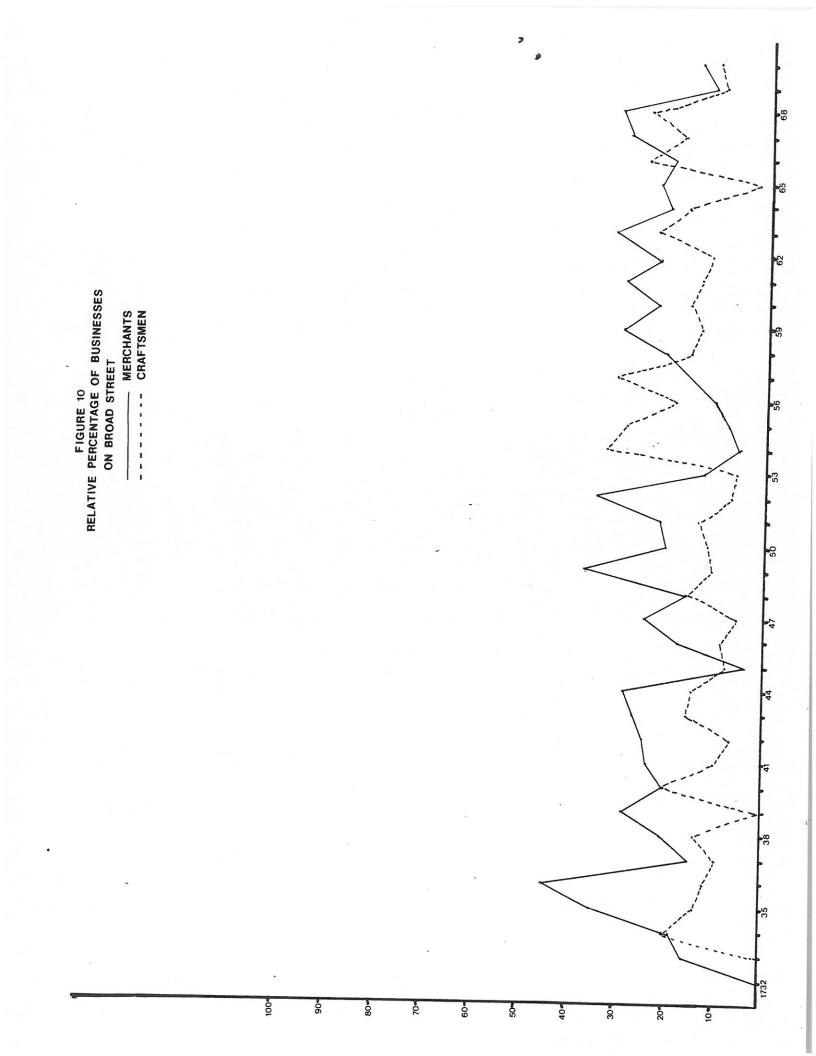
on principal streets for each individual year. For supportive data to the general trends discussed in the text, the reader is referred to these figures. Table 1 summarizes the data.) Merchants were also concentrated on three principal streets running west into town from the docks. An additional 25 per cent of the merchants were spread along Broad Street (Figure 10), the principal commercial and municipal street of the city, with 13 per cent located on Tradd Street (Figure 11) and 11 per cent on Elliot Street (Figure 12). The commercial importance of Elliot Street is somewhat surprising since, unlike Broad and Tradd Streets, it was only two blocks long and is presently a very minor thoroughfare. Researchers have previously suggested that Queen Street was also an important thoroughfare (Rogers 1980: 56), but this was not supported by the newspaper data. Only 1 per cent of the eighteenth century merchants were located on Queen (Figure 13).

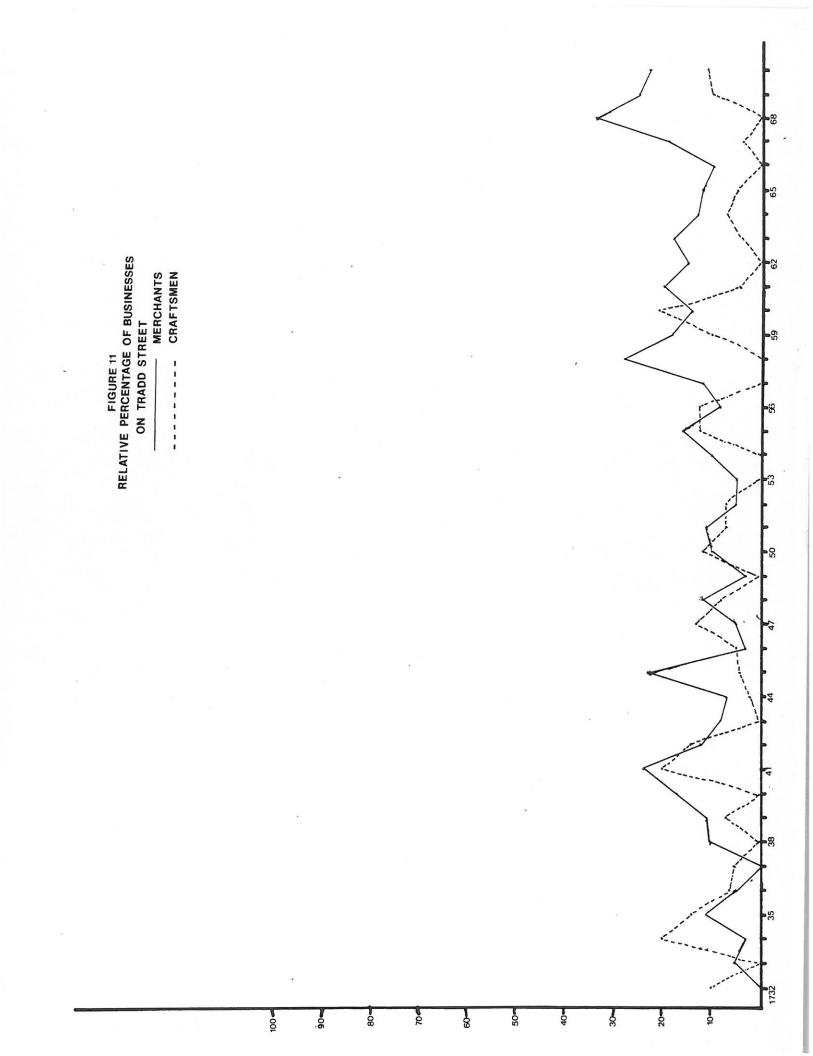
The north-south thoroughfares were peripheral to commercial activities. Only 6.5 per cent of the merchants were located on Church Street (Figure 14), which was considered a principal street. Other parallel streets were used even less frequently; 2 per cent of the merchants were located on Union Street (present State Street) (Figure 15), with less than 1 percent located on Meeting and King Streets. As would be expected, the presence of merchants on Meeting and King Streets is a relatively late development. No merchants are advertised as being on Meeting until 1759 (Figure 16). King Street was sparsely occupied after 1740, with a gradual increase towards the end of the colonial period (Figure 17). Union Street declines in importance at the same time.

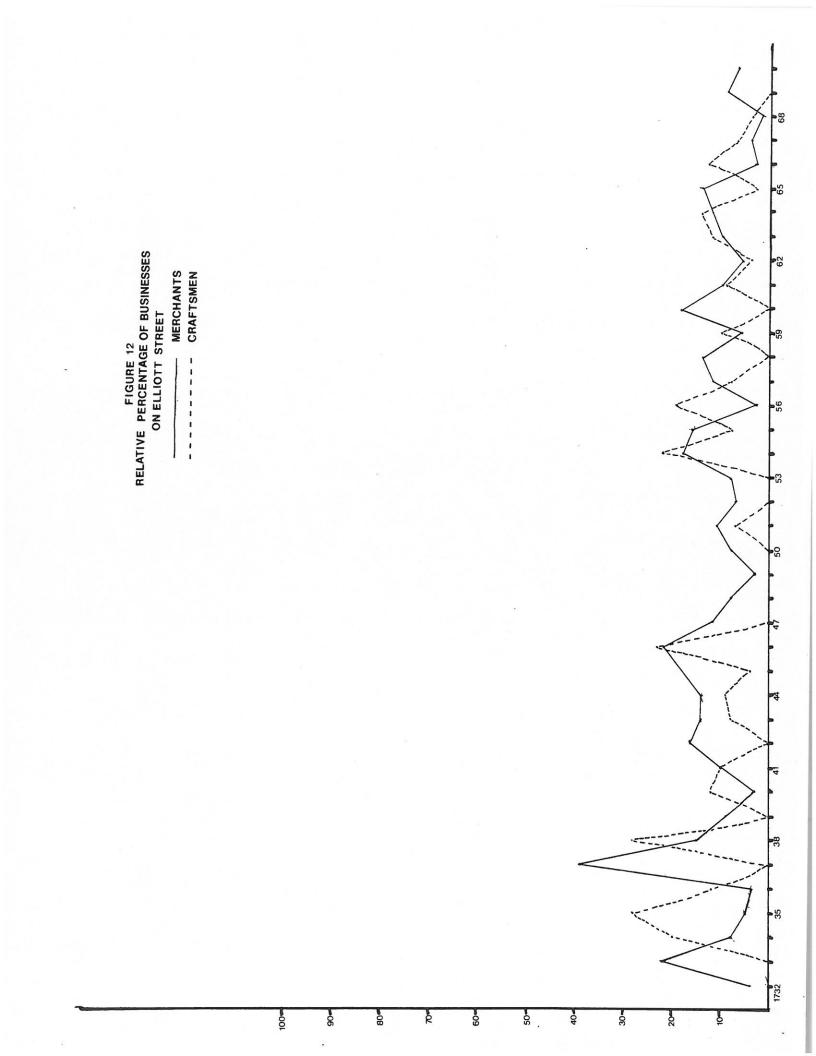
The colonial craftsmen of Charleston follow the same trend as the merchants, with some differences. The waterfront was apparently not as

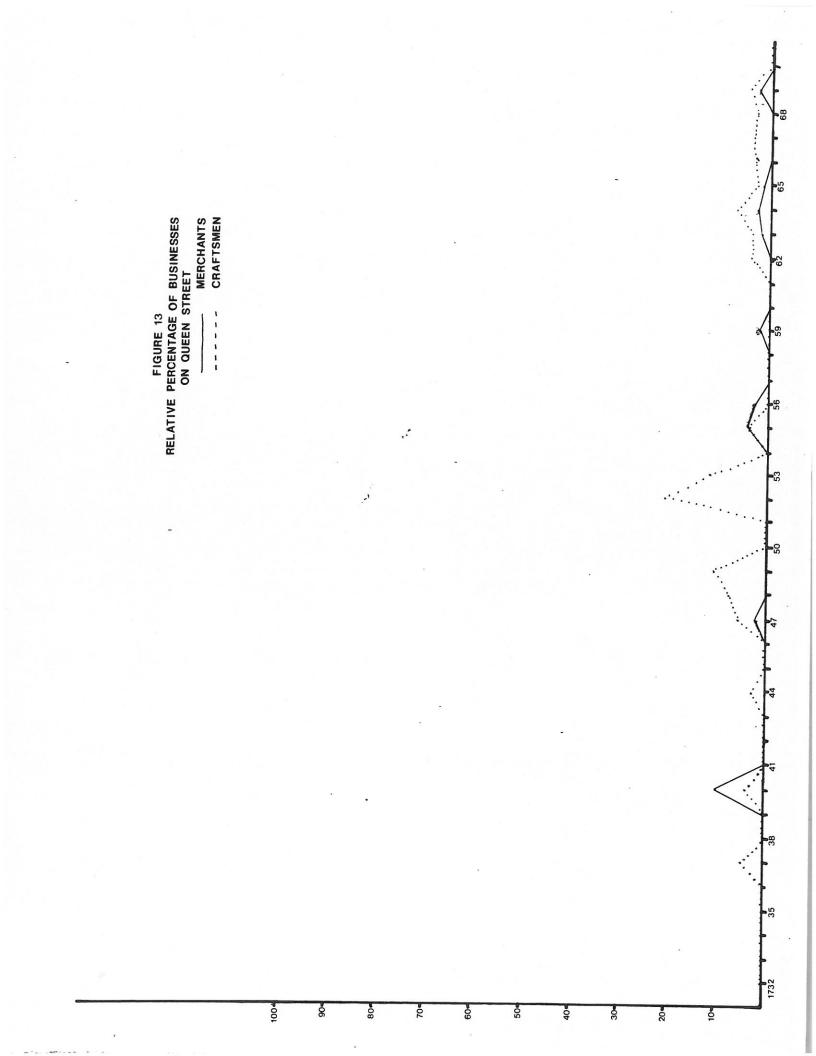


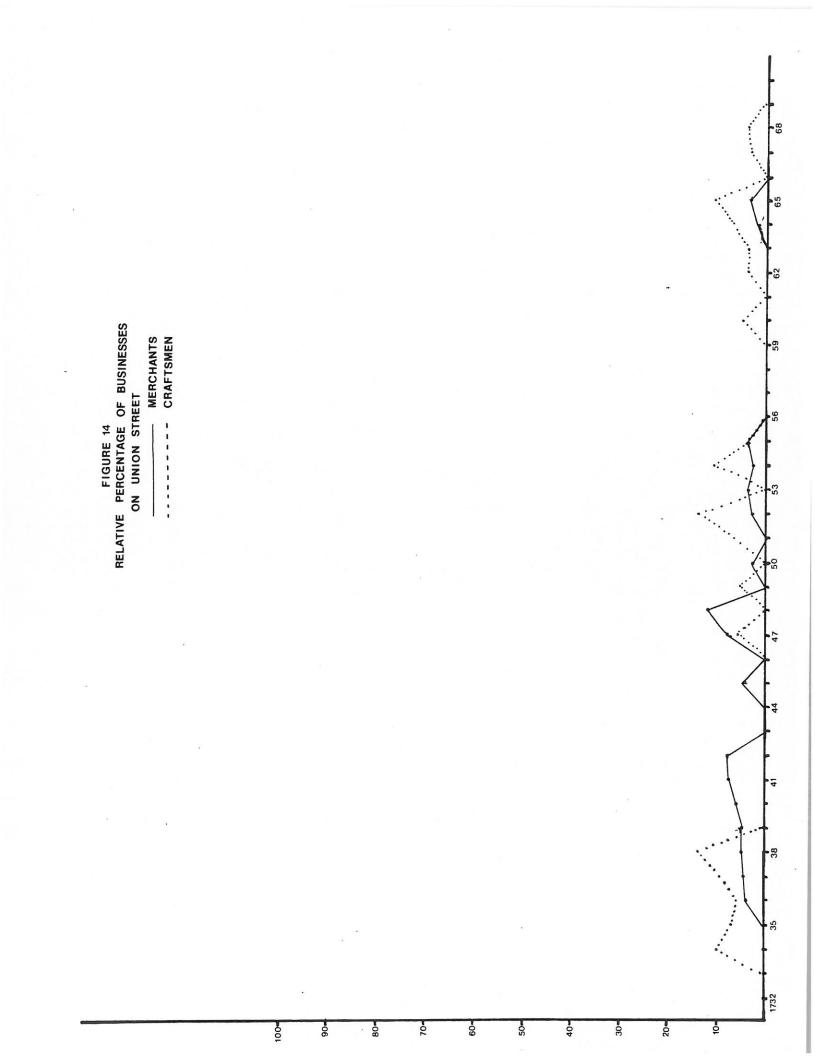


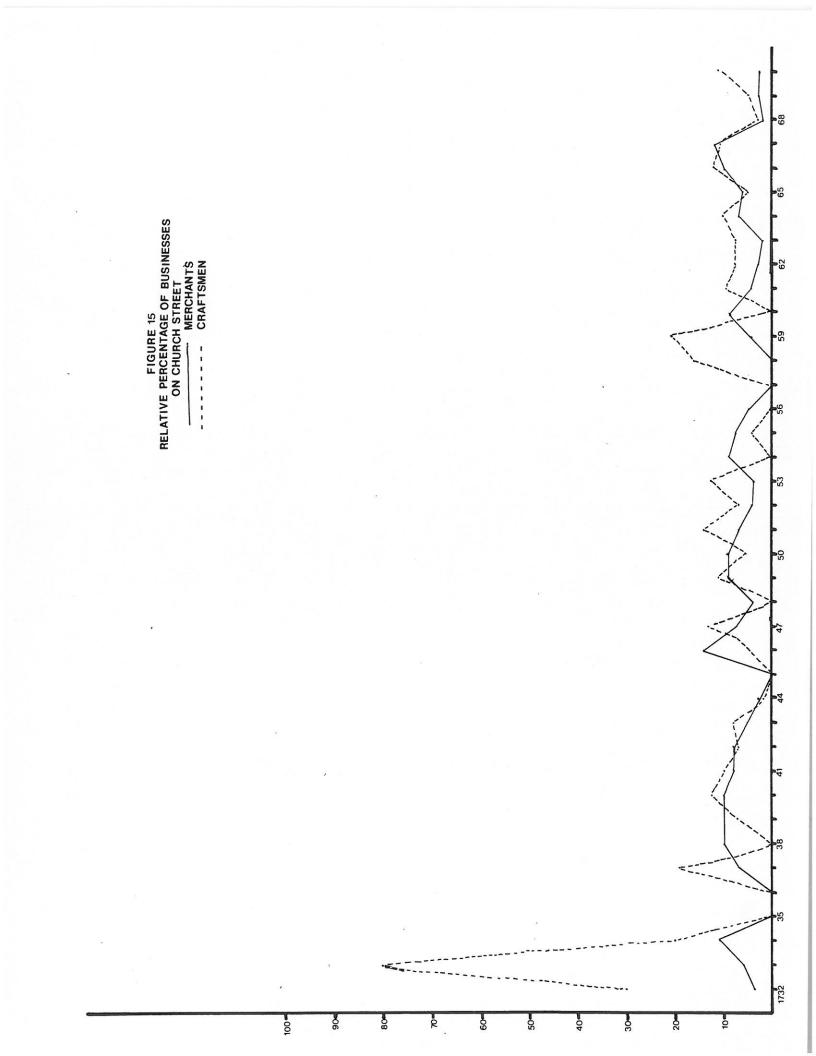


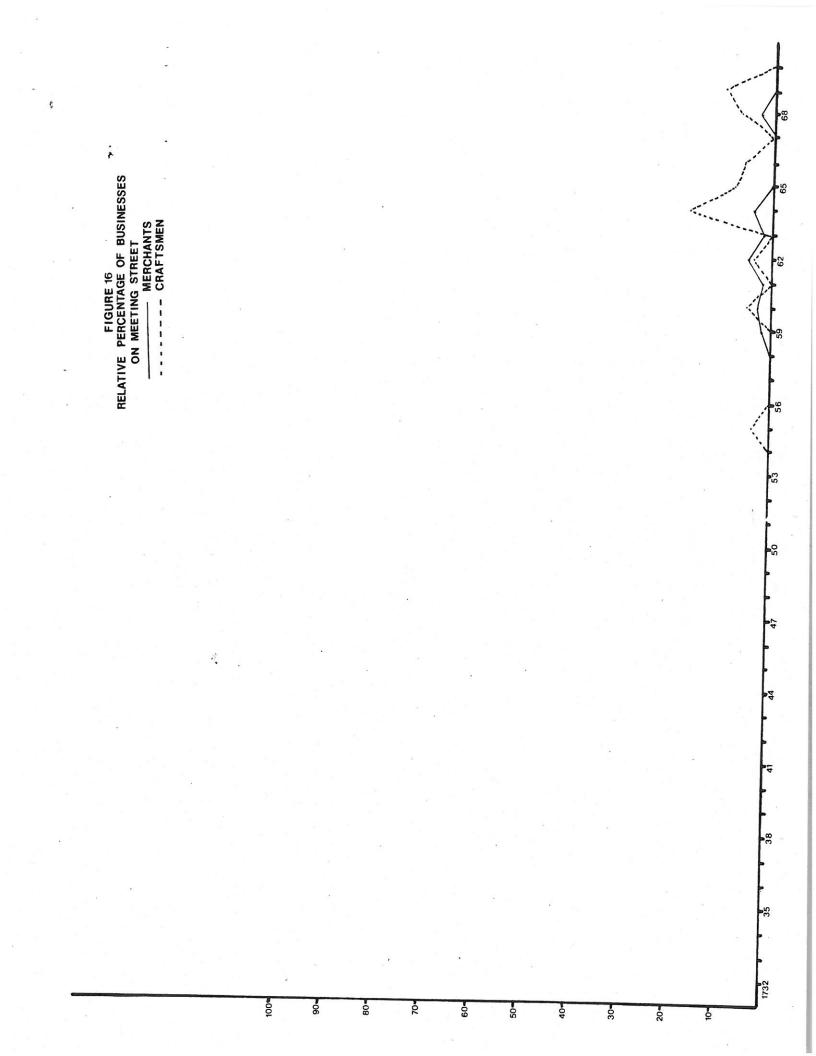


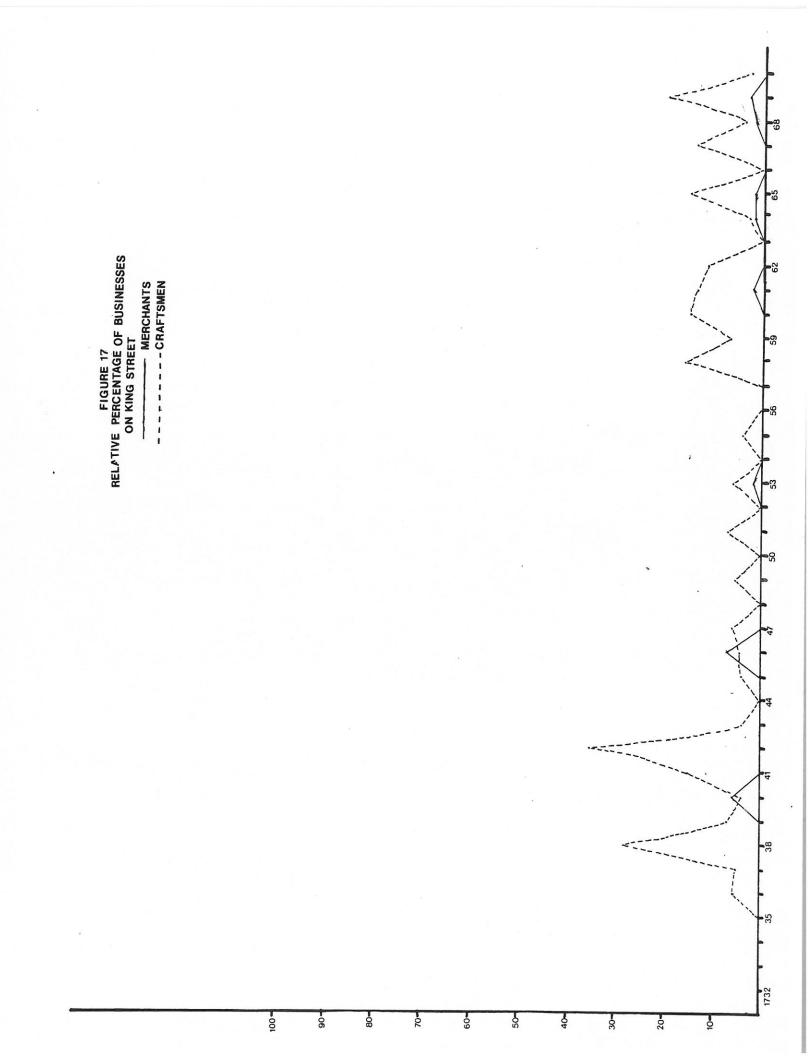












# Table 1

## Relative Percentages of Businesses by Streets

	Me	rchants	C	Craftsmen	
	#	%	#	%	
Wharves	165	13.6	20	4.6	
Bay St.	314	25.9	29	6.7	
Broad St.	297	24.5	101	23.4	
Elliot St.	128	10.58	54	12.5	
Tradd St.	168	13.8	46	10.6	
Queen St.	12	.99	21	4.8	
Church St.	79	6.5	61	14.1	
Union St.	25	2.06	24	5.5	
Meeting St.	11	.9	21	4.8	
King St.	10	.82	53	12.3	

attractive to craftsmen as it was to the merchants. Only 7 per cent of the craftsmen are located on Bay Street (Figure 8) and only 5 per cent are located directly on the wharves (Figure 9). The three major east-west thoroughfares contain similar percentages of craftsmen to merchants; 24 per cent on Broad Street (Figure 10), 12 per cent on Elliot Street (Figure 11) and 11 per cent on Tradd Street (Figure 12). Although Queen Street is more intensively occupied by craftsmen than merchants, containing 5 per cent of the craftsmen (Figure 13), it is still much less intensively utilized than the more southerly east-west streets.

North-South streets were much more intensively utilized by craftsmen than by merchants. Church Street contained 14 per cent of the craftsmen while King Street contained 12 per cent. It is interesting to note that both these streets were utilized at a more or less continuous level throughout the research period (Figures 15 and 17). Although Union Street and Meeting Street are less important that Church and King, they still contain a mentionable portion of the craftsmen community, 6 per cent and 5 per cent, respectively (Figures 14 and 16). Union Street was occupied sporadically throughout the period being studied; the advertisements indicate that Meeting Street was not utilized until 1754.

There are several probable reasons for the differing settlement patterns between the merchants and craftsmen. Because of their integral involvement with the shipping activities of the city, it was pragmatic for merchants to locate as close to the wharves as possible. For those away from the waterfront, location on a street which ran directly to the wharf would make transportation of goods to and from the docks much

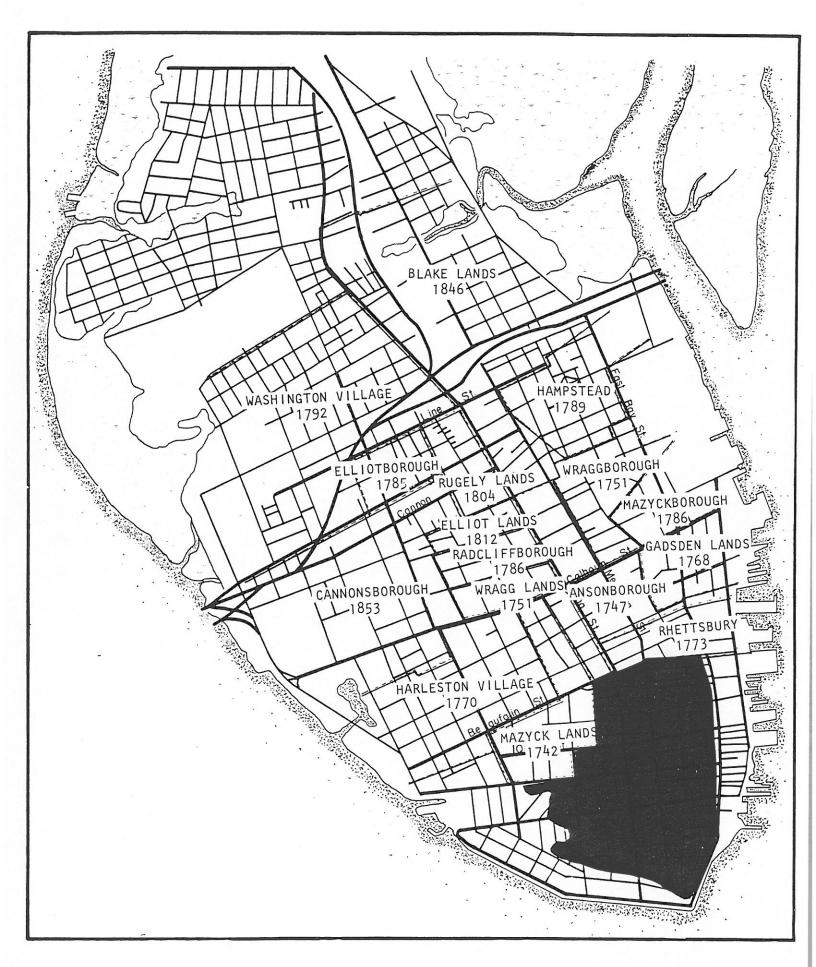
simpler. The importance of easy transportation in the location of businesses is underscored by the Rates of Carriage published periodically in the Gazette (SCG July 9, 1750; June 12, 1753, etc.). Craftsmen, of course, had a different set of criteria for site location. Nearness to customers may have been more important than proximity to wharves. An exception to this trend would be those craftsmen such as coopers and sailmakers whose skills were directly linked to shipping activities. Additionally, some craftsmen may have needed a more spacious facility for their activities, and thus would have located away from the crowded central core of the city. Also, many crafts, such as tallow chandlery, were considered undesirable and were relegated to the periphery. Another possibility is that rent was much higher in the commercial core of the city, making it possible for only the wealthiest merchants and craftsmen to locate there. This idea is supported by the frequent occupation of a single building by two craftsmen. In general, then, craftsmen exhibit a more dispersed settlement pattern than merchants of the colonial period.

The growing prosperity of the city throughout this period is indicated by the increase in absolute numbers of merchants, and especially of craftsmen. Both merchants and craftsmen tend to advertise on a more regular schedule through time, indicating a greater and more frequent influx of goods, and, possibly, more competition. These trends suggest an increasing economic stability for Charleston.

Through the colonial period there appears to be a general westward growth of the city. This is most readily apparent in the decline of businesses on Union Street and the increase of those on Meeting and King. It is more difficult to abstract a westward movement along Tradd and

Broad Streets due to the lack of specific addresses, but examination of the descriptive addresses given (see Appendix I) suggests that businesses were moving to the west, especially on Broad Street as an increasing number are listed in reference to the New Market, or Beef Market, which was located at the intersection of Meeting and Broad, as opposed to known landmarks on the Bay. Very little northward growth is apparent. The presence of a number of businesses on King Street is due probably to the street's function as the main artery from the backcountry. During the Federal period, growth up King Street to cater to the backcountry traffic preceeded subsequent development (Rogers 1980: 64). It is likely that this trend began in the colonial period.

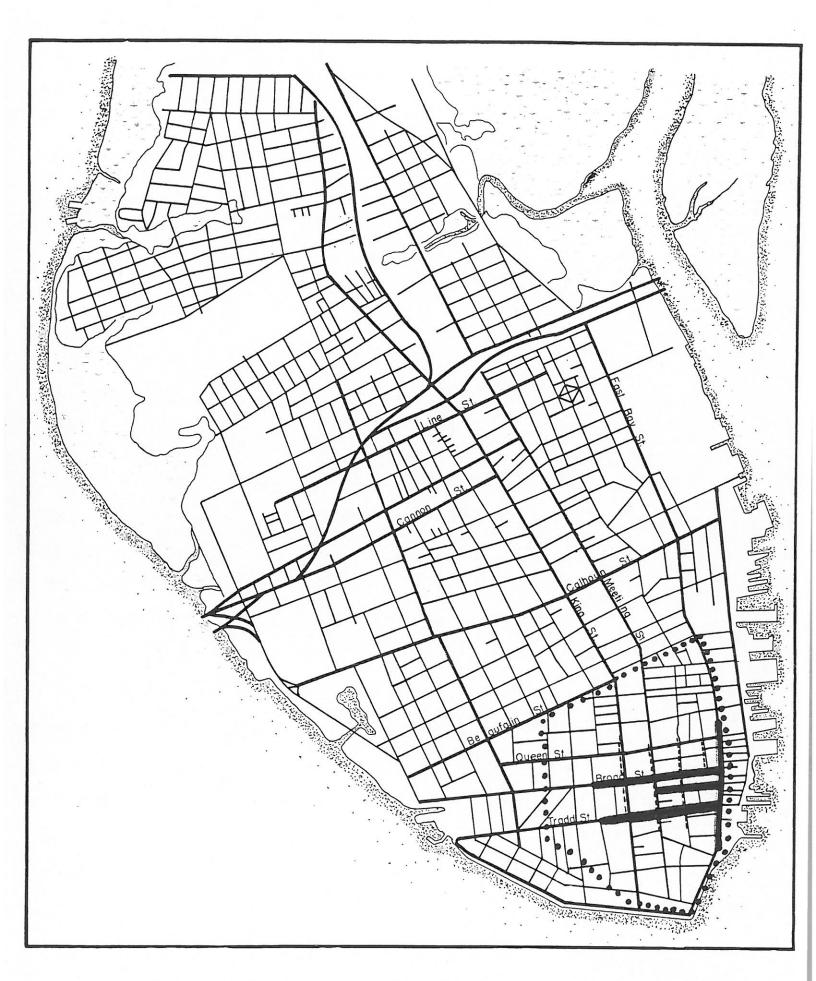
The reason for this trend towards westward growth prior to northward expansion is not entirely clear. The orientation of the major thoroughfares to the west may have encouraged development along these existing roads. Additionally, the numerous creeks which transect the peninsula (see Figures 2 and 3) probably discouraged the construction of extensive north-south avenues. Initial northward movement was probably hindered by the posession of lands north of Beaufain Street in large blocs. Instead, growth pushed towards the Ashley to envelop all the small parcels reserved for the Grand Model (Figure 18). As development pushed against the northern limits of the city, those lands adjacent to the city may have increased in value, and thus be subdivided and sold. An example of such a phenomenon is the subdivision and sale of the Mazyck lands in 1742 (see Figure 18). Initial growth along the Cooper riverfront, rather than towards the Ashley, may have been hindered by the lack of easy access to the wellestablished commercial core. Clearly, commercial activity remained



centered in this core area of Broad-Tradd-Elliot streets, as is evidenced by the increasing density of occupation in this area (see Figure 19).

A major trend of the eighteenth century was an increasingly intensive use of lands within the core commercial area of the city. Many ads for properties in this area stress their commercial value. John Jenkins' property in Elliot Street was advertised as "well situated for trade..., has two good back stores, two good lodging rooms, good well with pump and other conveniences" (SCG Oct. 8, 1750). William Ellis' house in Broad Street was also "well situated for trade" (SCG Jan 29, 1756). Many spacious preexisting lots were advertised as being sold as a "whole or part". Thus many areas of open ground were rapidly filled in. Many advertisements for land sales offer this option. More often, though, a portion of a property was offered for rent. This type of advertisement is common in the Gazette. In 1753, Benjamin Stead offered "the upper part of the house where I keep my store to be lett" (SCG Sept 12, 1754), while William Burrows offered "a large convenient back store to be lett" (SCG Nov 5, 1753). Thus the eighteenth century trend that was expected (see Zierden and Calhoun 1982a: 21; 1982b: 73) was substantiated by the present research: this is an overwhelming trend towards multiple use of central urban lots. Most lots within the commercial core of the eighteenth century city were the site of some form of commercial as well as domestic activities.

In terms of archaeological implications, the present research suggests that urban patterns may be even more complex. Lots in the central city were often occupied by individuals of different households, who used the structures on them for different purposes. In 1756 a



brick tenement in Broad Street was "to be lett, where Mrs. Francis Bremar now lives, and Messrs. Thomas and William Ellis now keep their stores' (SCG Jan 29, 1756). Others would take in lodgers, and even rented out back buildings as stores and cellars as storage, as did James Robert in 1747 (SCG May 25, 1747). Many merchants advertised their stores as being "in Mr. \_\_\_\_\_'s house" or "in one of Mr. \_\_\_\_\_'s stores". Conversely, many merchants rented the second story of their businesses as dwellings, as did Benjamin Stead in 1754 (SCG Sept 12, 1754).

The number of properties offered for rent in the eighteenth century was high. Of the total real estate advertisements for the city, approximately 70 per cent specified that the property was for rent, or offered the option of renting or buying. Additionally, properties were occasionally offered for rent for a limited period. Mr. Fenwick rented his house on White Point for one year (SCG July 4, 1754). Many wealthy merchants constructed tenements as an investment, as did James Crockat. Like other structures in the city, these tenements were used as businesses as well as residences. The large number of advertised real estate transactions underscores another trend of colonial Charleston; the fluidity of Charleston society.

The fluidity of colonial Charleston's society has been discussed at length by George Rogers (1980: 26-54). He suggests that the turbulence of the eighteenth century, plus the ever increasing and changing avenues to fortune kept people from settling down to a long-term routine (Ibid: 26). This fluidity is manifested in a constant movement of peoples, both to and from the colony and within the city itself. Over 20 per cent of Charleston's

merchants and craftsmen moved their place of business at least once in their career. Business partnerships were formed and dissolved on a regular basis, often resulting in the movement of place of business (see Appendix I). In many advertisements, merchants and craftsmen locate themselves not only in terms of who currently resides near them, but who did so formerly. This, plus the number of real estate transactions, suggest that the movement of both business and residence was common in colonial Charleston. Though the data suggest an increasing stability in Charleston's commercial activity during the colonial period, movement is still common by the end of the period of study.

In addition to the information on site location, extensive data were obtained on the material culture being imported into Charleston. Due to time constraints, these data were not examined in detail, and such research is planned for the future. However, a brief examination of the lists of materials contained in the ads revealed some trends which may be discussed on a very general level. As with the locational analysis, there are some biases inherent in the material culture data. Merchants tended to advertise only new, desirable, or rare items. Therefore the items listed for sale probably do not represent the entire range of items available in Charleston. Yet the large sample size does lend some validity to the recognized trends.

Of immediate interest is the diversity of goods available in Charleston. Many varieties of items are available in the categories of fabrics, clothing, tools, iron ware, china and glass ware, furniture, foodstuffs, gourmet condiments, spices and personal items. Luxury goods from a variety of origins demonstrate the cosmopolitan flavor of the colonial city, and

provide testimony to the financial success of a number of its citizens. Of special interest is the repeated reference to "East India goods", including china sets and a number of fabrics. It is not clear whether some, or all, of these goods were actually produced in India or were merely transported through India from other Asian sources, such as China, as part of the East Indian trade.

As discussed at length in Chapter II, the major determining factor in the importation of goods to Charleston was the colony's role in the English mercantile system. With the exception of a few items during different periods, all goods arriving in Charleston had to come through Britain or East India. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the true place of origin for many goods from the advertisements. There is also a possibility that many of the luxury goods were imported illegally, a phenomenon which may or may not be reflected in the advertisements. These interesting trends suggest that the advertisement data hold much promise for material culture studies.

#### CONCLUSIONS

In order to more efficiently integrate the preservation and/or recovery of archaeological remains with the development plans of the city of Charleston, the Charleston Museum received a Community Development grant from the City of Charleston to study the documentary record and prepare an archaeological preservation plan for Charleston. Phase I of this project resulted in a skeletal outline of the growth and development of the city and more specific information on sites of special interest (Zierden and Calhoun 1982b). Phase II of this project was funded by a Community Development grant from the City of Charleston and a matching Historic Preservation Planning and Survey grant administered by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, and is designed to provide more specific information on site function and the land use history of the city. For the nineteenth century, a variety of sources are available for such research and provide information on neighborhood composition and function. For the eighteenth century few such sources exist. The best source for such detailed site location information is the advertisements in the newspapers.

A systematic investigation of colonial newspaper sources was initiated in an attempt to provide more detailed information on the commercial and craft activities of the colonial city, and the location of such activities. Extensive data were also obtained on property transactions and on land use trends for the city. An analysis of these data hasebeen the focus of this report. Additional information was also obtained on

shipping activities and the range of materials being imported into the colony; however, time constraints prohibited a thorough analysis of these data. The results of this research will be included in a later report.

The historical background section, which investigates Charleston's position as an English colony, attempts to show that Charleston cannot be studied, documentarily or archaeologically, in a vacuum. It is important to realize that South Carolina was not an independent state. Instead, it was only a small part of an international system which southt to direct and regulate its economic life. The effects of this dependent state must be recognized in order to avoid erroneous conclusions concerning trade and economic development in Charleston.

Tabulation of the newspaper data revealed some surprising trends. Commercial activity centered on East Bay Street and on three principal streets leading into the city from the waterfront; Broad Street, Tradd Street and Elliot Street. Perpendicular streets, including Church, Union, Meeting and King Streets, were of considerably less importance, though they were utilized more intensely by the craftsmen than by the merchants.

Throughout the study period, 1732-1770, merchants were clustered on East Bay Street and the wharves, and were spread westward along Broad, Tradd and Elliot Streets. Few merchants were located on northsouth streets, although Meeting and King Streets increase in importance towards the end of the period. Craftsmen exhibit slightly different locational trends; fewer are located along the waterfront and more are located on northward thoroughfares, principally Church Street.

As with the merchants, Broad Street is the principal commercial avenue, followed by Tradd Street and Elliot Street.

The intensive commercial occupation of these three streets suggest that the city was oriented along an east-west axis, rather than the northsouth axis associated with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Meeting and King Streets, the primary commercial avenues of the nineteenth century, are peripheral to eighteenth century commercial activity. This east-west orientation is matched by a general tendency towards westward growth prior to northward expansion. There are several reasons suggested for this phenomenon, though none are certain. This continues through the eighteenth century.

Even after the city had expanded to the banks of the Ashley River and past Beaufain Street, commercial activity remained centered in the core area, shown in Figure 19. The result of this localization, coupled with a rapidly expanding and increasingly prosperous city, was an increasingly intensive occupation and utilization of this commercial core. Town lots within this core are characterized by multiple use, both commercial and residential, often by individuals from different households.

In addition to an increasingly intensive occupation of the central city, colonial Charleston is characterized by a considerable movement of its population. In addition to movement in and out of the province, Charlestonians often relocated within the city itself. This is evidenced by the fact that over 20 per cent of the merchants who advertised in the Gazette moved their place of business at least once, and is suggested by the large number of property rentals advertised.

In addition to providing new insights into site location and land use trends for colonial Charleston, the results of this study have important implications for the archaeologist involved in the examination of urban sites. The traditional method of researching an urban site prior to excavation has been to produce a chain of ownership for the property. From this point, the individuals in the chain of title were researched to determine occupation, family composition, socioeconomic status, etc. The present research suggests, however, that a chain of ownership may not in any way reflect the actual occupation of the site. All, or part, of the property may have been rented to, and occupied by, someone of completely different status, occupation or ethnic affiliation. In addition, individuals would often take in lodgers, or sublet a portion of their property to another individual, with the result being multiple use of the property by different households. The large percentage of rentals indicated in the newspaper data suggest that, in eighteenth century Charleston, at least, the chances of such occurring are very good.

For the nineteenth century, ownership of a particular property can be cross-checked by consulting censuses and city directories, which list occupant rather than owner. As previously mentioned, this is not possible for the eighteenth century. Though newspapers are presently the best source for such information, they are now without fault; addresses are given only in reference to others' properties, and those advertising in the Gazette no doubt form only a portion of Charleston's total population. There is no easy solution to the possibility that an eighteenth century

urban site may have been rented to an anonymous citizen, rather than occupied by the owner listed in county records. Thus the present data serve as a warning to archaeologists to examine as many documents as possible prior to drawing inferences from archaeological data.

The present data has greatly increased the understanding of commercial activity in eighteenth century Charleston. Clusters of merchant and craft activities have been recognized, and such information will greatly aid in future planning activities. In addition, general trends in the growth and development of eighteenth century Charleston have been recognized, which have important implications for urban studies. Archaeology has much to offer to urban studies. Clearly, documentary studies have much to offer to urban archaeology.

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# APPENDIX I

# LIST OF MERCHANTS AND CRAFTSMEN ADVERTISING IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE

This appendix contains lists of all merchants and craftsmen advertising in the South Carolina Gazette between 1732 and 1770. Each list covers a period of five years to reduce repetition. Addresses are listed exactly as given in the advertisements. Likewise, names are spelled as given. Unless merchants list only one or two items, goods offered are summarized.

# Merchants 1732-1737

T. Whitmarsh Stephen Proctor William Pinckney Thomas Bartram The Beer Cellar Edward Wigg Jacob Satur Mrs. Bell Benjamin Haskins Yeomans & Escott Broomhead & Blythe Joseph Morgan John Dart Isaac Chardon John King Alexander Paris Feny & Baker Samuel Eveleigh Francis Lebrasseur Ribton Hutchison Edward Simpson Henry Bedon Daniel Townsend John Jones Binford & Osmond Joseph Shute Thomas Trowell Thomas Bolton Peter Horry Jonathan Main James Crokatt G. Lambert William Lasseure John & Alexander Rigg Thomas Lloyd David Crawford Thomas Gates John Champneys William Randall Richard Hill Joshua Morgan Daniel Crawford Richard Hutchinson Alexander Nisbett Yeomans & Scott Nicholas Hains John Lining John Laurens William Linwaite Richard Shubrick Robert Pringle Eleazer Philips

Books Salt Rhinish & old hock Billiard table Beer Books Claret Anchovies Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Beer Cocoa Dry goods Dry goods Rum Dry goods Medicines, dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Sperma ceti Dry goods Wine Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Leather Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Wine, salt Foodstuffs Red herring Ale Dry goods Bottles, ironmongery Beer & ale Dry goods, medicines Rum Dry goods Dry goods Quart bottles Spices, misc. goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Misc. goods

Church St. Wragg's Bridge His house Charleston Green Elliott's Bridge On the Bay Elliott's Bridge New Market Plantation Elliott's Bridge Mrs. Harvey's brickhouse On the Bay Near Capt. Anson's Near the Bay Ashley Ferry Near Elliott's Bridge On the Bay Elliott St. Elliott St. On the Bay Wragg's Alley; moved 1737, on the Bay On the Bay On the Bay On the Bay; moved 1737, Broad St. Tradd St. On the Bay Broad St. Elliott St. Elliott St. Church St. Broad St. On the Bay Broad St. Broad St. On the Bay On the Bay Elliott's Wharf

#### Merchants 1732-1737, cont.

Lorimer & Baker Christoper Smith John Watson George Austin Beale & Cooper William Morgan John Corner Peter Binot Samuel Sloan William Roper Bennet & Hunt Bartholomew Penrese Carvallo & Guthers Cantrell & Austin Lewis Lorimer Dr. Jacob Moon Jenys & Baker Crokatt & Seman Hutchison & Grimke Thomas Henning Benjamin Godin Robert Huston Peter Robinson Daniel Greene Moses Austell Benjamin Savage & Co. John Argent J. Flower James Reid James Paine John McKenzie Samuel Prioleau John Johnson Samuel Jennings Thomas Duncan Henning & Shute Nathaniel Potter Peter Calvert Cleland & Wallace Giles Holiday John Shepherd William Kellaway John Beswicke Sarah & Lucy Weaver Richard Wigg Edward Hext Thomas Hawys Marcantoine Breseleur William Stone

Dry goods Salt Misc. goods Misc. goods Foodstuffs, dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Wine Candles Medicines, dry goods Foodstuffs Spirits, foodstuffs Dry goods Fabrics Cordial waters, drugs Dry goods Salt Dry goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Foodstuffs Limejuice Dry goods Corn, dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Millinery Dry goods Dry goods Wine Rum, wine Dry goods

Church St. On the Bay On the Bay Church St. Elliott's Wharf Broad St. Elliott St. Broad St.; moved 1737, Elliott St. On the Bay Elliott's Wharf Church St.; moved 1735, Elliott St. Close to New Market Broad St.; Moved 1736. on the Bay On the Bay Church St. On the Bay On the Bay On the Bay Pinckney's Wharf On the Bay On the Bay Broad St. On the Bay; moved 1735, Broad St. 5 On the Green Broad St. At William Pinckney's On the Bay; moved 1736, Elliott St. Broad St. On the Bay; moved 1736, Broad St. Tradd St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. On the Bay On the Bay On the Green On the Bay Tradd St.

# Merchants 1732-1737, cont.

Mr. Priker John Guerard Richard Baker Samuel Holmes John Chevilette Josiah Willmot Houghton & Webb David Provost Steven Haven William Brisbane Jonathan Scott Ebenezer Kinersly Alexander Dundas John Burford Joseph Robinson Steven Cortland Adam Beauchamp Gabriel Manigault Thomas Marten John Nicholson William Harre Francis Richardson William Cathcart

Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Spirits,pipes Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Rum,sugar

Dry goods

Fabrics Dry goods Leather buckets Foodstuffs Misc. goods Cocoa-nuts Hats Dry goods Rum, sugar Misc. goods Dry goods, rum

Near Mr. Laurens On the Bay Union St. Tradd St. & Elliott's Bridge Next to Isaac Chardon On the Bay Broad St. Stone's Wharf Elliott's Bridge Bedon's Alley Broad st. On the Bay Broad St. Broad St. Against Steven Bedon's Wragg's Wharf

On the Bay Elliott St. Elliott St. Elliott St. Church St. Gabriel ManigaultButter,limejuiceWilliam SpiegelSpirits,breadsPhilip & Samuel PrioleauSpirits,dry goodsJames FisherButter,rumSkinner & TuckerSpirits,dry goodsThomas Blondel1Dry goodsIsaac DepazRum,chocolateFrancis RichardsonFlour,corn,breadCharles & Jacob PichardRed herring,tobaco

Hill & Guerard Houghton & Webb

William Faris William Stone

John Dart

Watson & McKenzie

Peter Horry Widow Fisher Mrs. Fillion Arnout Schermerhorn Simmons, Smith, & Co. William Brisbane

Thomas Cooper

John NicholsonDryWilliam OswaldDryDavid DalbiacDryGeorge & Samuel EveleighWineJohnston & RobertsonDryJohn & Edmund AtkinFoodsPeter DelmestreLimeJohn DanielPettCatherine JoorShoph

James Whitefield

John McCall William Slide Oswald & Stewart Moses de Mattos Mr. Tobias Elizabeth Holiday Steads,Evance,& Co. Nicholson & Shubrick

Butter, limejuice Spirits, breads Butter, rum Spirits, dry goods Dry goods Rum, chocolate Flour, corn, bread Red herring, tobacco Wine Fabrics, notions Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods, spirits Dry goods Dry goods Cabbage seed Flour, bread Dry goods Medicines, spices Dry goods

Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Wine Dry goods Foodstuffs Limejuice,rum Pettiaquas Shopkeeper Spirits,dry goods Spirits,dry goods Beer,soap,candles Dry goods Bread,flour

Dry goods Bread,flour Bread,flour Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods

On the Bay Tenement of Joshua Mariner On the Bay Broad St. Elliott St. Union St. Elliott's Wharf Bedon's Alley; moved 1741, Elliott St. Church St. On the Bay; moved 1740, Broad St. Broad St. Tradd St.; moved 1740. on the Bay; moved 1741, Union St.; moved 1741, on the Bay Tradd St.; moved 1740, Miles Brewton house; moved 1741, Tradd St. Ashley Ferry; moved 1740. Union St.; moved 1741, on the Bay On the Bay At Mrs. Matthews' Church St. Elliott St. Broad St. Elliott St.; moved 1743, Church St. At store formerly Cattel & Austin On the Bay Broad St. Sign of the White Horse On the Bay Broad St. Bedon's Alley; moved 1740, Tradd St. Burford's Wharf; moved 1740, Tradd St. Tradd St.; moved 1740, Tradd St. Whitehall Broad St. Union St. On the Bay Broad St. Tradd St. Rhett's Wharf

# Merchants 1738-1743, cont.

Johanna Johnson Helen Govan

Richard Hockley Justinius Stoll Steel & Hume Thomas Oliver & Co. Charles Stedmen Crokatt & Michie Smith & Tew

Peter Calvert Elizabeth Wicking William Wrightman William Wooddrop William Sterling

Hutchison & Grimke Cooper & Gerald Binford & Osmond Henry Bedon Robert Austin Thomas Gates Thomas Jenys James Mc Kenzie Yeomans & Escott Jacob Motte James Reid Othniel Beale Nathaniel Lade William Street Samuel Jones John Man William Oswald & Co. John Murdock Robert Pringle Nicholson, Shubrick & Co. Daniel Caw John Beswicke Robert Parker Edward Jenkins Mungo Graham Hannah Lade McKenzie & Roche Philp & Livie Nathaniel Griffens William Gowan George Austin Alexander Chisolme James Kerr Robert Wilson Thomas Evatt John Watson Richard Hill

Dry goods Dry goods

Flour, bread, beer Ironplates Dry goods Spirits, misc. goods Dry goods Dry goods

Foodstuffs Books Dry goods Dry goods Spirits,sugar

Dry Goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Ironmongery, tools Spirits, sugar Foodstuffs Foodstuffs Dry goods Shipchandlery Dry goods Drygoods Dry goods Dry goods Bread, soap Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Medicines Dry Goods Dry goods Spirits, Misc. goods Misc. goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods, spirits Fabrics, ironmongery Dry goods Spirits, sugar Oranges Dry goods Dry goods Ironwares, copperware Corn

Elliott's Bridge Tradd St.; moved 1741 Broad St. Stone's Bridge On the Bay Broad St. Stone's Bridge Next to Mr. Motte Broad St. King St.; moved 1743, Elliott St. Elliott St. Broad St. On the Bay Corner Facing the Vendue House Alley from Union to Church St. Queen St. Queen St.; moved 1743, on the Bay Next to Mr. Carr On the Bay ChurchsSt. Queen St. Broad St. Near the Scotch Meeting Motte's Wharf Church St. King St. Broad St. Union Street Next to the Scotch Meeting Church St. Broad St. Union St. Elliott St. On the Bay Next to Simmons & Smith On the Bay On the Bay At George Saxby's Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. Elliott St. Tradd St. Next to Mr. Manigault Facing the Market Church St. Church St. Church St. Brewton's Wharf

John Davies Jones & Oliver John Savage & Co. Paul Labilliere Houghton, Webb & Gwyn Stiell & Hume John Lining Hill & Guerard Susannah Gates Francis Holmes Scott & Watson Peter Laurens John Holmes Henry Dewick Henry West John Royer William Roper Gabriel Guignard Abraham Yeomans Joseph Pickering John Raven Bedon Anne Milner Jemmil Cobley Edward Simpson Samuel Hurst Hopton & Smith Wragg & Lambton Richard Herbert James Reid Smith & Cossens Joseph Child Schermerhorne & Johnston New York foodstuffs Benjamin Hall Jacob Martin Rum Israel Deveau Rum William Yeomans John Metere William Hare John Paul Grimke Lindsay & Dexemandle George Seaman McKay & Ross Luke Stoutenburg Emmanuel Smith Sarah Llovd Jonathan Scott Arthur Mowdey Miscellaneous goods John Colcock & Co. Daniel Townsend Miscellaneous goods Thomas Tew Miscellaneous goods Peter Sanders Saddlery

Joseph Shute

Flour & bread Dry goods Dry goods Rum, sugar, etc. Dry goods Dry goods Cordials Rum & wine Dry goods Dry goods Vinegar Timber/lumber Cordial waters Dry goods Corn Rice, flour, soap, etc. Salt & chalk Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Limes Dry goods & pickles Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Human hair, all colors Dry goods Foodstuffs, dry goods Local produce Condiments Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Sugar, etc. Jeweller Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Foodstuffs

Miscellaneous goods

on the Bay Tradd St. Tradd St. Tradd St., sign of Griffon; moved to Elliott St. on the Bay Broad St. Broad St. They now own Brewton's Wharf Elliott's Alley Tradd St. Church St. fronting New Market Square leave directions with: 1. Stephen Martley 2. Rice Price Broad St. opposite Motte's Wharf 1. Elliott's Wharf 2. Mr. Manigault's store in Union Street Elliott's Wharf Elliott's Street Moore's Wharf Jeny's Wharf Tradd St. Broad St. Elliott St. Broad St. Elliott St. Broad St., moved 1742 to Church St. on the Bay on the river near Baptist Meetinghouse (probably Church St.) on the Bay Tradd St. King St. Broad St. Elliott St. at Mr. Shute's Broad St. Elliott St. on the Bay Broad St. Tradd St. Elliott St. Church St. Tradd St. King St. Elliott St. Broad St.

Merchants 1738-1743, cont.

William Wooddrop Stead & Evance David Deas John Glegg Joseph Campbell John Hodson & Co. Dry goods Dry goods Rum Dry goods

on the Bay Shutes Bridge Mr. Escott's Broad St. Merchants 1744-1749

Capt. Robert Austin Assorted goods William Yeomans David Keadie Savage & Pickering Thomas Jenys Sarah Saxby Joseph Tobias William Hare Robert Pringle & Co. Simmons, Smith & Crokatt Assorted goods Hodsden & Co. William Bard John Crokatt William Randall John Simmonds Jemmil Cobley John Poyas Peter Timothy John Lining Jacob Whiteweed David Wellsuysen William Brisbane Joseph Oram Mungo Graham John Savage & Co. Robert Cochran Simmons & Roche Mary Owens Francis Gracie Robert Segston Wragg & Co. Elizabeth Timothy Robert Scott Jeremiah Osborne Gabriel Manigault William Roper Mathias Jones John Jenkins William Webb Abraham Yeomans Hill & Guerard John Watson George Austin Robert Pringle Samuel Prioleau John McCall Othniel Beale & Co.

John Beswicke

Lewis Janvier

Assorted goods Dry goods Coarse Salt Condiments Assorted goods Indigo seed Assorted goods Assorted goods Philadelphia goods Hemp seed Assorted goods Assorted goods Assorted goods Assorted goods Silkworm seed, stationary wares Spirits & cordial waters Broad St. Assorted goods Bricks Drugs, medicines Boards All things for peruke makers Assorted goods Colors (paints) Dry goods Fabrics, family medicines Salad oil Tobacco

Assorted goods Books, blanks Kenneth & Benjamin Michie Dry goods Shopkeeper Wine, rum, fish, etc. Sugar, oil Flour, bread, beer, etc. Molasses, sugar, rum Dry goods, rum, sugar Dry goods

Foodstuffs Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Spirits Shopkeeper Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Wine, coffee, etc Jewelry

his house on the Bay Welfhayfer's Wharf Tradd St. next to John Dart Deceased Union St. at William Saxby's Elliott's Wharf Elliott St. Elliott St. Shute's Bridge on the Bay on the Bay, next to Col. Beale on the Bay on the Bay, near watchhouse Elliott's Wharf Church St. Church St. next to Dr. Brisbane Elliott St. at Mr. Glen's, hatter Store where Matthew Roche lived Church St. Church St. 1. House of Mrs. Wickham, King St. 2. Laurens & Adeiser's, near the market 3. Thomas Tew's, tailor; Elliott St. King St. on the Bay Capt. Frankland's Wharf Mrs. Lloyd's store on the Bay Church St., moved 1746 to Elliott St. on the Bay, moved 1747 to store in Broad St. Roper's Wharf Broad St. Tradd St.

Broad St.

#### Merchants 1744-1749, cont.

John CalvertBaked goodElizabeth HarramondAssorted fMorton & Samuel BrailsfordDry goodsWilliam StentHatsMaCartan & CampbellAssorted gPeter PerkinPastriesJohn McKenzieAssorted gWilliam BeaseCannon, drAlaimus GaillardShipping w

Joseph Child Thomas Corker Conrad Kahmler

Smith & Palme Peter David Alexander Chisolme

Eleazer Philips James Robert

George Austin Henry Laurens Lambert Lance Alexander & Thomas Broughton John Bonnetheau William Rind Anne Timothy Isaac Mazyck Charles Brackenburg Henry Petty

Saxby & Hurst Thomas Crosthwaite Robert Collings Michael Jeanes Martha & Mark Beseller Mr. Steil Sampson Neyle

William Harris Thomas & William Ellis Francis Arthur & Co. Kennan & Campbell John Murray James Baillie Zachariah Villepontoux Colcock & Wragg Robert Lockton William Wooddrop

John Clifford Duncan Mackintosh Patrick Reid & Co. Joseph Child Robert Waller Abraham Snelling Baked goods, beer Assorted fan mounts Dry goods Hats Assorted goods Pastries Assorted goods Cannon, dried codfish Shipping water, sawed cypress planks Dry goods Assorted goods Assorted goods

Dry goods Olive oil Orange trees, seeds, vinegar Bookseller Water, horses, oars, canoes Dry goods Dry goods French indigo seed Dry goods

Sword blades Drugs Assorted goods Fabric, dry goods English dry goods Dry goods

Assorted goods Philadelphia goods Assorted goods Assorted goods Assorted goods

Pins, tapes, assorted goods Salted beef Assorted goods Dry goods Dry goods Drugs & spices Fabrics Water Assorted goods Sugar, rum Assorted goods

Hay Dry goods Dry goods Country produce

Salad oil

Broad St. live near the Custom House Broad St. Tradd St., then Union St. Elliott St.

William Stone's house on the Bay
on board ship HAMPSHIRE
on the Green, house of Joseph
Wragg
Elliott St.
Church St.
1. store #2, Frankland's Wharf
2. lodgings, Union St.
Broad St.
the FORTUNE OF WAR, on the Bay
at the Orange Garden, Tradd St.

near Upper Market
behind English Church, house formerly John Steel's

Broad St., moved 1748 on the Bay at George Austin's Mr. Welfuyser's on the Bay, moved 1748 to the Bay Union St. Church St. corner shop opposite Dr. Moultrie

Broad St. opposite Union St. Broad St., moved 1748 to Samuel Eveleigh's new house on the Bay corner Tradd St., on the Bay Elliott's Bridge Elliott St.

Broad St., next to Smith & Palmer on the Bay 1. same store as Othniel Beale & Co. 2. Edward Fowler's store, Elliott St.

Mr. Eveleigh's backstores on the Bay on the Bay, moved 1748 to Broad St. Church St.

Elliott's Wharf on the Bay at Mr. Welfeysen's at Robert Austin's on the Bay on the Bay, one of Mr. Seaman's tenants

on the Bay on the Bay, formerly Blythe's tavern Elliott St. upper Union St. Tradd St.

Samuel Carne Schermerhorne & Johnston Benjamin Savage & Co. Wragg & Lambton Peter Leger, cooper Thomas Olive Bartholomew McIvayne Smith & Cossens Hopton & Smith John Paul Grimke Reid & Kennan John Laurens Jonathan Scott John Raven Bedon John Dart Laurens & Addison William Bee William Savage Crokatt & Michie Simmons, Smith & Co. Sniell & Hume Edward Fowler Robert Corsan Isaac Depas Rice Price Elizabeth Holliday Carolus Folcher Thomas Bolton Joseph Shute Gabriel Guignard, cooper John Triboudet John Bonniot Richard Peake William Stone Richard Powers Mary Ann Davies Kenneth Michie Arnout Schermerhorne Francis Gottier Thomas Hogg Capt. Robert Picksman Lennox & Deas Reid & Ogilvie McKenzie & Roche

Joseph Pickering William Wright James Matrass

John Oyston Matthew Roche Francis Delgrass Alexander Rantowle Fouquet & Lord

Cordial waters Foodstuffs Miscellaneous goods Wine Salt Salt Rum Spirits, sugar, etc. Dry goods Jewellry, plate Dry goods Vinegar & turpentine Soap, flour, dry goods Foodstuffs, beer, etc. Beer, wine, cheese, etc. Tradd St. Buckets Ladders Rum, sugar, etc. Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Assorted goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Cordial waters, sugar Vinegar, wine Miscellaneous goods Rice beer Rum, molasses, wine, etc. on the Bay Rum, salt, cheese, etc. Miscellaneous goods Liquor, assorted goods Liquor Hops, assorted goods Sugar, assorted goods Bottles Assorted goods Dry goods Assorted goods New York goods Philadelphia goods Middling bread Dry goods Dry goods Indentures, assorted

goods Philadelphia goods Wine, vinegar Wine

Philadelphia goods Dry goods Assorted goods Assorted goods Soap & candles

on the Bay Tradd St. Bedon's Alley Elliott St. Gibbes Wharf Elliott St. Broad St., sign of Hand & Ring Broad St. North end of the Bay Gibbes Wharf Market Square Market Square Unity Alley Elliott St., next to John Watson Broad St. his house on the Bay Broad St. house of Daniel Welsbusson on the Bay Broad St. Elliott St., moved 1747 to Unity Al. on the Bay on the Bay, moved 1747 to Queen St.

Broad St., moved 1747 on Bay, next

to Simmons & Roche

next to Scotch Meeting House on the Bay, next to Mr. Stone on the Bay

Capt. Frankland's Wharf Tradd St. on the Bay on the Bay, store formerly Hill & Guerard's

Tradd St. Wine cellar at sign of the Diamond Tartar Simmons Wharf Mrs. Filltoux's cellar on the Bay Pole of candles in Meeting House Rd.

# Merchants, 1744-1749, cont.

John Guerard Alexander Cramache & Co. Charles Bleckendry Stuart & Reid Robert Waller Patrick Hinds Samuel & George Eveleigh Cottell, Middleton & Co. Francis Browne John Sinclair Wragg & Lambton Solomon Isaacs & Co. George Inglis Mayrant & Douxsaint Glenn & Cooper Charles Stevenson Thomas Redston Thomas Shute & Francis Merckley Francis Bremar John Harrington Redman & Sheed Joseph Creighton Thomas Trowell Perry & Taylor Anne Waller David Crawford Oliphant & Macke Alexander Magee John Cathbert John Parnham William Logan & Co. Thomas Beaston Hugh Peterson William Grant Joseph Ward James Irving Catherine Smart Richard Martson Samuel Perroneau Joseph Brown & Benjamin Axford Austin & Laurens Solomon Milner Thomas Smith Joseph & Samuel Wragg John & Edward Neufville John Fouquet Christopher Gadsden Charles Stevenson & Co.

Alexander Frazer

Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Cutlery, cookware

Dry goods Food, dry goods Dry goods

Dry goods Dry goods Wines Wines Wine

Dry goods Shop goods Drugs Foodstúffs Dry goods

Dry goods Dry goods

Dry goods Medicines Foodstuffs Indigo seed Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Philadelphia foods Dry goods Dry goods New York foods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods

Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Fabrics on the Bay near Council Chamber Broad St. his store at William Wooddrop's on Bay near Vendue House Broad St. fronting Union St. Union St.

on the Bay Union St. opposite Mr. Manigault Broad St.

on the Bay Elliott St. Elliott St.

Union St. on the Bay

on the Bay

on the Bay Elliott's Wharf near the Watchhouse

on the Bay opposite Bedon's Wharf where Dr. Rind dwelt, moved 1749 to Church St.

Church St. Shute's Wharf on the Bay Broad St. Broad St. on the Bay Motte's Wharf

Broad St. on the Bay

Broad St. White Point

on the Bay

Tradd St. on the Bay, near the new market Elliott St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. at John Frazer's Merchants 1750-1755

Samuel Hurst Benjamin Butler Matthews & Lloyd Lawrence Retright John Guerard John Champneys McCartan & Campbell Henry Bedon

Smith & Palmer William Wooddrop Francis Browne Catherine Scurlock Thomas Smith John Burgwin William Wilkerfoss Cramache & Co. Thomas Redston Andrew Cowan James Laurens

Capt. Crosthwaite George Milligen Ralph Taylor George Smith James Edes Paul Douxsaint George Marshall Daniel Bourquet Solomon Milner Austin & Laurens Edward Lightwood Sampson Neyle John & Edward Neufville Thomas Smith Thomas Corker Samuel Greenhow James Reid Sugar House Proprietor

# Joseph Ward

Joseph Hatton John Sinclair John Poyas Francis Bremar Lambert Lance Gabriel Guignard Eleazer Philips George Austin Savage & Pickering Robert Pringle & Co. John Greenhow Christopher Gadsden Dry goods Millstones

Foodstuffs Dry goods Rum Miscellaneous goods

Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Medicines New York foodstuffs Miscellaneous goods Wine, rum

Dry goods Dry goods Ironware

Snuff Drugs Rum, sugar, dry goods Claret Dry goods Dry goods Dry.goods Ladies' fashions Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods

Sugar

Dry goods

Dry goods

Fabrics Dry goods Food, dry goods Orange trees Books

Foodstuffs Foodstuffs Dry goods Tradd St. at Austin & Laurens' on the Bay Motte's Wharf

Tradd St. Elliott St. Bedon & Lloyd's Wharf, formerly Eveleigh's Broad St.

Union St., moved 1751 on the Bay Broad St. Church St. Tradd St. Store for sale Bay, corner of Tradd St. ship Bay, corner of Tradd, formerly Jacob Motte's

Broad St., moved 1751 to Church St. between Scott & Gadsden at Benjamin Dart's store Elliott St.

Elliott St. father's house on the Bay, moved 1751 to Tradd St.

Tradd St. on the Bay Broad St. John Sinclair's store

Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. at Kennan & Campbell's (Warehouse on Church St.) moved 1751 to Broad St., Mr. Crawford's tenant 1. Church St. 2. Broad St. near watchhouse Bay, corner of Tradd St. on the Bay Bay, near Watchhouse at corner near Watchhouse Simmon's Wharf Colleton Square Elliott St.

Tradd St.

Union St., corner of Elliott St. Broad St. at Mr. Blythe's

John & William Murray Cooper & Curtin Smith & Palmer Dewar & Marshall William Scott Christopher Gadsden Robert Wells Stuart & Reid Morton Brailsford John Crokatt Samuel Winborn Joseph Nicholson Charles Woodmanson Thomas Wright Samuel Kynaston Atherton Hugh Joseph Stovel Charles Stevenson Robert Collins Thomas & William Ellis John Paul Grimke Stuart & Reid Bonny & Poyas William Taylor John Tucker Robert Fairweather Isaac Griffs Shubricks & Co. Rice Price James Irving Isaac Griffiths Aaron Loocock Charles Blundy William Hopton Warner & Lewis Joseph Alvarez Thomas Legare John & George Murray William Lloyd Walter Scott William Watson Thomas Evance Bremar & Neyle Francis Browne Daniel Logan James Staehan Archibald Rowan Morreau & Sarrazin Samuel Peronneau Charles Rogers Hugh Ferguson Downes & Nicholson David Dott Robert & William Brisbane Charles Mayne Lining & Oliphant Wells & Round Francis Morand

Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Oil, blubber Corn Madeira Dry goods Books Jewelry Miseellandous goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Corn Dry goods Dry goods Corn Copper, Brass, Pewter Thermometers Foodstuffs Foodstuffs Tobacco Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Seeds, roots Dry goods Dry goods Jewelry Fabrics Foodstuffs Rum Dry goods Foodstuffs Miscellaneous goods Wine

Dry goods Dry goods Broad St. opposite Union St. Broad St.

Broad St. Bay St. Broad St. Corner of Tradd St.

Broad St. on the Bay Elliott St. at Livie & McQueen's store on the Bay on the Bay Tradd St. Motte's Wharf Mottê's Wharf

at Samuel Kynaston's

on the Bay Broad St., Whitehall Broad St. Motte's Wharf

on the Bay

Motte's Wharf Broad St. Church St.

Eveleigh's Wharf King St. on the Bay Broad St. on the Bay Elliott St. Mayne's Wharf, store #4 Broad St. on the Bay Union St. on the Green, near Trott's Point Beresford's Wharf on the Bay Church St.

Elliott St. on the Bay

on the Bay

Elliott St. Union St.

Jacob Whitewood Thomas Bonny Thomas Bolton Thomas Walker Brisbane & Murray Stead & Evance Samuel Carne John Wragg Charles Barrow Richard Martson John Parnham Austin & Laurens Samuel Perroneau Irving & Bonar David Oliphant Cattell & Middleton Francis Bremar Henry Beckman Inglis, Pinkering, & Ward John Scott Henry Middleton William Stone Holmes & Peronneau Wooddrop & Douxsaint Benjamin Dart John Lewis Samuel Balturs Henry Kennan & Co. Alexander Fraser John Milling Lennox & Deas Robert Farthing Joseph Shute Breton Cooper Peter David William Sulvanus Anne Waller John Laurens & Co. John McCall John Murray Middleton & Brailsford Glenn & Cooper Francis Curtin Christopher Jollif Jacob Viart William Banbury Othneil Beale George Sheed Inglis, Pickening, Waxall Matthewes & Lloyd Robert Pringle William Brisbane Isaac DeCosta Benjamin Stead

William Jones

Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Foodstuffs, dry goods Jamaican goods Medicines Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods, salt Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Philadelphia flour Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods, African goods near the Church Dry goods Foodstuffs Indigo seed Drugs Dry goods Dry goods Philadelphia foods Medicines Dry goods Boston foods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Drugs Dry goods Dry goods Rum Foodstuffs Books Rum Dry goods Foodstuffs Foodstuffs Dry goods Rum Medicines Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods

Elliott's Wharf Elliott's Wharf on the Bay his house Church St., moved 1752 to Broad St. opposite Union St. Vendue House on Bay St. Sinclair's Wharf Broad St. Broad St. on the Bay Church St. Bay St. on the Bay Broad St. Bay St. Tradd St. Beale's Wharf Tradd St. Church St. opposite Court Room Elliott's Wharf Elliott St. Broad St. on the Bay Buchanan's Wharf Church St. on the Bay Tradd St. Broad St. on the Bay Elliott St. at Matthews & Lloyd Elliott's Wharf, moved 1754 to Elliott St. Elliott St. Union St. Bay St. Union St. Bay St., corner of Tradd St. Church St. Broad St. Bay St.

William Shephard	Dry goods	
Archibald & Richard Parks		
Stobo	Dry goods	Tradd St.
Thomas Adams	Dry goods	next to Thomas Benoist
Peter Sander	Seeds	Mr. James Marsh
Price & Parker	Seed, wine	
Andrew Ganoch	Miscellaneous goods	Col. Beale's Wharf
George Curling	Beer, Potatoes	Beale's Wharf
Daniel Bourquette	Seed	Elliott St.
John Jamieson	Dry goods	on the Bay
Patrick Hines	Shoes	Broad St.
Ogilvie & Ward	Dry goods	on the Bay
Margaret Warden	Dry goods	Queen St.

# Merchants 1756-1761

John Laurens & Co. Charles Mayne William Lloyd Margaret Warder Austin & Laurens Thomas & William Ellis Thomas Stone John Edwards & Co. Robert Boyd Middleton & Brailsford MaCartan & Campbell Milner & Leger Smith & Scott Ogilvie & Ward Robert Henderson John Savage William Roper William Banbury Joseph Kershaw Robert Pringle Bowman & Yates Harry Hunter William Gibbes Inglis, Pickening, Waxall Samuel Carne Harvey & Philps Lance & Loocock Solomon Milner Manigault & Savage Robert Hamilton Benjamin Steed John Parnham Thomas Lloyd Wooddrop & Douxsaint Thomas Smith Ann Matthews Robert Wells Distillery Warehouse Bremar & Neyle Price & Parke James Poyas John Mygh Thomas Evance Josiah Smith Williams & Wilkinson Isaac Holmes Lennox & Deas David Dott Shubricks & Co. Robert McKenzie James Sharp & Co. Robertson & Bailie Agnes Bower Robert Johnson Milner & Bedon

Wine Fabrics & trims Dry goods Rum, sugar Foodstuffs Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Indian trade goods Rum, sugar Rum Foodstuffs Foodstuffs West Indian goods Seeds Wines Foodstuffs Wine Sailduck Rum Foodstuffs Wine, rum, sugar Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Wine Wine Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Millinery goods Books Rum, etc. Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Rum Indigo, Sugar, Molasses Rum, etc. Rum, etc. Dry goods

Dry goods

Dry goods Millinery goods Dry goods Dry goods on the Bay Queen St. on the Bay on the Bay Tradd St. Roper's Wharf on the Bay Broad St. Beresford's Wharf Mr. Legare's Wharf

at James Laurens'

Beale's Wharf Gibbes Wharf

on the Bay Broad St.

Broad St. on the Bay

Church St.

Bedon's Alley on the Bay

Beale's Wharf Public vendue Tradd St.

Broad St.

Tradd St.

on the Bay, corner of Elliott St. Tradd St. near Upper Market on the Bay

Thomas Shubrick Catherine Finlay Daniel Hunt William Coats Hugh Swinton Samuel Neyle Thomas Smith John Lining John & George Fry Sarah Hollybush John Howell Nowell, Davies, Ancrum Alexander Fyffe Thomas Day Isaac Pinto Thomas Moodie Peter Bacot Samuel Peronneau Carsan & Swallow Corrie & Scott William & Joseph Trimble Mrs. Lining Thomas Lining Charles Dewar William Wilson William Hulme Nicholson & Bampfield

Downes & Jones Oliver Champline Thomas & Robinson Day Torrans, Greg & Poaug Alexander Rose Thomas Bartholomew Thomson & Hunter Gertrude Rantowle Danbay, Young & Co. Theodore Gaillard Sampson Neyle Johnson & Wylly McQueen, Gordon & Co. John Asline Liston, Benfield & Jones

Hooper & Swallow Robert Smyth

William Loocock Maurice Harvey Joseph Rose John Muncey William Fair Richard Waln

Spirits, bread, sugar Orange juice Orange juice Sugar Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Medicines Dry goods Rum Rum Dry goods Condiments Lace Spirits Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Beer, bread, flour Medicines Medicines Dry goods Spirits, tea, tobacco, snuff, chocolate Dry goods Dry goods Spirits, cheese, etc. Dry goods Spirits Teneriff wine Spirits, flour, etc. Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Wine Dry goods Ironmongery, wine, flour, etc. Dry goods Negro cloth, pots, porter, linen Medicines Dry goods Bread, flour, spirits Rum, sugar Dry goods Spirits, flour, bread

Church St. up the Path Church St., moved 1761 to the Bay near Vendue House Broad St. Beresford's Wharf Bedon's Alley Elliott St. Broad St. at John McQueen & Co. Broad St. on the Bay Elliott St. fronting Bedon's Alley Broad St. at John Leger's Corner of Broad & Union Sts. Tradd St. Elliott St., moved 1761 to the Bay Simmons' Wharf Broad St. opposite English meeting house Tradd opposite Bedon's Alley at William Pinckney's, moved 1761 to Meeting St. Church St. fronting Elliott Tradd St. Simmons' Wharf Broad St. Motte's Wharf Broad St. Church St. Broad St. Broad St. King St. on the Bay Bedon's Alley Tradd St.

on the Bay Broad St. opposite Union St.

Church St. Tradd St. Inglis' Wharf WhiteHall, Broad St. Broad St. Beale's Wharf

Samuel Winborn Susannah Crokatt Benjamin Dart John Scott Christopher Joliff Christopher Gadsden John Jamieson Brailsford & Boyd Edward Turner Holmes & Peronneau Edward Lightwood William Proctor William Brisbane Archibald & Richard Park Stobo John Holmes Brisbane & Bulline David Mumford Inglis & Pickering Elizabeth Peronneau Ancrum, Lance & Loocock Andrew Cowan Ebenezer Simmons James Fowler Robert & William Brisbane John Paul Grimke Gibbes & Milner John Cart Henry & Arthur Peronneau Thomas Corker John & Edward Neufville John Heskett Smith & Brewton McKenzie & Moody Agnes Lind John McCall John Jones John Miller George Bedon Othniel Beale & Co. David & John Deas Fresch & Guinard Jennet & Wilson Samuel Grove Thomas Legare Warham & Prioleau Carne & Wilson Logan & Dawson Dewar & Marshall Daniel Legare Thomas Liston DaCosta & Farr Smith & Nutt George Sheed

Dry goods on the Bay Dry goods Meeting St. Foodstuffs Dry goods on the Bay Elliott St. Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods on the Bay Simmons' Wharf Wine Spirits, honey, sugar, etc. Tradd St. New York goods Simmons' Wharf Church St. Medicines Tradd St. Fabrics, etc. Wine Drugs Church St. Foodstuffs Beresford's Wharf Condiments Loaf sugar Broad St. Dry goods Mayne's Wharf Miscellaneous goods West Indian goods his wharf Elliott St. Dry goods West Indian goods on the Bay Broken loaf sugar Broad St. Dry goods Dry goods Broad St. Dry goods Broad St. Fabrics Broad St. Dry goods Tradd St. Dry goods Fabrics Tradd St. Shoes Back store at Mr. Jamieson's, Dry goods moved 1759 to Broad St. Dry goods, vinegar Elliott St., moved 1759 to Broad St. Flour, bread, meal, bar iron Wine on the Bay Dry goods on the Bay Negro cloth & blankets Tradd, facing Bedon's Alley Cheese, coal, dry goods Tradd St. Rum & tea Rum Mayne's Wharf Irish linens Drugs, spices, paints on the Bay Broad St. Miscellaneous goods Broad St. Sugar Tradd, near Vendue House Dry goods Cheese Broad St. Fabrics, iron, ironmongery Dry goods on the Bay Ham, Flour, Beer, Orange trees

# John Cooper

Laurens, Motte & Co. George Inglis Thomas Wallace John Benfield George Hall Richard Baker John Hutchinson John Cleiland Walter Mansell Francis Morand Moreau & Sarrazin Joseph Hutchins John Logan James Connor Paul Townsend & Co. Brisbane & Cunningham John & William Guerin James Courtonne Dunbar & Young Samuel Peronneau John Guerard William Savage William Parker Thomas Wright Patrick Hinds Dott & Dixie Andrew Johnston

Anthony Clarkson

William Mason

Thomas Corker

Jacob Woolf

Ward & Leger

Joseph Durfee

Boyd & Murray

James Brisbane

William White

William Hopton

Adam & Milford

John Raven Bedon

James Abercrombie

Newman & Smyth

Peter Myzack

John Hume

Othniel Beale

John Giles James Reid

Thomas Shirley

Inglis, Lloyd & Hall

Downes & Nicholson

Ogilvie & Forbes

Liston & Benfield

James & William Lennox

# Wine

Dry goods Drygoods, wine Dry goods Dry goods Flour Dry goods Bread, flour Drugs, medicines Dry goods Claret Jewelry, plate Candles, sugar, rum Dry goods Rum, molasses, sugar Flour & hams London goods Dry goods Jewelry, plate Dry goods Dry goods Portugal sålt Dry goods Corn Corn Negro shoes Dry goods Dry goods, rum, flour Bisket & flour Dry goods Fabrics Rum, butter Dry goods Dry goods, beer, cheese Stono Landing Dry goods Dry goods Spirits, fish, oil, etc. Mayne's Wharf Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Rum, orange juice Cordial waters Spirits, barley, molasses Elliott St. Hemp seed Dry goods

Dry goods Sugar, lime juice Edward Weyman, upholsterer Hemp seed, tents Spirits Wine Wine

Broad St.

on the Bay

Beale's Wharf

1. Church St. 2. Elliott St. on the Bay on the Bay Elliott St. Beresford's Wharf at George Inglis' Bedon's Alley White Point Tradd St. Broad St. Corner Broad & Church Sts. near Legare's Wharf Broad St. Motte's Wharf Broad St. on the Bay Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad, corner Unity Alley, moved 1760 to Edisto Island Broad St. Beresford's Wharf on the Bay next to Middleton & Brailsford next to Lamboll's Bridge Simmons' Wharf corner of Elliott St. Tradd St. on the Bay Tradd St. on the Bay Tradd St. Mayne's Wharf Elliott St. his house at Mile End or his rope walk Broad St. Mayne's Wharf Queen St.

# Merchants 1762-1767

George Sheed John Parnham Jonathan Sarazin Dewar & Bacot

Benjamin Almy Thomas Young

Thomas Buckle James Brisbane Myzack & Moultrie Thomas Ellis & Co. John Jones John Edwards & Co. James & William Lennox Anne Baron William Fair Smith & Lightwood Peter Butler, perukemaker Wooddrop & Douxsaint James Poyas Isaac Holmes Anne McCaulay Anne Waller Maxwell & Rowand

Ogilvie & Forbes Andrew Man & Co.

Mrs. Colle William Savage Thomas You

Thomas Shirley Darby Pendergras John Laurens & Co. Smith & Nutt Dunbar, Young & Co.

James Longe Theodore Gaillard John Giles Holden Rice Othniel Beale & Son Thomas Rennard

Gibbes & Milner Anthony Clarkson Warham & Prioleau DaCosta & Farr Ward & Leger Isaac Pinto Moodie & Baligall

Rum

Dry goods

Flour & beer Foodstuffs Jewelry Dry goods, coffee, tea, rum, etc. Spirits, sheep, fish, etc. Garden seeds, bulbs, trees, shrubs, medicines Coffee, rum, sugar Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods, tea, porter, &c Dry goods Rum, sugar, bread, &c Lip salves, scented water, tooth brushes & powder Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Millinery, etc. Fabrics & Stockings Dry goods Dry goods Fabrics, tobacco, ship chandlery Fabrics Dry goods Jewelry Rum, brandy Cloth & trimmings Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods, beer, salt, potatoes Dry goods, condiments Fabrics, shoes Condiments Spirits, apples Wine Wine Spirits, sugar, indigo seed Flour, rum Miscellaneous goods Condiments Indigo seed

Broad St. corner Broad & Church Sts. Broad St. Simmons' Wharf at John Hume's, moved 1762 to the Green, upper end of Broad on the Bay Tradd St. Broad St. on the Bay Broad St. Tradd St. Elliott St. Church St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. upper corner of Elliott & Church Broad St. Tradd St., moved 1763 to Stono Landing on the Bay Bedon's Alley Broad St. Sign of the Golden Cup near the beef market Meeting St. Broad St. Meeting St. Tradd St., moved 1763 to Broad St. Elliott St. Beresford's Wharf at Mrs. Wood's near New Baptist Meeting on the Bay

on the Bay . Elliott St.

Carne & Wilson Dry goods, medicines on the Bay Beale's Wharf Benjamin Canton Indigo seed Robert Smyth Spirits, etc. Broad St. William Banbury Fabrics, hams, flour Joshua Lockwood, watchmaker Sugar Broad St. Daniel Legare Dry goods Tradd St. David & John Deas Dry goods on the Bay Medicines & perfuming Lyman Hall Broad St. waters Nowell, Davis, Ancrum Dry goods, spirits Broad St. Robertson, Jamieson & Co. on the Bay Dry goods George Bedon Spirits, condiments Longitude Lane Maurice Harvey Dry goods Tradd St. Dry goods John Scott on the Bay McKenzie, Thomson & Co. Dry goods Tradd St. William Brown & Co. Dry goods Meeting St. Atkins & Weston Dry goods Tradd St. Hetherington & Kynoch Dry goods on the Bay Logan & Guerin Dry goods Broad St. Francis Morand Broad St. Wine, vinegar Broad St. Henry & Arthur Peronneau Dry goods Downes & Jones Fabric Broad St. Stuart & Co. Fabric Motte's Wharf Nathaniel Russel Rum, candles, cheese, etc. Shirley & Martin Spirits, foodstuffs Middleton, Brailsford & Chapman Fabrics, sugar Thomas Tew, tailor Dry goods, spirits, condion the Bay ments Richard Milford Dry goods on the Bay Anne Matthews Millinery, dry goods Church St. Samuel Peronneau Tea, dry goods Broad, corner of Union St. Bay, south corner of Elliott St. Corrie & Scott Dry goods Thomas Stone Dry goods, rum William Loocock Medicines Broad, opposite Union St. Imanuel Cortissoz Butter Market Square John Dart Sugar Tradd St. Edward Blake Foodstuffs, spirits Hugh Swinton Miscellaneous goods McCartan & Campbell Dry goods, coffee, sugar Wooddrop & Cathcart Dry goods Henry Laurens Spirits, foodstuffs Samuel Prioleau & Co. Fabrics Isaac DaCosta Dry goods, West Indian on the Bay Samuel Grove Spirits Tradd St. Richard Masury Spirits, foodstuffs Burns Wharf Edward Lightwood Spirits, foodstuffs Tradd St. John Forrester Bedon's Alley Miscellaneous goods Josiah Smith Miscellaneous goods Broad St. Thomas Waring Indigo seed Shirley & Martin Miscellaneous goods Tradd St. Liston, Benfield & Jones Dry goods Spirits, foodstuffs Thomas Farr Torrans, Greg & Poaug Tea Peter Dolliver Miscellaneous goods Eveleigh's Wharf Ancrum, Lance & Loocock Hemp seed, flour James Doran Beer, ale, cheese, &c Eveleigh's Wharf

Inglis, Lloyd & Hall Michie & Macaulay James Laurens & Co. Nathaniel Bulline Hogg & Clayton George Parker Booth & Weobly Sarah Watxon Hooper, Swallow & Co. John Murray John Gordon George Smith Brailsford & Chapman Thomas Lind Joseph Wilson Richard King Joseph Convers Lambert Lance Benjamin Hawes George Croft McCartan, Campbell & Son Brewton & Smith Ogilvie, Forbes & Michie Richard Watts Perdriau & Fabre Charles Stevens Stocker Croft & Dart Sarah Swallow Benfield & Jones William Parker John Johnson

Eleanor Gillman Middleton, Liston & Hope Walter Mansell John Wagner David Stoddard Andrew Cunningham & Co.

Smith & Farr Benjamin Cary Edward Weyman Sheed & White William Fair Thomas Adam Griffith & Cape Johnston & Simpson John & William Baker Laurens, Motte & Co. Benfield, Jones & Drayton William Gibbes Paul Townsend Simpson & Gibson Weyman & Carne John McCall William Bampfield Price & Hest Hill & Farley

Dry goods, spirits Dry goods Dry goods Medicines Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Indigo seed Rum, iron, sugar Rum Sugar, rum Wine Foodstuffs Books, Stationery Salt Indigo seed Dry goods Flour, bread Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods, spirits Wine

Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous spirits Dry goods, rum Millinery goods Dry goods Spirits, foodstuffs Watches, rum, etc. Millinery & other goods Spirits & miscellany Dry goods Dry goods Wine, rum, pots, kettles Spirits

Spirits, Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Mirrors Dry goods Small furniture, mirrors Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods

Elliott St.

Elliott St. on the Bay Tradd St.

on the Bay

Orange Garden Robert Dillons' shop Motte's Wharf

Unity Alley at Ward & Leger's Broad St.

 Elliott St.
 Simmons Wharf Meeting St.

Tradd St. Tradd St.

Elliott St. at Mr. Fraser's

Tradd St. Broad & King Sts. on the Bay 1. Store #1 Burns' Wharf 2. Broad St.

Simmons' Wharf store #5 Queen St. Church, corner of Tradd St. Broad St.

on the Bay on the Bay Tradd St.

Corner Church & Tradd Sts. Queen St. Tradd St.

near Vendue House Beresford's Wharf

John Schermerhorne Lloyd & Neyle Samuel Hopkins Smyth & Farr Livingston, Champneys & Co. Indigo seed, flour Felix Long William Price John Dawson Logan, Guerin & Vanderhorst Dry goods George Smith John Vaux Joseph Durfee William Hales David Williams Patrick Bowe Thomas Smith Villepontoux & Waring John Kirkwood George Bedon Godfrey & Gadsden Nowell & Lord Samuel Wise John Watson William Edwards David Dott John Oliver William Gowdey Charnock & King Price, Hest, Head Wise & Jackson Nicholas Brooks William Benburg Samuel Rowlett John Davies B. Littlewood William Glen & Son Amory & Taylor Davis & Wayne William Savage William Hinckley Thomas Corker Paul Townsend James Fallas Guerin & Williamson Stocker & Jackson John Roffee Rutledge & Lesserne Edward Mortimer Donal Bruce Sarah Daman George Thomson Cunningham & Sands

Mansell, Corbett & Co. William Hopton

New York goods Dry goods Philadelphia goods New York goods, dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods New York goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Irish Oznaburgs Barrelled pork Dry goods, foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Watches Rum, sugar Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Seeds, bulbs, trees, etc. Linen drapery Dry goods Watches Jewelry, rum Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Beef, salt, hams Dry goods Linens, dry goods Fabric, tools, etc. Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Wines Rum Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Leather goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods, spirits Dry goods Rum, dry goods Dry goods Millinery, hosiery, haberdashery Dry goods Spirits Dry goods Corn

Beale's Wharf Broad St. Simmons' Wharf King St. on the Bay on the Bay Broad St. Queen & King Sts. Elliott St. Beale's Wharf Elliott St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St., sign of the Dial on the Bay Elliott St. Trott's Point at Nightengale & Edwards' on the Bay on the Bay on the Bay, moved 1765 to Broad Broad St. Store #6, Simmons' Wharf Bedon's Alley on the Bay Broad St. corner of Church & Elliott Sts. north corner of Queen on the Bay corner of Broad Beale's Wharf Broad St. 1. Union St. 2. on the Bay on the Bay Tradd St. Elliott St. Broad St. Church St. Union St. Broad St. 1. Burn's Wharf 2. Union St. Tradd St. Beale's Wharf

Geroge Ancrum Simon Berwick Joseph Bell Henry Reeves Anthony Lamotte Wilson, Coram & Co. Henry Fearn Egan & Calvert John Paul Grimke Harvey & Baty Waring & Shepheard Greenland & Jordan Downes, Jones & Co. William White James Amos Hazelton & Bonneau Reeves, Wise & Poole Alexander Gillon Michie & Robertson Thomas Radcliffe David Stoddard & Co. Constant Freeman

Dry goods Negro shoes Sugar Dry goods Rum Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Beer, yeast, grains Plate, jewelry Lace Miscellaneous goods Beer, soap Miscellaneous goods Spirits Condiments Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Rum, sugar Foodstuffs

his tanyard, upper Tradd St. The Sugar House on the Bay Longitude Lane Broad St. John Logan's store The Brew House Broad St. Gadsden's Alley

Tradd St. Beale's Wharf Bay St.

Church St. Broad St. Broad St. Broad St.

Motte's Wharf

Craftsmen 1732-1737

Daniel Badger Charles Warham Anthony Cone Michael Moore Peter Morque John Bedon Samuel Grice John Herbert Philip Massey Hunter & Conn Claudius Compaire Richard Herbert Nicholas Haynes Henry Bedon Alexander Smith William Linthwaite David Munsay Mr. Townsend Smith & Steiger Ann Dalrymple Thomas Goodman Griffith Bullard Benjamin Bates John Ulrich Giessendaner James Scott Elizabeth Cooper Thomas Crawford William Field John Pennyfeather Timothy Philips B. Roberts John Furnis Christopher Webb Thomas Robinson James DeVaux Thomas Lovelace Peter Venoez Thomas Holton Mrs. Bartram Daniel Bourguet John Purles James Walker Justinius Stoll Jonas Spoke Mr. Aignon James McClellan T. Whitmarsh John Laurens Lewis Timothee Samuel Holmes Thomas Goodman Peter Mourque Will Morgan

House & ship painter Joiner Brazier Carpenter Watch Repairer Carpenter Sugar refiner Pastry cook Gunsmith Tailors Brazier Peruke maker Vintner Timber yard Tailor Brazier Stonecutter Shoemaker Tailors Seamstress Watchmaker Hatter Cordwainer Silversmith Tallow chandler Seamstress Staymaker Butcher Goldsmith Sailmaker Landscape artist Sailmaker Gold & Silversmith Buckskin dresser & tailor Cutlerer Blacksmith Confectioner Chairmaker Dyeing & scouring Brewer Smith Peruke maker Blacksmith Bedmaker Silversmith Cabinetmaker Printer Sadler Printer Bricklayer Watchmaker Confectioner Brewer

Tradd St. Tradd St. Elliott St. Union St. Broad St. Stephen Bedon's house Broad St., sign of sugar loaf on the Green King St. Church St. at Mr. Laurens' on the Bay, moved 1737 to Union St. Bedon's Alley against Mr. Conseilleur's Broad St. Elliott St. Elliott St. Union St. on the Bay against Bedon's Alley Tradd St. on the Green 1. Broad St. 2. Union St. Church St. White Point Bedon St. Stone's Bridge Elliott's Wharf Broad St. Mrs. Laurens' new house #3 Church St. on the Bay on the Green Old Church St. Tradd St. leaving next to Granville's Bastion near the French Church near the French Church Church St. Church St. Market Square Church St. Elliott St. Elliott St. Tradd St.

John Bryan Robert Hunt Charles Walker Louis Janvier James DeVeaux Andrew Duche Peter Leger B. Roberts Mrs. Grinier Mr. Carwithen Mr. Portall Richard Marten John Stephenson Mr. Miller James Winter

Farrier Upholsterer Furniture maker Goldsmith Instrument maker Potter Cooper Portrait painter Seamstress Carpenter Baker Painter Glazer, painter Gunsmith Tallow chandler, soapmaker Church St.

Church St.

Tradd St. Broad St., moved 1735 to Elliott Broad St. on the Bay White Point

Broad St. Elliott St. Elliott St. 2 doors next to Mr. Brand

Church St.

# Craftsmen 1738-1743

John Tylar James McClellan Ann Wilson Mrs. Jones Mr. Goodman James Hilliard Sobieski Strahan Jane Voyer George Bridge John Moor Thomas Weaver Richard Baylis

David Fox Edward Knight Thomas Legare Matthias Johnson

Elizabeth Trueman Thomas Roybould

Isaac Yonge

John Bee John Robeson John Prosser Marmaduke Aish Louis Janvier John Scott

Charles Shepheard Josiah Claypoole

Benjamin Hearp Smith & Bisset David Morgin John Paul Grimke

Rene Gegye

John Bounertheau Jeremiah Theus Abraham Knight William Wright

Mr. Young Mr. Sandwell Mr. Steel Mr. Benoist Mary Portall Garret Vanvelsen

Francis Garden

Coat & staymaker Cabinetmaker Fan mender & mounter Coatmaker Watchmaker Clock & watchmaker Milliner Lace mender Turner: brass, iron, ivory Butcher Carpenter Stone & wood carver, carpenter, joiner Leather curer Silk dyer Carpenter Leather breeches maker & mender Milliner Tailor Bricklayer, stoneworker

Carpenter Butcher Tailor Sadler Goldsmith Gunsmith

Vintner Joiner, cabinetmaker

Wheelwright Tailors Watchmaker Jeweler

Clock & watch maker

Currier Limner Tallow chandler Gold and Silver smith

Carpenter Brazier Tanner Cooper Bread maker Shoemaker

Engraver

Union St.

King St., moved 1740 to Church St. Elliott St. Elliott St. King St., sign of the clock Broad St. at Widow Glazer's Tradd St. adjoining Crown Inn Allen's St.

King St. Church St., sign of Blue Hand Elliott St. near Market Square, sign of Breeches next to Simmons & Smith Bedon's Alley, moved 1741 to King St. North end of Bay, sign of the King's Arms

Elliott St., moved 1741 to Broad corner Broad & Church Streets, moved 1742 to Church St., sign of the Pistols Broad St. 1. King St. 2. next to Mr. Lorimer near Wappoo Bridge

Broad St. Elliott St., sign of Hand & Ring; moved 1741 to Tradd St. Elliott St., moved 1740 to Church St., then 1742 to King St.

Market Square Church St. John Is., case of work at Eleazer Philips', Trott's Wharf on the Green Broad St. near Scotch Meeting House Broad St. Elliott St. the old house over the Bridge facing Church St. corner Church & Broad Sts. Craftsmen 1738-1743, cont.

Roybould & Bisset Mungo Graham

Jesin Claypoole

James Lowry Nightengale & Paris Mr. Yerworth Southerland Ford

Samuel Perkins Richard Webb Walter Rowland

Richard Herbert Mrs. Proctor Richard Caulton Gabriel Guignard William Valance Matthew Shrub Mr. Delgras Samuel Stevens John Fobiston Alexander Carson Henry Lindsey John Meek Thomas Rhodes Edward Gate George Avery David Morgin John Clayton Jeremiah Morgan George Williams William Kupton Mr. Parris

Tailors Peruke maker

Cabinet maker

Smith Sadlers Ship carpenter Watch & clock maker

Coach & harness maker Wheelwright Upholsterer

Peruke maker Mantua maker Upholsterer Cooper Tailor Coach & harness maker Shoemaker Tinplate worker Carpenter Tailor Cooper Bricklayer Tailor Cooper Sailmaker Watchmaker Watchmaker Goldsmith Tailor Cabinetmaker Sadler

near the Great Pond, King St. the dwelling next to the church; moved1741 to Tradd St. Market Square, sign of cabinet and coffin Mrs. Massey's shop

at Mr. Yerworth's; moved 1742 to Unity Alley corner Tradd & King Sts. King St. Market Square, sign of Buck & Breeches Unity Alley Broad St. King St.

King St. King St. King St.

King St. Elliott St. Elliott St.

Broad St.

Craftsmen 1744-1749

Nicholas Haynes Peter Poinset Thomas Hastop David Brown Mr. Owen Jeremiah Tibtus John Paul Grimke

Richard Wainwright Walter Dunbar John Hynche William Rigde Rene Gegye William Nelme James Smith Stephen Cater

Sarah Lloyd George Avery Daniel Faissoux John Coleman Peter Olivier Joseph Mary Peter Leger Thomas Newton

Mungo Graham Charles Shepheard James Morris Peter Sander Henry Harramon Laurens & Addison William Bee Thomas Bush

Gabriel Guignard John Fryer Thomas Lorne Alexander Petrie Samuel Clancy Philip Chiche Thomas Weaver William Wright John MacKelvey James Matress

Lawrence Withers Peter Benoist John Carden Richard Lampard William Leay Laurence Murray Patrick Hynes  $\alpha$ Mary Anne Benoist

Vintner Tailor Blacksmith Shipwright Tailor Limner Jeweller Butcher Perriwig maker Staymaker Painter Clock & watch maker Butcher Blacksmith Watch & clock maker Breadmaker Sailmaker Baker Hatter Butcher Butcher Cooper Carpenter, joiner, framer, cabinet maker Wigmaker Vintner Silk dyer and scourer Sadler Fan mounter Sadlers Carpenter Staymaker Cooper Joiner Carpenter Goldsmith Shipwright Weaver Carpenter Goldsmith Butcher Cooper Peruke maker Cooper Coach & Harness maker Wheelwright Carpenter Tailor

Shoemaker

Seamstress

Trott's Point

Friend St. Broad St., moved 1744 to Tradd St., 1746 to Broad St., sign of Hand & Ring

Church St.

Elliott St. Elliott St., moved 1747 to Church St., 1748 to Elliott St. on the Bay Elliott's Wharf

Bedon's Alley Broad St. Broad St. Broad St. on the Bay Market Square Market Square Elliott St., moved 1748 to King St. Broad St.

Queen St. Queen St. Tradd St. on the Bay, sign of Diamond Tartar at Richard Lampard's

Elliott St. Elliott St. on the Green

Fouquet & Lord William Bisset John Calvert John Edmunds John Cart Alexander Smith George Williams James Adams Mr. Beazly Thomas Roybould Thomas Tew Francis Larkis John Lubbuck Mr. Glen Thomas Honabem James Paris Richard Herbert Robert Segston Mr. Sanders Israel Deveaux Elizabeth Harramond Moreau & Sarrazin Isaac Proud William Stent David Mongin Samuel Stephen Thomas Favell John Triboudet Samuel Dunlop Samuel Smith John Scott Thomas Elfe Duncan Mackintosh Mr. Stone Patrick Maclein Thomas Lining Mr. Radcliff Batts & Delanie Alexander Marshall John Lewis William Smith James Verce Peter Timothy

John Irons

Francis Gracie

Artimus Elliott

Richard Mureress

Samuel Lacey

John Hulker

Thomas Cart

Chandlers Tailor Baker/Brewer Watch & clock maker Carpenter Tailor Tailor Butcher Ship carpenter Tailor Tailor & shoemaker Carpenter Wheelwright Hatter Carpenter Sadler Peruke maker Tobacconist Sadler Peruke maker Fan mounter Gold & silver smiths Clock & Watch maker Hatter Clock & watch maker Tinman Carpenter

Vintner Cooper Carpenter Gunsmith Cabinet maker Tailor Blockmaker Bricklayer Carpenter & joiner Tanner maker Cooper Shoemaker Butcher Carpenter & joiner Printer Sailmaker Cessman, oil maker Shipwright Tanner Sailmaker Carpenter & joiner Tailor

at Pole of Candles, Meeting House Road King St. Broad St. Broad St. near the Church Elliott St. Elliott St. 1. King St. 2. Elliott St. 3. Laurens & Addison's near the Market Broad St. near Custom House Elliott St. Elliott St., moved 1748 to the Bay Tradd St. King St. Tradd St. Unity Alley Motte's Wharf on the Bay opposide Dr. Martin's next to Judge Austin Elliott's Wharf King St. Broad St. Leather dresser & breeches King St. at the sign of the s100p at Thomas Elfe's Bedon's Alley Tradd, corner of King St. Shute's Bridge Church St. Samuel West's house Motte's Wharf Queen St.

Queen St.

Samuel Perkins John Stronack William Wilkings John Nelson Smith & Phillips Thomas Rose Harness maker Armourer Goldsmith Butcher Tailors Cooper

Union St. Broad St.

on the Bay Motte's Wharf Craftsmen 1750-1755

Robert Deans J. Quash Benjamin Rose John Milner Philip Phillips Alexander McAulay John Williams Marmaduke Aish Robert Sigston Thomas Nightengale Charles Blundy John Bois de Chesne John Paul Grimke William Lupton Thomas Elfe Edward Charlton Abraham Croft Joseph Creighton William Wilkings Peter Timothy Thomas Mellichamp John Fryer William Wright Stephen Cater James Rutherford William Bisset Richard Watkins Nathaniel Scott Thomas Rose John Stronack Archibald Thomson James Reid Timothy Collins Alexander Lindsey William Sanders John Perdriau Jacob Warley John Lewis James Courtonne James Linguard Abraham Daphne Charles Blundy Thomas Harvie John Narney Anne Lining Elisa White Thomas Roybould Frances Varnabaut John Bradley Thomas Lining John Hall John Hughes Anthony Peaseley

Joiner Staymaker Tailor Gunsmith & locksmith Tailor Wigmaker Carpenter, joiner Sadler Tobacconist Sadler Watchmaker Watchmaker Jeweler Cabinet maker Cabinet maker Peruke maker Scrivner Peruke maker Goldsmith Printer Furniture maker Carpenter Goldsmith Watch & clock maker Goldsmith Tailor Staymaker Brewer Cooper Smith Tailor Cordwainer Tailor Peruke maker Bricklayer Sadler Sadler Shoemaker Jeweller Smith & framer Carpenter Watchmaker Umbrella mender Watchmaker Milliner Milliner Tailor Silk dyer Hatter Cabinet maker Jobbing smith Staymaker Staymaker

Church St. Broad St. Church St. on the Bay near Naval office Tradd St. William Yeomans; moved 1755 to near State House next to Gabriel Manigault Tradd St. Broad St. Broad St. Union St. Broad St. Tradd St. Mrs. Champneys' King St. Tradd St. Elliott St. Church St. Church St. Queen St., moved 1754 to Broad Motte's Wharf Simmons' Wharf Union St. at his Rope Walk on the Bay on the Bay Queen St. corner King & Broad Sts. King St., moved 1755 to Broad St. Mayne's Wharf 1. White Point 2. King St. Church St. King St. on the Bay Broad St. Mr. Saxby's Elliott St. Tradd St. Broad St. Broad St. Union St. Elliott St. opposite Major Pinckney; moved 1755 to Queen St.

Merryweather & Hughes Jonathan Remington John Cravel Charles Carrol John Dodd Augustine Stillman Joseph Ward Samuel Patmann Samuel Franks Michael Jeans Alexander Doyle John Tremain Tresevant & Chanter Edward Weyman Mary Cooper Staymakers Tailor Distiller Peruke maker Gunsmith Shoemaker Blacksmith Sadler Peruke maker Painter & glazer Hatter Cabinet & coffin maker Tailors Upholsterer Milliner

on the Bay near the Beef Market

Meeting St. near the Market Tradd St. Simmons' Wharf Broad St. Broad St.

Broad St. Elliott St.

Elliott St. Church St.

## Craftsmen 1756-1761

Abraham Crouch Thomas You

John Ward John Bennett John Lewis

Mary Crammer Archibald Thompson Alexander Petrie Thomas Booden John Dodd Edward Weyman

Thomas Lining Walter Mansell Joshua Lockwood

Thomas Rose John Cossens

William Gowdy Elizabeth Harvey Henry Walters James Courtonne John Quash

Alexander Doyle Michael Scheurer Alexander Cormick Hart & Hawes Pendergras & Proctor Mary Cooper John Perdriau James Dryden Mr. Fairweather Tew & Bury William Miller Benjamin Lord

John Paul Grimke John Davison

Deans & Baker Margaret Wall Thomas Blumket Frederic Holzendorff James Starnes David Stephens Francis Gottier Elizabeth Dryden Justina Dale George Sped Benjamin Hawes Butcher Goldsmith

Tailor Tailor Shoemaker

Milliner Tailor Clockmaker Upholsterer Gunsmith Upholsterer, mirrors silvered Cabinet maker Tailor Watchmaker

Cooper Tailor

Goldsmith Staymaker Clock & watch maker Jeweler Staymaker

Hatter Painter & glazer Tailor Chaise makers Tailors Milliner Sadler Staymaker Peruke maker Tailors Carpenter & joiner Leather dresser & breeches maker Jeweler House & ship planning, painting, glazing Carpenters Milliner Cooper Sadler Peruke maker Carpenter, joiner Silversmith Milliner Seamstress Sadler Chaise maker

Broad St., moved 1759 to Market Square Elliott St. Tradd St. Elliott St. at sign of shoe in hand Next to Scotch Meeting House on the Bay on the Bay Elliott St. Meeting St. Tradd St., moved 1759 to Tradd, at sign of Royal Bed Meeting St. Broad St. Elliott St., moved 1759 to Broad opposite Union St. Bedon's Alley Bedon's Alley, moved 1759 to Elliott, corner Gadsden's Alley at Capt. Badderley's Broad St. Broad St. at one of Mr. Brailsford's tenements; moved 1759 to Tradd St. Broad St., sign of Hat in Hand

Broad St., sign of Hat in Hand King St. Church St. Queen St. Meeting St. Church St. opposite Beef Market Church St. Church St. at Tew's house King St., moved 1760 to Tradd St. Bedon's Alley

Broad St.

Tradd St. Meeting St. King St. Elliott Queen St. Broad St. Church St. Broad St. Union St.

## Craftsmen 1756-1761, cont.

Saunders & Scrivener Logan & Williams Isebella Wish Jeremiah Theus Abraham Haney Michael Matthias Mary-Anne Valois

Charles Blundy John Robertson John Kirkwood

John Williams John Littlejohn Joshua Snowden Charles Mott Frederick Hoff Jacob Warley Stedman & Bremar John Winckler Augustine Stillman Henry Christie William Sommerville John Voght

Peter Hall Jordan & Henderson John Narney Seamstresses & milliners Tailors Staymaker Limner Butcher Tobacconist Seamstress, milliner

Watchmaker Brass founder Watch & clock maker

Tailor ' Watch & clock maker Hatter Hatter Keyboard tuner Sadler Peruke makers Silversmith & chaser Cordwainer Joiner & carpenter Bricklayer Tobacconist

Cabinet maker Peruke makers Watchmaker Broad St. Broad St. King St.

King St.

in alley leading from Meeting to King St. on the Bay King St. Church St., moved 1761 to Broad St., sign of the Dial Church St. Elliott St. opposite Beef Market King St. King St. King St. at the Saddle Elliott St. near State House Tradd St. Dupuy's Alley

near the Block House without the town gate on the Bay on the Bay

## Craftsmen 1762-1767

John Ward John Paul Grimke Peter Butler Thomas You

Thomas Mellichamp Thomas Nightengale George Wood Richard Hart James Courtonne Mary Baker Tew & Burn Sarah Bradley Sarah Quash Benjamin Hawes

Mrs. Forrester John Perry Elizabeth Harvey John Packrow Richard Bird Rebecca Weyman

Wilkins & Norman How & Roulain Peter Hall Elizabeth Hall William Wayne

Robert Keowin James Roulain Philip Menjing Melchior Worley Townsend & Axson Anne Baron Jacob Warley Frederick Fopel

William Gowdy Anne Maurounet William Patterson John Winckler

Patterson & Balfour Joseph Wilkins John Kirkwood

John Johnson Luke Hughes John Norman Thomas Rose John Narney William Williams Walter Greenland Andrew Hibben

Tailor Jeweller Peruke maker Clock & watch maker

Wheelwright Sadler Bookbinder, stationer Chairmaker Jeweller Seamstress Tailors Seamstress Staymaker House & ship painter & glazer Milliner House carpenter Staymaker Cabinet & chair maker **Upholsterer** Maker of curtains, bed & chair covers Gunsmiths Joiners & cabinet makers Cabinet maker & upholsterer Queen St. Milliner House & ship painter & glazer Shoemaker Tailor Blacksmith Butcher Cabinet makers Milliner Sadler Makes & mends stringed instruments Gold & silver smith Seamstress Pastry baker Gold & silver smith & chaser Pastry bakers Gunsmith Watch & Clock maker Cleans & repairs watches Rigger Gunsmith Cooper Watchmaker

Tailor

Carpenter, joiner

Watch & clock maker

Church St., moved 1765 to Broad Broad St. Broad St. near Beef Market at the sign of the Golden Cup

Meeting St. Elliott St., corner of Gadsden Queen St.

Bedon's Alley on the Bay behind the State House

Union St.

Bedon's Alley near Ashley Ferry King St. Tradd St. Church St. Queen St.

King St. King St. Queen St. Beale's Wharves

corner of Queen & Meeting Sts. King St. King St.

Tradd St. Church St. King St. Union St.

on the Bay Broad St. Broad St. on the Bay, corner of Unity Alley

on the Bay at the sign of the Dial Elliott St. Broad St. King St. Motte's Wharf on the Bay Broad St. Queen St. Elliott St.

Margaret Cresswell John Dodd John Blott

Mr. Matthews Jonathan Sarrazin

Philip Tidgman

John Oliver Darby Pendergrass

Benjamin Baker Imanuel Cortisoz William Robinson John Mason Benjamin Forst Alexander Learmouth Jacob & Solomon Proby Nathaniel Scott George Balfour John Hughes Nightengale & Edwards Robert Kirkwood Sarah Hatfield Oliver Cromwell

Anne Webley John Watson Eleanor Dryden John Duvall Thomas Brickles Thomas Young Joseph Atkinson James Mylne

Henry Timrod William Bell Henry Davis Frances Swallow Erskin Heron William Waldren Lebaut & Johnson Thomas Harvey Thomas Horsey Benjamin King

Richard Fowler John Hatfield Sarah Damon Joseph Hancock Thomas Coleman Benjamin Hawes William Edwards John Rantowle Robert & Samuel Burn John Reid Pastry cook Gunsmith Paper hanger

Shoemaker Jeweller

Jeweller

Watchmaker Tailor

Carpenter Tobacconist Coach & harness maker Upholsterer<sup>-</sup> Copper smith Tanner & currier Brass founders Brewer Baker Ship joiner & carpenter Sadler Carpenter Milliner Tallor

Milliner Gardner Milliner Staymaker Umbrella mender Bricklayer Chandler Båker

Tailor Tailor Haircutter, peruke maker Milliner Jeweller Staymaker Smiths Butcher Tinplate worker Survey instrument maker & mender Upholsterer Chandler Milliner Shipwright Upholsterer Painter Sadler Tailor Sadlers Wheelwright, cart & plow maker

Broad St. Meeting St. Union St., moved 1765 to Queen St. in Dean's Square; 1765 to Meeting St.; 1767 to Meeting St. Union St. corner Broad & Church at sign of Teakettle & Lamp Meeting St., moved 1764 to Broad St. Broad St. Elliott St., corner of Gadsden's Alley, moved 1764 to Meeting Queen St. Broad St. Church St. corner of King & Queen Sts. Church St. at Wilson's tanyard, White Point corner of Broad & Meeting Sts. Friend St. Church St. Burn's Wharf corner of Market Square Tradd St. Broad St. house lately occupied by Abraham Crouch Bedon's Alley Trott's Point Church St. Meeting St.

Friend St.
King St. at St. George & the
Dragon
Union St.
Bedon's Alley
Tradd St.
on the Bay
Union St.
King St.

Meeting St. Simmons' Wharf

Union St. Broad St. Union St. Elliott St. behind St. Philips Church

at Alexander Campbell's house Broad St.

Old Church St.

Craftsmen 1762-1767, cont.

Thomas Fell Fechtman & Tyrell Joseph & William Badger David Henderson Mr. Gottier Henry Folke Thomas Wood Thomas Flyod Robert Hunter Joshua Lockwood Lyon & Gillecilbeau John Carne Lewis Turtaz Oliphant & Henderson Martin Lenard Thomas Barton John Speissegger Joshua Eden

Tailor Staymaker Painters & glazers Peruke maker, haircutter Broad St. Silversmith Vintner Carver, cabinet maker Clock maker Gardener Watchmaker Peruke makers & haircutters Broad St. Cabinet & coffin maker Limner Jewellers Ropemaker King St. Sadler King St. Organ maker Turner

Elliott St. Broad St.

Broad St.

Burn's Wharf up the Path Broad St. at John Stephenson's Church St. Church St. on the Green King St.

Craftsmen 1768-1770

John Ward Jonathan Sarrazin John Lampert John Mathewes Abraham Pearce Ann Nichols

Francisco Duriaco Ballantine & Kinfoil Laurence Gilchrist William Axson Alexander Kirkwood Thomas Ivers & Co.

Williams & Proctor John Oliver James Oliphant John Blott John Baltz David Wise Samuel Fley Benjamin Hawes

George Wood Abraham Delaney William Johnson Arthur Downes John Edwards George Flagg Richard Hart Eleanor Bolton Joseph Roper William Reed John Watson Philip Tidgman Samuel Hopkins Beglie & Mason James Courtonne John Alwood Jenkins & Hodson Joshua Eder Joseph Edmunson Willism Williams Richard Burklue

Joerge & John Blaikie Mrs. Stakes Richard Latham William Edwards John Nutt Joseph Fournier Jacob Warley William Stephens

Tailor Jeweller Wheelwright Shoemaker Cabinet maker & carver Seamstress

Stringed instrument mender Tailors Baker Cabinet maker Watch & clock maker Ropemakers

Tailors Watchmaker Jeweller Paper hanger Bread baker Sadler Cooper Painter, glazer, coach & harness maker Bookbinder & stationer Portrait painter Blacksmith Watchmaker Chandler Painter, glazer Coach & chair maker Pastry cook Turner Wheelwright Gardener Goldsmith Baker Shipwrights Jeweller Painter Joiners & carpenters Chairmaker, spinning wheels King St. Tailor Tailor Umbrella maker

Coopers Milliner Gunsmith, cutlerer Sadler Cabinet maker Drawing maker Sadler Cutlerer

Broad at Church St. Meeting St.

Broad St. Church St., moved 1769 to Bedon's Alley Union St. Queen St. King St. White Point Broad St. 1. on the Bay 2. Ropewalk at north side of town Bedon's Alley Meeting St. Broad St. Bedon's Alley

corner Beef Market & Broad St. Beale's Wharf behind the Old Church

Elliott St. Broad St. Elliott's Wharf Broad St. at William Edwards'

next to Mr. Cannon opposite Bennet Oldham Meeting St. Meeting St.

Broad St. Tradd St.

Broad St. Queen St. King at Queen St. Tradd St. Bedon's Alley Church at the sign of the **Umbrella** 

King St. King at the Crossed Pistols King St. King St. King St. Church St. north side of Beef Market

Philip Tidgman Donald Bruce Mr. Stott Harvey & Baty Thomas Turner William Hinckley Nathaniel Russel James McCall Griffith & Cape David Stoddard John Calvert & Co. Andrew Lord John Potter

Christopher Simpson Jamieson & Simons William Sykes Elizabeth Knight Francis Ayrton Mr. Sherman Head & Gidell Philip Hawkins & Co. John Edwards & Co. Isaac Motte & Co. Bonneau & Slann William Stakes John Booth George Davidson William Fitch Brian Cape Wilson & Poinsett William Baker Henry Rugeley James Bolten Parker & Hutchings Newman Swallow Ancrum & Chifelle Constant Freeman Joshua Lockwood John McDonnell William Hales Simon Tuffs William Price John Watson Ancrum & Loocock John Channing Henry Marque Gibbes & Harvey John Woodberry & Co. Robert & John Smyth Thomas Shute Brailsford & Moncrief George Greenland

Jewelry Dry goods Cutlery Dry goods Sugar, mahogany Rum, sugar, coffee Rum, candles, sugar, etc. Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Tea, oil, wine, etd. Ale Miscellaneous goods Beer, bread, ham, etc Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Foodstuffs Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods Linens, hose, etc. Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Spirits Condiments, spirits Miscellaneous goods Drugs Dry goods Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Spirits, foodstuffs Dry goods Rum, candles, etc. Jewelry, watches, clocks Linens, etc. Stockings Rum, oil, raisins, etc. New anchors, fabrics Seeds, plants, shrubs Flour, bread Rum, soap, etc. Spirits Spirits Dry goods Rum, coffee, etc. Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Rum, sugar, starch

Broad St. Church St. Bedon's Alley Gadsden's Alley Wragg's Wharf Longitude Lane Beale's Wharf Tradd St. on the Bay on the Bay the Brew House

near the Beef Market, moved 1770 to Elliott's Wharf Queen St. on the Bay Beale's Wharf

on the Bay Tradd St.

Tradd St.

on the Bay on the Bay King St. Elliott St. Beale's Wharf Tradd St.

on the Bay Tradd St. corner Tradd & Church

Church at Elliott St. on the Bay Broad St. Beale's Wharf, Store #5 Broad St. Elliott St.

on the Bay

New Market Wharf Governor's Alley Broad St. Near new Exchange on the Bay Elliott's Alley on the Bay Elliott St.

## Merchants 1768-1770

William Hulme Paul Townsend Robert Smyth Thomas Rutledge Thomas Shirley Mansell, Corbett & Co. Jonathan Sarrazin Rutledge & Lessesne Samuel Peronneau Nowell & Lord Wilson, Coram & Co. Waring & Shepheard

James Drummond William Greaves Martha Logan

Edward Lightwood Theodore Gaillard Andrew Lord

William Marshall William Harrop Darbey Pendergras Torrans, Poaug & Co. Charles Stocker John Paul Grimke John & William Baker William Simpson Carne & Wilson John Greenwood George Thomson Robert Sherman Mrs. Morand Thomas Walter John Schermerhorn John Brewton John Benfield Mary Stevens Nicholas Longford Thomas Buckle Dewar & Bacot Wilson, Coram, Wayne & Co. Dry goods, wine, beer Alexander Gillon David Dott Loughton & Smith Peter Leger & Co. Harleston & Bonneau George Cooke & Co.

Webb & Doughty

Thomas Gadsden

Daniel Bordeaux

Andrew Rutledge

Tea, porter Dry goods Cordage, rum, wines Dry goods Flour, rum, etc. Miscellaneous goods Jewelry, plate Miscellaneous goods Wine, bread Dry goods Dry goods Dry goods

Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Seeds, bulbs, shrubs

Rum, etc. Miscellaneous goods Dry goods

Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Dry goods Spirits, potatoes Spirits & condiments Jewelry, plate Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Drugs Candles, soap, etc. Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Claret Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Bread, sugar, spirits Rum, wine Prints, books, mathematical instruments Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Plains (fabric) Dry goods Spike nails Miscellaneous goods Mansell, Corbett & Roberts Dry goods Miscellaneous goods Dry goods Rum, soap, flour, etc. Dry goods

Elliott St. Broad St.

Tradd St. corner Broad & Church Sts. Broad St. Tradd St.

Broad St. On the Bay, south corner of Guard House Tradd St. Tradd St. Meeting St., 3 doors without the Gate Tradd St. Church St. at a back store lately possessed by Inglis, Lloyd & Co. on the Bay Tradd St. on the Bay Tradd St.

Broad St. Tradd St. Tradd St. on the Bay Broad St. Tradd St. Tradd St. Broad St. Broad St., moved 1769 to the Bay Champney's (Simmons') Wharf Champney's Wharf, store #1 Tradd St., moved 1769 to Elliott Longitude Lane

Broad St. on the Bay

Broad St. Broad St. on the Bay, moved 1769 to Elliott opposite Post Office on the Bay

Broad St. Tradd St.

Tradd St.