Keeping up with the Wilkinsons: public and domestic spaces in the 18th century.

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Abstract

The Tate Wilkinson House (TWH) is a Grade II listed building located on Duncombe Place, York. In the 18th century, the building was the home of theatre manager Tate Wilkinson. Indistinguishable from the street, the TWH is directly connected to the adjacent Theatre Royal (TRY). As such, the connection between the public theatre building and domestic house provides new insights into the social performance and material culture of different building types. Through a building biography approach, a survey of the extant building and analysis of documentary and illustrative evidence revealed that the connection between the buildings was even more apparent in the 18th century. Analysis of movement within and between the 18th century buildings therefore illuminated the complexity of interaction between the TWH and TRY, showcasing tensions between public and domestic buildings in this period. Importantly, spaces were understood differently by individuals simultaneously based on their ability to move within and between the TWH and TRY. This disrupts the binary categorisation of spaces as public or domestic, a notional distinction hitherto favoured by scholars. Instead, this research showcases that physical movement impacted the ideological assignment and understanding of space as public or private by contemporaries. It becomes evident that control over movement was crucial for maintaining power, with the subversion and restriction of expected movement patterns ultimately undermining social relations. Therefore, the link between domestic and public buildings allows for new insights into how public and private spaces were understood within the 18th century.

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Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1: Introduction

On March 28, 1772, Mrs. Esther Hamilton made her way to the Theatre Royal, York. She has been a part of the York Company for three months and tonight is performing the role of Mrs. Bridgemore in the new play, *Fashionable Lover* (1772). Commuting from her lodgings through the city, Mrs. Hamilton is startled by yelling. Turning, she sees the bailiff calling out to her. Unbeknownst to her, a writ has been issued against her for £20. With the safety of the theatre nearby Mrs. Hamilton runs. Pursued by the bailiff through the streets of York, Mrs. Hamilton arrives at the entrance to the theatre. Ascending the stairs, she has two options — proceeding straight takes her into the playhouse passage but turning right she can enter the house of theatre manager Tate Wilkinson. Turning right, she opens Wilkinson's dining room door. Breathless and pale she collapses onto the floor (adapted from Wilkinson 1795a, 146).

Recalled by Wilkinson in his memoir *The Wandering Patentee* (1795), the exact nature of the incident of Mrs. Hamilton fleeing from the bailiff must be credited to Wilkinson's hyperbolic writing style. However, the story reveals vital clues into the inner workings of two buildings - the Theatre Royal, York (TRY) and the Tate Wilkinson House (TWH), Wilkinson's own home. These two buildings are intrinsically linked. Mrs. Hamilton in fear of her safety has seemingly crossed the threshold of the public theatre passage into the domestic dining room. But is this distinction between public buildings and domestic spaces binary or is there a more complex cultural behaviour at play?

During the 18th century, the emergence of the public sphere was driven by a growth in the private individual. A cultural playground for the gentry, one was able to grow and maintain their identity through self-improvement of dress, behaviour, movement, art, architecture, and decoration (Girouard 1990, 77). This common language was able to be read beyond the self to include the spaces in which a person was operating, creating what Habermas has deemed the public sphere. The public sphere was a like-minded set of individuals coming together as a group (Habermas 1991). Central to their culture was the emergence of purpose-built public venues where they

could meet. This included theatres, assembly rooms, public walks, pleasure gardens and coffeehouses (Mauldin 2019, 635). Domestic spaces were also utilised for this performance, with hosting visitors important (Keim 2021, 296). However, discourse on public and domestic buildings has largely been segregated. Instead, by considering the link between public and domestic buildings new insights into the complexity of public and private spaces in the 18th century can be revealed. Indeed, coffeehouses, inns, and shops have been acknowledged as not only places for the gathering of polite society, but as spaces of business whereby the proprietor and their household lived (Cox & Walsh 2000; Jenkins & Stobart 2020; Mackay 2017; Maudlin 2019). These spaces are active pieces of material culture that shed light on the lived experience of the domestic household and patrons of the business; thus, revealing people's priorities, economic status, growing aspirations, cultural behaviours, and disclose if expectations are subverted or reinforced (Aynsley & Grant 2016, 14; Borsay 2003, 8). Importantly, these priorities are existing for individuals simultaneously within the same space. This means that the interior holds vital clues to how contemporaries in the 18th century are understanding public and domestic spaces.

Aims and Objectives

The TWH provides a case study into the phenomenon whereby public and domestic spaces are interwoven due to the building's physical connection to the TRY. This dissertation therefore seeks to examine how public and domestic spaces are interacting through a building biography approach. By focusing on a theatre and its associated buildings this dissertation provides a new perspective on public buildings which have hitherto been under researched by archaeologists. This allows for new insights into provincial theatres, their managers, and importantly sheds light on the wider social and cultural world they are operating within during the 18th century. The methodology focuses on synthesising different forms of evidence: physical, documentary, and illustrative, to understand the lived experience and postulate the 18th century layout of the buildings. The evidence is then examined utilising the analytical tool of access maps which reveals important insights into how movement

within and between the TWH and TRY operated on a temporal and spatial scale. This allows for not only a discernment of the past on the scale of the day to day for an individual (Mytum 2010b, 294), but reveals how spaces are being understood by multiple occupants — providing new insights into the larger historical narrative of public and domestic spaces. In doing so, this dissertation thereby addresses the following research aims and objectives.

Aims

- Understand how public buildings and domestic spaces interacted during the 18th century.
- Evaluate how access to space was negotiated and manipulated during the 18th century.
- Investigate how control over space reinforced or subverted power relations during the 18th century.

Objectives

1. Unpack the stratigraphy of the TWH to establish its 18th century layout.
2. Investigate documentary sources to establish how public and domestic spaces were negotiated by different strata of people.
3. Propose 18th century room use/s through the examination of surviving fixtures and fittings.
4. Conduct a spatial analysis of the TWH and understand its links to the TRY.

It is apparent that there is a reflexive relationship between people and their environment, which in turn shapes their social relations, life experiences and their understanding of the world (Giles 1999, 95; Gowrley 2022, 13; Jenkins & Newman 2019, 28; Tatlioglu 2010, 274). Chapter 2 will begin by providing an overview of the academic literature surrounding domestic spaces and public buildings. Chapter 3 will then shift our attention to the methodology utilised by this dissertation, a building biography approach. This approach allows for the synthesis of physical, documentary, and illustrative evidence to create conjectured floor plans of the 18th century TWH and TRY. Chapter 4 will contextualise the TWH and TRY within the

landscape before turning our attention to the history and layout of the 18th century buildings. Chapter 5 of this dissertation then considers movement within and between the TWH and TRY by Wilkinson, his wife Jane, the players of his company, his household staff, and the audience. Indeed, Mrs. Hamilton's story is one such incident that will be re-examined. To ensure that multiple perspectives of the same space are considered by all occupants simultaneously, movement will be examined through the analytical tool of access analysis. This not only highlights the complexity of public buildings and domestic spaces but reveals how control and access influenced contemporaries' understanding of privacy. Thus, revealing new insights into how space operated and was understood in the cultural context of the 18th century.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Public and Private Spheres

In the long 18th century, a new social stratum of people emerged that had an immense impact on social, economic, and political development within England (Greig & Riello 2007, 273; Girouard 1990, 86). Known as polite society, the prosperity and dominance of this group was demarcated by the spaces in which they could meet. This saw the construction of new public buildings and townhouses for the incoming lower gentry and upper middling, eager to express their self-improvement through a common language of art, architecture, and decoration (Girouard 1990, 77). Indeed, early scholars began to see the classical Georgian facade as an expression of social order (Johnson 2010, 144) with urban improvement becoming a dominant feature of the long 18th century. Yet, the arrival of new architectural styles and an increase in purpose built and furnished rooms sparked the emergence of a new historical discourse for scholars (Ariès & Duby 1989; Girouard 1978; Hoskins 1953; Howard 1987). In the 1980/90s the creation of the separate sphere framework arose. This dualistic framework centred on the binary categorisation of public and private spheres (Davidoff & Hall 1987, xxix) and subsequently, the rise of privacy (Ariès & Duby 1989; Johnson 1996, 82). This saw the layouts of buildings rationalised into functional zones — the front rooms of the family were separate from the back service rooms; the male activity spaces separate from the female activity spaces (Johnson 1996, 83). Initially, this distinction gave agency to the examination of other aspects of society and culture, in particular giving rise to the female voice within the historical record. However, as Amanda Vickery has pointed out, research surrounding this phenomenon overlooked reliable evidence in favour of a particular narrative (Vickery 1993, 385), seeing the ideal woman as submissive and domesticated (Jenkins 2013, 18). Thus, gentlemen were understood as holding dominion over the public sphere, while women were delegated to the private sphere of the home (Vogt & Nauman 2021, 5).

Yet the specific meanings of the terms, public and private, as understood by contemporaries needs to be contextualised within a particular historical period. Indeed, early scholarly attempts to extend this thesis arrived at the conclusion that "the new concept of the individual had an important influence on the definition of private space" (Chartier 1989, 165). Although justifiably argued by Orlin to be an "unexceptional conclusion" (Orlin 2007, 69), the concept of the individual was pivotal to the formation of Habermas' bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1991). This cultural phenomenon, Habermas argued, saw the unification of private individuals as a collective public throughout the 18th century (Calhoun 1997, 6-7). However, Habermas' public sphere represented an "exclusive medium for the learned elite" (Mührmann-Lund 2021, 92), one that women had access to. This further complicates the association of separate gendered spheres. Indeed, Vickery's research on 18th century diarist Elizabeth Shackleton suggests public meant access to company, opinion, and information, all which Elizabeth possessed (1998, 412). Thus, to Elizabeth, the distinction between public and private referred to the social practices being conducted within a space.

The meaning of private and public spaces to contemporaries in the 18th century is therefore associated with spatial, temporal, and economic privilege, which is exceedingly difficult to glean from documentary evidence alone (Orlin 2006, 423). This chapter will thus explore the rise of this narrative within domestic buildings, before turning our attention to the emergence of public buildings. It will become clear throughout this exploration that the public and private spheres cannot be functionally demarcated, indeed the separation of spheres is increasingly complex and in a constant state of flux (Giles 2016, 101). Instead, its distinction and appropriation by contemporaries was dependent on several factors including: economic and social circumstances, movement, control, function, and independence (Baker 2007, 310; Fairclough 1992, 353; Lawrence 2003, 30). Therefore, an exploration of spaces that questions and sheds new light on the complexity between the public and private can provide new insights into the social and cultural world of the 18th century.

Domestic Space

Space, including the built environment, was crucial for structuring lives (Hague & Lipsedge 2021, 8). In the 18th century, people lived in close quarters; a household consisted of immediate family members, extended relatives, lodgers, servants, and apprentices. Domestic space was not just for sleeping and eating but was importantly the scene for socialising and to conduct business (Orlin 2006, 423; Van den Heuvel 2021, 699). However, it is argued that with wealth one was afforded increased privacy; larger homes had multiple rooms that facilitated a functional separation between public and private spaces (Johnson 1996, 82-3; Johnson 2010, 180). Yet, such a delineation was not rigid. Public and private spaces are now understood as temporal, even within the large houses of the elite. Indeed, two of the most accessible rooms within the country house Gunnersbury, Middlesex, are suggested by Susie West to be storage rooms for furniture that serviced the adjacent main rooms (West 1998, 116). Although West's analysis focused on spatial access and division, her work begins to shed light on how we can explore the temporality of room use, shifting our understanding away from static spheres to active spaces that were transformed through the lived experience. West's approach also emphasises the importance of the physical space in developing our understanding of domestic spaces. Documentary and archival evidence alone tells the story of public and private spaces through an elite gaze. Therefore, new approaches and insights are needed to address not only the temporality of space, but the lens by which we are understanding the lived experience of the 18th century.

Spaces interact with one another and provide important clues that help us understand the social structure, gendered roles, spatial patterns, and the value of material culture (Keim 2021, 301). Importantly, they reveal how older behaviours persisted and shed light on the emergence of new social organisations. For Laura Keim, her research shines light on these processes through an analysis and comparison of the Nostell Priory dolls' house (c.1735) and the house of James Logan, Stenton (c.1730)(Keim 2021, 283). By exploring a fictional and idealised setting of a dolls' house in comparison to an extant house, Keim sheds light on visual

and spatially ended power relations and social structures (Keim 2021). Keim argues that the increase in rooms with specific functionality necessitated the theatrics of hosting (Keim 2021, 296). This had a direct influence on the interior including furnishings, textiles, and aesthetic quality in relation to colour and light (Keim 2021, 299). The more lavishly ornamented a room was directly correlated to its visibility and thus, designed to be seen (Keim 2021, 288). Further to this idea, Vickery suggests that the familiarity of the company gathered in a space also influenced a rooms status (Vickery 1998, 206). Returning to the diaries of Elizabeth Shackleton, Vickery's examination found that a room's use was not only dependent on different furnishings and tableware, but "the status and number of guests" (Vickery 1998, 206). Therefore, the distinction between room use changed, not only on a functional level due to different furnishings, but on an ideological level with ornamentation and the status of guests all carefully considered.

Indeed, this thesis is widely accepted when analysing 18th century interiors; however, it is the Nostell Priory doll's house's absence of spaces of work and service that is most telling of a distinction between public production and public space designed to be seen (Keim 2021, 291). This distinction between public spaces signifies the idealised attitudes of the social elite and the hierarchy of the household. Therefore, the public and private spheres of the elite were distinguished by the persons interacting within it. For Paula Humfrey, the house and its belongings were a form of self-advertisement, a self-presentation for community acceptance (Humfrey 2021, 22). Even domestic privacy entailed an element of performance with the social elite never truly able to escape each other's gaze (Humfrey 2021, 22). While we have seen how the temporality of interior decoration facilitated this performance, Humfrey's research shifts our attention to the spatial complexity within the physical space to reveal insecurities that existed between the social elite's private refuge from the public world (Humfrey 2021, 23).

In the early 18th century, Phebe Harrison, a maid for Jane Page, was dismissed from her place of employment after being found on the "far side of the door in the lodger's company" (Humfrey 2021, 33). It is the recollection of the event by Page which

provides important clues about contemporaneous understanding of space. Page states that, “not liking such passages and fearing somewhat worse might happen, [I] turned Phebe out” (Humfrey 2021, 33). The phrasing of the word “passages” suggests that it was the closing of the door, not the use of the room itself which denoted the privacy of the space (Humphrey 2021, 33). Humphrey therefore postulates that it is the mechanism of the door that established the boundary between public and private (Humphrey 2021, 33). Indeed, Daniel Maudlin’s analysis of the inn, The Angel, Abergavenny, Powys, suggest that a doorway could also indicate exclusivity, representing an important social threshold (Maudlin 2019, 632). For patrons of The Angel, the doorway represented a social statement which anchored polite society in their known world upon entry (Maudlin 2019, 632). Therefore, not only was the separation of public and private temporal, but also influenced by spatial constraints on a material and ideological level. In fact, the notion of a physical boundary to signify privacy is noted elsewhere in the 18th century: the use of locked chests for servants (Vickery 2018, 163); bed curtains providing a physical partition (Humphrey 2021, 33); and furniture, such as writing desks, designed with enclosed internal spaces obscured from the outside (Sargentson 2006, 130-1). However, ideologically, these items all spoke to the tensions of privacy and public that were playing out simultaneously, often within the same space. Therefore, privacy acted as an index of power and thus, it becomes more meaningful to our understanding of space to investigate *who* determines access (Vickery 2008, 152).

The question of who had access to space suggests that privacy increases proportionally with the index of power. This understanding provides a juxtaposition to the narrative that privacy was isolated in the realm of the domestic sphere and thus, to women. Therefore, if the domestic sphere is not solely the domain of women, likewise the public sphere was not only the domain of men. Recently, Matt Jenkins and Charlotte Newman (2019) illustrated the power that women wielded over both the public and private spheres through their analysis of 43 Parliament Street, London — the home of actress George Anne Bellamy and her partner John Calcraft. While Jenkins and Newman found evidence of internal decorative divisions, which could be suggestive of public and private sections of the house, a focus on these spaces as

experienced by Bellamy reveal that the apparent division between these spaces was frequently disrupted (Jenkins & Newman 2019, 41). Assisting with Calcraft's business dealings, Bellamy often hosted business guests in her dressing room located on the second floor (Jenkins & Newman 2019, 41-42). This meant that visitors were given deep access into the house and signified the changing use of Bellamy's domestic space (Jenkins & Newman 2019, 41). Likewise, this notion of domestic space being given public significance was also highlighted by Judith Lewis who analysed the relationship of aristocratic women with their country houses (Lewis 2009, 339). For Lewis, the three women she examined had public duties as courtiers, politicians, and hostesses; however, these roles did not place their lives into separate spheres of existence (Lewis 2009, 362). In truth, the public and private aspects of their lives were seen to be interwoven, with their country houses not just seats of public entertainment but very much home for their families (Lewis 2009, 363).

While Jenkins, Newman and Lewis' research has focused on the elite, Amanda Flather's research focused on the intersection of power with the middling and lower middling families in Essex (Flather 2013, 46). Flather shed new light on the traditional gendered narrative, illustrating that a significant proportion of men engaged in occupations based at home, while women's work frequently took them away from the home (Flather 2013, 359). A direct contrast to the assumed narrative that the public sphere is masculine, and the private sphere is feminine. More recently, Flather has expanded her work to assess the impact of work practices on the meaning of domestic space and concludes that permeability was crucial to its conduct and survival of a house (Flather 2021, 482). Houses were "hubs of commercial and social interaction", and that the separation of space or work was not associated with social and gendered segregation (Flather 2021, 502). Indeed, for those who lived in small dwellings the closure of space was impractical (Flather 2021, 503). While Flather's research steers our understanding of space away from just the elite, case studies on the elite and the middling and lower middling emphasises the duality of the private and public spheres operating simultaneously within a house.

It becomes clear that our understanding of the public and private spheres are

intrinsically interwoven within the domestic setting. Spaces are permeable and could be compromised, whether this be through physical barriers or an ideological understanding of power. Therefore, the emerging culture of polite sociability in the 18th century stood at a juxtaposition with understandings of public and private. Domestic spaces provide pivotal insights into how the "rise of privacy" was truly negotiated by contemporaries. However, the wider landscape must be considered when understanding public and private spheres in the 18th century.

Public Buildings

Within the wider 18th century landscape of cities and towns, public buildings were seen as features of the new urban landscape that was emerging (Giles 2016, 103). Public buildings first garnered attention by Sir Nicholas Pevsner (1976). Pevsner considered the development of public buildings through style with his research rooted in a foundation of architectural history. Building upon Pevsner's work, Ottenheym, De Jonge and Chatenet (2010) illustrated that public buildings often served multiple civic functions harking back to their usage in the late Middle Ages (Giles 2016, 102). Yet, in the 17th century, mono-functional public buildings emerged reflecting a particular function and stratum of society (Goudeau 2010, 20). Their location and appearance were both distinguishable and played a prominent role in the idealised design of new urban cities. The emergence of a new social framework towards public buildings allowed for the expansion in scholarly understanding beyond Pevsner's typology approach. Instead, a new understanding that early modern public buildings were a "product of a complex set of chronological, geographical, architectural, political and socio-economic conditions" arose (Giles 2016, 103). For example, Robert Tittler (1991) demonstrated that an analysis of internal organisation of space within a town hall meant that it could be identified as a semiotic object (Tittler 1991, 98-128). The town hall therefore gave legitimacy and authority to the governing elite (Tittler 1991, 98-128). This provides a concrete framework in which to position Habermas' public sphere theory, explored earlier in this chapter, whereby the governing gentry gained control through their ability to exclude (Giles 2016, 103).

Evidently, 18th century public buildings were a part of a complex social and cultural function, with their architectural spaces, fixtures, fittings, and decorations used to distinguish the bourgeois public sphere while maintaining expulsion for the wrong sort. Conspicuous consumption and display in public areas provided by a town increased one's position within or gave entry into the social elite (Hallett & Rendall 2003, 2). Therefore, the emergence of new public buildings provides key insights into larger social and cultural transformations taking place in this period (Giles 2016, 103). Mono-functional public buildings and spaces served very specific functions with the assembly rooms, theatres, concert halls and public walks utilised by polite society in a specific way on specific occasions (Maudlin 2019, 617). Yet, public buildings such as coffeehouses, inns, and shops contain spaces within them where the proprietor and their household lived. Therefore, these spaces straddle the public and private spheres, with Maudlin arguing that they could be considered neither a private nor public space (Maudlin 2019, 635). However, while these spaces can provide insights into our understanding of the relationship between public and private spaces within the 18th century, they traditionally have been examined through other themes.

The coffeehouse was an important place for the performance of polite society. Primarily attended by men, it was a space for gossip and news and where social distinction was mute (Ellis 2004, 172). Architecturally, the exterior facade of coffeehouses was nondescript, and they were often located on the ground floors of larger buildings with the proprietor living on the premises with their family (Cowan 2011, 80). While a focus on the proprietors of these establishments is absent from the literature, John Barrell's analysis of Percy's Coffeehouse provides tantalising clues to the complexities of how the public and private spaces were understood in the 18th century. Documentary sources record the trial of Frost, who was overheard speaking in Percy's Coffeehouse with intent "to bring the king into great hatred and contempt'" (Barrell 2006, 83). Central to the case was an understanding of what type of space the coffeehouse truly was. The key argument to Frost's defence was that in the coffeehouse "the words spoken … were words spoken in a private space" (Barrell 2006, 83). However, the grand jury held an understanding of the space as public, defined as a "space to which open access was permitted" (Barrell 2006, 85) and did

not publicly permit Frost's vulgar views (Barrell 2006, 85). Evidently, contemporaneous understanding of public and private spaces overlapped and were in a continuous state of change (Rendall 2002, 23). Interestingly, it is suggested that the difference in understanding was due to the absence of women (Barrell 2006, 86). While women were not overtly prohibited from attending the coffeehouse, the evidence for their admittance is limited. Jenkins likewise alludes to this idea suggesting that it was the "mixing of the sexes [that] created a space that was more 'public' than one that was the focus of just one gender" (Jenkins 2013, 160). The importance of architectural features, or lack thereof, provides an important clue to how spaces were seen by contemporaries — an understanding that can be gleaned from the physical building.

Considering the physical building, Daniel Maudlin's research on inns showcases how the design of interior spaces elicited control over the urban space and reinforced social hierarchies (Maudlin 2019, 617). Indeed, it was the responsibility of the innkeeper for the display of correct taste and values (Maudlin 2019, 635). The correct decorative scheme could transport one into the space of polite society upon entry (Maudlin 2019, 640). Maudlin's research also examined the spatial arrangement of inns to reveal that they commonly followed a simple symmetrical 18th century house design. This meant that the innkeeper's "private apartments were found on the upper storey" (Maudlin 2019, 637). However, Maudlin does not elaborate upon the innkeeper further. Theresa Mackay has instead begun to address this gap through her analysis of rural women innkeepers during the 18th century (Mackay 2017). Traveller observations and archaeological evidence suggest that the environment of rural inns were integrated into the farm and home life of the proprietor (Mackay 2017, 168). This emphasised the role of the innkeeper as a business leader of their community, "a position which elevated the status of women in these roles" (Mackay 2017, 156). While Mackay does not explicitly explore the theme of public and private spheres, it can be inferred that the prominence of women in the role of innkeeper means the public sphere cannot be viewed as a male dominated space.

A focus on public and private spheres has received more attention through the

analysis of shopping. Shopping in the 18th century was seen as “a platform for public display, with the act of visiting a shop part of a complex social interaction and cultural exchange” (Dyer 2014, 696). Indeed, the importance of the shop and its impact on the built environment has started to be understood, highlighting the attraction of a shopping venue and its association with correct social display and exclusivity expected by its patrons (Stobart, Han & Morgan 2007, 193-194; Walsh 1995, 157-176). In fact, it is the exclusivity of the shop that is emphasised by its physical space (Jenkins 2018, 45). Research by Nancy Cox and Claire Walsh has indicated that shops typically contained front and back rooms, with the backroom for more prestigious customers and designed to feel like a domestic interior (Cox & Walsh 2000, 101). Building upon this idea, Jenkins and Stobart suggests that this not only provided a secluded space for the elite but alleviated the restriction of space in the smaller front rooms (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 66). Jenkins and Stobart’s research focused on The Sign of the Bible Bookshop, York, where the backroom on the ground floor served as a parlour and dining room, but also a place to conduct private business (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 67). Recalling the experience of Laurence Sterne being led into the backroom by the proprietor Francis Hildyard, the pair are interrupted by the entrance of Reverend William Herring (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 67). It is the nature of this interruption that suggest that Reverend Herring has access to this private space without the escort of the proprietor (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 67). Therefore, the physical barrier of the door signifies the power held by the Reverend Herring and his right to enter the space. It becomes evident that public and private did not distinguish between the different behavioural and emotional boundaries we are familiar with today (Humphrey 2021, 34).

Therefore, public and private spheres were not delineated by a physical threshold or ideological boundary. Instead, domestic spaces could be found within public buildings and concurrently, domestic buildings could be used as public spaces. However, as it is evident, analysis of this grey area is overlooked. This dissertation therefore aims to examine the relationship between the public and private spheres in the 18th century through these overlapping domestic and public spaces to provide new insights into the lived experience. The domestic TWH and its connection to the adjacent public

TRY, will be the point of study for this dissertation. As a theatre manager, Tate Wilkinson provides interesting insights into the social and cultural world of the long 18th century. However, before we turn our attention specifically to Wilkinson and the theatre circuit at York, let us examine the role of the theatre and theatre managers in the 18th century.

The Theatre & Theatre Managers

Theatres provide vital evidence into the cultural systems working within the 18th century, with the stage seen as a reflection of life. The intra-social encounters occurring in the theatre present a case study for analysing social relations across and between various members of society. Visual cues on stage, such as the height of a chair, the texture of a costume, or equality of emotion, signified to audience members a particular social structure and set of ideologies (Brook 1968, 62). Social stratification was maintained through seating arrangements; however, in the 18th century, seating even within segregated areas was on a first come first served basis. Therefore, it was common to find footmen waiting in the boxes for the arrival of their master or mistress (Scott 1946, 17). This phenomenon provides an alternative narrative into social relationships during the 18th century and was the source of Kristina Straud's research. Footmen present at Drury Lane Theatre were allowed access to the footman's gallery for the duration of the performance after having secured their master or mistresses' seat (Straub 2007, 132). Straud suggests that the footman's gallery therefore gave a voice and claim to a subservient class outside of polite society (Straub 2007, 134). Indeed, their job gave them a claim to participate in leisure activities and allowed for the subversion of polite order and societal ideals, giving footmen power within the public sphere (Straub 2007, 134). Indeed, the accounts of the footmen's presence in the upper gallery by the gentry is one of fear for their ability to instigate riots (Straub 2007, 134). Therefore, it becomes evident that within the walls of the theatre, the public sphere was being negotiated by different people in different ways simultaneously.

Although social segregation through seating location was meant to objectify class

distinction, at Drury Lane Theatre this divide was not conventional and increasingly complex. Contributing to our understanding of these complexities, Thomas Straszewski illustrates how the architecture of the theatre directly contributed to social stratification of the audience (Straszewski 2008, 48). Theatres were a place to see and be seen; the playhouse remained fully lit throughout a performance with audience members routinely conversing during performances (Freeman 2002, 7; Straszewski 2008, 17). Straszewski therefore suggests that vision was privileged above other senses as a method of social stratification (Straszewski 2008, 54). This resulted in an increased focus on the stage, marginalising not only the servants located in the gallery, but their masters and mistresses in the boxes (Straszewski 2008, 57). The ability to be able to manipulate vision through the architecture meant that behaviours were able to be controlled to create a passive audience (Straszewski 2008, 57). Straszewski's research provides important avenues into the social tensions between audience members but importantly allows us to consider the tensions that existed between the audience and the theatre manager in this negotiation of power.

Theatre managers in the 18th century not only served as managers but were actors. Therefore, they can provide interesting insights into the rise of celebrity and the negotiation of power; however, research beyond biographical details, acting styles and repertoire, and production techniques traditionally has been lacking (Mulrooney 2007, 249). Yet, new ways of approaching performers have started to be explored. This includes the recognition of autobiographies in the role of fame (Davis 1995, Kahan 2006, Mulrooney 2003); gendered studies and exploration of the challenges faced by women writers and actresses (Donkin 1995); understanding the cultural influence of public theatre in shaping national romance (Bolton 2001); and how theatres reshaped public notions of femininity (Nussbaum 2005). However, the dominion that a theatre manager's role invoked over 18th century culture and sociability cannot be understated (Fisher 2006, 11), with their ability to dictate and enforce certain modes of behaviour of their audience. Thus, it can be suggested that when David Garrick, the theatre manager of Drury Lane Theatre, abolished the footman's gallery in 1759, he was directly responsible for the shift towards polite

behaviour from his audience (Straud 2007, 141). This example confirms Straszewski's (2008) thesis whereby Garrick was manipulating vision by directing the focus back to the stage; thus, creating a more socially respectable audience.

While theatre managers within the context of their theatres have begun to be researched, overlooked are the spaces in which theatre managers lived. Some attempts have been made to bridge this gap. David Garrick's villa has been the focus of investigation, namely commending it for its architectural design by Robert Adams (Bolton 1916) and the restoration of the Temple to Shakespeare within the grounds (Martin 2000). Yet, Garrick's villa is not representative of the dwelling houses of provincial theatre managers. Indeed, within provincial towns the theatre companies were a part of a wider circuit, meaning that the theatre manager and their company were taking up residence in different towns throughout the year. Perhaps due to their continued movement throughout the year, many provincial theatres had dwelling houses attached to them that were cited as the residence of the theatre manager (Baker 2000; Winstone 1805). Often only referred to in documentary sources, no large-scale investigation has yet been conducted into these buildings and their connection to their theatres. The potential they have to reveal new insights into the social and cultural history of the 18th century cannot be understated. Therefore, this dissertation seeks to begin bridging this gap by exploring the dwelling house of theatre manager, Tate Wilkinson, to unpack the relationship between domestic spaces and public buildings in the 18th century. A building biography approach combined with access analysis, detailed in the succeeding chapter, allows for the complexity of public and private spheres to be understood not as a grand dominating historical narrative (Tatlioglu 2010, 274), but through the lives of the people who were experiencing it on a day-to-day basis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

As explored in Chapter 2, domestic and public buildings are an active piece of material culture that shed light on the lived experience of the past. They reveal people's priorities and economic status and speak to their growing aspirations, while at the same time reveal the ways in which cultural behaviours and expectations were subverted or reinforced (Aynsley & Grant 2006, 14; Borsay 2003, 8). Yet, the intersection of these buildings has been largely overlooked in favour of a binary approach towards building types. In particular, 18th century public theatre buildings are known to have had dwelling houses attached to them throughout various provincial towns in England. In York, the home of theatre manager, Tate Wilkinson, is one such domestic dwelling that is directly connected with the adjacent theatre. Although research has been undertaken pertaining to the TWH's history warranted by the planning process (Edgar and Coppack 2014; Smith 2022), a detailed examination of the interior of the building and its relationship to the TRY has yet to be understood. The potential for this building to reveal further clues into the social and cultural processes that influenced public and private spaces in the 18th century cannot be understated. This dissertation therefore examined the TWH during the period of Wilkinson's management between 1770 to 1803. Through the utilisation of a building biography approach and access analysis, new insights into the social performance and material culture of different building types were examined. It became clear that the TWH and TRY are intrinsically linked, thus, revealing new understandings into the complexity of public and private spaces in the 18th century.

Theoretical Approaches

It has increasingly been recognised that the true meaning of public and private spheres to 18th century contemporaries vastly differed from the behavioural and emotional boundaries we are familiar with today (Giles 1999, 101). Yet, when buildings are viewed as a material culture, they provide vital clues into the complexities of these social and cultural processes where the relationship between the lives of its inhabitants, visitors, and viewers are playing out simultaneously. These

relationships can be unpacked by archaeologists, revealing expressions of one's identity, social interactions, and emotions both physically and ideologically (Gowrley 2022, 2). Therefore, culture and society are not fixed. They are continually being reshaped and given meaning through an active negotiation of the landscape and the built environment (Knapp & Ashmore 1999, 7; Hodder 1985, 3). However, as Ian Hodder states, the "reconstruction of the past is a social statement in the present" (Hodder 1985, 18). Therefore, there is a duality that emerges within archaeological theory whereby the lives of past people are constructed twice — once through the individual and then by the archaeologist (Meier 2006, 16). The implications for understanding buildings, and their wider setting, as an active piece of material culture means one must understand them from the viewpoint of the intended subject. This idea is central to the framework of phenomenology which "attempts to reveal the world as it is actually experienced directly by the subject as opposed to how we might theoretically assume it to be" (Tilley 1994, 1). This manner of thinking allows for an understanding that buildings have a different meaning and significance for different people (Tilley 2016, 274).

Although techniques like phenomenology have largely been utilised by prehistorians, the theoretical framework it produces closely mimics Gidden's structuration theory, which emphasises the engagement between the body and the world (Gidden 1984, xxi). Structuration theory has been given agency by buildings archaeologists and utilised as a framework in several key studies (see Gilchrist 1997; Giles 2000; Graves 1989; Johnson 2002). However, when putting human agency at the forefront of archaeological interpretation one must be cautious that the interpretation is not producing a top-down conceptualisation (De Certeau 1984, 92). There must be an articulation between bodily experience and the synthesis of interpretations (Tilley 1994, 225). This can be achieved by combining existing documentary sources, empirical work, and data bases from within archaeological disciplines. Historical archaeology relies on documentary evidence as a key interpretative source to produce archaeological biographies. This approach focuses on how meaning is changed over time through an examination of artefacts (Lucas 2006, 41) or how larger historical themes arise through the lives of an individual and their household

(Gosden and Marshall 1999, 170). These temporal interpretations are an important aspect that can be incorporated into the wider spatial environment to produce more nuance biographies of individuals and their link to buildings.

However, often under appreciated by historical archaeologists is the landscape in which buildings are situated (Jenkins 2013, 37). Yet, the landscape provides important insights into social and cultural processes through their semiotic meaning. For example, landscape archaeologists, Leone et al. (2005) illustrated the influence of society and culture throughout their research on 18th century plantation gardens in Maryland. Designed in the latest Baroque fashions, the ordered landscapes enabled the genteel performance. The ability to shape the land and change people's perceptions not only emphasised control (Leone et al. 2005, 138) but highlighted the materiality of the landscape and the active role it played in structuring social concepts and relations (Hodder 2004, 45). The theoretical approaches of prehistorical, historical, and landscape archaeology disciplines can be adapted into an innovated biography approach — building biographies (Jenkins 2013, 41). A building biography approach relies on the synthesis of three different forms of evidence: physical fabric, documentary, and illustrative. Importantly, combining these evidence types allows for new enquiries into the lived experience of the 18th century and an examination of the major theme of this dissertation — the complexity of public and private spaces.

Building Biography

Physical Fabric

The first form of evidence utilised in the building biography approach is the physical fabric. An initial desk-based assessment was conducted to establish the current volume of information that exists on the TWH. Metric plans produced in 2019 of the TWH were made available to the author courtesy of Maybank Buildings Conservation, therefore a metric survey was not warranted. However, examination of the interior of the TWH had yet to be conducted. With permission sought by the Operations Manager of the TRY, a photographic survey was carried out on the TWH to produce a detailed photographic record in accordance with Historic England's

guidelines (2016). This type of survey allowed for a high level of recording of decorative elements, including in-situ fixtures and fittings such as cornices, fireplaces, and staircases.

All areas of the TWH were surveyed, except for the roof space which could not be accessed due to asbestos. Within the TRY, areas known to have been within the original footprint of the TWH were also surveyed. These elements provided important evidence for dating and revealed when internal modifications were made to different spaces. This allowed for an understanding of changing room use and decorative schemes, and for the 18th century floor plans to be postulated. Externally, the building was also analysed to establish how the building and surrounding area functioned as the original entrance to the theatre. Variations in physical fabric provided evidence of different phases of construction and usage, including the removal, adaption or addition of fixtures, fittings and decorative schemes, which aided in the reconstruction of space. Importantly, this allowed for the temporality of space to be understood as its uses change by different members of the community, including the Wilkinson family, wider household, guests and visitors, employees of the theatre, and the paying audience.

Documentary and Illustrative Sources

Documentary and illustrative sources included wills, account books, playbills, leases, letters, newspaper articles, trial records, antiquarian maps, actors' memoirs, architectural plans, illustrations, sketches, and early photographs. The documentary evidence secured dates to previous building developments within and surrounding the TWH. This included the remodelling of the TRY and the widening of Little Blake Street (present day Duncombe Place) throughout the 18th and 19th century. This allowed for an understanding of how the surrounding area would have been understood by Wilkinson and his contemporaries during the 18th century. An important part of the research was to establish the internal layout of the TWH during Wilkinson's lifetime. Wilkinson himself wrote two different memoirs of his life which provided key insights into the operation of the TRY as well as Wilkinson's interactions with players of the period. Fascinatingly, comedian Charles Mathews' wife, Anne,

also wrote extensively about his time with the York Company and recalled many experiences within the TWH. Furthermore, trial records for one of Wilkinson's servants provided important insights into domestic life, allowing for a fuller picture of the Wilkinson household to be illuminated.

Importantly, the York Explore Archives held archival floor plans, sections, and elevations of the TRY from 1821 to 1936. While the focus was to reproduce plans of the TWH, it became apparent that the arrangement of the TRY was important for understanding the link between the two buildings. The 18th century layout was gleaned through careful examination and comparison between different phases of development; thus, spatial divisions and postulated rooms were suggested. Importantly, many of the plans revealed evidence of the original structure through examination of pencil markings and colour changes. To reconcile these anomalies and ascertain which phase of development they belonged to, additional documentary evidence, such as Baines' (1822) description of the TRY were consulted. This was an important source as 1821 marked the first major renovations to the TRY since 1765 (Rosenfeld 2001, 213). Baines' description confirmed the phasing of the colouring on the plans, allowing for the plans of the TRY to be dated, read, and interpreted with a high degree of accuracy.

Another useful source of evidence to aid in the interpretation of plans was comparing plans and illustrations of the TRY and TWH with other 18th century theatres. In particular, the extant Georgian Theatre at Richmond provided a useful comparison, as well as documentary evidence pertaining to theatres in Portsmouth, Leeds, Bath, and Richmond Surrey (Hare 1958; Lowndes 1982; Southern 1948; Rosenfeld 1962). Comparison of illustrations and plans of these theatres assisted in unpacking the plans of the TRY and understanding how it would have appeared in the 18th century.

Importantly, some floor plans and sections of the TRY indicated previous room names, which were corroborated by physical and additional documentary evidence where possible. Relevant plans were reproduced and combined in AutoCAD to create conjectured 18th century floor plans of the TWH and TRY. In addition to the

plans, John Todd's (1809) description and measurements of the TRY stage were utilised to provide an accurate scale. The conjectured plans were further scaled by aligning extant rooms to recent metric plans of the TWH by Maybank Buildings Conservation (2019). This allowed for approximate room dimensions to be ascertained, particularly relevant for areas where the building has been demolished.

Illustrations, sketches, and early photographs provided valuable clues to the external appearance of the TWH and its surrounding streetscape during Wilkinson's lifetime. This was an important streetscape to understand as the entrance to the TRY, referred to as the Blake Street entrance in the 18th century, was located between the TWH and the neighbouring property (colloquially referred to as the Red House). Due to the street undergoing several successions of widening and redevelopment to provide improved views of the western end of York Minster, the street was subject to many early photographs. These were an important source which allowed for the comparison of photographs to early illustrations and sketches to ascertain their reliability.

Synthesis of Sources

Importantly, it was the variations within and between the physical, documentary, and illustrative sources which revealed the personal choices and decisions of the individual on a scale of the everyday. The examination and cumulation of these atypical events alleviated the methodological issue of making broad assumptions from a narrow case study (Gowrley 2022, 11). A discernment of contemporaries' experiences allowed for an understanding of the reflexive relationship between people and their environment, which in turn shaped their social relations, life experiences and their understanding of the world (Giles 1999, 95; Gowrley 2022, 13; Jenkins & Newman 2019, 28; Tatlioglu 2010, 274). This revealed patterns about larger trends and provided new insights into the discourse of larger historical narratives (Mytum 2010a, 246); thus, combining different sources of evidence the day-to-day experience of the past was interpreted although being temporally distant from our present culture (Mytum 2010b, 294).

Access Analysis

Yet, it is important to consider that people experience a building on a temporal and spatial scale through movement. Access analysis is a spatial approach that allows for social and ideological values to be revealed when considering the way people moved through a building (Richardson 2003, 373). The approach coined by Hillier and Hanson (1984), has been praised for its ability to be adapted and modified for archaeological purposes (Foster 1989, 50). As such, the applications of this analytical tool have been utilised by a wide range of archaeological investigations including Iron Age settlements (Foster 1989), medieval monasteries (Gilchrist 1997), and country houses (West 1998). Evidently, access analysis has been used successfully to reveal new insights into large scale and complex buildings and spaces. Therefore, access analysis is a useful tool to be utilised when interpreting the TWH due to its physical connection to the TRY. Indeed, the binary distinction between building types has meant that access between domestic and public buildings had not been considered.

An access map for the TWH and TRY was produced in Chapter 5. Importantly, the map was designed so that all rooms and floors within the TWH and TRY were featured on one map. This allowed for the relationship within the buildings to be understood, as well as how people moved between the buildings. This was achieved by focusing on patterns of permeability and accessibility. Permeability was measured by depth — the minimum number of steps taken to reach a space from the carrier (Foster 1989, 41). Access was implicit from the form the map produced. A dendritic, “tree-like” form implied a greater degree of control over a more annular “ringy” form which gave greater freedom of movement (Richardson 2003, 375). Importantly, time and space were interacted with by different people simultaneously as they move throughout the buildings. The use of access analysis therefore eliminated the focus on the form and design of the buildings and instead focused on the meaning of the building for different individuals. Combined with the evidence gleaned through a building biography approach, new insights into how space operated in the cultural context of the 18th century were revealed.

This chapter detailed the building biography methodology utilised by this dissertation. By employing this approach, the physical fabric, documentary, and illustrative evidence were synthesised to create conjectured 18th century floor plans of the TWH and TRY. The conjectured plans are presented in Chapter 4 alongside historical information pertaining to the site to provide a contextual framework in which the lived experience of Wilkinson and his household are revealed. Importantly, this approach not only allowed for a discernment of the day to day but revealed important insights into the larger historical narrative of public and private spheres, visible through an analysis of movement through access maps. This allowed for assumptions embedded within this larger theme to be unpacked to reveal the true complexity of the everyday. Thus, the research aims and objectives were met, providing new understandings of how public buildings and domestic spaces operated in the 18th century.

Chapter 4: Results

Due to the modifications to the TWH over the centuries, the original interior footprint of the building is not easily discerned. However, by comparing archival plans of the TRY between 1821 to 1936 (Appendix 1) with the physical evidence, we can begin to unpack the changes that have taken place. Although the primary focus of this dissertation is the TWH, central to the analysis of its internal space is understanding the TWH's connection to the TRY, as they form part of the same building. This chapter will begin by outlining the history of the site and surrounding area before turning our attention to the 18th century when Tate Wilkinson was living at the property. It will present the findings of the photographic survey (Appendix 2) alongside documentary and illustrative research, to guide the reader through the conjectured 18th century layout of the TWH. For ease of navigation, each room has been given an arbitrary number so that it can be located on the conjectured plans. The rooms of the TWH and TRY will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5 when the implications of access and movement within and between the two buildings are considered; thus, revealing new insights into how space operated and was understood in the cultural context of the 18th century.

The Site and Surrounding Landscape

Figure 1: OS Map showing location of the TWH (red) on Duncombe Place. Note that the TWH is not differentiated from the Theatre Royal (OS MasterMap 2021).

The TWH is a Grade II listed building located at grid reference SE 60135 52111 on Duncombe Place, York (Figure 1). The building, currently utilised as offices by the TRY management, is a three story three bay building fronted with pink-grey brick of a Flemish bond with red brick dressing. All windows have stone sills, brick quoined openings and flat arches of gauged brick (Historic England 1952). The east and west elevations are primarily constructed of brick; however, contain coursed magnesian limestone to first floor level. Internally, the building boasts three floors. The ground floor contains a series of office and storage spaces which subsequently lead to the stage left wing of the TRY to the north. The first and second floors primarily contain front and back rooms, divided centrally by a dog-leg staircase. The building is situated within an important social and cultural area of York's Historic Core with the TRY, De Grey Rooms and Art Gallery to the north, York Explore Library to the west, Assembly Rooms to the south, and York Minster to the east.

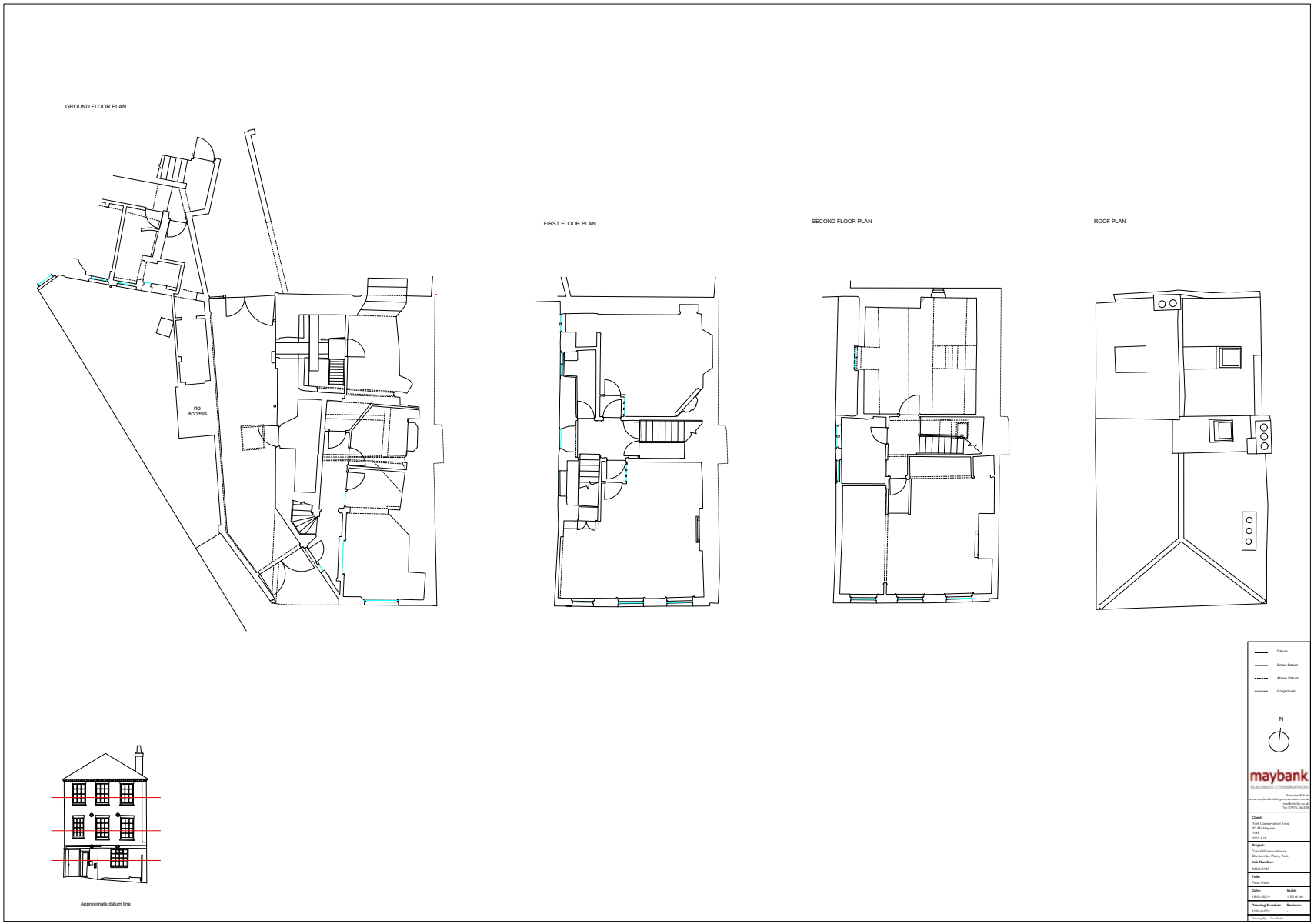


Figure 2: Metric plans of the TWH showing current layout of the building (Maybank Buildings Conservation 2019).

Historical Background

During the Middle Ages, the site of the TWH was part of St. Leonard's Hospital complex. Early maps show a building in this location (Figure 3); however, scholars differ on what the original purpose of the building might have been (see Benson 1902; Cullum 1993; Edgar & Coppack 2014). Remains of a structure from the 12th century make up the core of the surviving TWH today, with a barrel-vaulted bay and capital in the cellar, magnesian limestone on the west and east elevations, and a lancet window located on the western wall (Smith 2022, 3-4). In 1540, St. Leonard's Hospital was surrendered to the Crown. The surviving medieval masonry suggests that the TWH was repurposed after this period; however, its exact use is unknown at this present stage (Smith 2022, 4).

Figure 3: Postulated medieval structures that the TWH and TRY buildings were incorporated into, outlined in red (Speed 1610).

The association of the TWH with the theatre begins in the mid-18th century.

The first theatre on the site of the current TRY was constructed in 1744 by Elizabeth Keregan (YMA Playbill, 2 August 1744). Elizabeth was the widow of Thomas Keregan (d.1740) who had been the manager of the theatre company when the playhouse was located north-west of the Minster (BIA PR 87, folio 390; York Courant 17 September 1734). Interestingly, Thomas' will granted Elizabeth the management of the playhouse as well as the lease for his dwelling house called Blake House (BIA PR 87, folio 390). It could be suggested that Blake House is the TWH (which is often

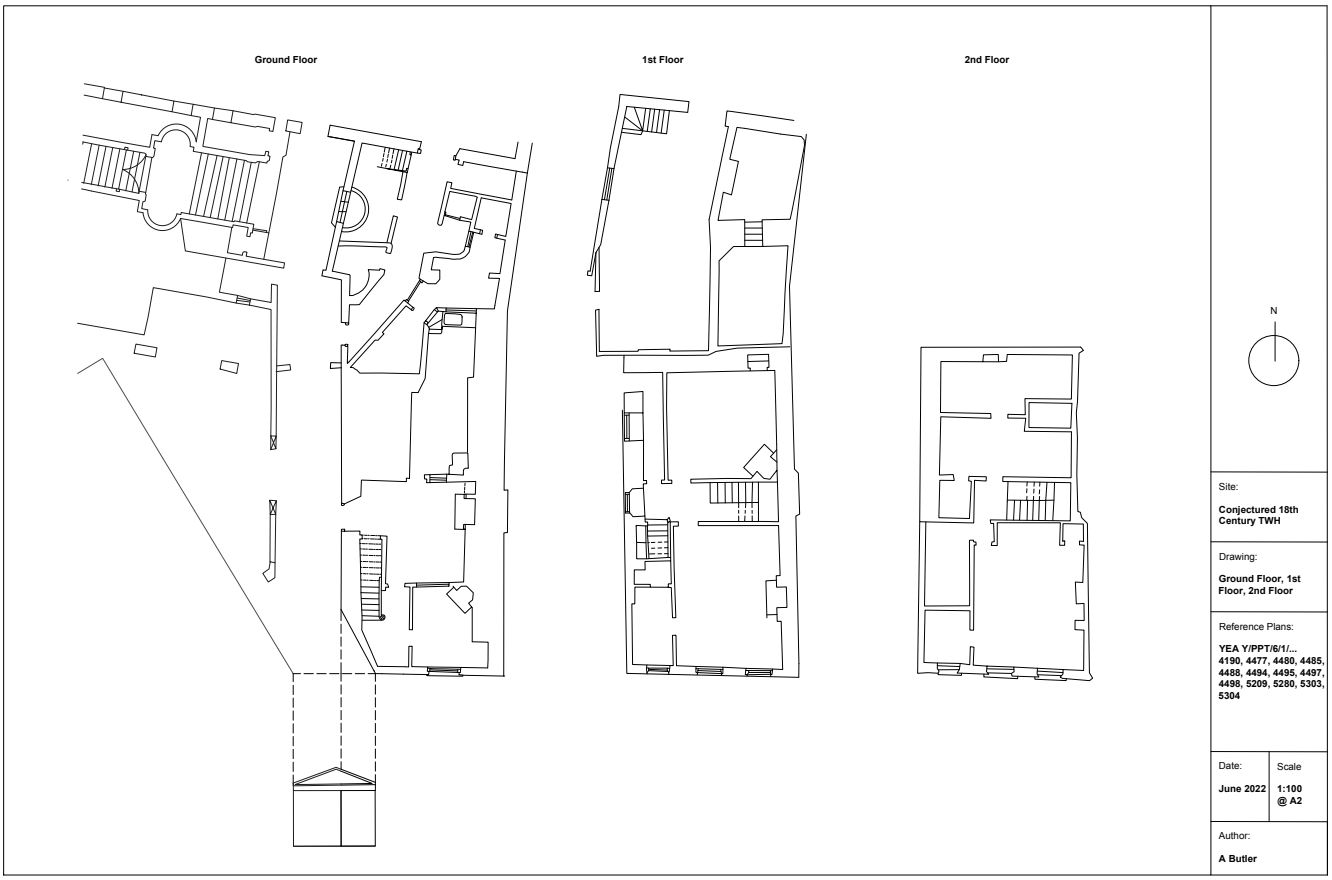
referred to as being located on Blake Street in the 18th century) which warranted Elizabeth to seek the lease of the cloisters of the former medieval hospital to the north of the house for the site of the new theatre.

In August 1744, Elizabeth Keregan married actor Joseph Baker (BIA Yorkshire, Archbishop of York Marriage Licences Index, 1613-1839, 38, p.16), who was a member of Keregan's company (Rosenfeld 2001, 16). Elizabeth's association as theatre manager subsequently disappears from the historical record after her second marriage, with Baker cited as the new theatre manager in December 1744 (Rosenfeld 2001, 21). Likely, Baker moved into the TWH following his marriage to Elizabeth and in 1748 is listed as living in "the house in Blake Street adjacent to the theatre" (Rosenfeld 2001, 24). In 1761 the lease for the theatre and dwelling house was renewed on the condition that Baker lay out £500 on the premise that "lasting improvement[s] in two years after the commencement of the term" (Rosenfeld 2001, 39) were to take place. Baker adhered to the condition and when Wilkinson first visited York in 1764, he writes that he finds Baker "erecting part of a new theatre at York, at a great, and his sole expense" (Wilkinson 1795c, 224).

Inevitably, the expenses of the new theatre leave Baker bankrupt. In 1766, Wilkinson enters a business partnership with Baker, lending him over £1000 and obtaining the important Royal Patent for the theatres in Hull and York in 1769 (Rosenfeld 2001, 42-44; YEA MSS/2/368). Following Baker's death in 1770, Wilkinson becomes sole theatre manager and is officially bequeathed all of Baker's property, including the theatre and the dwelling house (BIA PR 114, folio 275). Wilkinson lived in the house from 1770, with his wife Jane Doughty and their six children, until his death in 1803. Upon his death, Wilkinson instructed that his wife "occupy and enjoy the dwelling house wherein I now reside with the outbuildings and appurtenances thereto belonging without paying any rent" (BIA PR 148, folio 87), while his son John Joseph Tate Wilkinson became manager. It is unclear how long Jane continued to live in the house. It is known that Jane ended up living with her son, John, in Acomb (BIA PR 175, folio 328). This arrangement likely begins after John relinquishes his management of the TRY in 1814 (Rosenfeld 2001, 199). By 1821, the management

of the theatre changed hands to Robert Mansel who seemingly continued to live at the TWH, where it is referred to as the Manager's House in plans from this period (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4488; YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4496).

The building and the surrounding landscape continued to undergo subsequent developments in the 19th and early 20th century. In 1852, the TRY was described as, in a "wretched tumble-down state, and that it would require a considerable sum to put it in repair" (York Herald, 18 December 1852). The TRY and TWH have subsequently undergone numerous modifications between 1853 to the present day. The first changes to the TWH are recorded on improvement plans in 1885 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4477). These detail the alteration of the northern end of the TWH for use by the theatre. Indeed by 1901, the vast majority of the TWH was no longer residential, with the rear rooms of the TWH converted into dressing rooms. The entranceway into the TWH was also reconfigured during this period (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4497; YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4498). By 1936, the rear rooms on the ground and 1st floors had been demolished giving the TWH its current footprint (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/3003) (Figure 4).



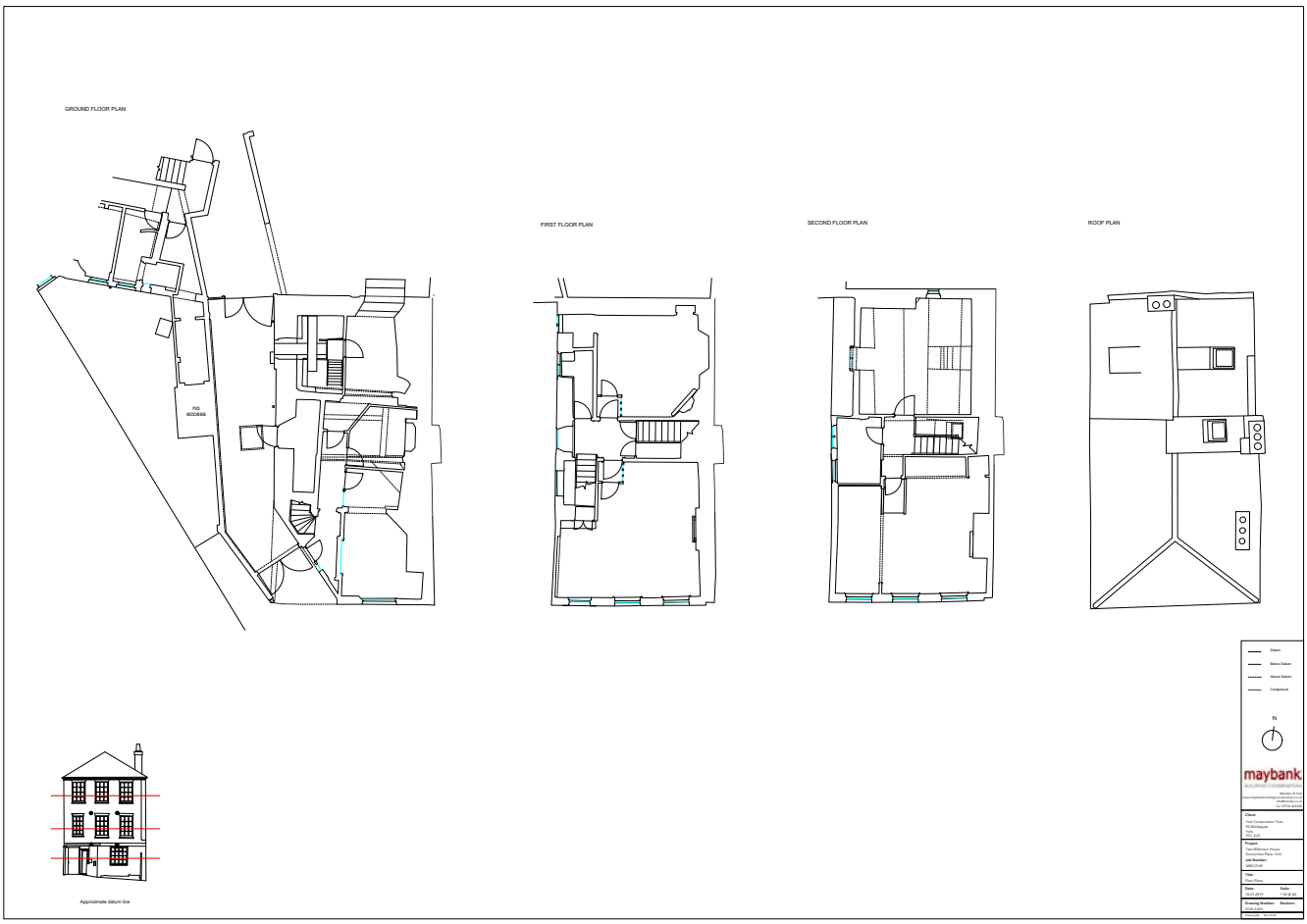


Figure 4: Conjectured 18th century plans (top) of the TWH showing the full extent of the property to the north compared to current plans (bottom) of the TWH by Maybank Buildings Conservation (2019)

The streetscape surrounding the TRY and TWH also changed drastically following the death of Wilkinson (Figure 5). In 1835, St. Leonard's Crescent was built to the north providing a new facade to the TRY (YEA HUM/14/100N). Little Blake Street was widened to its current form between 1858-64 which saw the removal of the buildings on the southern side of the street (YEA HMU/8/2). While the eastern garden area associated with the TWH was sold to the Catholic Church where The Oratory Church of Saint Wilfrid was subsequently constructed between 1862-4 (YEA HMU/18). At present, the TWH continues its association with the theatre, now office space for the TRY management.

Figure 5: Changes to the streetscape surrounding the TWH. Red: TWH; Green: The Oratory Church of Saint Wilfrid; Blue: Little Blake Street widened to form Duncombe Place; Purple: St. Leonard's Crescent (Baines 1822; OS MasterMap 2021)

18th Century Walkthrough

Ground Floor

Entrance to the TWH (1)

Entry to the ground floor of the TWH was accessed via the entrance off Duncombe Place (Figure 6). The original door was located directly next to the door to enter the TRY. Upon entry to the lobby, a staircase (19) leading directly upstairs was in the west corner. To the east was a doorway leading to the front room (2), while to the north was a doorway leading to the kitchen (3).

Entrance to the TRY (13, 15-17)

From 1765 to 1803, it is known that the TRY boasted four tiers of seating — pit, boxes, 1st gallery and upper gallery (Rosenfeld 2001, 117). The entrance for all audience members regardless of seat allocation was through “a narrow tortuous passage, where the visitants to the boxes, pit and gallery, indiscriminately pressed together” (Baines 1822). Archival plans reveal that the “tortuous entrance passage” to the TRY was via a doorway situated directly next to the entrance door into the TWH on Duncombe Place. Playbills additionally confirm the location of this entrance as the sole entrance to the TRY, with the mint-yard door to the north for carriages *from* the theatre by request only (YMA SC Playbills March 17 1778). Upon entry to the lobby (15), a staircase leading directly upstairs for box and gallery audience members was located to the west (16) while pit ticket holders would proceed north to their seats (17).

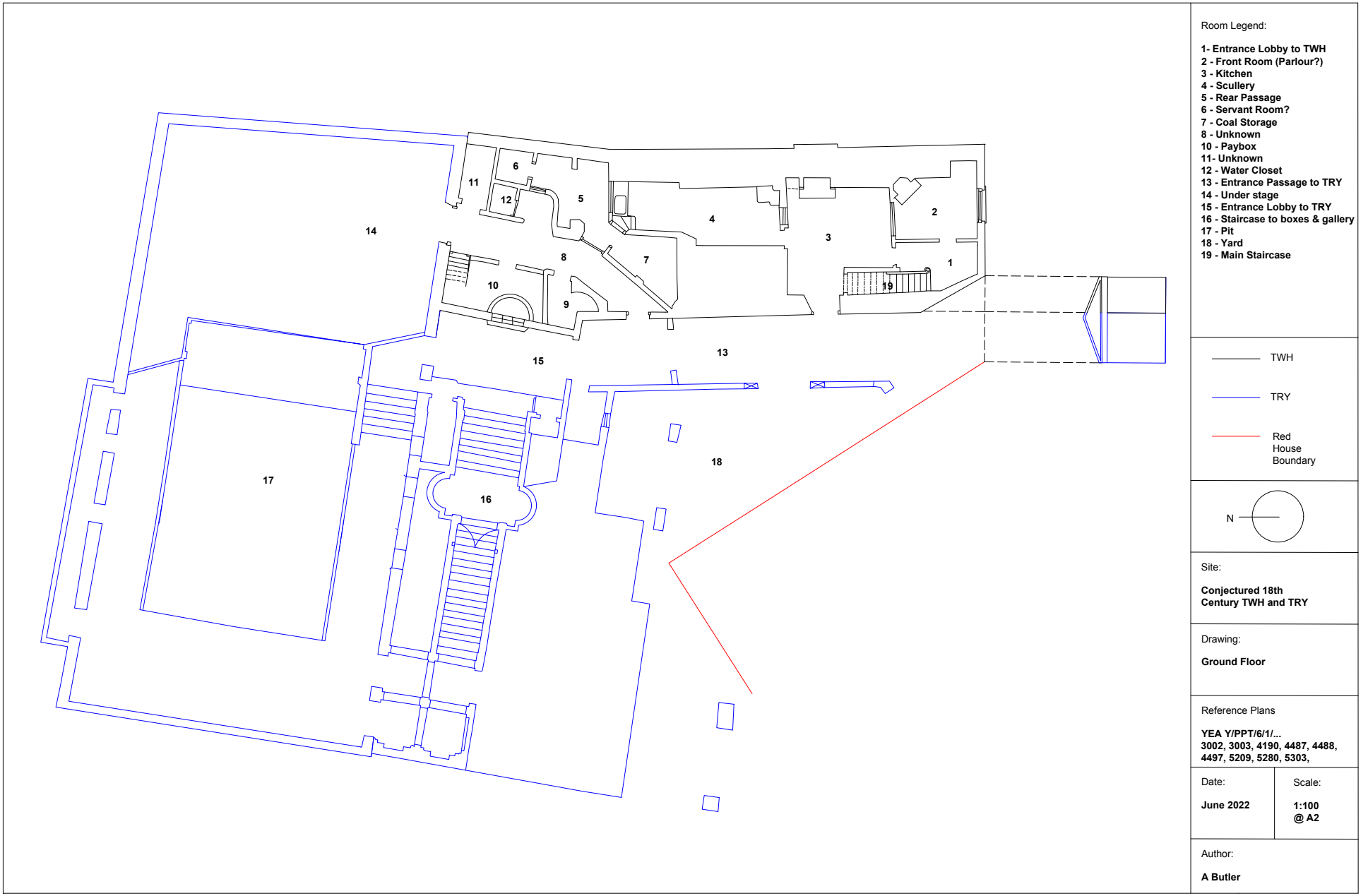


Figure 6: Conjectured 18th century ground floor plan (Author 2022).

Front Room (2)

The east front room measured approximately 3.70 metres long by 2.80 metres wide and boasted a fireplace in the north-east corner. Presently, the room has been lengthened; however, the ceiling joists delineate where the room has been extended through the removal of a window opening. This window opening likely allowed natural light into the succeeding space to the north which was the location of the kitchen (3). The remains of the original doorway are also obscured by the insertion of a window on the eastern wall (Figure 7). The southern window opening is original boasting a direct view of the nearby assembly rooms (Figure 8). A decorative picture rail returns the full length of the room (Figure 9). Its location within the eastern cupboard suggests it is of an early date before the room was altered. The use of this room during the Wilkinson era is unclear. The room is cited as an office in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4497); however, the remains of decorative elements and its location at the front of the house could be suggestive of a parlour.

Figure 7: Left: Looking north, the original north wall has been removed to extend the room removing evidence of a window. Right: Looking west, the original doorway has been obscured by the insertion of a later window (Author 2022).

Figure 8: Original south window provides a direct view of the Assembly Rooms (Author 2022).

Figure 9: Picture rail runs the full length of the room and is located within the cupboard (Author 2022).

Kitchen (3)

Proceeding through the front lobby, we find the service areas of the TWH. The kitchen measured approximately 4.55 metres long and 5.77 metres wide. Physical remains of this area are limited with subsequent alterations obscuring early fabric. However, the large kitchen fireplace is still visible, despite having been obscured by an infill (Figure 10). The original west doorway also is still visible; however, can only be accessed nowadays from within the get-in passage. The doorway would have led directly from the kitchen across the TRY entrance passage (13) whereby one entered the yard (18) (Figure 11).

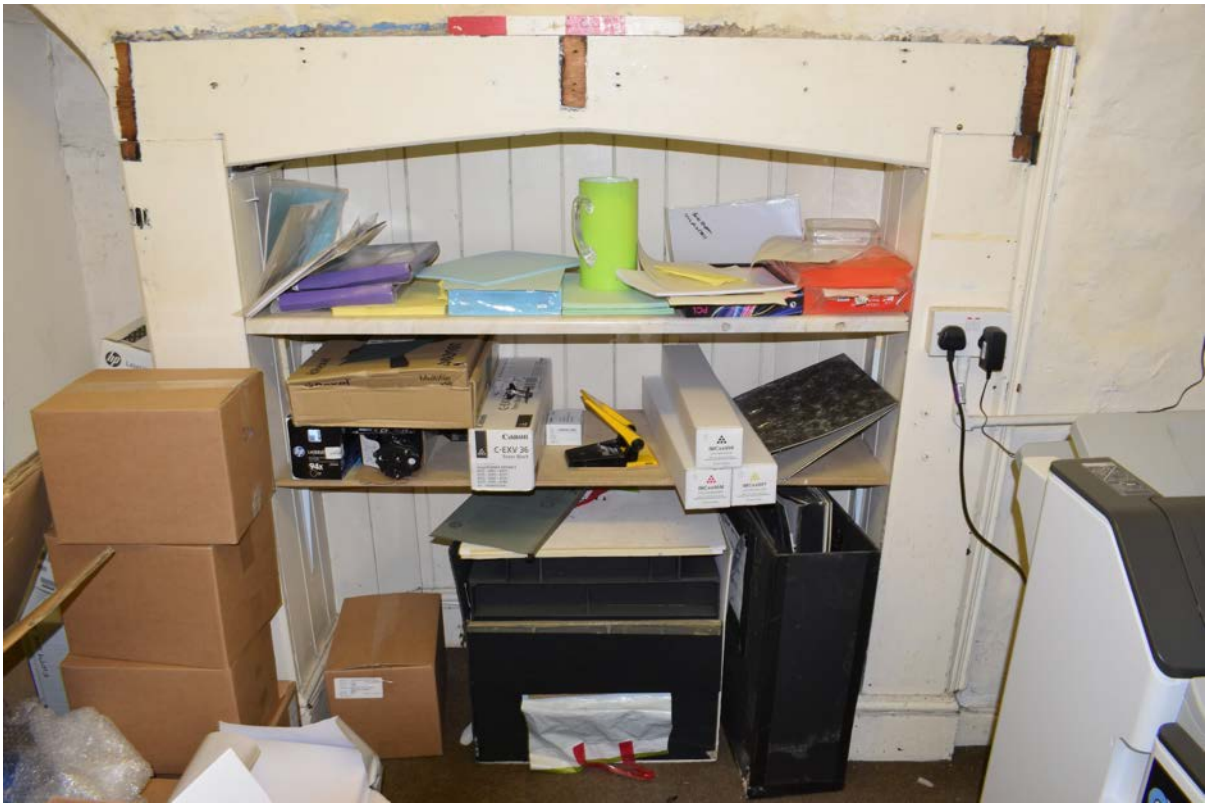


Figure 10: Fireplace location on the east wall of the 18th century kitchen (Author 2022).

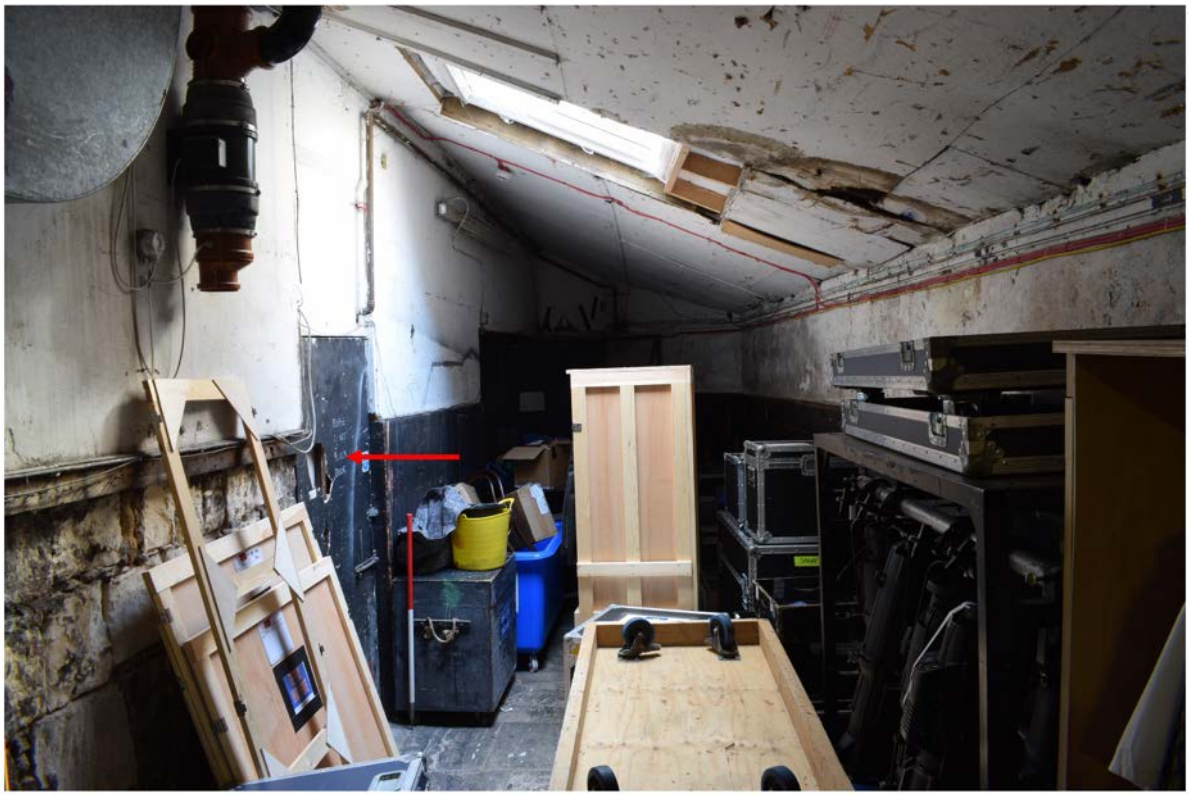


Figure 11: West doorway that led into the kitchen can still be seen in the current get-in area of the TRY (Author 2022).

Scullery (4) and Service Rooms (5-9, 11-12)

To the north of the kitchen, the scullery area has been drastically reduced through subsequent building phases (Figure 12). Beyond the scullery to the north, other service rooms were located. We can confirm some room uses from archival plans which include a coal room (9) and water closet (12) (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4497). It is also likely that servants' rooms may have been in this northern space due to the spatial limitations within the TWH. Servants may have also had living quarters within the roof space; however, this space was inaccessible and was not surveyed. Documentary evidence informs us that Wilkinson had at least two servants, one male and one female who would have required separate lodging spaces from each other (Robinson 1789). Evidence of any service rooms has been removed when the stage expanded.

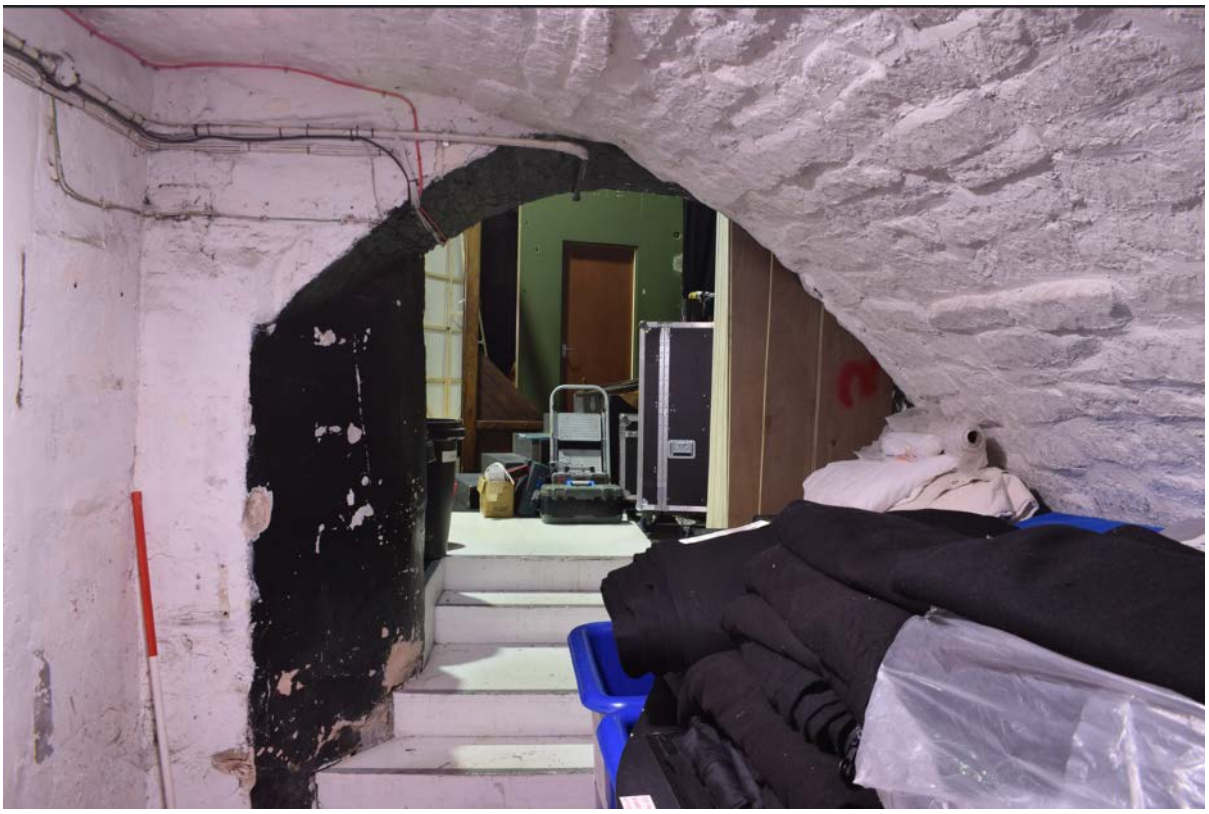


Figure 12: Looking north into the area that was the scullery, nowadays the stage left wing. The photo is taken from where the scullery began adjacent to the kitchen. The room would have been approximately 7.00 metres long (Author 2022).

Paybox (10)

In the north-west corner was a room measuring approximately 4.30 metres long and 2.00 metres wide. Archival plans reveal that this room contained a window on its west wall that opened into the entrance lobby (15) located within the TRY. Within the room, the window was enclosed by a semi-circular structure. It can be suggested that this room was likely the location of the paybox, whereby theatre patrons in the adjacent TRY would have directly interacted with a person standing within the TWH. This interaction will be further analysed and discussed in Chapter 5. This room has since been demolished.

Yard (18)

The yard is bounded by the west side of the TWH, east side of the neighbouring Red House and south wall of the TRY. During the 18th century, the yard was larger with the wardrobe (26) to the west and 1st floor dressing room (22) constructed on rectangular piles. This area was accessed by a passage that ran parallel to the

entrance passage to the TRY. In 1821, plans illustrate that the yard could also be accessed from the TWH by leaving via the west kitchen door (3). This directed one into the entrance passage (13), whereby one would continue to proceed west directly into the yard. It is likely this route was present in the 18th century justifying the west kitchen door's location. However, modification of the current get-in area has obscured any evidence of the western door into the yard.

Figure 13: Yard bounded by the TWH, Red House and TRY. Left: Looking south-east towards Duncombe Place, small brick building is a 20th century addition. Right: Looking north at the external wall of the TRY. The TWH is located to the east. The ground floor immediately in front was not present in the 18th century with the 1st floor constructed on piles (Author 2022).

1st Floor

Staircase (19) and Lobby (34)

Entry to the 1st floor was via the staircase located in the entrance lobby of the TWH (1) (Figure 14). The balustrade is in situ, displaying turned balusters with tapered columns with square unturned sections. Stylistically dating to the late 18th century, this design is contemporary with the period Wilkinson was living in the house. Although the staircase configuration has been altered to its current 'L' shape, plans reveal an early straight vertical ascension (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4497). Evidence of this change is visible with the balustrade cut off where the corner has been added (Figure 15).

Figure 14: Conjectured 18th century 1st floor plan (Author 2022).

Figure 15: Staircase from ground floor to 1st floor. The balustrade has been cut off when the entrance was altered in 1901 (Author 2022).

TRY Stage Passage (20 & 21)

Upon entry to the 1st floor, one arrived at the 1st floor landing (34). A doorway directly to the north led down a narrow passage (0.84 metres wide) into the 1st floor of the TRY. This passage extended further north than its current position, into the room that currently is situated directly behind (Figure 16). This passage acted as the entrance into the theatre providing access to the green room, dressing rooms, stage, and side

scenes (22-33). These rooms, located within the TRY, are considered in more detail in Chapter 5 when movement between the TWH and TRY is explored.

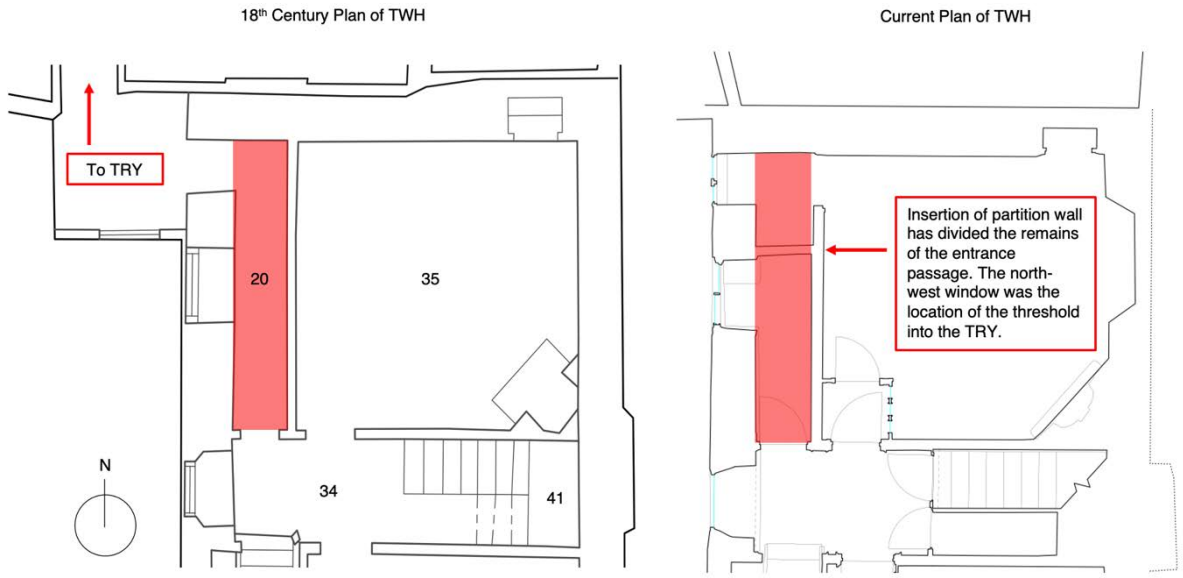


Figure 16: The stage passage retains its original footprint in the TWH; however, nowadays has been divided into two spaces (Author 2022; Maybank Buildings Conservation 2019).

Stylistically, remains of wallpaper above the doorway confirm the importance of this passage, with a green and blue floral design. On the west wall of the current north rear room, green wallpaper can also be discerned confirming the colour scheme of this passage at one stage (Figure 17). Externally, the remains of the stage passage into the TRY can be seen (Figure 18). The northern most window on the external west elevation of the TWH was once a doorway, guiding people from the TWH onto a small landing. The eastern most window on the external south elevation of the TRY was the location of the final threshold into the theatre. Importantly, the location of the passage challenges the notion of public and private spaces within a domestic house and will be explored in Chapter 5.

Figure 17: Left: Remains of wallpaper on north wall of the stage passage above the doorway. Right: Remains of wallpaper on the west wall of the rear room to the north (Author 2022).

Figure 18: West elevation of the TWH showing northern most window which originally contained the stage passage from the TWH into the TRY. The eastern most window on the south elevation of the TRY was where the passage connected. The brick building in the foreground is a new addition and would not have been located here in the 18th century (Author 2022).

Wilkinson's Theatrical Dressing Room (22)

Traversing this passage, the first room to the west was the location of Wilkinson's theatrical dressing room. The room measured approximately 4.59 metres long by 3.75 metres wide. Documentary and archival evidence confirms this location with Wilkinson himself stating that he had "a dressing room to myself in my own house level with the stage" (Wilkinson 1795c, 172). Indeed, archival plans also confirm the presence of the stage at 1st floor level and label this room as the Manager's Office in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4480). Further accounts by Charles Mathews recalls that Wilkinson "reached his rooms, which were in a passage near the side scenes" (Mathews 1838, 377). Again, archival plans confirm that if one continued north along the passage outside the dressing room (21 & 30), they would pass the green room (31) to the east and the side scenes (33) to the west before arriving at the entrance door to the stage (32) (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4480). The footprint of this room is nowadays split between Dressing Room One to the east and Dressing Room Two to the west. Very little physical evidence has been retained; however, the south-west window in Dressing Room Two is original (Figure 19), with a glazing bar profile that dates to the mid-18th century. Importantly, the location of the dressing room granted Wilkinson direct control over who could cross from the TRY into the TWH and vice versa. The implications of the control Wilkinson was able to dictate or lack thereof are discussed in Chapter 5.

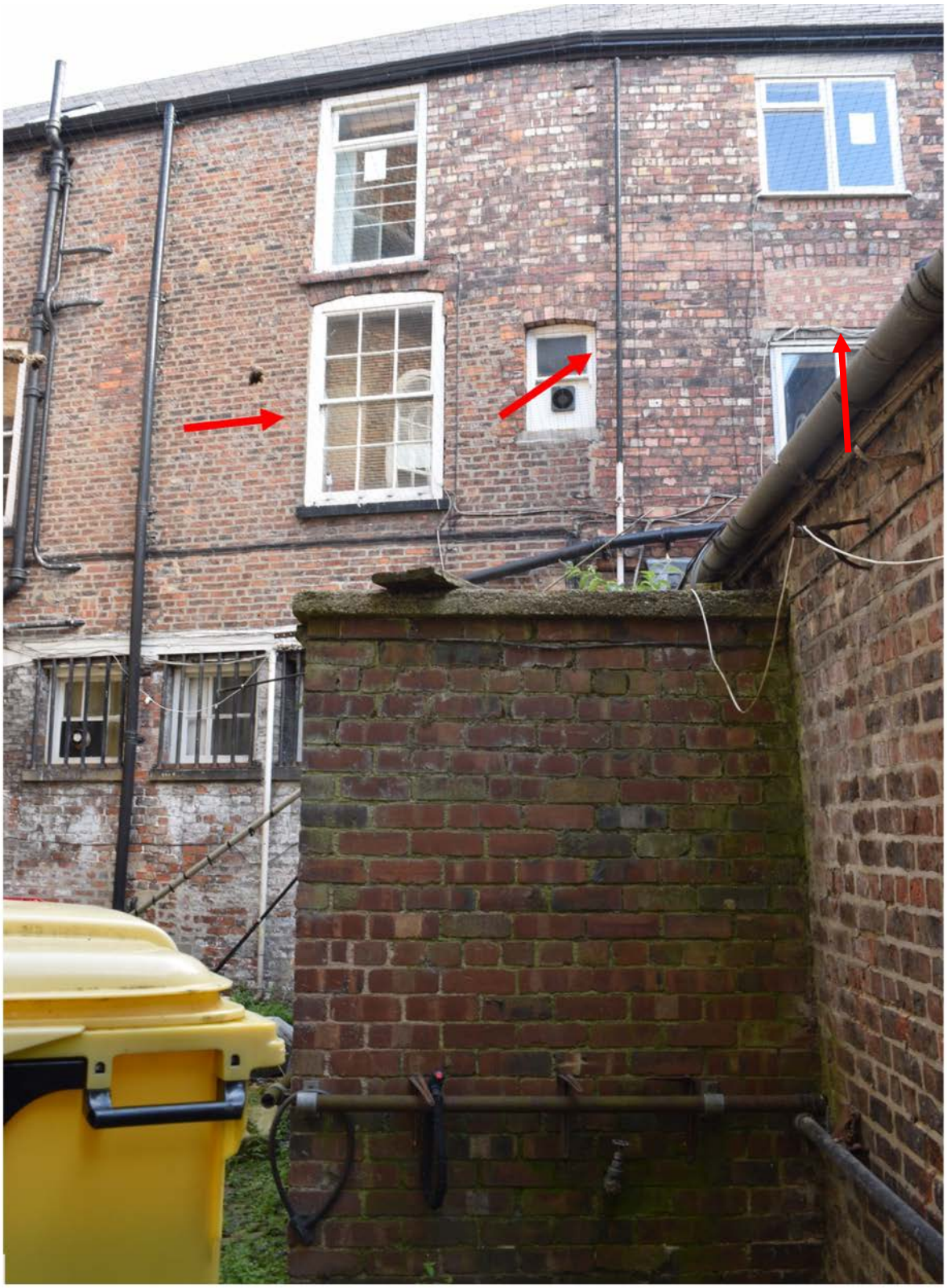


Figure 19: External south elevation of the TRY from the yard (18). Original sash window from Wilkinson's dressing room (22) on the left. Changes in brick work reveals where the wall has been rebuilt following the removal of the stage passage (21) on the right (Author 2022).

Side Scenes (33)

To the west, directly opposite the doorway to Wilkinson's theatrical dressing room (22) is a doorway that led into a rear room of the TWH. This room measured approximately 10.50 metres long by 4.76 metres at its widest point and was accessed via the aforementioned doorway or directly from the stage (32). It is suggested that this space was the side scenes, nowadays known as the wings. This space was likely used for storage of scenery and property. This room also contained a staircase in the north-west corner which gave access to the 2nd and 3rd floor rooms above (50 & 55), which led to the fly space.

Dining Room (35), Drawing Room (38) and Jane Wilkinson's Dressing Room (39-40)

The front room of the 1st floor was the location of the drawing room. Accessed via a doorway on the south wall of the 1st floor landing, the room measured approximately 6.99 metres long by 4.71 metres wide. The largest room in the TWH, it also boasted a smaller room on the western side (39-40). As the principal entertaining room, this room contains the remains of decorative elements. Fragments of deep cornices dating from the early to mid-18th century can be found near the doorway (Figure 20). A central fireplace on the east wall with a timber reeding and circle design stylistically dates from the early 19th century. While decorative window architraves which extend to the floor can be found on the eastern two windows, dating from the mid-18th century (Figure 21). In the south-west corner of the room was a doorway to a small anteroom. Located at the front of the house, this room boasts a built-in cabinet (40) dating stylistically from the 1740s (Figure 22). This type of cabinet would have been used to display items of great luxury to invited guests. Indeed, its location within the anteroom is suggestive that this space was utilised as a dressing room by Jane Wilkinson. The remaining stylistic detail within the drawing room and dressing room provide a glimpse into the level of decoration that was present in this room at one stage. Furthermore, the upgrading of the fireplace with an early 19th century design reveals the importance of keeping this room up to date with the latest fashions.

Figure 20: Remains of cornice in drawing room near doorway (Author 2022).

Figure 21: Left: South wall of the drawing room showing eastern most windows with decorative architraves which extend to the floor. Right: East wall of the drawing room showing the central fireplace with a timber reeding and circle design (Author 2022).

Figure 22: Early 18th century built in cabinet in situ (Author 2022).

The rear room to the south of the drawing room was the location of the dining room (35), which measured approximately 4.72 metres long by 4.16 metres wide. The location of this room on the 1st floor is atypical from the conventional Georgian townhouse model. However, documentary sources reveal that the dining room was located on the 1st floor (Wilkinson 1795a, 146). Although the use of the room has changed over its lifetime, the decorative cast iron hob grate dating to the 18th century (Figure 23), as well as the moulded doorcase surrounding the blocked-up doorway in the north-east corner of the room gives insights into the sophistication of this room in the 18th century. In the north-east corner, remains of a dado rail can also be found suggesting that this room was panelled. This level of decoration further reiterates the rooms importance for hosting guests. However, in comparison to the drawing room the level of decoration is subtler. This may be in part due to the limited physical evidence remaining in the room and its later conversion to a dressing room in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4498); however, it is also suggestive of spatial hierarchy within the house.

Figure 23: Fireplace in south-east corner of the dining room with decorative iron hob grate in situ (Author 2022).

Guest Bedroom and Dressing Room (36 & 37)

The doorway in the north-east corner of the dining room granted access to the suggested guest bedroom and dressing room. Evidence of these rooms is limited beyond archival plans as they were demolished c.1936. However, scarring can be seen on the eastern wall of the TRY which confirms the location of the floor level of these rooms (Figure 24). Indeed, we know for certain that the TWH boasted a guest bedroom from documentary evidence, with Wilkinson likely staying in these rooms

himself when he describes staying in the TWH while visiting York by invitation of Joseph Baker (Wilkinson 1795c, 91). The location of the rooms is further supported by the fact that the best guest bedroom was often located on the 1st floor near the principal hosting rooms. In this way, the TWH conforms with the expected Georgian townhouse layout.

Figure 24: Blocked up doorway that would have led to the guest bedroom. The interior door is difficult to access due to equipment in the room. Remains of the door can also be seen from within the room that was the scullery on the ground floor (Author 2022).

2nd Floor

Staircase (41) and Lobby (42)

Access to the 2nd floor is via a dog-leg staircase situated on the east wall between the front and back of the house (Figure 25). The staircase contains turned balusters stylistically dating to the late 17th and early 18th century (Figure 26). The early date suggests the hierarchical inferiority of the 2nd floor to the 1st floor and its isolation from the TRY at this level.

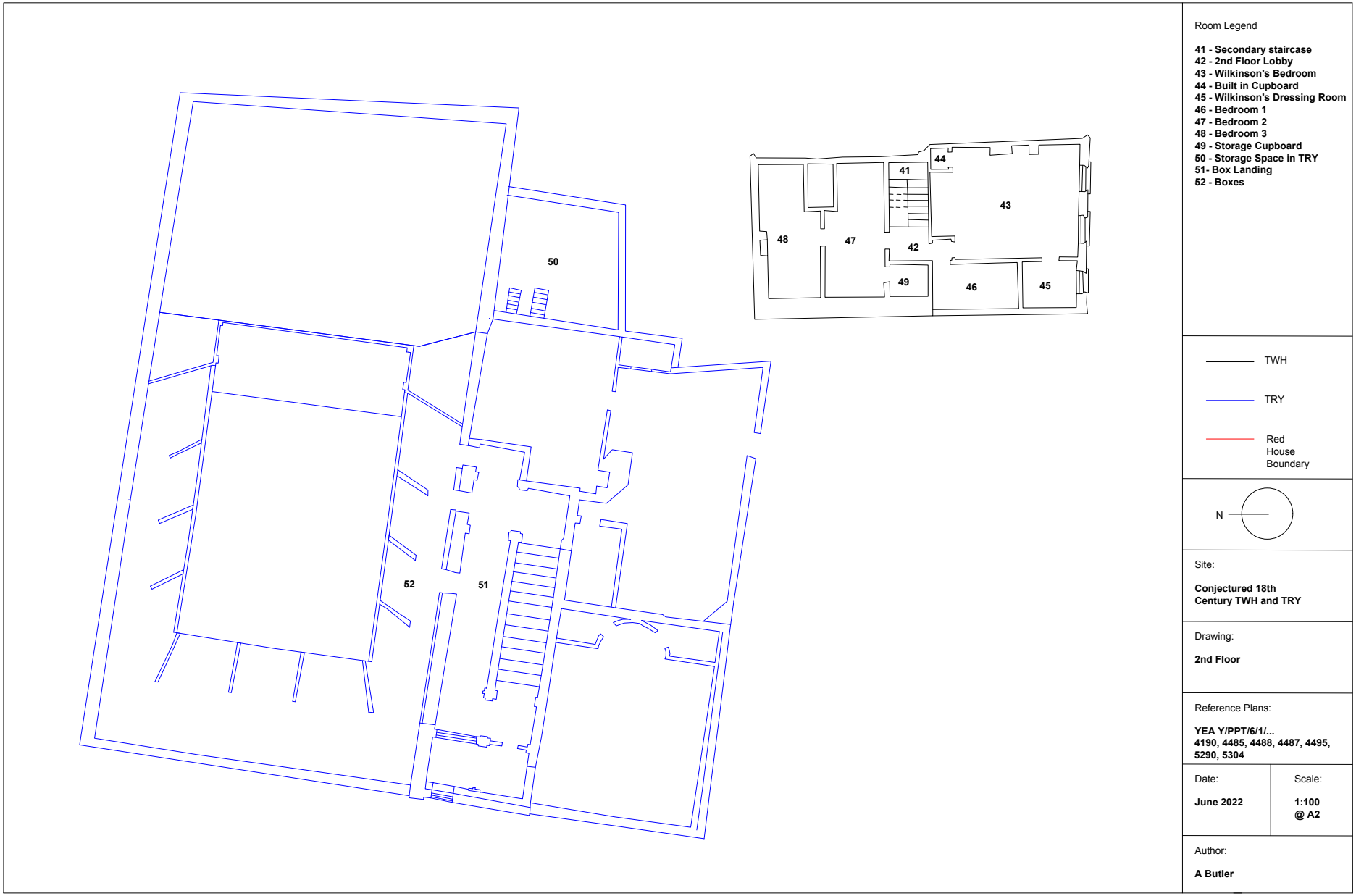


Figure 25: Conjectured 18th century 2nd floor plan (Author 2022).

Figure 26: Left: Looking east down 2nd floor stairs where dog-leg type is evident. Right: Balusters on staircase date from the late 17th to early 18th century (Author 2022).

Rear Bedrooms (47-49)

The rear room to the north contains a large room that measured approximately 4.79 metres long by 5.00 metres wide. Early plans reveal this room contained internal partitions dividing the room into a front and back space. Evidence of this partitioning is still visible where the current dormer window has been inserted (Figure 27). The location of the fireplace can also be delineated along the north wall. It is likely that this room was utilised as a bedroom, perhaps for Wilkinson's four sons. In the south-west corner a smaller room was located. Although this room is not visible within the room today, remains of the narrow doorway (approximately 0.57 metres wide) can be found in the room to the south (Figure 28). The narrow width of the doorway and the location of a large timber beam diagonally across the top of the doorway below head height suggests that this room was utilised for storage.

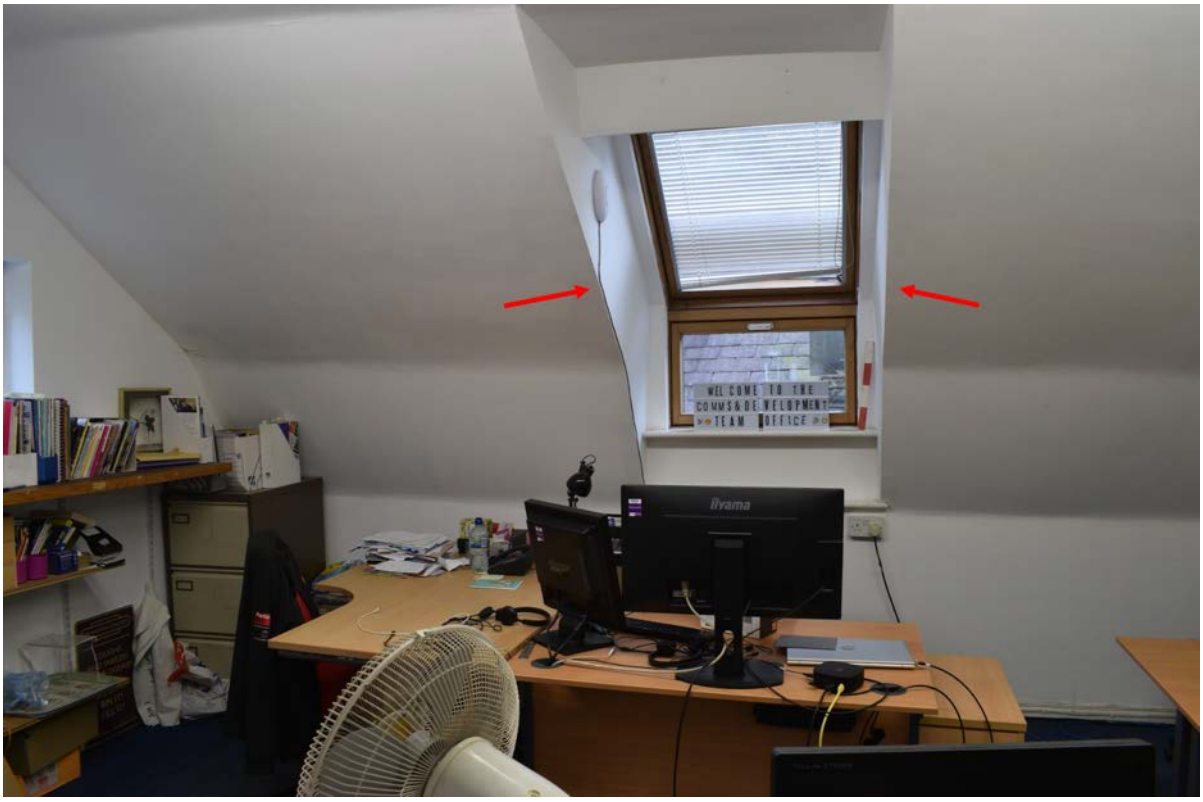


Figure 27: East wall of rear bedroom. Arrows show where a partition was present enclosing the space where the dormer is into a void. This divided the room into a front and back space (Author 2022).

Figure 28: North wall of Room 49 showing blocked up doorway and diagonal beam. Room 49 no longer retains its original footprint (Author 2022).

Small Front Bedroom (46)

The small front room was accessed from the 2nd floor landing via a doorway on the western wall. This room no longer retains its original footprint but would have measured approximately 3.58 metres long by 1.91 metres wide. Although there is an absence of evidence of this room due to the new internal configuration of the space, the door to this room remains in situ. The door is a two panelled variant, with a small panel situated between the two main panels (Figure 29). This door dates stylistically to the late 17th and early 18th century, again suggestive that this level of the TWH was not kept up to date with the latest fashions. This room was likely a bedroom, perhaps for Wilkinson's two daughters.

Figure 29: West wall of 2nd floor landing showing door to Room 46. Room 46 no longer remains, and this door is no longer utilised (Author 2022).

Wilkinson's Bedroom (43-45)

The front room of the 2nd floor was access via a doorway on the south wall. The most important room on the 2nd floor, the room measured approximately 6.25 metres long by 4.73 metres wide. It can be said with certainty that this room was Wilkinson's bedroom, with a bed niche located along the north wall measuring 0.96 metres long by 2.47 metres wide. To the east of the bed niche along the north wall is a built-in cupboard measuring 0.87 metres long by 0.93 metres wide (Figure 30). A fireplace is located along the east wall with simple timber moulding. Although the location is original, the current timber moulding is likely not. All window frames along the south wall contain a simple moulding; however, the western most window frame extends to the ground while the other two window frames are finished with timber sills. It is likely these frames also extended to the floor but were shortened to necessitate the addition of 21st century radiators along the wall. A decorative cornice returns the full perimeter of the room. The front room also boasted a smaller room in the south-west corner measuring approximately 2.26 metres long by 1.96 metres wide. Evidence of this room has been removed through the creation of the smaller front room to the north. However, it can be postulated that this small room was Wilkinson's dressing room based on its location.

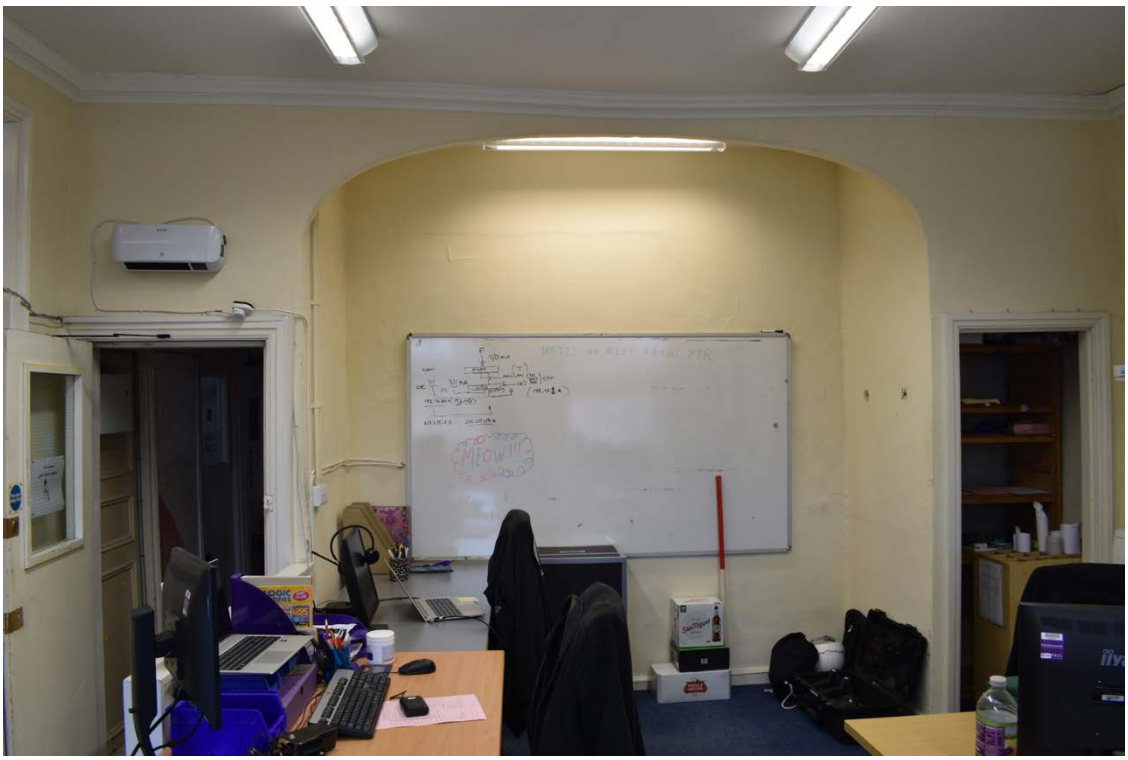


Figure 30: North wall of Wilkinson's bedroom showing doorway, cornice, bed niche and built-in cupboard (Author 2022).

This chapter detailed the results obtain through archival and documentary research, alongside a photographic survey of the TWH. Detailed analysis of the 1821 to 1936 plans allowed for conjectured 18th century plans of the TWH and TRY to be postulated. Although these plans are conjectured, early changes to the TWH and TRY did not disrupt the original footprint of the TWH. This meant that the plans were able to be scaled through direct comparison to existing metric surveys and suggested dimensions of these spaces could be determined, even if not extant. Physical evidence also reinforced suggested room use and reiterated the spatial hierarchy of floor levels within the TWH. Importantly, it was clear that at ground and 1st floor level there was fluidity between the TWH and TRY; however, this fluidity also meant that tension existed between public and domestic spaces. The implications for the permeability between the TWH and TRY will now be considered in Chapter 5 whereby we will explore how movement between and within the buildings operated for Wilkinson and his family, the players, audience members, and household staff. It becomes evident that control over movement undermined expected movement patterns; thus, affecting power relations.

Chapter 5: Discussion

The TWH provides a case study into the complexities of domestic spaces in the 18th century, while at the same time, it allows for an investigation into the link between notionally public and domestic buildings. This chapter will begin by first examining the implications of the earlier medieval structure at the root of the TWH. It will then look at the variations present in the 18th century layout of the property, particularly looking at how the domestic and theatrical spaces interacted within and between the TWH and TRY. This will be achieved through the examination of movement utilising access analysis. Combined with the results from Chapter 4, this analytical tool allows for the social and cultural experience of the TWH as understood by the Wilkinson family, players in the company, audience members and household staff to be analysed. It becomes clear that within the TWH movement is disrupting the binary distinction of spaces as public or domestic. This disruption ultimately is indicative of control, exemplifying or undermining power relations.

A Gentleman's Authority

As stated in Chapter 4, the origins of the TWH sit firmly within the site of St. Leonard's hospital complex. Remains of surviving masonry can be seen on the external walls to 1st floor level. Internally, a medieval timber structure is also evident at ground and 2nd floor levels. This places the construction of the TWH before 1645, when timber frame restrictions came into place (RCHME 1972, lxxx). Further, the alignment of the house from the exterior also highlights its medieval origins, sitting along a north-south alignment in contrast to the other buildings along the street. The exterior of the building in the 18th century showcased a fashionable brick facade with a manicured garden on the eastern side, mirroring the elite architecture in the surrounding area. Indeed, the location of the adjacent Red House, the proximity of the Assembly Rooms opposite, as well as Blake Street and Stonegate, place it within an important cultural and wealthy area of 18th century York.

Importantly, Wilkinson was an outsider to York. Born in London, Wilkinson grew up

around the upper gentry. His parents were well acquainted with the leading families in London, and Wilkinson fondly remembers his childhood connections to those superior to him (Wilkinson 1790a, 4). However, Wilkinson's connection to the upper gentry was short-lived. In 1757, Wilkinson's father was convicted and transported to America, subsequently dying en route (Wilkinson 1790a, 95). After his father's death, Wilkinson was living on the brink of ruin and in an increased state of poverty (Wilkinson 1790a, 105). He was certainly looking to affirm his family's financial and social status. By this period, Wilkinson's acting career had begun; however, he was not yet well known as a performer in London (Wilkinson 1790b, 6). Indeed, Wilkinson's rise to prominence began when he was invited to perform at the TRY by the then manager, Joseph Baker. After going into business with Baker, Wilkinson's base became York — marrying a local woman, Jane Doughty, and taking over the lease of the TWH and TRY in 1770. It could be suggested that the medieval origins of the TWH helped Wilkinson affirm his status in York as a gentleman and the respectability of the TRY. Indeed, Jenkins has successfully argued that the reuse of timber framed buildings in York by prominent members of the gentry signalled ancient authority and antiquity (Jenkins 2013, 160). Furthermore, Wilkinson's expenditure of £500 for the royal patents of York and Hull theatres (Wilkinson 1790d, 53) legitimised the TRY, putting York on the map. It becomes clear that externally, the TWH and TRY demanded respectability and authority. However, behind the facade the internal layout continued to disrupt the conventional Georgian interior.

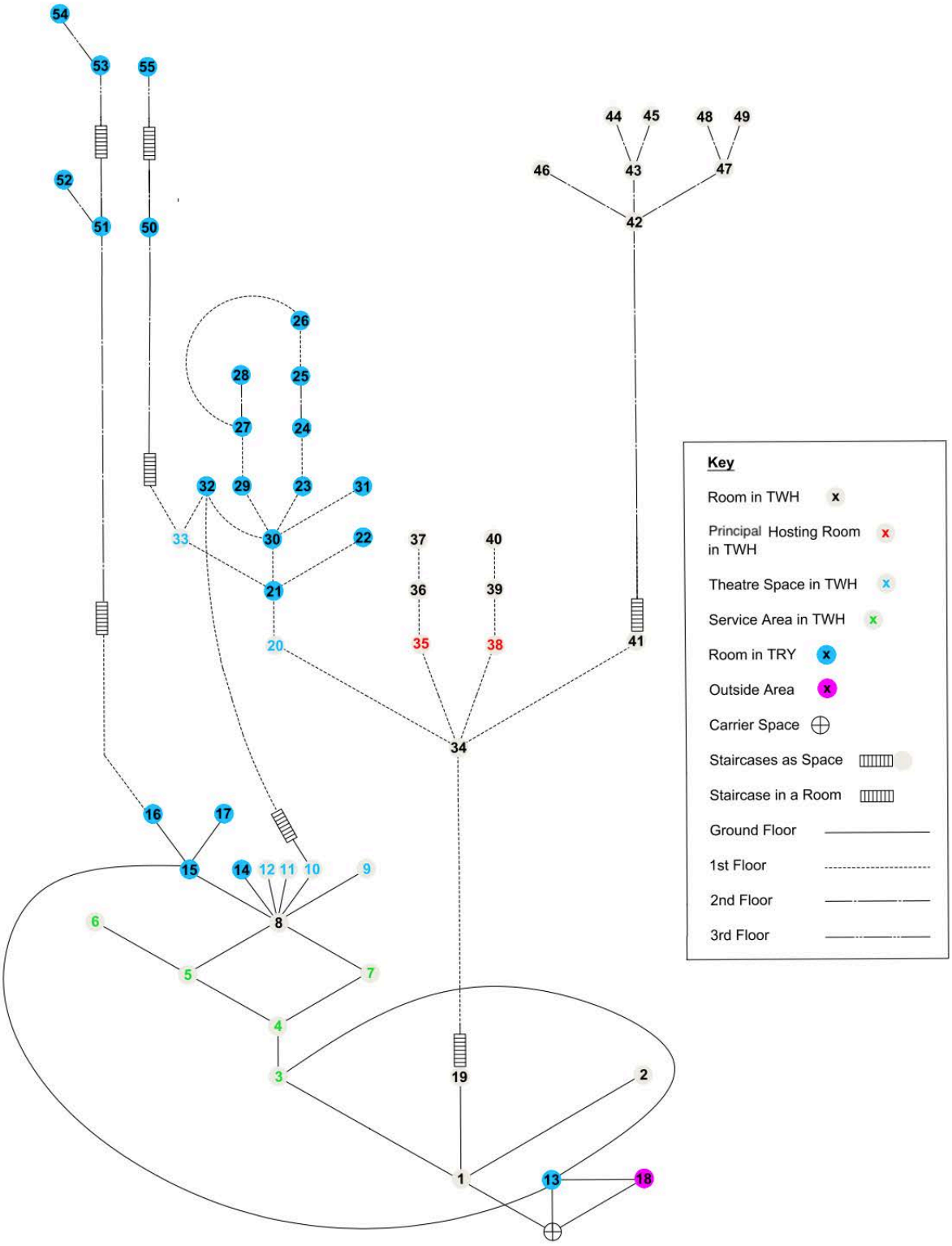
The ground floor of the TWH contains the service and theatrical spaces. Looking at the relationship of the medieval section of the house, it can be suggested that the ground floor was originally one room wide, two rooms deep. The front most room was likely the location of the parlour with service rooms to the rear. This ground floor plan is consistent with studies on small 18th century vernacular houses which have been adapted from earlier structures and exhibit a shift away from the open-hall house of centuries before (Johnson 1996, 79; Leech 2014). However, in a break from the emerging Georgian house typology, the dining room is not located on the ground floor in the TWH. Comparatively, shops from the 18th century also exhibit variation in the location of ground floor rooms. Instead, shops contained front and back rooms.

The front space was utilised as the shop while the back room was designed to feel like a domestic interior (Cox & Walsh 2000, 101). The backroom was utilised by patrons for important business meetings, but often doubled as the dining room for the shopkeepers' household (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 65).

Furthermore, Jenkins and Stobart successfully argue that the blurring between shop and domestic space had the potential to create social ambiguity. While the external facade imitated the decorative style of a gentry mansion, concurrently they emphasised the upcoming status of the shopkeeper (Jenkins & Stobart 2020, 63). By all accounts, Wilkinson too is manipulating the art of politeness by emphasising not only his status but his belonging to the community. Although the TWH is taking on an external Georgian disguise, the interior reveals the complexity of how public and domestic spaces within the house are operating, blurring social boundaries within this period. However, this is being influenced by a multitude of factors including: temporal and spatial relationships, as well as by the individual people operating within these spaces simultaneously. Therefore, we will now focus our attention on the interior space through access analysis. This analytical tool allows for these differing factors to be considered when analysing how movement within and between the TWH and TRY was being negotiated.

Access Analysis of the TWH

Having developed conjectured 18th century floor plans of the property in Chapter 4 the results were used to create an access map to facilitate the analysis of movement (Figure 31). The access map considers the interconnections between space by focusing on patterns of permeability and accessibility. As discussed in Chapter 3, permeability is measured by depth. Visually, this is the minimum number of steps taken to reach a space from the carrier (Foster 1989, 41). Access is illustrated through tree-like or ringy forms. A dendritic, “tree-like” form implies a greater degree of control over a more annular “ringy” form, which gives greater freedom of movement (Richardson 2003, 375). The access map of the TWH and TRY further differentiates room use based on theatrical or domestic use, which is largely separated through means of access. This allows for an understanding of how spaces operate alongside the cultural context of the occupants so that conclusions can be drawn regarding the interaction between public and domestic buildings in the 18th century.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7
4
3
19
2
1
13
18
Key
Room in TWH
Principal Hosting Room in TWH
Theatre Space in TWH
Service Area in TWH
Room in TRY
Outside Area
Carrier Space
Staircases as Space
Staircase in a Room
Ground Floor
1st Floor
2nd Floor
3rd Floor

Figure 31: Access map of the TWH and TRY (top) based on 18th century conjectured floor plans (bottom) (Author 2022).

The ground floor is the most accessible, evident by the ringy pattern. It contains three major through spaces, Room 1 (Entrance Lobby to TWH), Room 8, and Room 13 (Entrance passage to TRY). Rooms 1 and 8 are located along tree like patterns. Room 1 provides the majority of access into the domestic spaces within the TWH, while Room 8 provides access to predominately theatrical spaces within the TWH and TRY. However, Room 13 displays a ringy pattern and provides access to the TRY. Combined with the permeability of this space, a person negotiating this area can permeate easily into the theatre. This aligns with the purpose of this space, as the central route the audience would have used to enter the TRY — facilitating large groups of people able to enter as efficiently as possible. On the ground floor, the most isolated rooms are Rooms 2 and 6. While the exact use of these rooms is unknown, their isolated location hints that these spaces held some importance. Room 2 may have been an earlier parlour situated at the front of the house, while Room 6 may have been where the servants' quarters were located.

Rooms 19 (Main Staircase) and 34 (1st Floor Lobby) are located centrally along a tree pattern leading directly to Rooms 35 (Dining Room) and 38 (Drawing Room). Rooms 19 and 34 were the means of access to the 1st floor of the TWH and TRY for the players, household staff and Wilkinson's immediate family. These spaces therefore mediated interactions between these different members of the household and employees of the theatre, a theme which will be explored later in this chapter. Furthermore, these spaces were also the central pathway whereby a person could access the principal hosting rooms or permeate further into the house to the private bedrooms on the 2nd floor. Importantly, the location and ease of permeability of the principal hosting rooms (Rooms 35 and 38) along this route reiterated their function as hosting rooms. Yet, within Rooms 35 and 38, a series of connected rooms (Rooms 36 and 37 (Guest Suite) and Room 39 (Jane's Dressing Room), respectively) required greater control. These spaces were less permeable which is suggestive of their increased importance. This can be likened to Mark Girouard's axis of honour, whereby the level of access given to a guest is indicative of their importance (1978, 145).

Conversely, rooms utilised for theatrical use on the 1st floor are made more accessible, evident from the ringy routes connecting rooms that lie at the greatest depth (e.g., Room 26 (Wardrobe)). Evidently, movement between the rooms in the theatrical side of the building is designed to facilitate ease and did not require stringent control. However, when we examine movement from the TRY (Rooms 21 - 32) to the TWH, we see the return of control exhibited through the presence of tree patterns. For example, Room 20 (Passage in TWH to TRY) and 21 (Passage in TRY) mediates control ensuring segregation between the theatrical and domestic buildings. Importantly, Room 22 (Wilkinson's Dressing Room) lies isolated along a tree pattern. This is suggestive that this room is one of the more important rooms in this space, providing Wilkinson direct control of the stage passage into the TWH. Wilkinson is effectively the gatekeeper of this space, a theme that is returned to later in this chapter.

It can be suggested that the isolation of the other TRY rooms (Rooms 28 and 31), signified their importance. Room 28 (Dressing Room 3) is the most isolated. Perhaps the dressing room may have been delegated to more prestigious players in the company or a space which doubled as a lodging room. Likewise, Room 31 (Green Room) is also located at the end of the tree pattern. Once again, the Green Room was an important room that mediated the players access onto the stage (Room 32). However, in contrast to Room 28, Room 31 is easier to permeate and was therefore less exclusive. Later in this chapter we will return to these themes to explore the social implications of the company's hierarchy and how different players experience these spaces.

Arguably, the most inaccessible and impermeable spaces lie on the 2nd floor. Within the TWH, access to this space is via the dog-leg staircase. At this depth value, the domestic is isolated from the theatrical. Interestingly, the access map illustrates the separation of these spaces into three distinct branches (Rooms 43, 46, 47) off a common hallway (Room 42). This is suggestive of the maximum segregation principal — segregation with the fewest number of spaces. This communicates the

social arrangement of household members being separated by their gender for sleeping (Hillier & Hanson 1984, 160). Likely, Room 43 was Wilkinson's bedroom, Room 46 for Wilkinson's two daughters and the larger rear rooms, Rooms 47 and 48, utilised by Wilkinson's four sons.

Conversely, the 2nd floor of the TRY provides access to Room 52 (Boxes) and subsequent 3rd floor Room 54 (1st Gallery). It is unclear from the 18th century plans the exact means of access to the upper gallery before the entrance was changed to the north-west end of the TRY in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4190). Importantly, for the gentry audience, the 2nd floor boxes would have appeared to be located on the 1st floor. This is best illustrated on a section plan of the TRY which shows that by ascending the staircase to the boxes and gallery (Room 16) one bypassed the 1st floor entirely. Because the staircase is enclosed, this gives the audience members the appearance that they have ascended to the 1st floor instead of the 2nd floor (Figure 32). This means that to an audience member this entrance mimics the expected movement through a domestic house to the principal rooms on the 1st floor. Likewise subsequent rooms higher up are inferior rooms which again is reflected in the TRY which contains the less expensive gallery seats as one continued to permeate the building.

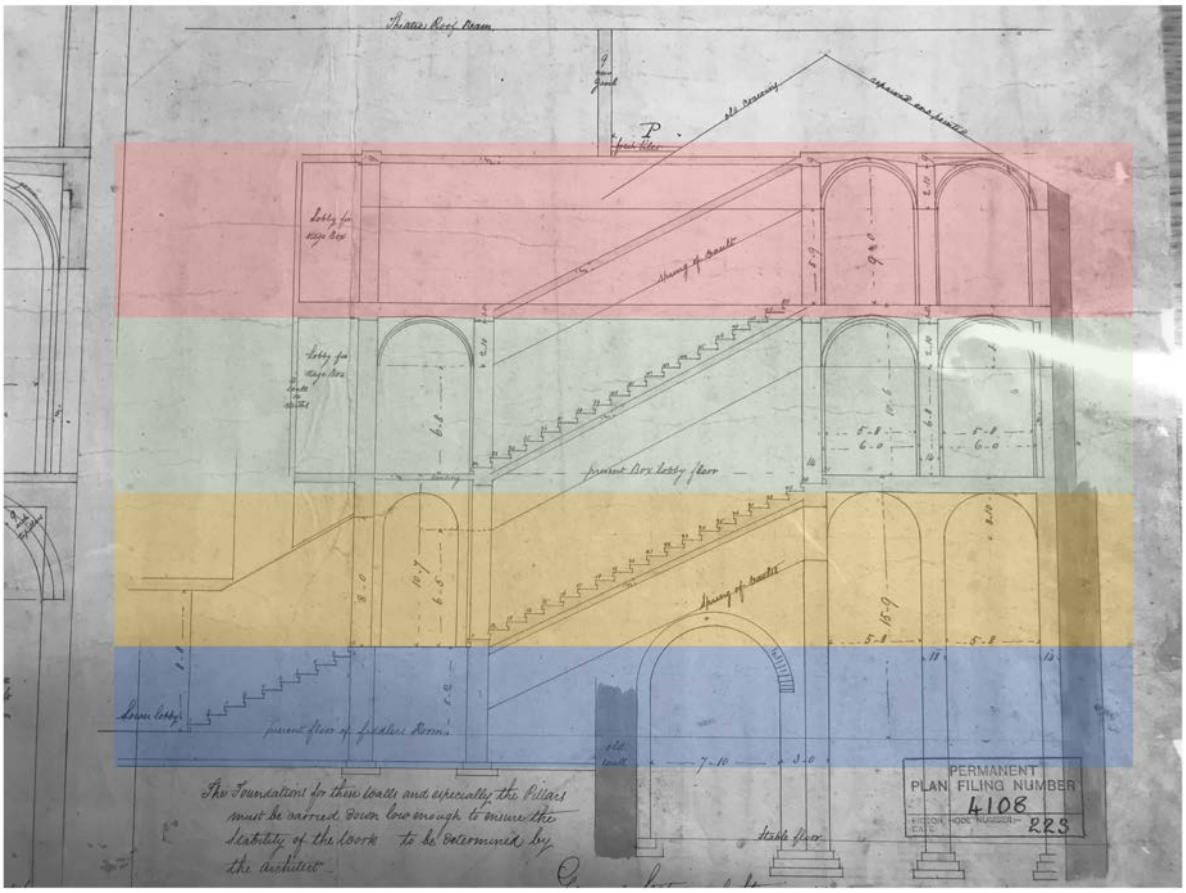

Figure 32: Section plan of the TRY from 1821. Colours have been added by the author to illustrate the different floor levels. Audience members would have ascended the stairs on the ground floor (blue) arriving at the lobby to the boxes on the 2nd floor (green). The 1st floor (yellow) contains the dressing rooms, green room, and side scenes. This area was bypassed by the audience unless they were allowed into the TWH (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4483).

However, while the access maps provide insight into the permeability and accessibility of spaces within and between the TWH and TRY, it is important to acknowledge that space and time are interacting with different people simultaneously. Each individual is being influenced by a different range of factors including: function, movement, control, and independence (Fairclough 1992, 353). To understand the cultural construction of space, we must consider the building with reference to the relationships between its inhabitants (West 1999, 105). By synthesising the different forms of evidence utilised by the building biography approach alongside access analysis, we can begin to analyse the data to reveal new insights into the complexity of space. The rest of this chapter will therefore contextualise movement within and between the TWH and TRY. By analysing the

accounts recalled in the documentary evidence alongside the physical evidence, this dissertation will examine how public and domestic spaces are being understood by contemporaries.

Control Over Space: Audience

In 1765, Wilkinson is invited to perform at the TRY at the bequest of then manager, Joseph Baker. While rehearsing for his role of Callwallader in *The Author*, Wilkinson is interrupted. Summoned to the dining room, Wilkinson is met by a gentleman demanding “if at night you dare attempt or presume to play that farce, myself and friends are determined, one and all, not to leave a bench or scene in your theatre” (Wilkinson 1790d, 13). This incident is not an isolated one, with similar demands by the gentry recorded throughout 1765 to 1801. While the exact dialogue recalled by Wilkinson of each incident must be given a degree of scepticism**,** the encounters all detail the scene of the action taking place in the dining room of the TWH. Clearly, the dining room was an important room for business and was not utilised just as a place to entertain guests. However, as we have previously discussed, the dining room’s location on the 1st floor of the TWH disrupts the expected route through the house.

The gentleman calling on Wilkinson has entered this space via the main staircase (Room 19), while Wilkinson has entered this space through the stage passage to the TRY (Room 20). The distinct difference in the approach both men have taken to enter this space reveal important insights for how control over space is being manipulated. The gentleman has been given access to a permeable hosting room along the 1st floor room sequence, while Wilkinson has come from the inner sanctum of the theatre (Figure 33). This reiterates the complexity of power relations. Although the gentleman is given access to this space, he does not control it. Control lies with the theatre manager, who has come from an exclusive space not accessible to the gentleman.

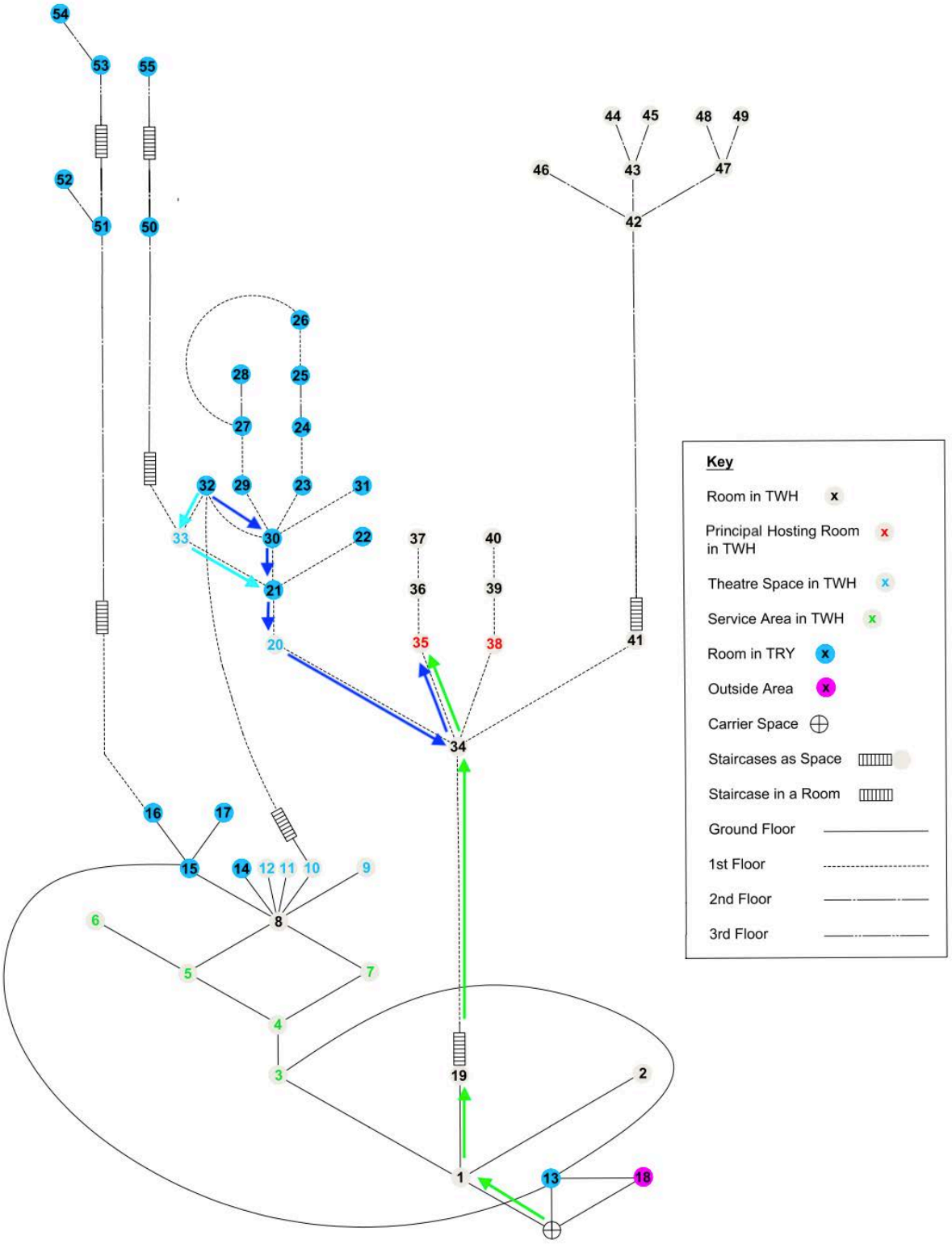

Figure 33: Gentleman's route to the dining room (Room 35) shown in green. Tate Wilkinson's possible routes from the stage to the dining room shown in turquoise and blue (Author 2022).

However, when we consider access to space, we must also take into account that it lies on a temporal scale. Considering our example of the dining room, this is a space where business meetings were being conducted, but it is also a space for hosting invited guests and eating family meals. Therefore, the classification of spaces as public or domestic is changing throughout the day. The persons utilising a space must also affect its status. This corroborates Amanda Vickery's findings that the changing of furniture or specific tableware impacts the level of ceremony (Vickery 1998, 206), thus, the temporality of space was fluid. This is especially evident in smaller properties where the multi-functionality of space was necessitated by physical limitations. Indeed, the location of the dining room on the 1st floor and its temporal use meant that who had control over space was important.

We can extend this theory beyond a single room when we consider the relationship of the TWH to the TRY. The architecture of these buildings demarcates them into distinct categories: the TRY is a public building, while the TWH is a domestic building. However, the temporal dimension of space, when examined through the access routes between rooms and buildings, illuminates contemporaries' understanding of space as it changes throughout their lifetime and thus, what public and domestic meant to different people. Early in Wilkinson's career, the 1765 incident — examined earlier in this chapter — is resolved by Wilkinson and Joseph Baker conceding to the gentleman's demands. The performances are changed for the evening and Wilkinson does not take on the role. However, in 1779 we see Wilkinson's attitude towards the gentry shift. After offending "a lady of a family well known at the time", actor John Philip Kemble, alongside Wilkinson, are summoned to the dining room of the TWH to confront the gentlemen and officers who have left their boxes in the theatre to defend the offended party (Wilkinson 1795b, 23). However, the outcome of this incident is markedly different — Kemble, with Wilkinson's permission, refuses to apologise and continue with the evening's performance. Arguably, Kemble's decision sees him acting as spokesperson for the audience in the pit and galleries, who demand that Kemble give "No apology! No apology" (Wilkinson 1795b, 23). The offended lady "expecting with great emulation, pardon from the insolent actor, turned pale and sick - and enraged left the theatre" (Wilkinson 1795b,

23). The power dynamic between the players and the gentry is changing.

Indeed, by 1801 actor Stephen Kemble is recorded as leaving the stage mid-performance due to gentlemen engaging in a loud conversation during the production. However, instead of entering the TWH and demanding an audience with Wilkinson and his actor, they write a letter to Wilkinson threatening that they will not return to the theatre unless Kemble is discharged (Mathews 1838, 384). While it could be inferred that the offended party being gentlemen warranted an alternative confrontation to the previous example, Wilkinson's response exemplifies his changing attitude towards the gentry. Refusing to discharge Kemble, Wilkinson writes that "he values Mr. Kemble more than all Mr. ____'s family and connexions put together" (Matthews 1838, 384). Indeed, the return of the offended party to their box some mere weeks later (Mathews 1838, 384) signifies Wilkinson's triumph and control he has over the gentry.

The power dynamic between the gentry and theatre manager is changing, indicative of a wider cultural shift. Indeed, this can be likened to the power held by the master of ceremonies within assembly rooms (Russell 2017, 153). In both roles, the theatre manager and master of ceremonies act as a gate keeper of polite society. Only through them can the gentry gain access to the leisure activities crucial to the maintenance of their identity. But where is this change in power dynamic coming from? The reflexive relationship between people and their environment can be unpacked when we consider the built landscape. These changing attitudes are leaving physical imprints as people move through and interact with the building (Tatlioglu 2010, 275). Access analysis of the TWH reveals that the building is intrinsically linked with the TRY, therefore, the key to this shift arguably lies within changes to access routes overtime. During Wilkinson's early years at the TRY, before he has begun managerial duties, Wilkinson states that "at that time admittance behind the scenes was allowed, not only at benefits; but in general to the gentlemen who frequented the boxes" (Wilkinson 1790c, 147). It could be argued that Baker's admittance of the audience behind the scenes of the theatre gave the gentry autonomy and ownership over the TRY and TWH. This is exemplified when we look

at the access routes the audience were taking to permeate into this backstage space.

To access the backstage area, an audience member had two possible routes. After leaving the boxes they would enter the entrance lobby (Room 15), they could then proceed backstage via Room 8 to access the staircase in the paybox (Room 10). Alternatively, they would physically leave the TRY to re-enter via the TWH, the same route as the players would take into the TRY. As seen on the access map (Figure 34), either route allows the gentry audience to permeate deep into the theatre, and subsequently the TWH. As a result of the gentry being given unrestricted access to the backstage areas, including parts of the TWH, the power and entitlement they hold over the players is strengthened. Indeed, as Wilkinson recalls, the public look on the players as “their servants and lawful game; and as such think they have a greater privilege over performers than any other set of dependent or class or persons” (Wilkinson 1795a, 143). This gave them the right to dictate which players are performing, what roles they are cast in, and which productions are allowed.

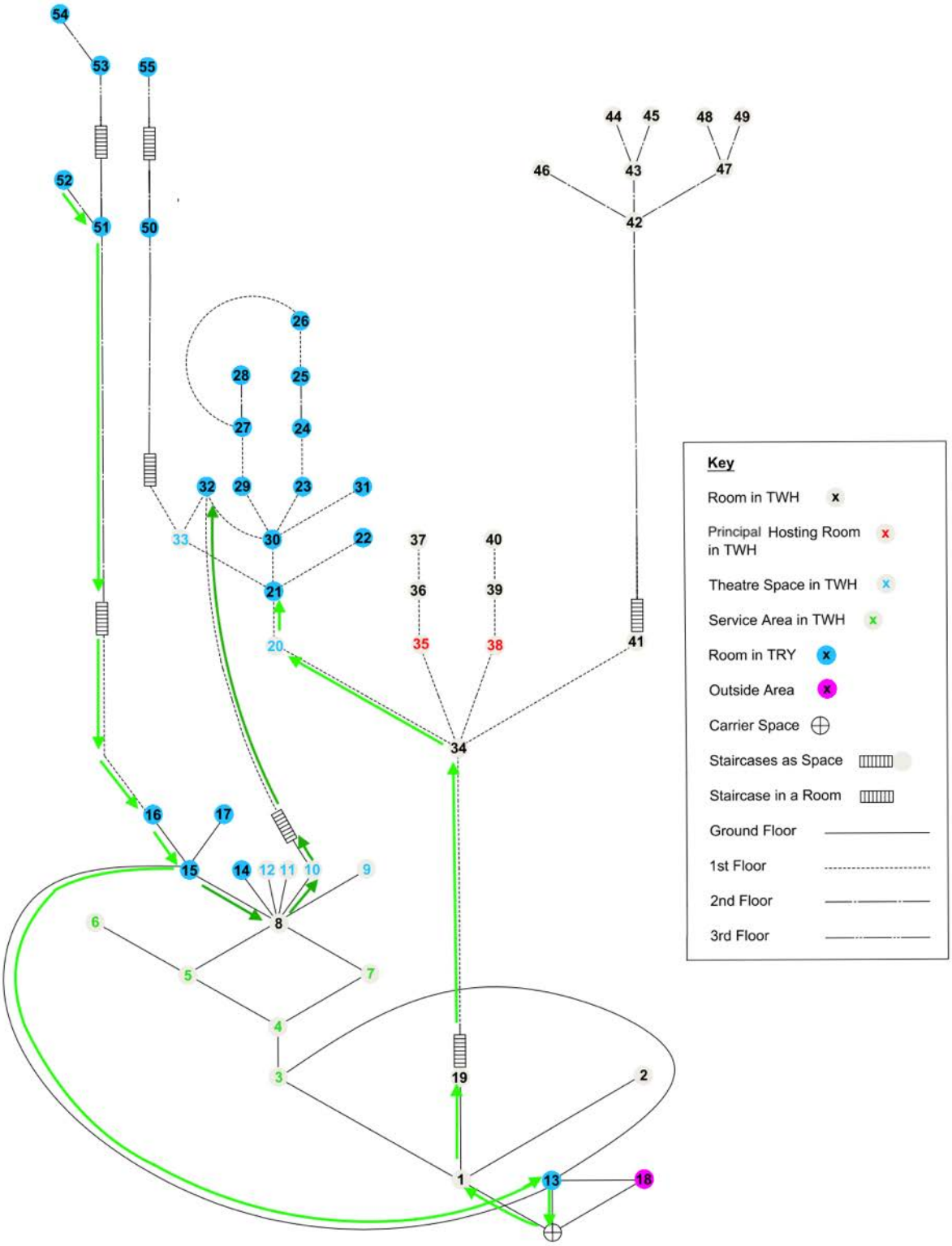

Figure 34: Possible routes gentry would have taken from the boxes to the backstage areas of the TRY. The light green route demarcates the route out of the TRY with re-entry via the TWH. The dark green route sees the gentry accessing the rear room of the TWH at ground floor level, then proceeding up the staircase in Room 10 to the 1st floor space of the TRY (Author 2022).

Wilkinson abolishes this admittance (Wilkinson 1790d, 118), changing the access the gentry have to the backstage areas of the theatre. Their route is now limited to navigating the entrance passage into the lobby (Figure 35). Once in the lobby, the audience must interact with the paybox (Room 10) to then receive permission to proceed to the boxes (Room 52). The location of the paybox signifies a formal barrier between the outside world and entry into the TRY. Significantly, it is located within a rear room of the TWH. Mediated via a window, the interaction can be likened to the selling of goods through a shop window. While the window necessitates the quick turn over of sales (Cox & Walsh 2000, 81), it created a physical barrier between the TWH and the TRY. This interaction between the audience and the attendant located in the TWH reiterates where the power lies. Here, the power lies with the proprietor, not the customer, who can easily be refused service and have their own authority compromised. Indeed, the sheer act of going to the theatre results in the gentry being "incapable of genuinely participating in the public sphere of the town without comprising the substance of their authority" (Russell 2017, 155).

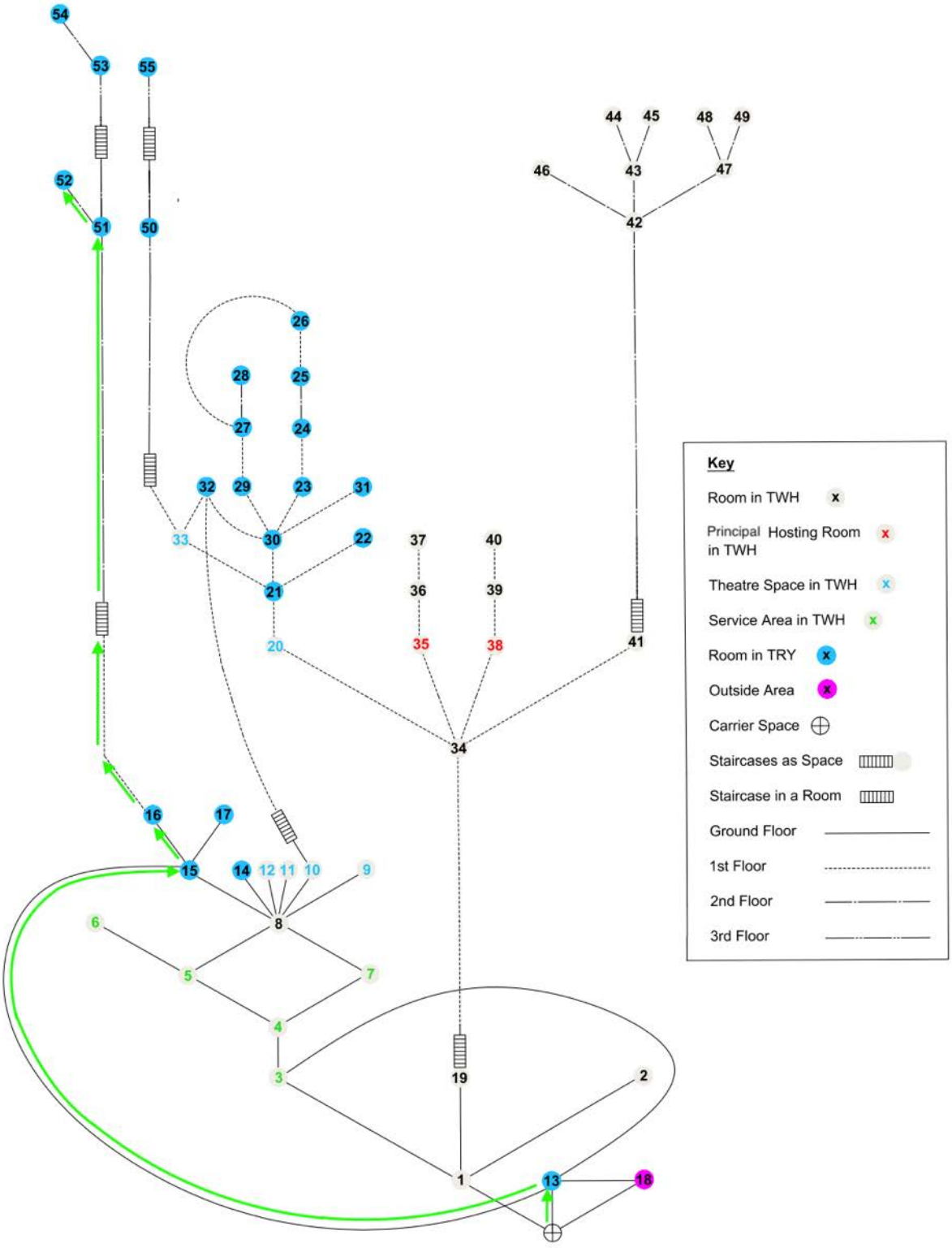

Figure 35: Controlled access route of the gentry audience. Upon entering the entrance lobby (Room 15) they are then allowed further access after interacting with the attendant in the paybox (Room 10) (Author 2022).

By Wilkinson controlling all access routes for the audience, he becomes directly responsible for their decline in power over the TRY. He is disrupting and causing insecurity for the members of the gentry producing what Russell describes as a "crisis of publicity for the old regime" (Russell 2017, 155). Privacy is therefore not a physical state that we are familiar with nowadays, defined by the "quality or state of being apart from company or observation" (Merriam-Webster 2022), it is an ideological one based on access. Privacy is therefore indicative of power, who controlled access to space mattered. The removal of access for the gentry gives greater governance to the theatre manager. Thus, giving greater power and respectability to the profession of acting.

Domestic or Public Space: The Players

Indeed, we can see the increased access the players have over the domestic spaces of the TWH exemplified through analysis of movement of the players. This is best illustrated by the event recalled by Wilkinson of actress, Mrs. Hamilton, fleeing the bailiff whilst on her commute to the TRY for her theatrical duties. The reason for this pursuit is not necessary to detail; however, recalling the incident, Wilkinson writes that "she artfully eluded by taking the staircase up to my dwelling-house, instead of that to the playhouse passage; her rumble was great; I could not conceive the hurry approaching my dining room door" (Wilkinson 1795a, 146). Mrs. Hamilton makes the conscious choice to cross the threshold from the stage passage to the dining room, showing how easily the actors can access the domestic space within the TWH.

Looking at the access map, the stage passage to the TRY (Room 20) and dining room (Room 35) lie along the same depth value, equally as accessible when arriving at the 1st floor landing (Room 34) (Figure 36). It could be argued that the divide between the public TRY and domestic TWH was ideological rather than physical. The lack of physical evidence further suggests that there was an unspoken rule that the players did not cross into the TWH and instead proceeded straight into the TRY. However, when considering the ideological interior boundary, one must consider that spaces are read in different ways by different people according to their understanding

of public and domestic (Johnson 1996, 81). Within the company there was a hierarchy of status, with the lead actor or actress given the highest recognition. Lead performers were invited to stay in the TWH, having access to the suite of guest rooms (Rooms 36 & 37), dining room (Room 35) and drawing room (Room 38) (Mathews 1838, 297). The level of decoration evident in the extant dining room and drawing room signifies the rooms' importance and the company it kept.

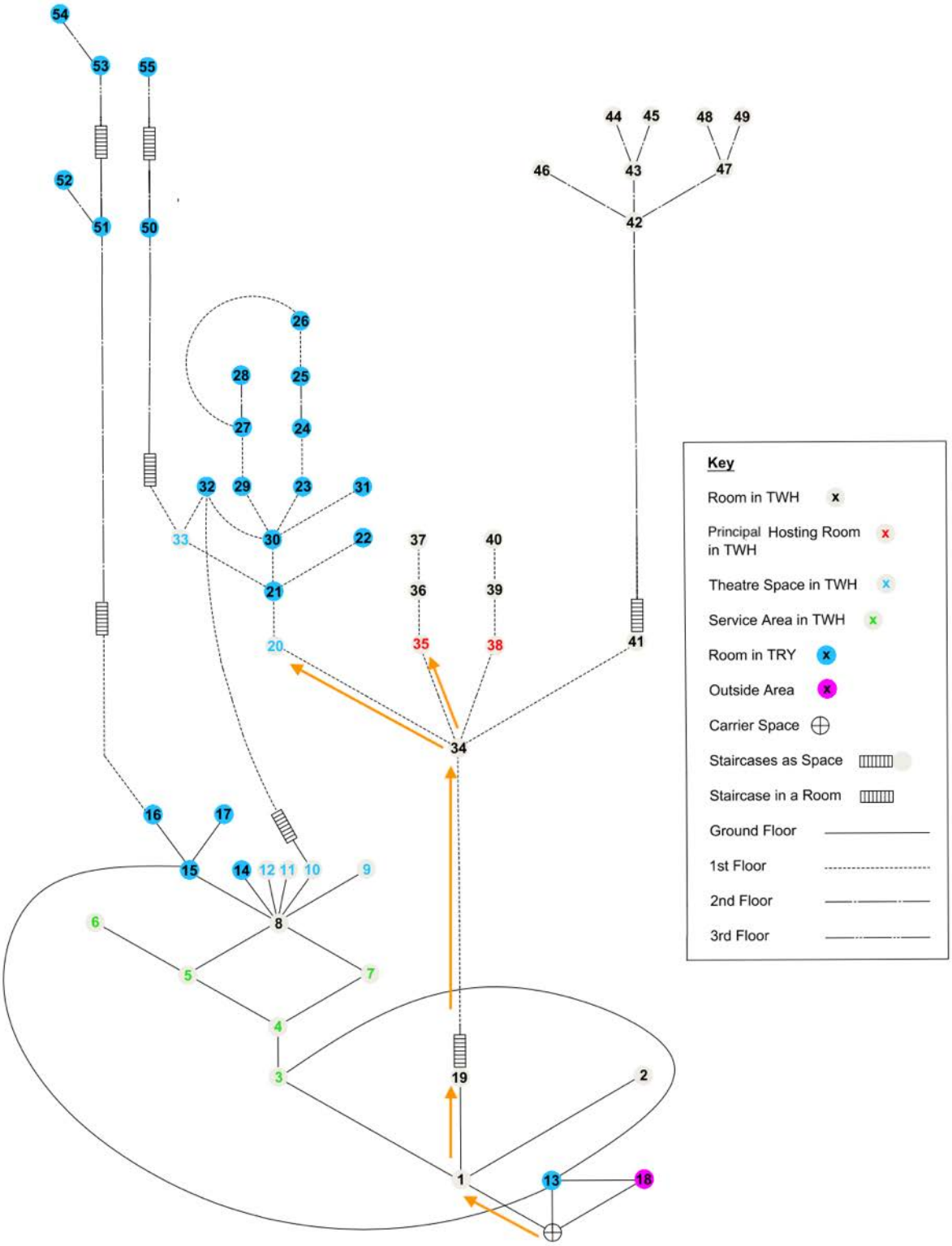

Figure 36: Access into the TRY via the TWH for the players in Wilkinson's company. Reaching the 1st floor lobby (Room 34), the dining room (Room 35) and the stage passage (Room 20) are equally as accessible (Author 2022).

Indeed, the level of intimacy Wilkinson had with his theatrical community is exemplified when George Colman the Younger, renowned playwright and theatre manager of Haymarket Theatre visited. Here, the event is described as a “family party” consisting of: Wilkinson and his wife, Jane; their son John and his wife, actress Sarah Raynolds; actors Charles Mathews and Mr. Cummins; and George Colman and his son, Captain Colman (Mathew 1838, 355). The whole party, except for Jane and Captain Colman, are players themselves, suggestive that the company is truly an extension of Wilkinson’s household. Wilkinson saw his duty as a governing paternal figure, ruling over the players and being the “distributer of justice” (Wilkinson 1795a, 29). Indeed, comedian William Burton who was a part of Wilkinson’s company in 1801 refers to Wilkinson as “A theatric Monarch, he’s justly esteem’d, By himself the father of his people he’s deem’d” (Burton 1801, 20).

Wilkinson’s leadership style may in part have been due to his treatment by the previous manager Joseph Baker, who “really treated me [Wilkinson] as a son” (Wilkinson 1790d, 11). Baker hosted Wilkinson at the TWH before he took over the tenancy of the property upon Baker’s death, likely in the same guest suite (Rooms 36 and 37) he later would host his own important visitors. Unfortunately, physical evidence of this space no longer remains. However, the early plans reveal that the dining room (Room 35) and guest suite (Rooms 36 and 37) were located along a sequential room sequence. This reiterates to the visitor their importance as they can permeate into the last room along the sequence. But what about Mrs. Hamilton from our earlier example? Indeed, she was not one of the lead actresses in the company.

Wilkinson’s response to this incident is to let Mrs. Hamilton stay in the security of the TRY for the night, writing, “the bolts and bars being secured, and her coming privately into the Theatre to dress, and all the doors barricaded and no egress or regress to strange face or faces, all went smoothly on” (Wilkinson 1795a, 147). It is likely that the location of Mrs. Hamilton’s lodgings that evening was within the dressing rooms (Rooms 24, 27, or 28) of the TRY; her inferiority in the company not granting her permission to access the formal guest bedroom. Indeed, it is known that in the nearby Theatre Royal, Richmond, lower ranked players slept in the dressing

rooms (The Georgian Theatre Royal 2022, personal communication, 4 August). This provided not only accommodation for the players, but also a level of security for the theatre. Although the physical remains of these spaces can no longer be identified in the TRY, the presence of fireplaces on the conjectured plans suggest a level of domestic comfort to these rooms. Ideologically, the ability for the players to lodge within the confines of the TRY meant that the buildings status of “public” is instead being understood as an extension of the domestic TWH. Physical movement was therefore impacting a person’s assessment of spaces as public or private. Furthermore, there is an increase in privacy over these spaces. This can be seen physically with the utilisation of locks acting as a physical source of control (Vickery 2008, 170) over the outside world. This control not only ensures the exclusion of the public but gives the players a communal identity. An identity that is separate from that of the social performance that the gentry were engaged in, further undermining their authority.

This is exemplified by Wilkinson’s own movements throughout the theatre. The location of Wilkinson’s dressing room is at an important junction that mediates access between the TWH and TRY. As seen on the access map Wilkinson’s dressing room (Room 22) is directly connected to the passage in the TRY (Room 21). Furthermore, the conjectured plans reveal the entrance to this space is the first door one would encounter when entering the TRY, likewise the last door you would pass before entering the TWH (Figure 37). This means Wilkinson knew exactly who is coming and going from either direction — a reminder of who holds power over both these spaces. Indeed, this is further illustrated when we consider that Wilkinson is often documented moving between the audience space and the backstage space during the middle of performances.

Figure 37: Location of Wilkinson's dressing room (Room 22) and the stage passage (Room 21) that mediates access between the TWH and TRY highlighted in yellow (Author 2022).

As Mathews states, “Tate was extremely jealous of any interference in his management, and resented in his peculiar way every attempt at dictation” (1838, 378). Indeed, one of Wilkinson’s whims was to cast the part of Lord Mayor in *Richard the Third* to an inexperienced comedian in the company. During one such performance, the comedian got the upper hand and instead of his character being met with ridicule, he caused the actor playing Buckingham to end up with the unwanted attention. Displeased, it is recorded that Wilkinson’s “fearful voice proceeded from the gallery, which seemed more like that of an avenging demon than a god, exclaiming, ‘U-gh! Shame! Shame! Hiss him, hiss him, I say! …’ In a minute after the Lord Mayor had left the stage, the same voice by distance made more sweet was heard making its way gradually through the winding passages leading from the front of the theatre to the side scene” (Mathews 1838, 372-3). Importantly, the ability for Wilkinson to leave the performance mid-scene and storm backstage is the very thing he stopped the gentry from doing. Wilkinson’s presence in the audience and his ability to permeate between the TRY and TWH at his own will during a performance reinforces the authority he has over his players and the audience. It becomes clear that Wilkinson’s authority within the TWH and the TRY are synonymous. Unlike the gentry and players, Wilkinson has “no separate public identity … because he has no need for one” (Russell 2017, 154), ultimately undermining the social performance and communal public identity the gentry are seeking.

Undermining Power: The Servants

While we have focused on the experience of the audience and players within the TRY and TWH, we must consider that “multiple perspectives of the same place exist as separate biographies for different groups” (Tatlioglu 2010, 274). Therefore, we must also consider the other groups of people who had access to the TWH and TRY — Wilkinson’s immediate family and household staff. Arguably, these groups had the greatest ease of movement, with access to the most inaccessible areas on the 2nd floor of the TWH. Indeed, it is recorded that Wilkinson had a bell he would ring from his theatrical dressing room (Mathews 1838, 374) to summon his servant. This meant that servants not only had access to the TWH but to the TRY as well. Assuredly, the

access map reveals the accessibility of the service areas and their ability to permeate to any part of the TWH and theatre. However, as we will see through the remainder of this chapter, they were also able to enter the TRY unrestricted. In contrast to the authority Wilkinson established over the audience, within his household Wilkinson's servants undermined his power.

As discussed earlier, the access map provides clues as to the likely location of the servants' quarters, within the service areas of the ground floor (possibly Room 6). This is important as in 1789, the room of Wilkinson's servant, Edward Robinson, was searched as part of an active trial against Robinson for theft (Robinson 1789). Upon searching the room and breaking the lock to Robinson's box, the stolen goods were surrendered. Having a lockable box signifies Robinson's right to privacy — a space only he has control over and can grant access to. However, the breaking open of the box by the whitesmith during the search of Robinson's room reiterates the temporality of privacy. Therefore, not only is privacy operating between the ideological boundaries of public and domestic spaces of the building, but within the furnishings of individual rooms as well.

Similarly, we can see the disruption of public and domestic spaces on a larger scale when we consider that Wilkinson's servants often employed local men to assist with their domestic duties. In one such incident, local lad Tommy Myers was employed to clean knives in the "large square area under Mr. Wilkinson's library" (Mathews 1838, 298). This area can be ascertained with a high degree of certainty as Wilkinson's theatrical dressing room was held up on rectangular piles. Therefore, the space underneath the dressing room, referred to by Mathews as the library, made up part of the yard (Room 18) bounded by the Red House, TRY and TWH (Figure 38)**.** Although the space is easy to permeate, lying at a low depth value, the threshold Tommy would have to pass through is significant. The entrance to the yard was the formal doorway through which the audience also accessed the theatre. Tommy's permission to enter this space via the same threshold polite society entered the TRY further undermines the power the gentry have over the TRY — this threshold is no longer their exclusive domain.

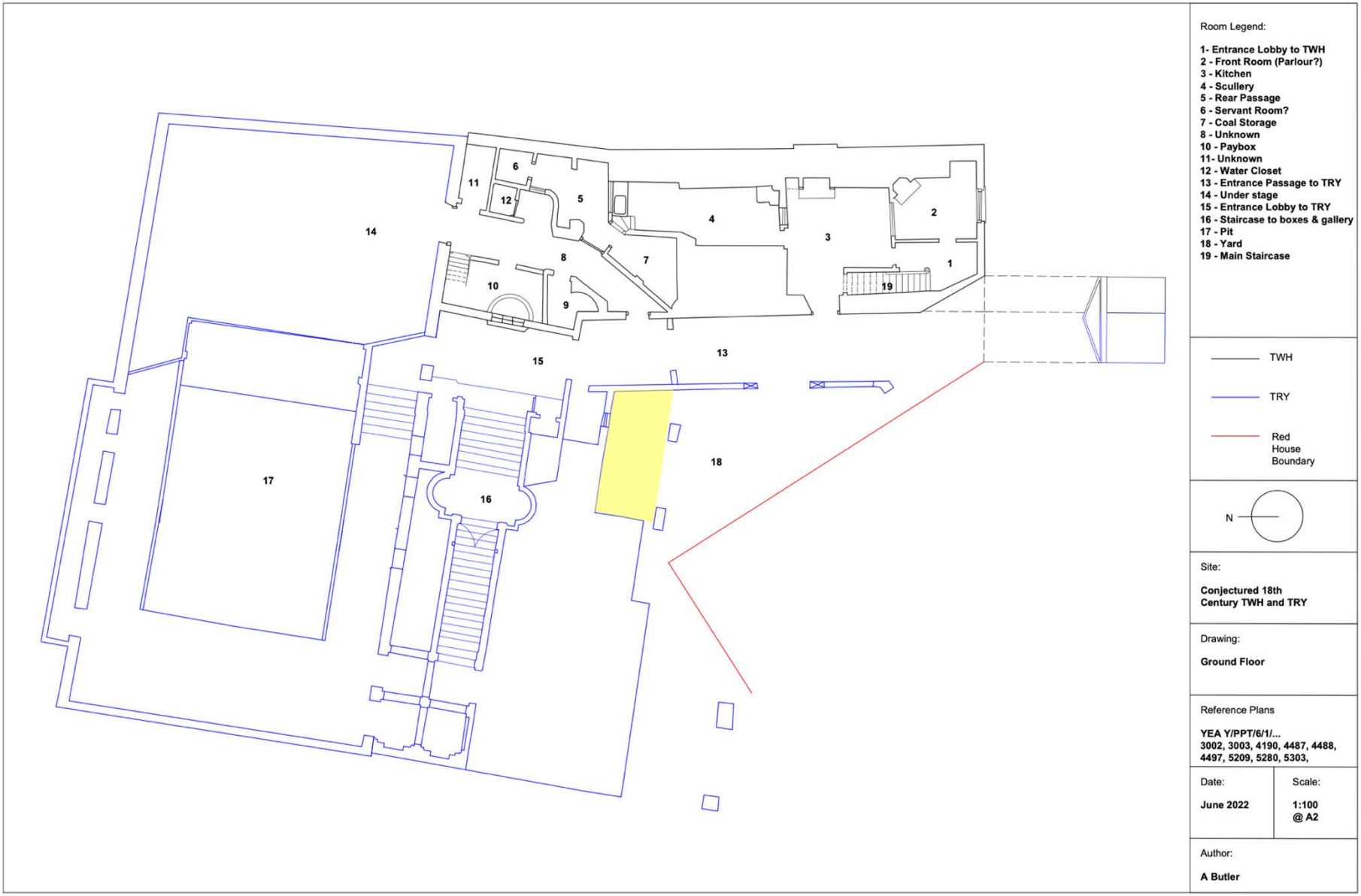

Figure 38: Area where Tommy was cleaning knives located in yard underneath Wilkinson's theatrical dressing room shown in yellow (Author 2022).

Instead, the power lies with the servants, granting Tommy access to this space and therefore undermining Wilkinson's control. This is further illuminated when we consider the interaction between Tommy and Wilkinson during this incident. While Tommy is performing this task, he disturbs Wilkinson who is napping in the room above. Wilkinson yells out of his window to tell Tommy to be quiet; however, Tommy's response is not one of fear. Instead, Tommy does not recognise Wilkinson responding that "Mr. Wilkinson give him a penny to clean his knives, and he would not leave off to please a fond auld chap like him" (Mathews 1838, 299). Tommy then proceeds to invite more people off the street into the yard to "come and naff at the fun auld man out o't'window, wi' a red night-cap" (Mathews 1838, 299). Not only has the power shifted away from Wilkinson to the servants, who granted Tommy permission into the yard, Tommy then also exerts power inviting more people into the space. This again indicates that privacy is not a physical state but is a power relation, constantly in flux.

However, to truly understand how Wilkinson's power has been undermined we need to examine Wilkinson's movements during the years these incidents take place. In 1788, Wilkinson breaks his leg (Wilkinson 1795c, 55) which "confined his movements from home to carriage exercise" (Mathews 1838, 298). Up until this stage, Edward Robinson had been a dutiful servant of Wilkinson for six years (Robinson 1789, 7). Indeed, Robinson's character is testified by Wilkinson and his former employers at his trial (Robinson 1789, 7-9). However, one year after Wilkinson's accident Robinson's crimes have begun. Could the restriction of Wilkinson's movements have undermined his power; thus, giving rise to an increase in privacy? Indeed, Mathews does not specify the year in which the incident involving Tommy took place; however, Mathews was only a player with the York Company from 1799 to 1803. The incident therefore takes place after Wilkinson's accident. Despite Tommy being known as "a devotee to the outer precincts of the theatre" (Mathews 1838, 295), Tommy does not know who Wilkinson is. Likewise, Wilkinson is also not familiar with Tommy. It can be suggested that after Wilkinson's accident, his presence within the wider landscape diminishes. Clearly, part of Wilkinson's power lies in the fact that he could mediate and control space. Without this movement by Wilkinson, the privacy of the servants is

increasing, undermining Wilkinson's authority.

Strategy and Status: Jane Wilkinson

With Wilkinson's physical state deteriorating and restricting his movement within and between the TWH and TRY, his wife, Jane, became an important ally. While little is known about Jane in the historical record, insights from actors' memoirs provide glimpses into her life. Coupled with the evidence of her movement through the TWH we can begin to shed light on the lived experience of Jane and show how she is fundamental to the maintenance of Wilkinson's management, especially in the latter years of his life. As we have seen previously, the TWH facilitated movement through the house into the TRY. The distinction between these spaces as public or domestic was not physical, but rather ideological with access controlled by Wilkinson. However, Jane's movements throughout the house continue to break down our understanding of public and domestic spaces in the 18th century.

Jane can move between all parts of the TWH and into the TRY with ease. This movement is recorded by Mathews who recalls Jane walking into Wilkinson's theatrical dressing room (Room 22) to discuss the casting of their son, John, in an upcoming performance (Mathews 1838, 380-1). Not only does this encounter occur with Mathews present, signifying the familial nature of the players, but for Jane she has crossed over the threshold from the domestic to the theatrical unrestricted. Furthermore, the nature of her conversation suggests that Jane often contributed to discussions about the running of the theatre. Indeed, Wilkinson's memoirs document Jane's involvement with the business. She travelled with Wilkinson and the company (1795a, 188)**,** hosted visiting players (1795a, 56; 1795b, 255; 1795c, 152 & 200; 1795d, 188), and facilitated the delivery of bills of exchange (Robinson 1789, 9). Jane clearly played a key role in the business operations of the theatre.

Indeed, new research has begun to shed light on the complexity and importance of women in 18th century theatrical management. Often overshadowed in the historical record by their male counterparts, established women managers were assumed to

have retreated from their business duties to take on minor roles upon marriage (Rosenfeld 1984, 1–25). However, as Crochunis suggests “a more reasonable assumption might be that management collaborations between men and women were at least in part strategic” (Crochunis 2014, 6). Although Jane did not hold the title of theatre manager that her contemporaries such as Tryphosa Brockell, Sarah Baker or Eliza Vestris held, her marriage to Wilkinson would have certainly helped strengthen his business approaches given her family’s reputation and status in York and her ability to perform the more tactile duties of hosting.

Jane could coexist between the social sphere of 18th century society and the theatrical community, providing Wilkinson with important insights. This is increasingly important after Wilkinson’s accident when his ability to fully participate within these spheres is further compromised. The importance of women engaging in the business world has recently been highlighted through Jenkins and Newman’s research on actress George Anne Bellamy. Here Jenkins and Newman have shown how Bellamy’s ability to coexist between the social and political spheres allowed her to influence the business affairs of her partner, John Calcraft (Jenkins & Newman 2019, 39). In addition, Bellamy hosted business guests alone in her dressing room, attended dinner parties and performed ad hoc secretarial duties (Jenkins & Newman 2019, 41-42), all vital duties in the running of Calcraft’s business and political affairs. Importantly, Jane was well acquainted with Bellamy. Bellamy had appeared on the York stage and maintained a strong friendship with Jane’s husband (Bellamy 1790). It is hard not to imagine the undue influence Bellamy and Jane had on each other. Like Bellamy, Jane would have hosted important guests in her dressing room (Room 39), located off the front drawing room. By extension, Jane also had the power to control access to spaces deep within the TWH. The remains of a built-in cabinet (Room 40) in Jane’s dressing room and its view from the window overlooking the nearby assembly rooms would have helped Jane exert her authority. Indeed, this then raised the status of her family, assisting in establishing the power and respectability of the TRY and the profession of acting in the 18th century.

This chapter has examined the relationship between the public and domestic spaces within the TWH. As a smaller vernacular building, it provides important evidence into the variability of Georgian properties, often containing earlier structures at their core. By considering the implication of the medieval structure at the root of the TWH, as well as variations present within the 18th century layout, the complexities and ambiguities of public and domestic spaces were illuminated. Furthermore, by synthesising the range of evidence pertaining to the TWH and TRY through a building biography approach, access analysis was then utilised to reveal the underlying tensions within and between spaces. Importantly, how these spaces were experienced by Wilkinson, his immediate family, the players in his company, the audience and his household staff simultaneously ensured that temporal and spatial dimensions were addressed in the analysis. Arguably these spaces were engaged in a performance of power, emphasising that privacy was understood by 18th century contemporaries not as a physical state but an ideological one. Importantly, this power relation was in a constant state of flux, causing tensions between and within public and domestic spaces.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation has provided new insights into the social performance and material culture of different building types — public and domestic buildings. While typically explored through a binary approach due to their notional typology, the complexity between public and private buildings has hitherto been overlooked. Therefore, the domestic, TWH, and its link to the public, TRY, provided an opportunity to explore the intersection of these two building types: thus, providing new insights into the complexity of public and private spaces in the 18th century. It became evident that the TWH and TRY were not operating in binary spheres, despite their associated building types. The two were intrinsically linked and affected by temporal, spatial and ideological changes. Different people were interacting and reading spaces simultaneously, each being influenced by a range of factors including: status, movement, power, control, and independence. Importantly, it was revealed that control over movement exemplified or undermined power relations.

To fully understand the connection between these two spaces by different occupants, access analysis was utilised. This analytical tool allowed for an understanding of the spatial organisation that was not easily read from the plans alone. Instead, documentary sources were able to be integrated alongside movement to reveal the cultural context of the 18th century. This methodology therefore illuminated the complexity of interaction between the TWH and TRY, showcasing the tension between the public TRY building and the domestic TWH. It is evident throughout this research that control over movement was crucial for maintaining power. Yet, the subversion and restriction of expected movement patterns ultimately undermined social relations. The audiences' restriction backstage meant that they lost the ability to dictate command over the TRY. Likewise, Wilkinson's own restriction of movement due to his physical injury impacted his control over his household staff. However, freedom of movement for the players within the TWH and TRY meant that they saw the TRY as an extension of the domestic TWH. Similarly, Jane's ability to move between the TWH and TRY meant that she could coexist between the social sphere of the 18th century and the theatrical business. Therefore, the binary distinction of

spaces as public or domestic is disrupted. Instead, space is being understood differently by individuals simultaneously based on their ability to move within and between the TWH and TRY. Physical movement is impacting the ideological assignment and understanding of spaces as public or private. Therefore, this dissertation has focused on the link between domestic and public buildings and developed new insights into how public and private spaces were understood within the 18th century.

Future Research

This dissertation therefore has provided a case study into how buildings and their interior spaces can illuminate social and cultural processes, which can be used as a comparative study. Yet, there are still important issues that have been revealed that would benefit from further research. The connection of the TWH to the TRY is arguably the decision making of Mrs. Elizabeth Keregan, the first manager of the TRY. However, Elizabeth has been forgotten to history after her marriage to Joseph Baker. The importance of female theatre managers in the 18th century cannot be understated. This case study therefore opens avenues for new research into power relations that can extend beyond power between social status groups, to include gender. It is known that other provincial theatres with dwelling houses attached were often the domain of women theatre managers. These buildings have the potential to reveal how female theatre managers were utilising spaces to conduct their business and if this differed from their male counterparts. Therefore, the relationship between 18th century dwelling houses and theatres throughout provincial towns not only highlights the complexity of public buildings and domestic spaces but can reveal insights into gender relations.

This not only will allow for the voice of the lost female theatre managers to be rediscovered but to examine provincial theatres through a buildings archaeology approach. At the time of writing, 18th century provincial theatres as a public building have been largely overlooked from an archaeological point of view. Theatres were central to polite society, yet the social and cultural implications of these buildings is one of the least understood. The potential for these public buildings to reveal new

insights into the theme of urban improvement has been grossly underappreciated in favour of literary or biographic research. As illustrated by this dissertation, theatres and their associated buildings provide an invaluable source of evidence into the complexities of cultural and social changes present in the 18th century. However, it is important to consider that provincial circuits travelled. Within the York Circuit alone, the company travelled between York, Leeds, Halifax, Wakefield, Doncaster, and Hull. This provides an important point of comparison between theatres and the domestic spaces in which the theatre manager and their players are residing. Consideration of the circuit as a whole is vital to providing a holistic understanding of theatrical building use, theatre management, lives of the players, rise of urban improvement, and the ideology of polite society within provincial towns across England in the 18th century.

Finally, the medieval house at the core of the TWH is largely misunderstood. Evidence revealed through the photographic survey shows a late 17th to early 18th century phase of construction, disputing claims that the TWH is a late 18th century rebuild. While there was not the scope to pursue additional research within the breadth of this dissertation, the building's significance in the landscape and use before 1740 would be of benefit. This would allow for the building's connection to St. Leonard's Hospital and post-reformation usage to be illuminated. Furthermore, it would reveal how 18th century contemporaries adapted existing architecture, providing further insight into the rise of urban improvement, synonymous with the period. While this dissertation has focused on the years of operation of the TWH and TRY from 1770 to 1803, the information revealed about its 18th century layout has provided vital information on the historical significance of these buildings. Reminiscent of its 18th century connection, the TWH continues to be utilised by the TRY, hosting the offices of the theatre management today. As such, if and when future development is proposed the nearly 300-year-old link between the buildings must be carefully considered.

Appendix 1: Archival Plans of the TWH and TRY from 1821 to 1936

1821

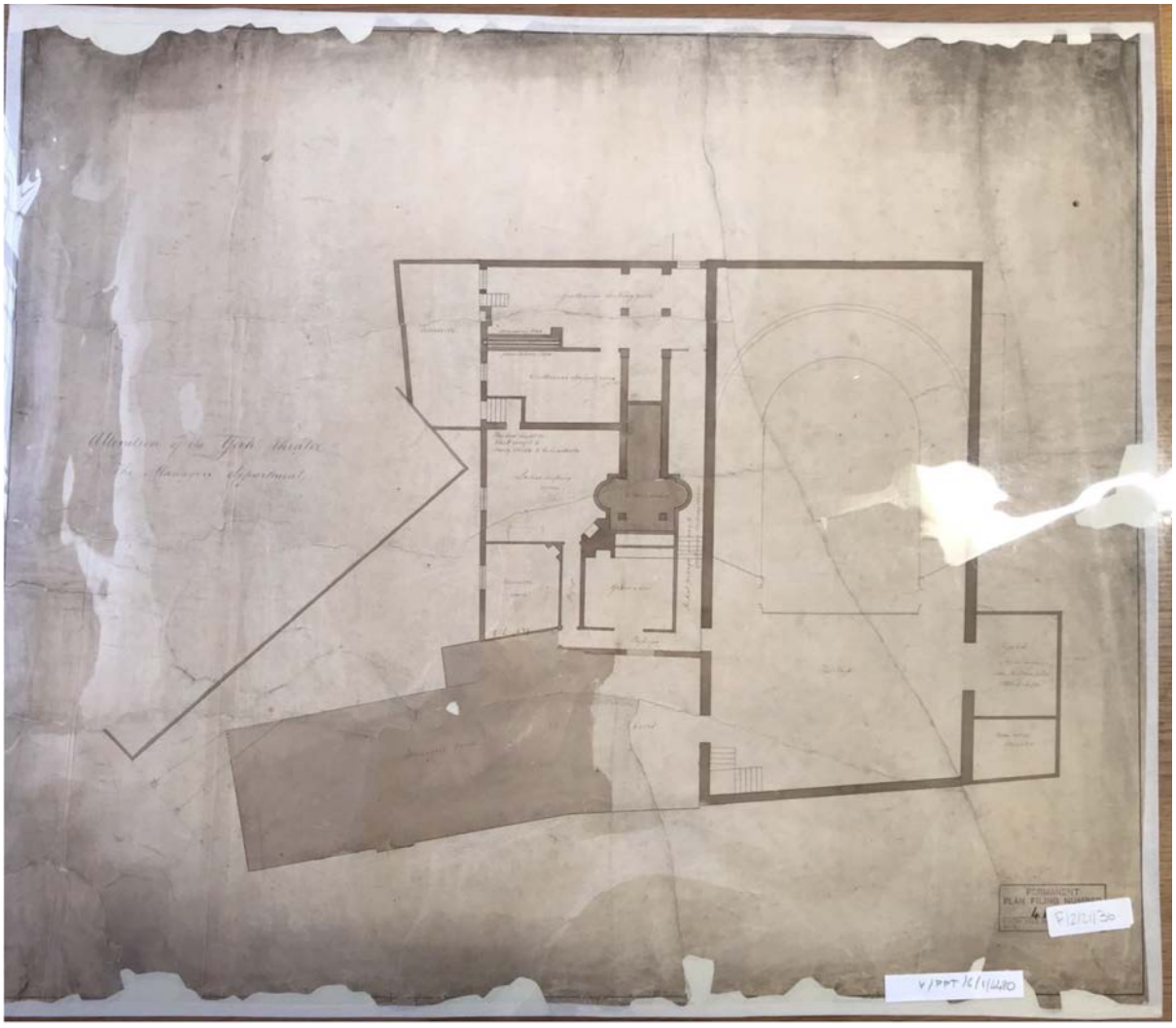

Figure 39: Plan of the 1st floor of the TRY in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4480).

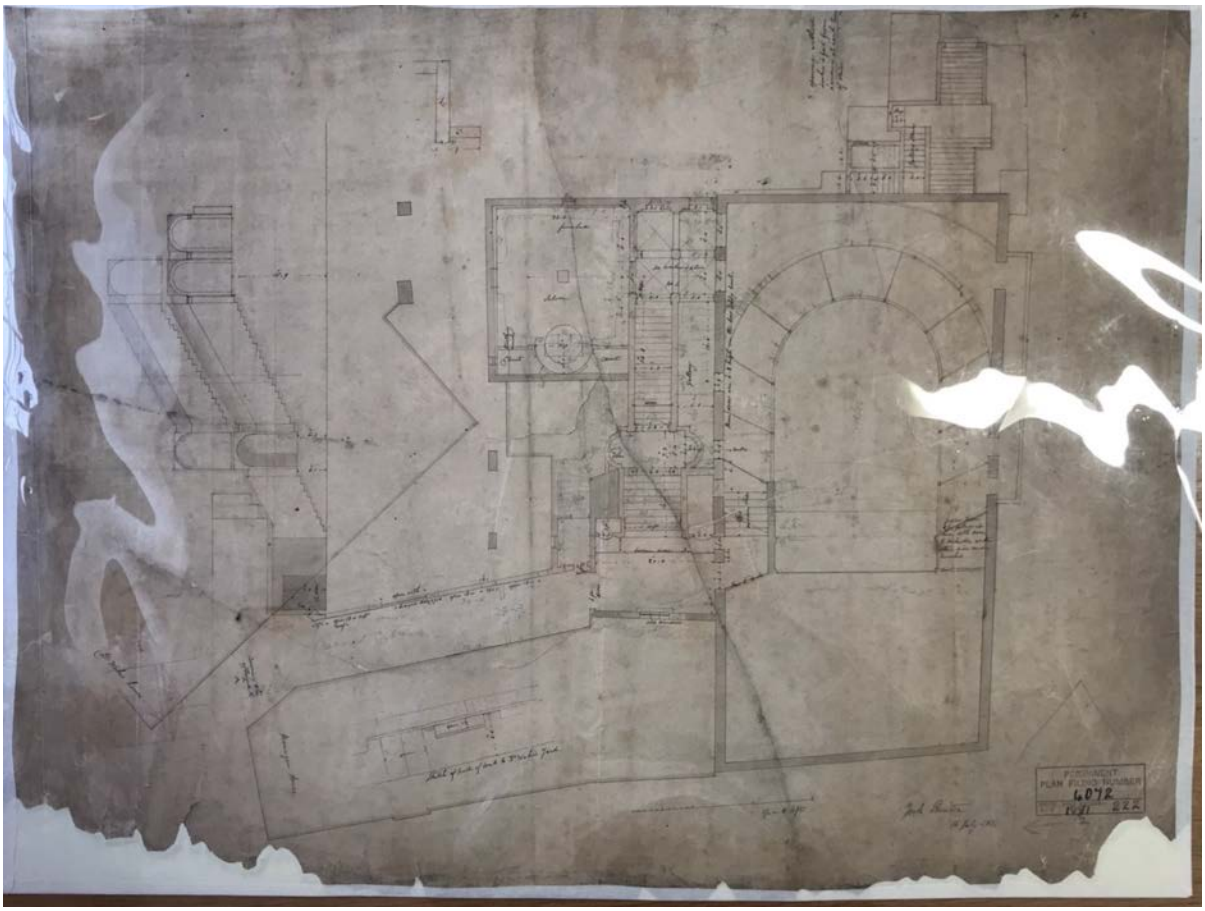

Figure 40: Plan of the ground floor and 2nd floor of the TRY in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4487).

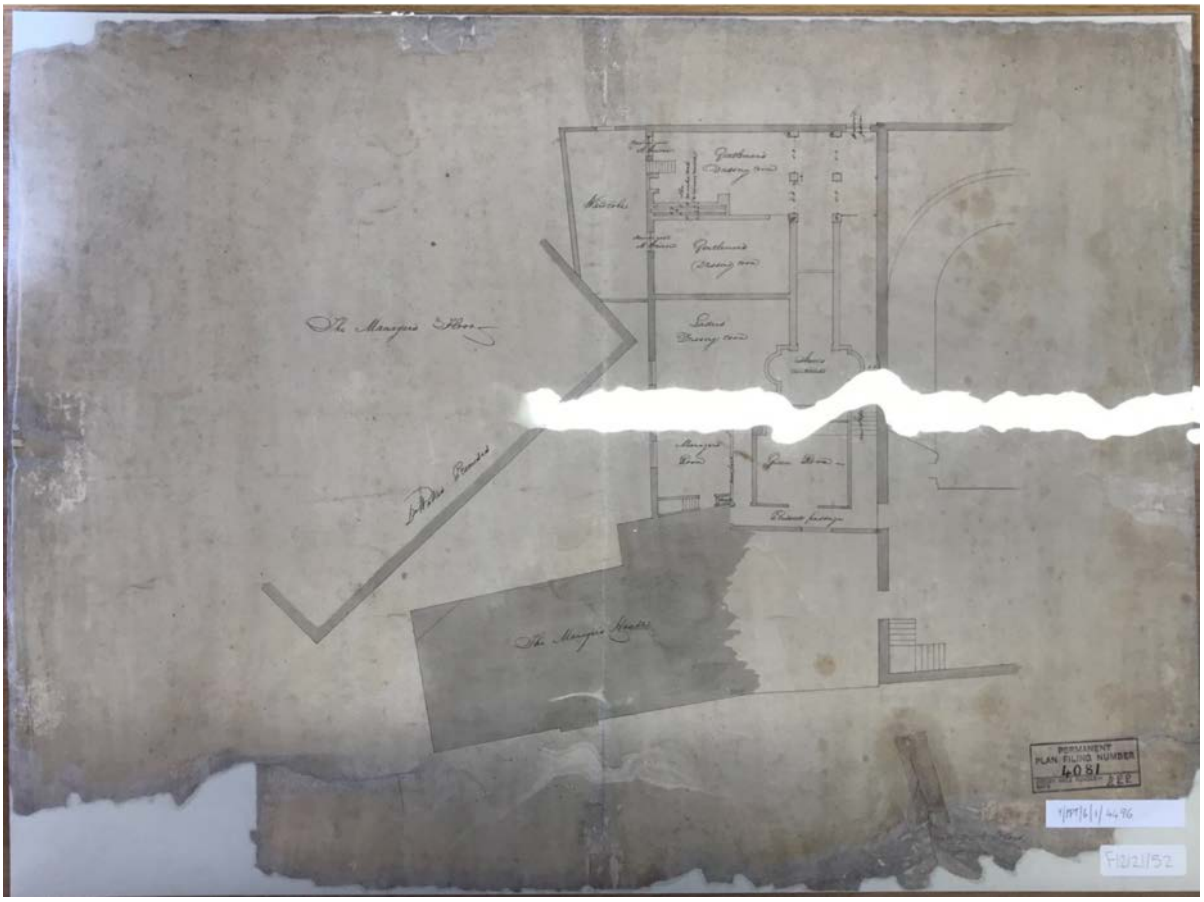

Figure 41: Plan of the 1st floor of the TRY in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4496).

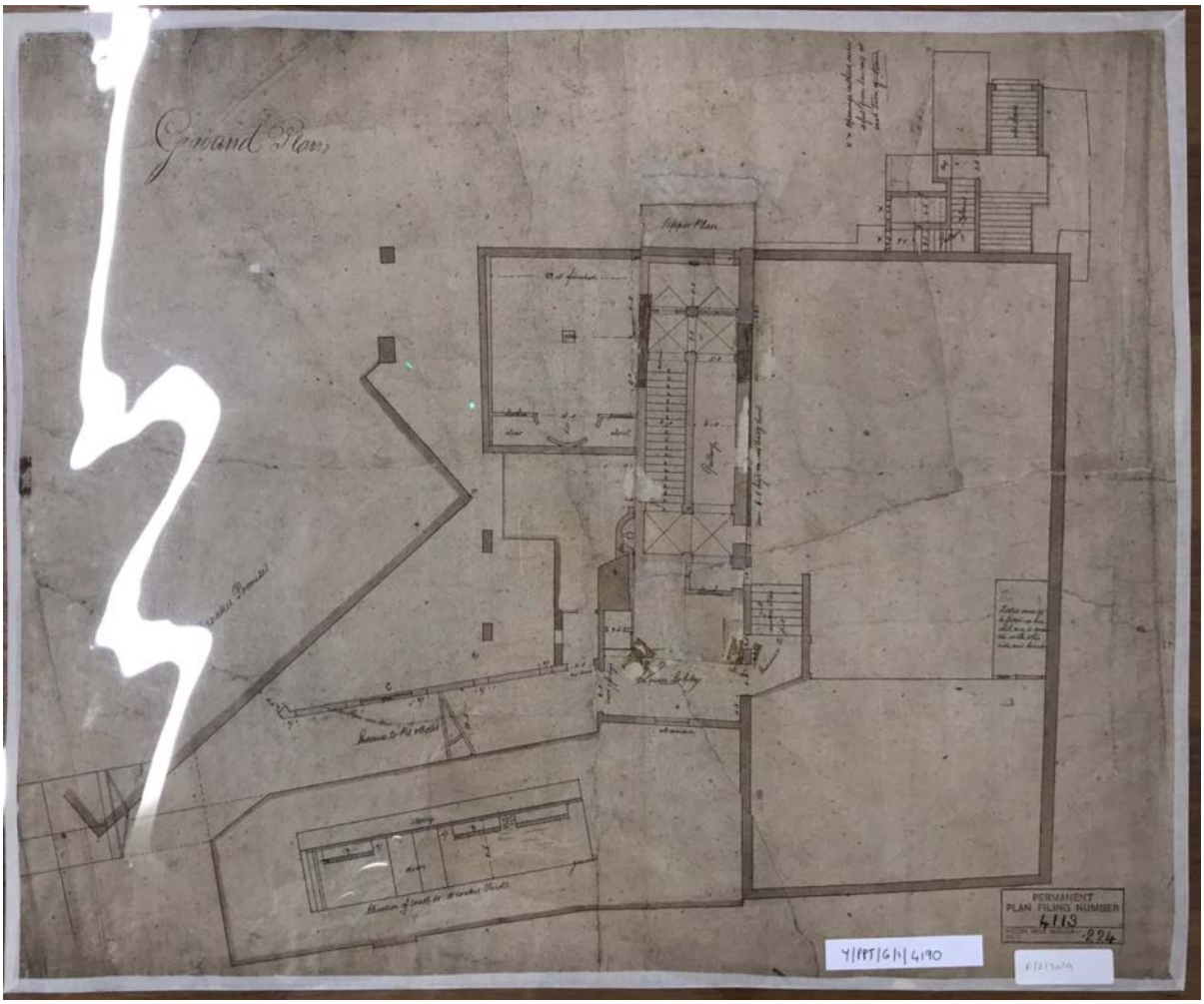

Figure 42: Plan of the ground floor and 2nd floor of the TRY in 1821 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4190).

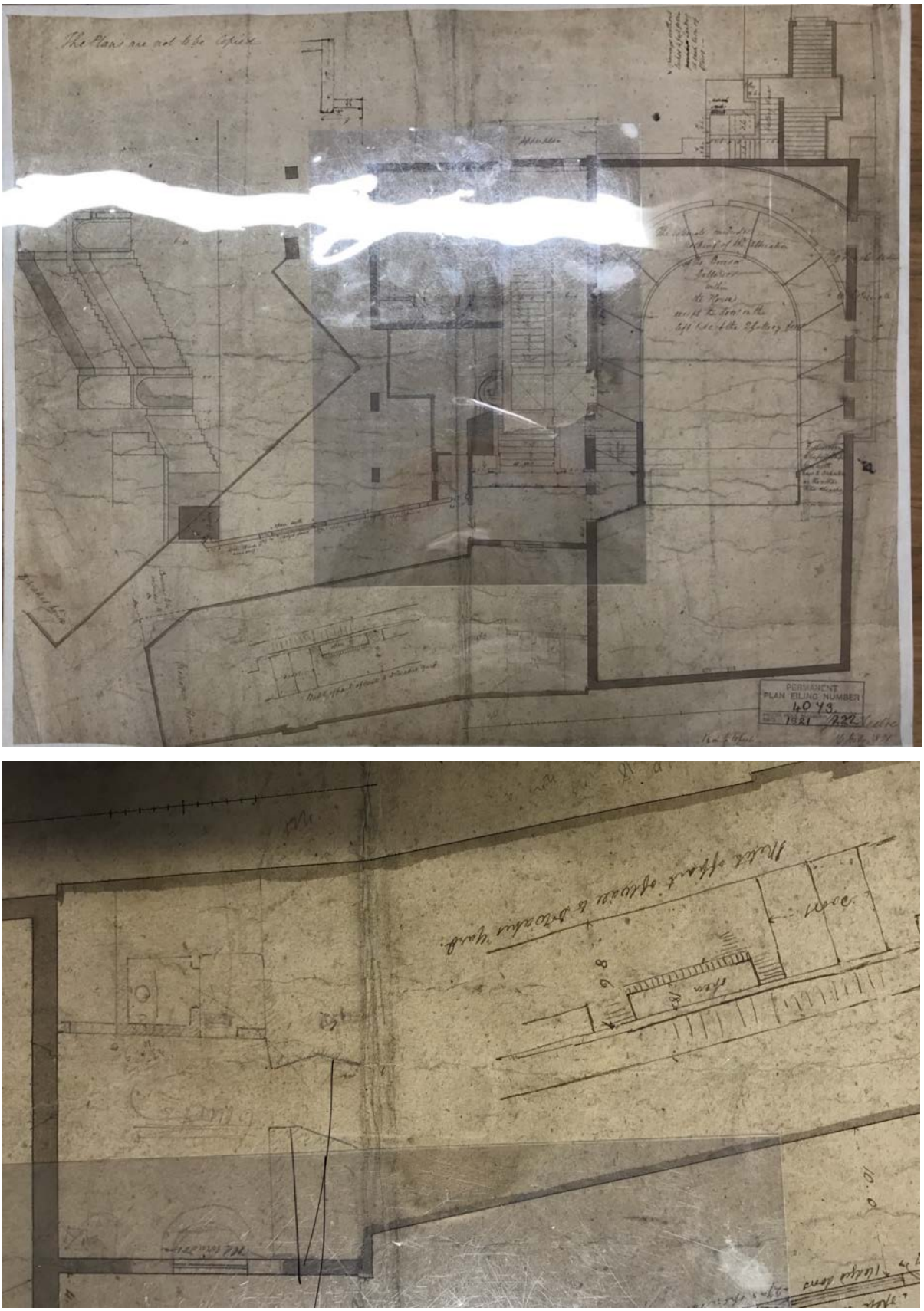

Figure 43: Plan of the ground floor and 2nd floor of the TRY in 1821 (top). Detailed pencil markings on plans showing layout of the TWH (bottom) (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4488).

1855

Figure 44: Plan of the 1st floor of the TWH and TRY in 1855 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4477).

1888

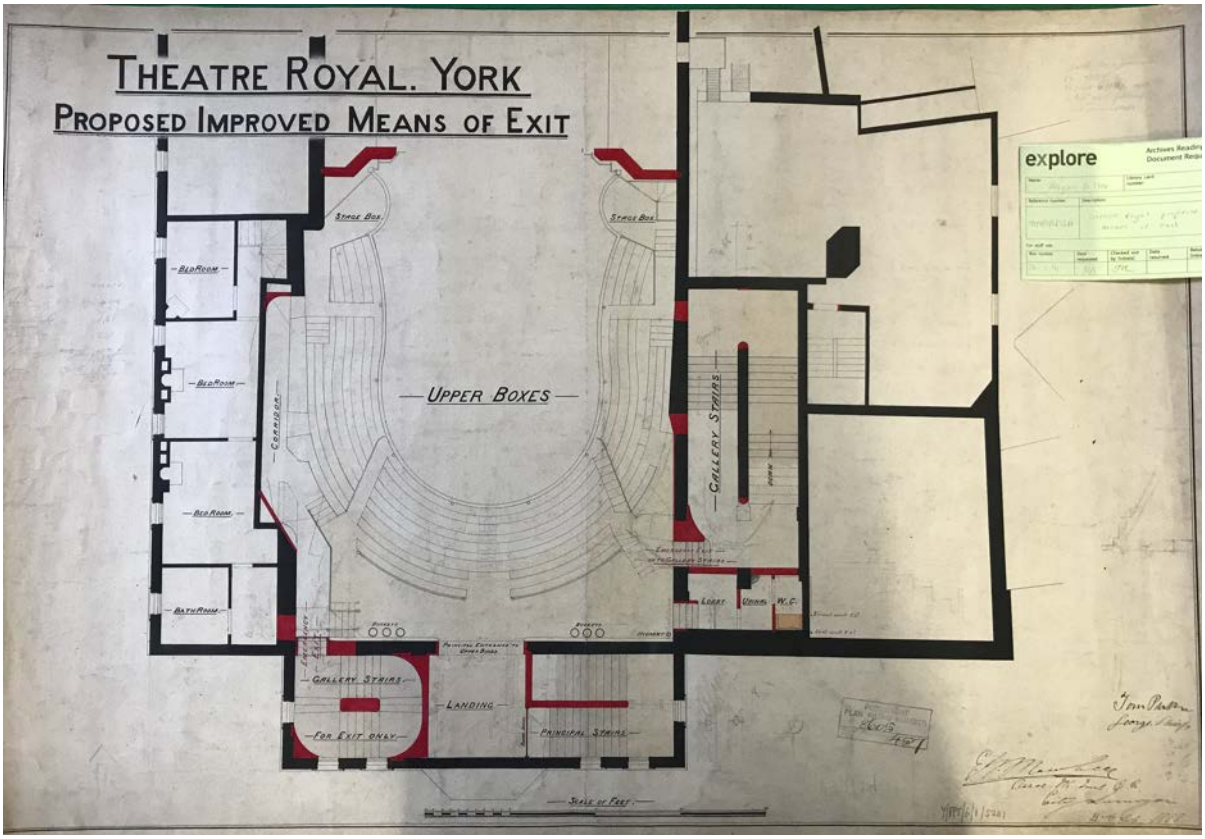

Figure 45: Plan of the 3rd floor of the TRY in 1888 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5281).

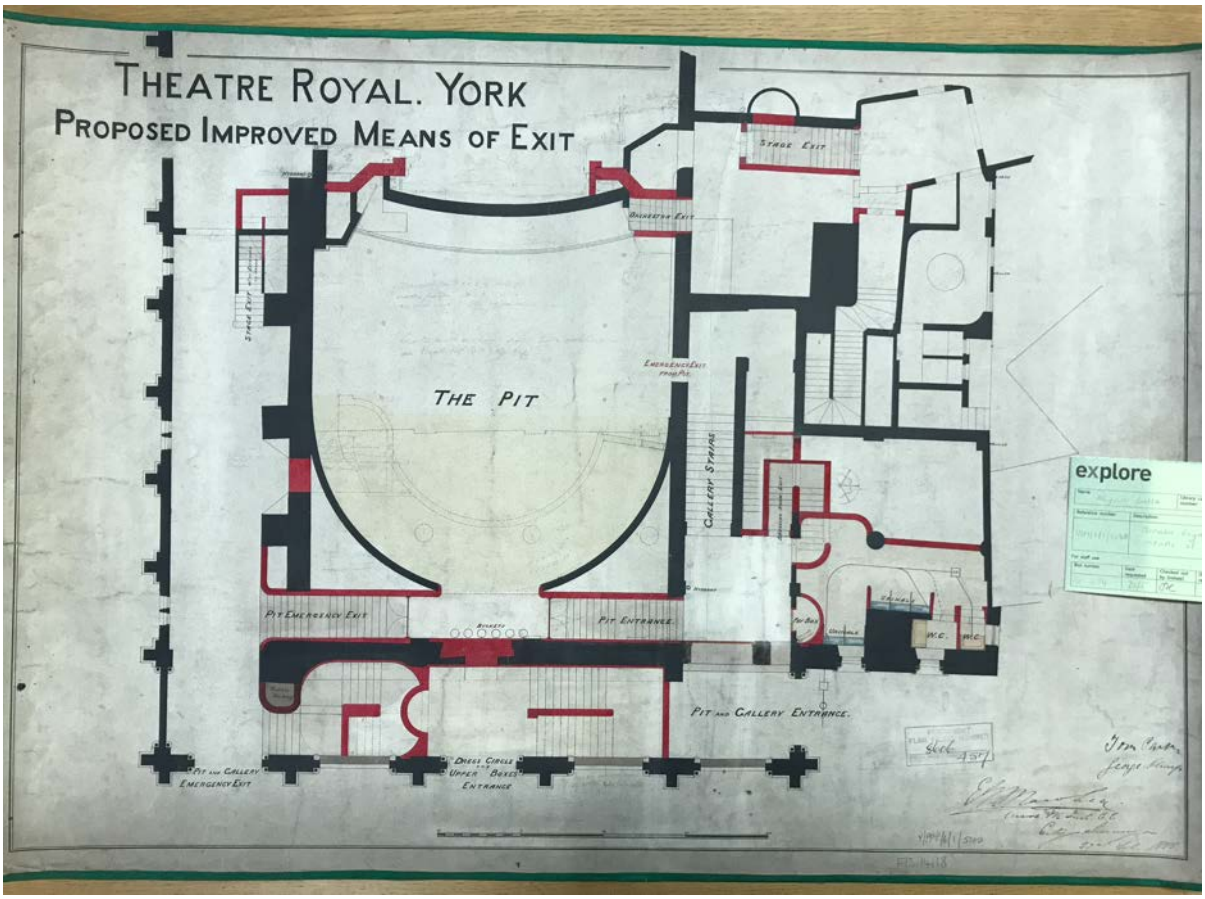

Figure 46: Plan of the ground floor of the TRY in 1888 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5280).

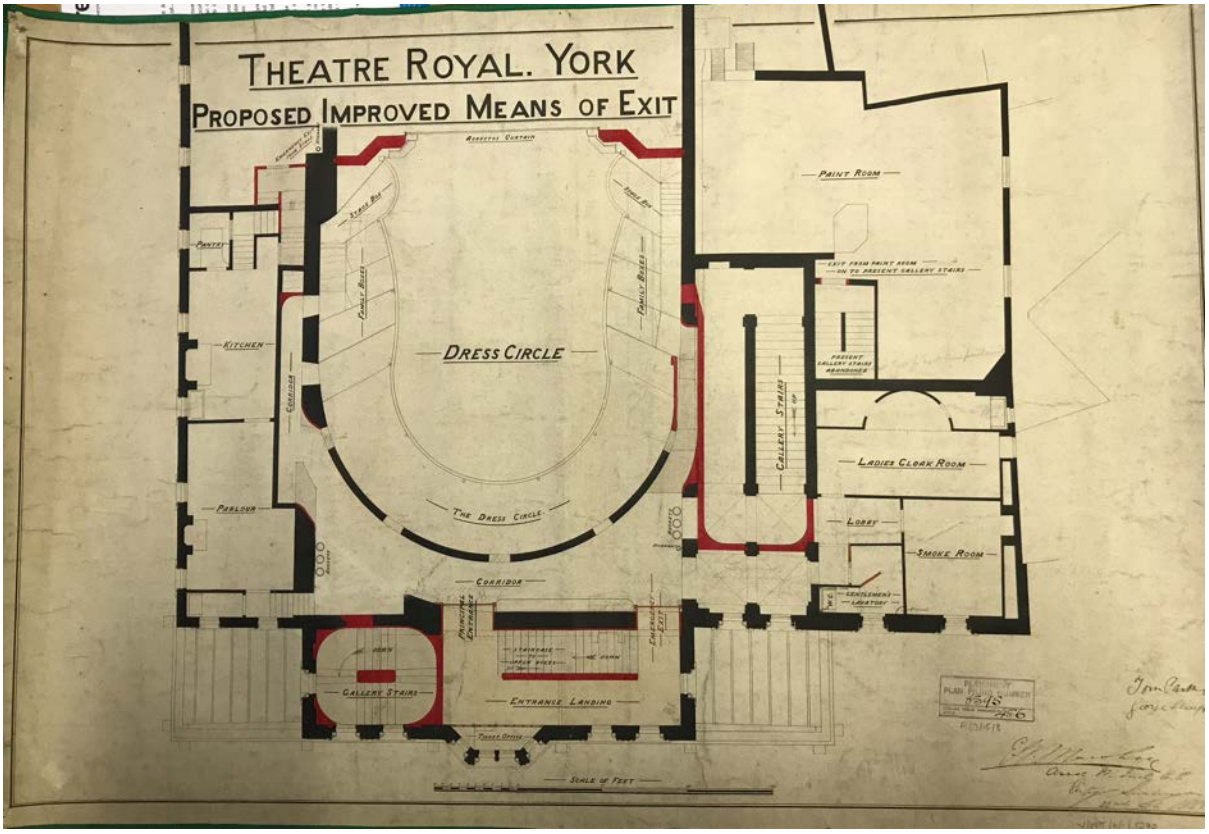

Figure 47: Plan of the 2nd floor of the TRY in 1888 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5290).

1901

Figure 48: Plan of the 2nd floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4495).

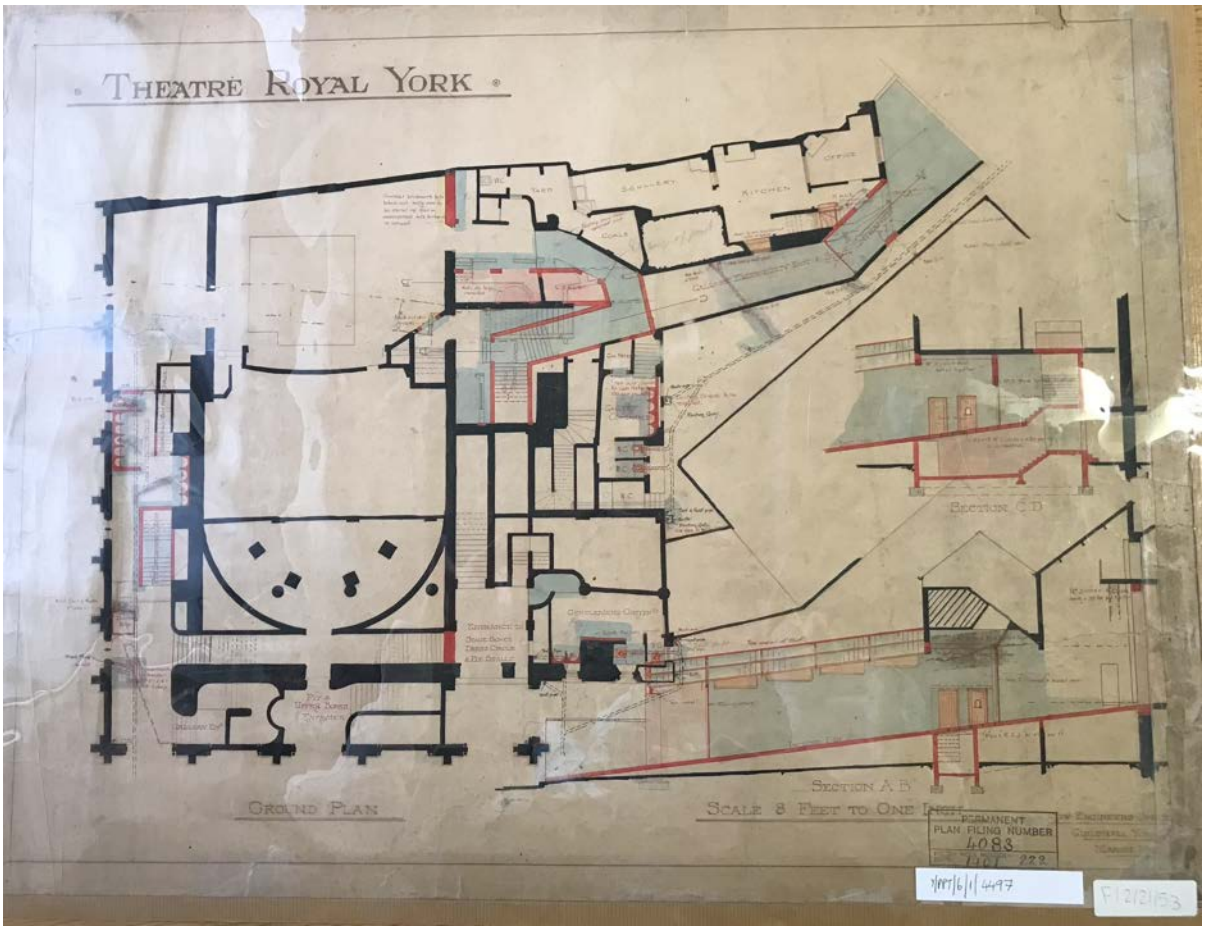

Figure 49: Plan of the ground floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4497).

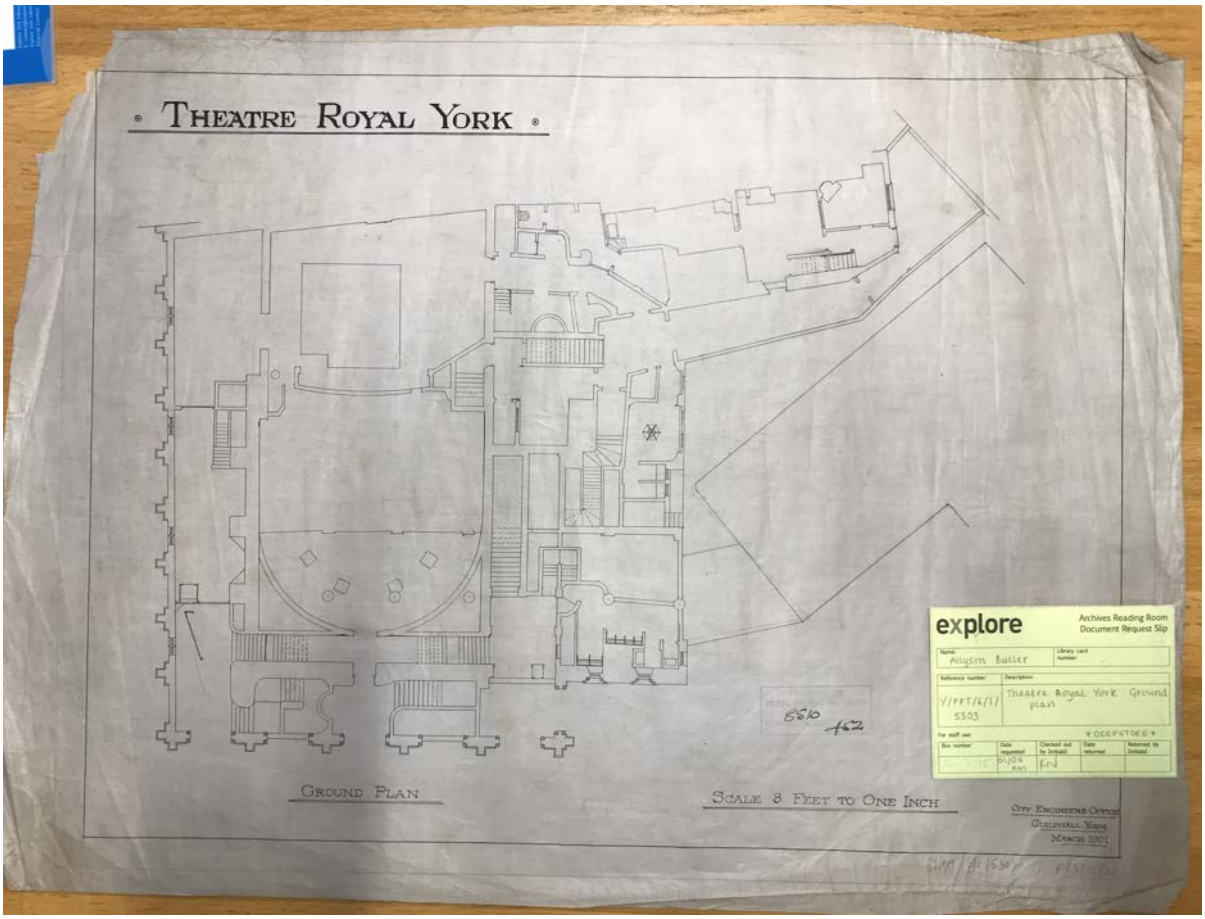

Figure 50: Plan of the ground floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5303).

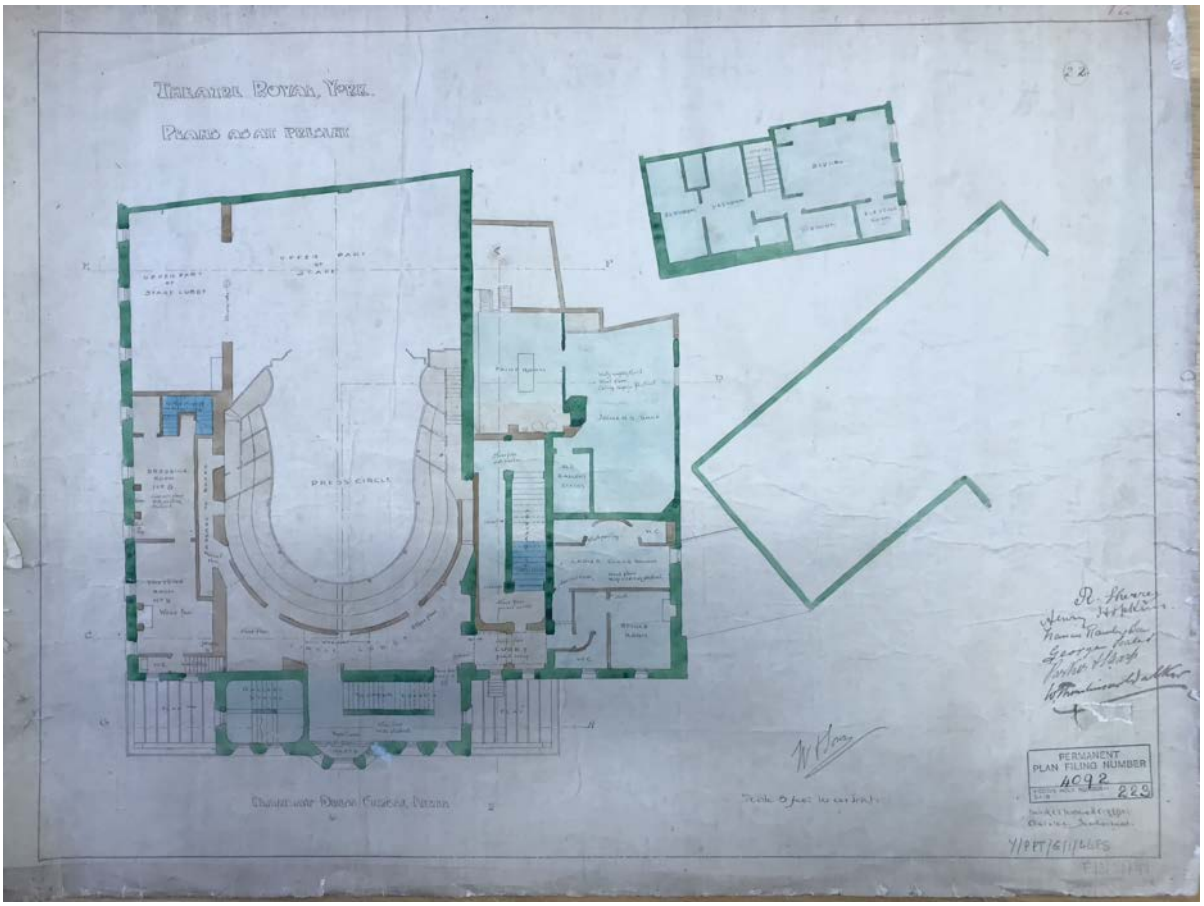

Figure 51: Plan of the 2nd floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4485).

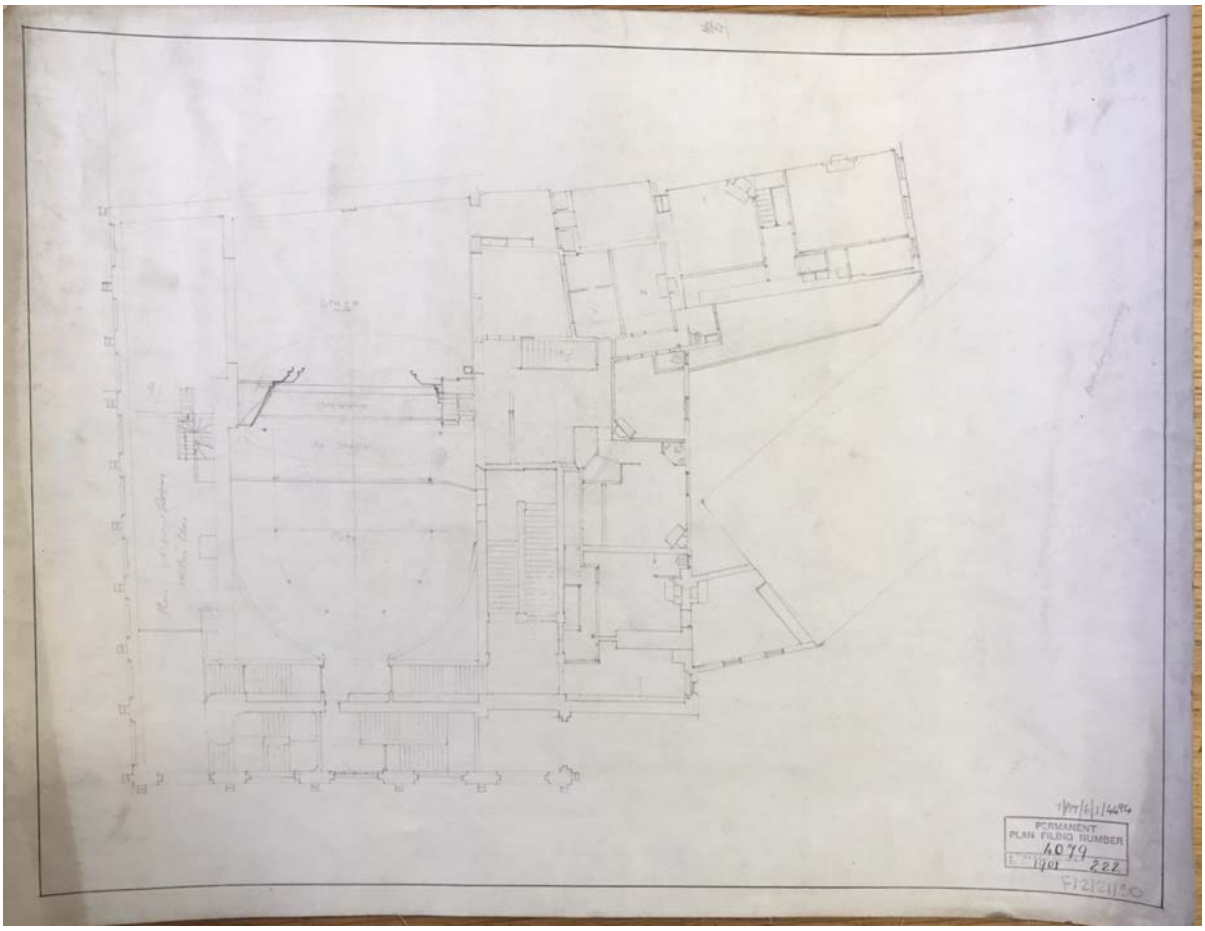

Figure 52: Plan of the 1st floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4494).

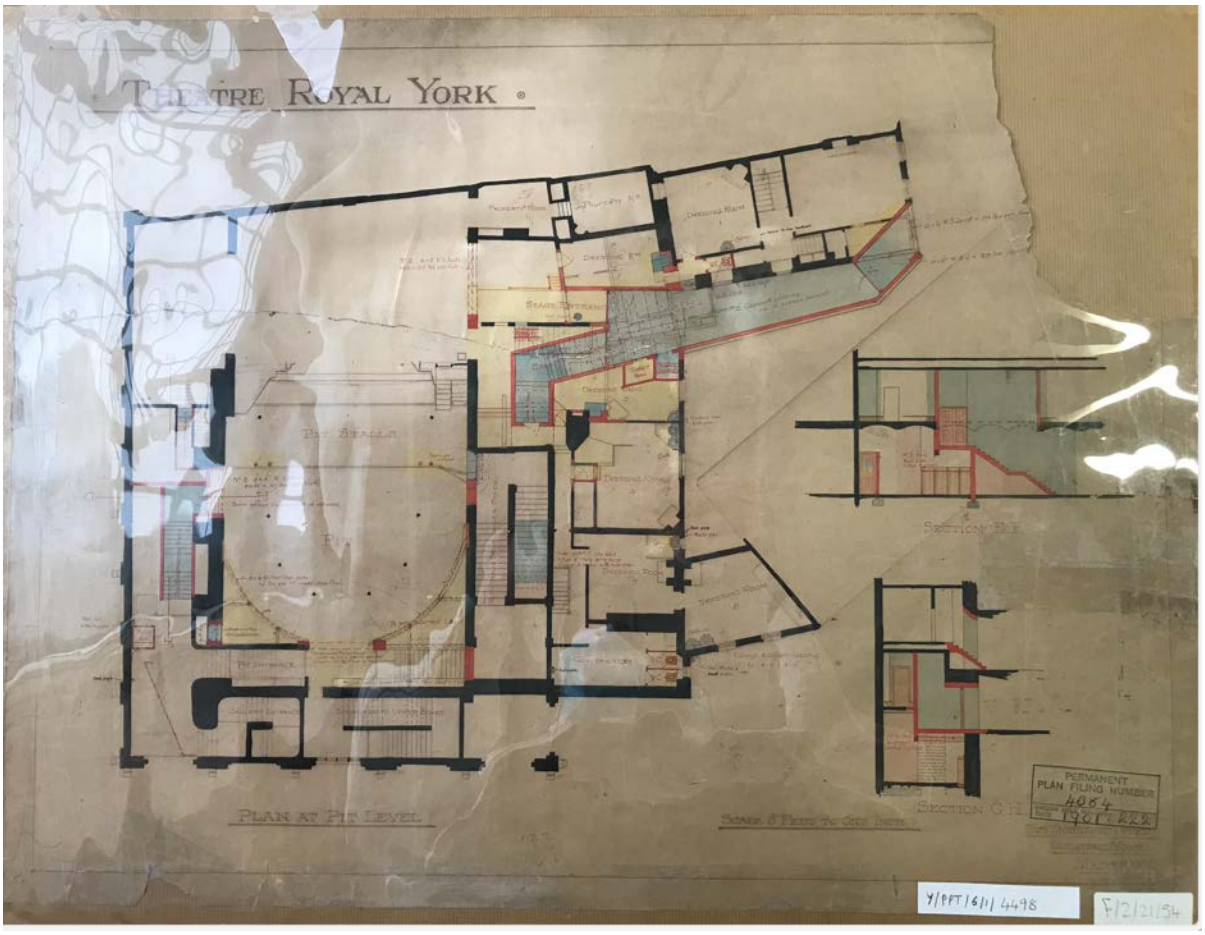

Figure 53: Plan of the 1st floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/4498).

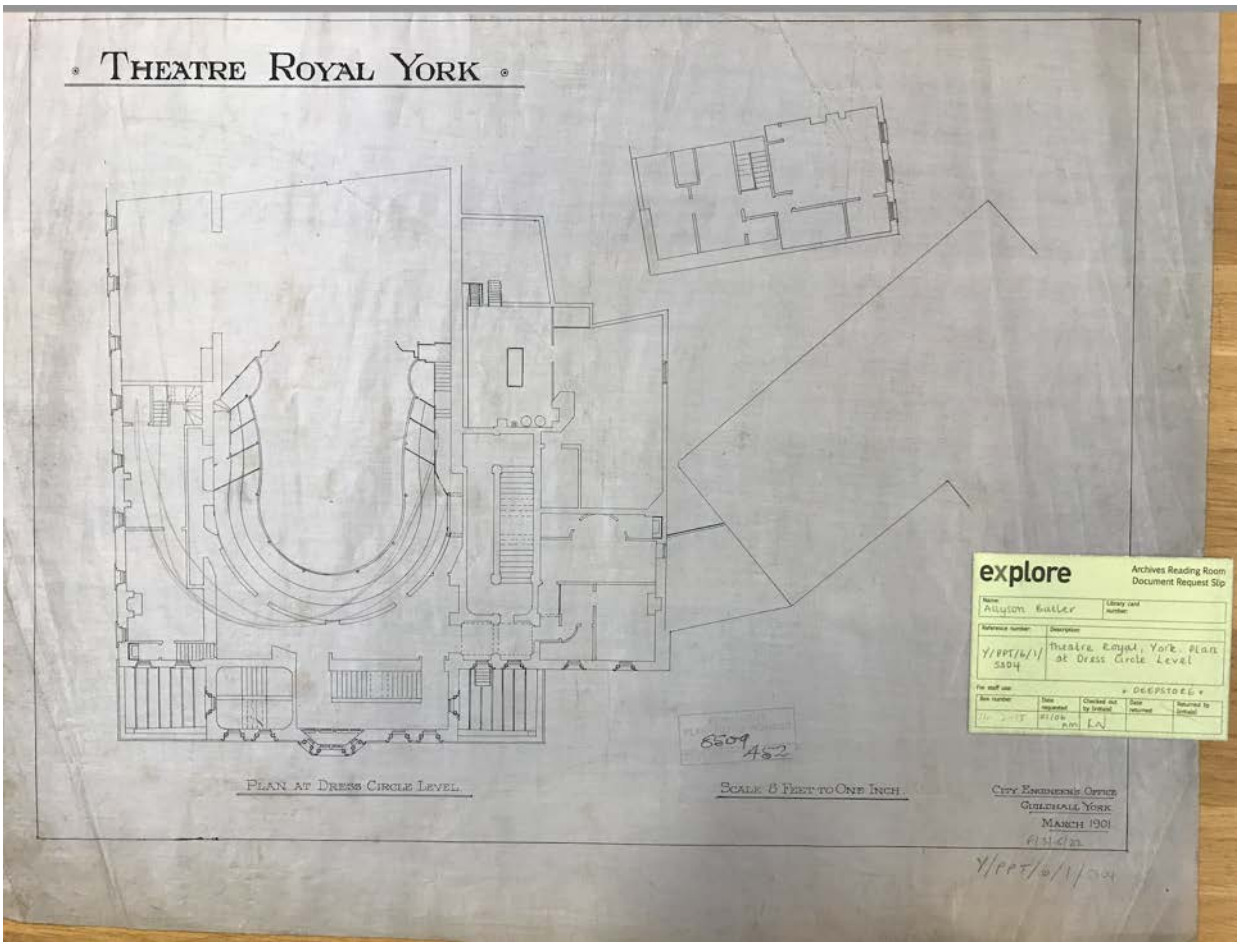

Figure 54: Plan of the 2nd floor of the TRY in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5304).

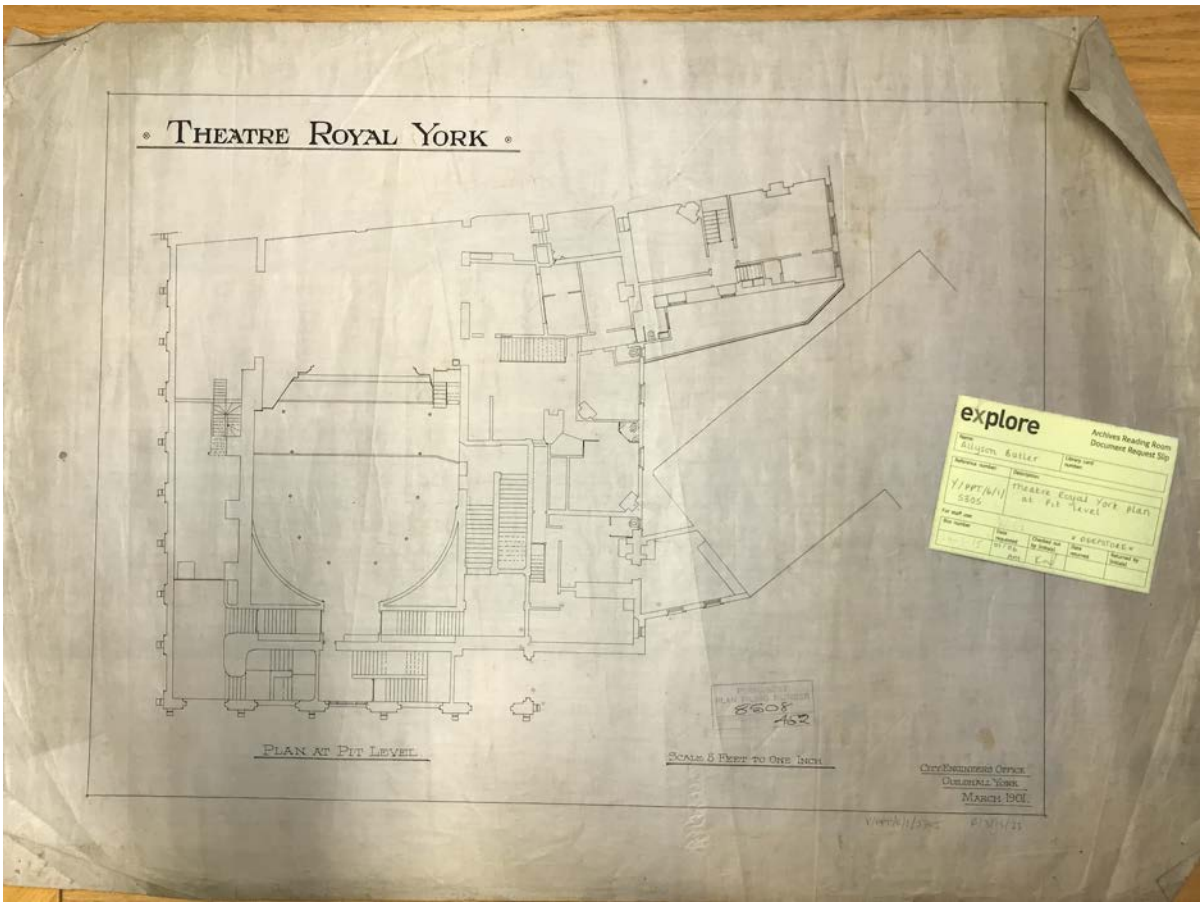

Figure 55: Plan of the 1st floor of the TRY and TWH in 1901 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5305).

1921

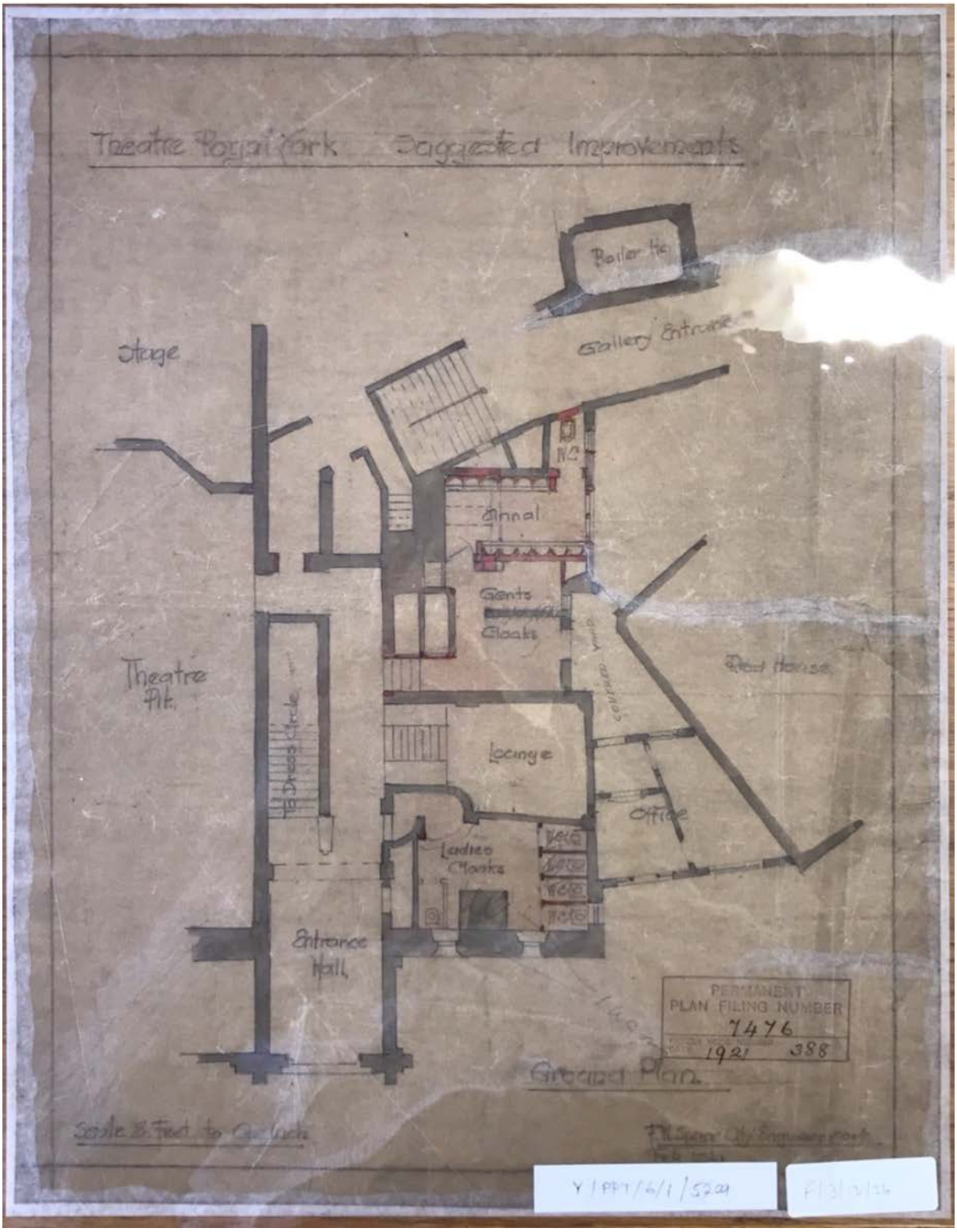

Figure 56: Plan of the ground floor of the TRY in 1921 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/5209).

1936

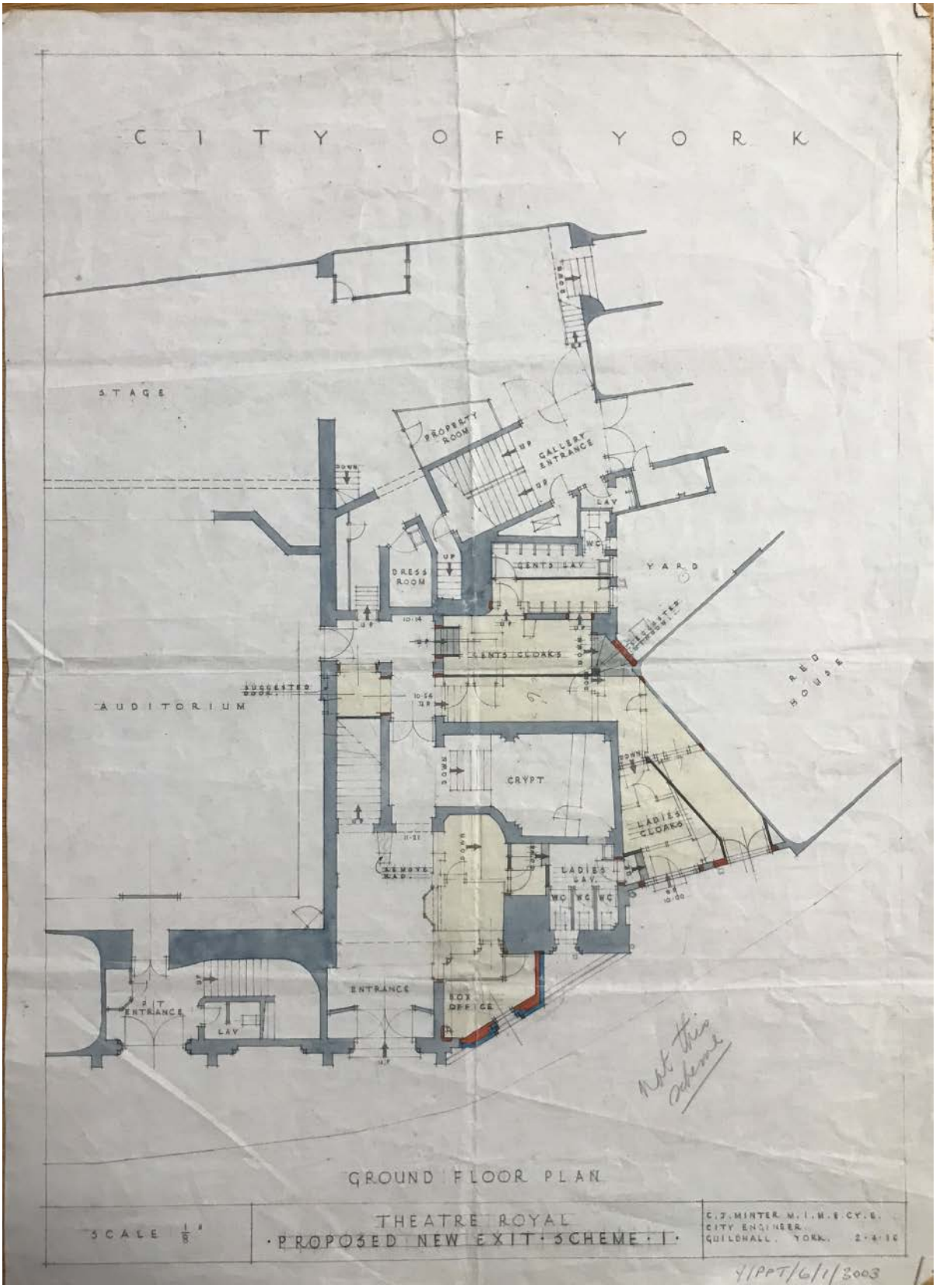

Figure 57: Plan of the ground floor of the TRY in 1936 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/3002).

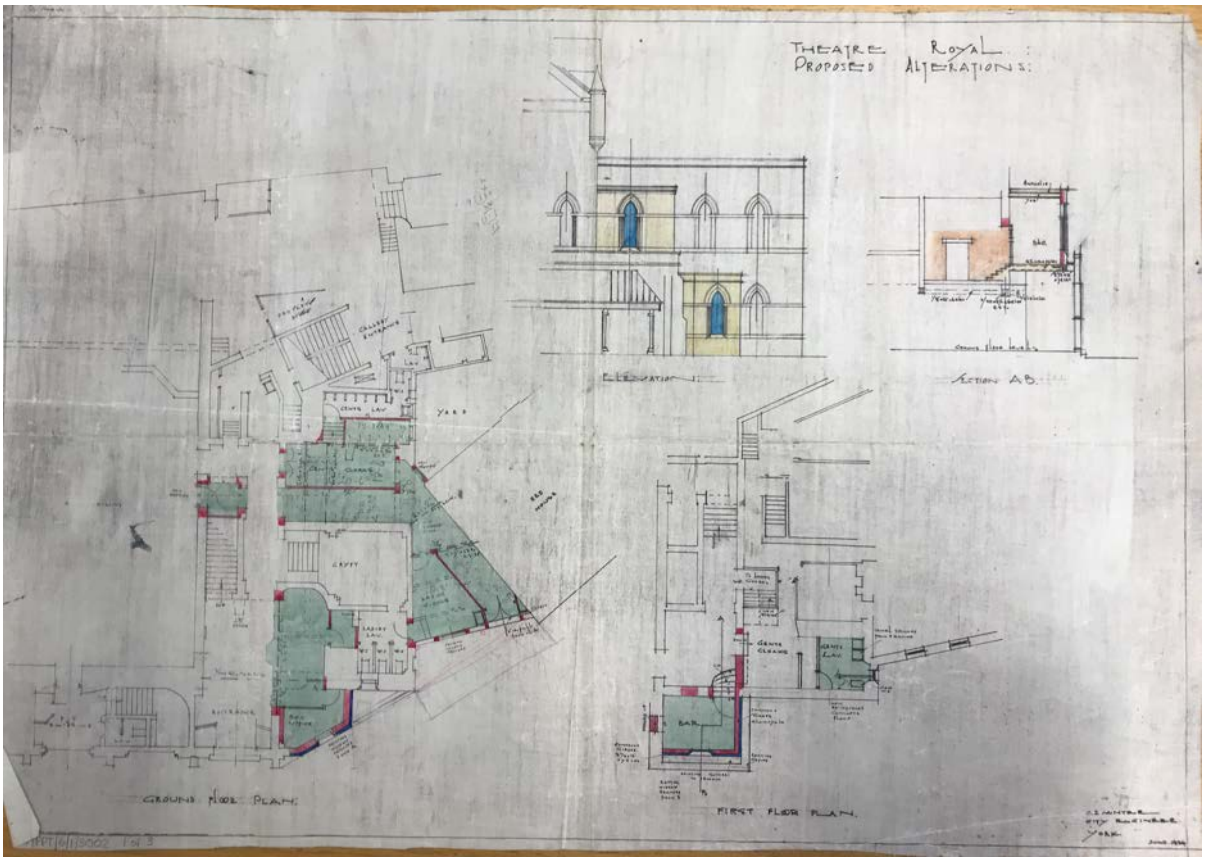

Figure 58: Plan of the ground and 1st floor of the TRY in 1936 (YEA Y/PPT/6/1/3003).

Appendix 2: Photographic Survey

Figure 59: Location of photographs taken throughout the survey. Numbers refer to figure numbers throughout Appendix 2. Arrow indicates direction of photograph (Maybank Buildings Conservation 2019, annotations by Author 2022).

Ground Floor

Figure 60: Looking south, blocked up 1st floor doorway (Author 2022).

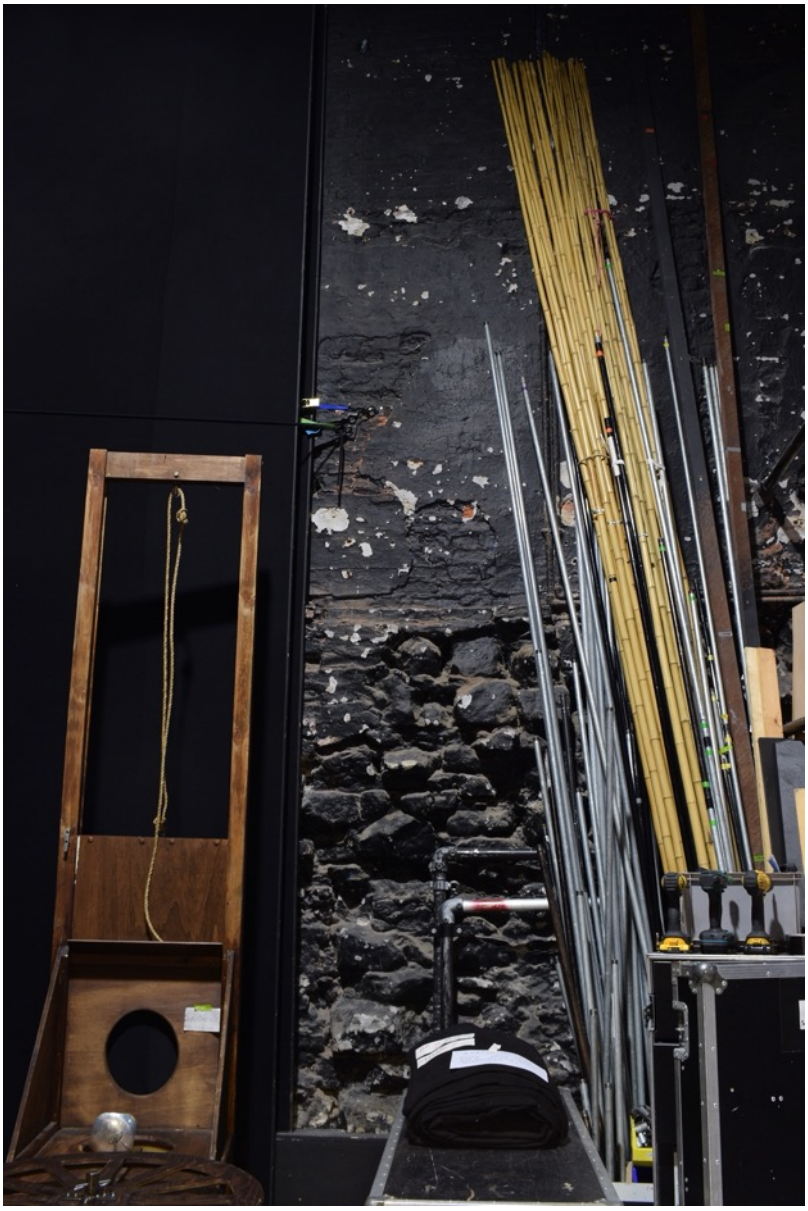

Figure 61: Internal east wall of theatre wing showing 1st floor level line (Author 2022).

Figure 62: Location of scullery in 18th century, looking west (Author 2022).

Figure 63: Location of 18th century scullery, looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 64: Location of 18th century scullery, looking north (Author 2022).

Figure 65: Cellar looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 66: Cellar looking north (Author 2022).

Figure 67: Entrance into area that was the 18th century kitchen looking south-west. This entrance and internal wall are a 20th century addition (Author 2022).

Figure 68: Remains of original kitchen fireplace along east wall (Author 2022).

Figure 69: Looking north, 20th century wall. During the 18th century a wall would have been located here dividing the kitchen from the scullery (Author 2022).

Figure 70: Front room facing south (Author 2022).

Figure 71: Location of original entrance to the front room on western wall. It has now been obscured by a newer window (Author 2022).

Figure 72: Location of original fireplace in north-east corner (Author 2022).

Figure 73: Current doorway into front room. This entrance way has been created in the 20th century. This area would have been a part of the kitchen in the 18th century (Author 2022).

Figure 74: Entrance lobby of the TWH facing south (Author 2022).

Figure 75: Entrance lobby and hallway of the TWH facing north (Author 2022).

Figure 76: Base of staircase to 1st floor in entrance lobby of the TWH along west wall (Author 2022).

Figure 77: Get-in looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 78: East facing room off get-in passage (Author 2022).

Figure 79: Entrance to get-in from the TRY facing south (Author 2022).

Figure 80: Backstage of the TRY directly opposite get-in passage (Author 2022).

1st Floor

Figure 81: Staircase to 1st floor looking north (left) and south (right) (Author 2022)

Figure 82: 1st floor landing north facing doors. Doorway to current bathroom and former entrance passage to the TRY (left). Doorway to former dining room, now server room (right) (Author 2022).

Figure 83: 1st floor landing east facing doors lead to dog-leg staircase to 2nd floor (Author 2022).

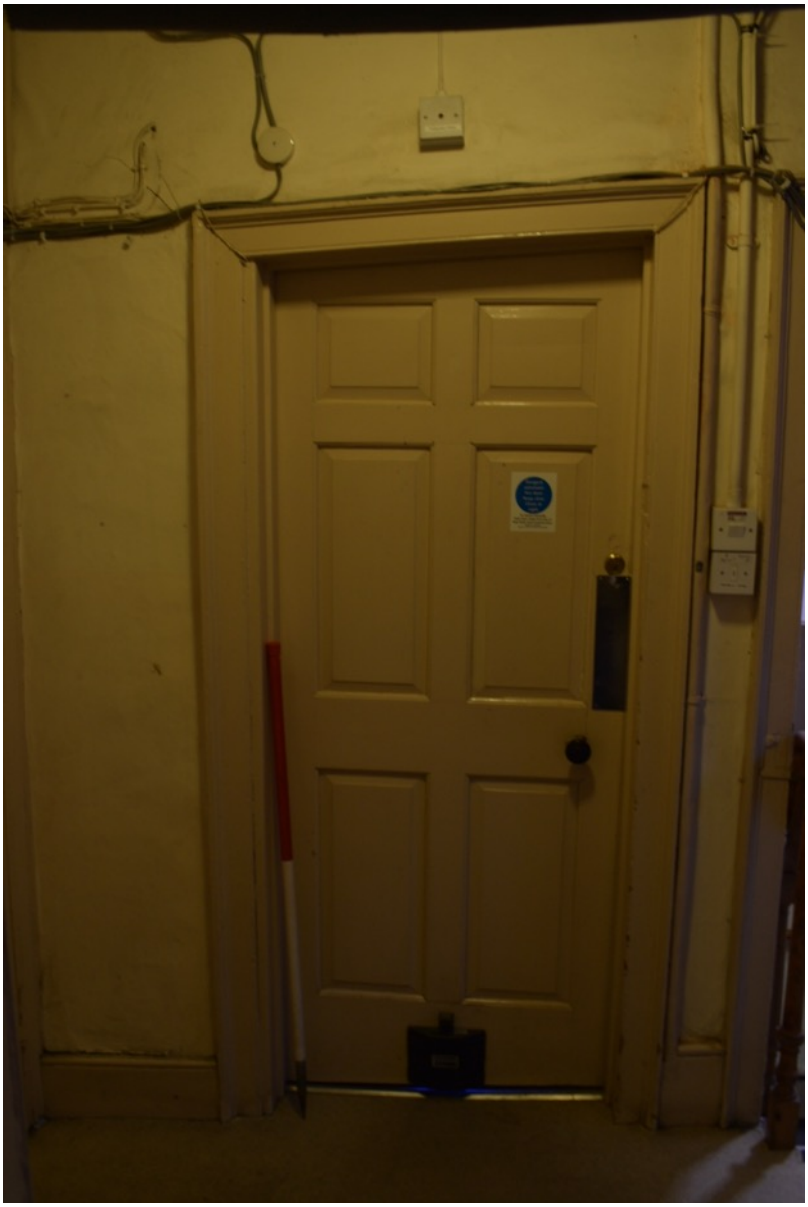

Figure 84: 1st floor landing south facing door to former drawing room, now offices (Author 2022).

Figure 85: 1st floor front room looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 86: 1st floor front room facing east. Original fireplace in situ (Author 2022).

Figure 87: 1st floor front room facing north (Author 2022).

Figure 88: 18th century in situ cabinet in north-west corner of 1st floor front room (Author 2022


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Figure 89: Decorative detail remaining in 1st floor front room. Cornice detail on west wall (top). Skirting board and door casing detail around entrance (middle). Full length window frames on the two eastern most windows (bottom)(Author 2022).

Figure 90: West facing wall of 1st floor rear room. This room was formerly the dining room and is currently the server room of the TRY. The doorway to the north is a 20th century addition (Author 2022).

Figure 91: North-east facing corner of 1st floor rear room (left). The blocked-up doorway would have provided access to a suite of rooms that lay to the north. These northern rooms have been demolished. Detail of doorcase (right) (Author 2022).

Figure 92: 18th century fireplace in situ in 1st floor rear room (Author 2022).

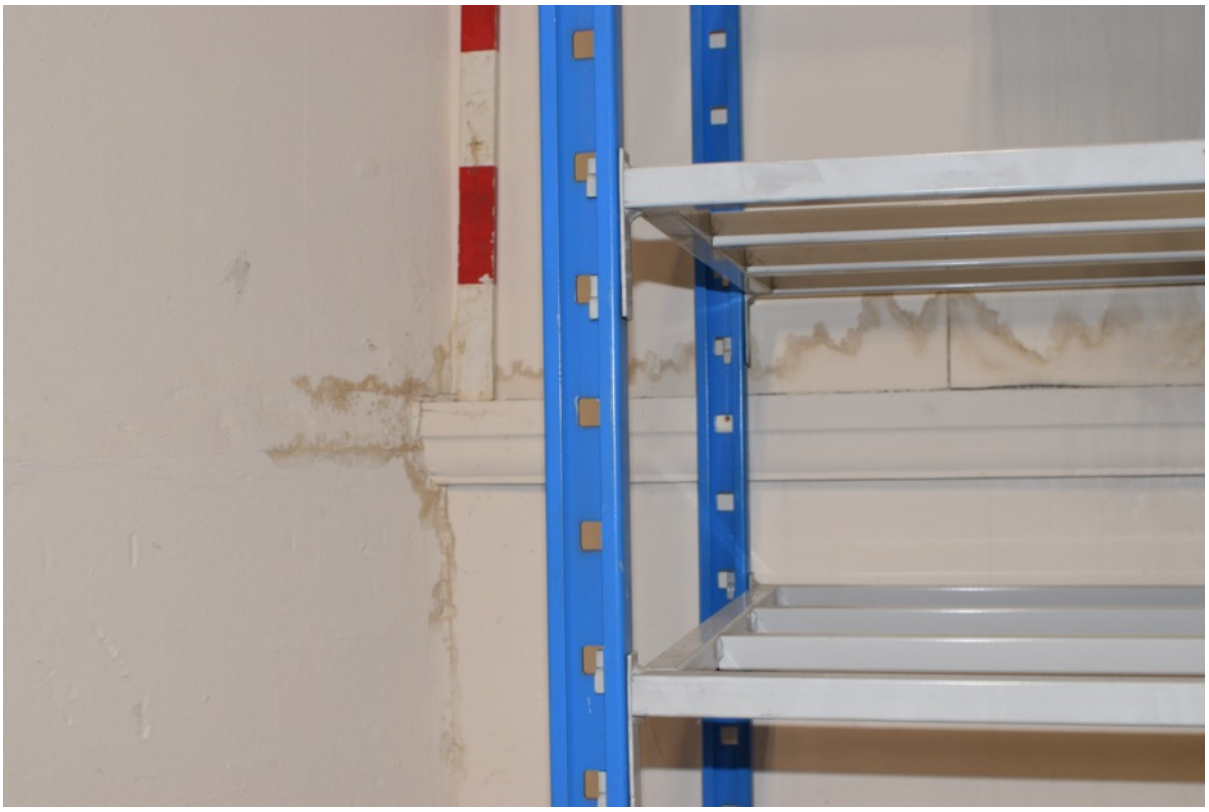

Figure 93: Evidence of dado rail on eastern wall of 1st floor rear room (Author 2022).

Figure 94: North-west anteroom off 1st floor rear room facing west. This room was originally part of the 18th century theatre passage. The window was the original location of the threshold that would have led into the TRY (Author 2022).

Figure 95: North-west anteroom off 1st floor rear room facing south. This room was originally part of the 18th century theatre passage (Author 2022).

Figure 96: Evidence of colour scheme of the north-west anteroom at one stage (Author 2022).

Figure 97: 1st floor rear western room looking north. Currently the location of the bathroom, formerly this room made up part of the theatre passage (Author 2022).

Figure 98: 1st floor rear western room looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 99: Evidence of previous decorative scheme located within cupboard on south facing wall of the 1st floor rear western room (Author 2022).

2nd Floor

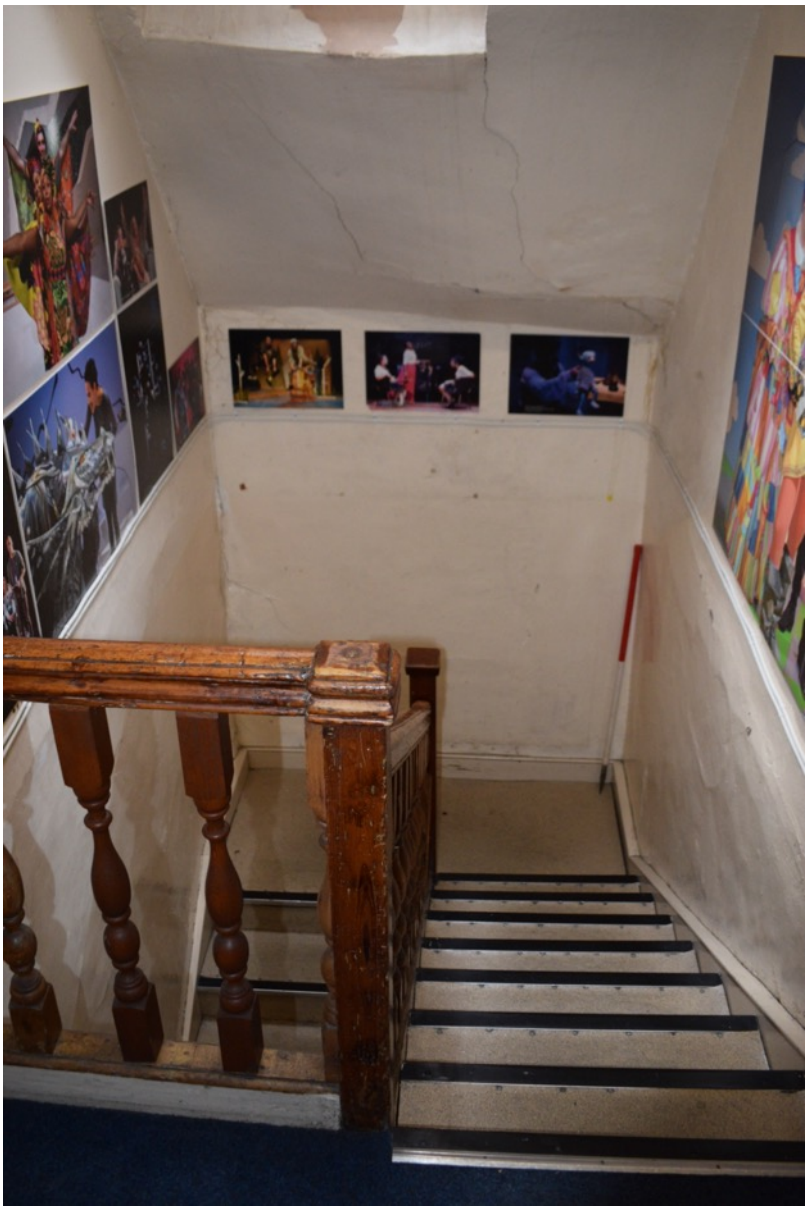

Figure 100: 2nd floor staircase looking east (Author 2022).

Figure 101: 2nd floor landing looking north. Door to 2nd floor rear room (Author 2022).

Figure 102: 2nd floor landing looking west. Door to western side room (Author 2022).

Figure 103: 2nd floor landing looking west. Original 18th century door that would have led to the small western room. This room no longer exists, and this door is not utilised (Author 2022).

Figure 104: 2nd floor landing looking south. Door leads to 2nd floor front room (Author 2022).

Figure 105: 2nd floor rear room looking east (Author 2022).

Figure 106: 2nd floor rear room looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 107: 2nd floor rear room looking west (Author 2022).

Figure 108: 2nd floor rear room looking north (Author 2022).

Figure 109: 2nd floor western room facing north. In the east corner is the remains of a doorway (Author 2022).

Figure 110: 2nd floor front room looking at north-west corner (Author 2022).

Figure 111: 2nd floor front room looking west. This area would have been enclosed in the 18th century (Author 2022).

Figure 112: 2nd floor front room looking at south-west corner (Author 2022).

Figure 113: 2nd floor front room looking south (Author 2022).

Figure 114: 2nd floor front room looking east. Location of original fireplace in situ (Author 2022).

Figure 115: 2nd floor front room looking north showing bed niche (Author 2022).

Figure 116: 2nd floor front room built-in cupboard in north-east corner (Author 2022).

Figure 117: 2nd floor front room window architraves that extend to the ground (Author 2022).

Figure 118: 2nd floor front room cornice detail in north-west corner (Author 2022).

Exterior

Figure 119: Exterior entrance to get-in on southern elevation (Author 2022).

Figure 120: Front door of the TWH located on south-east elevation (Author 2022).

Figure 121: Entrance to yard located between the TWH and the Red House to the west (Author 2022).

Figure 122: Inside the yard looking at the southern elevation of the TRY (Author 2022).

Figure 123: Inside the yard looking at the western elevation of the TWH (Author 2022).

Figure 124: Inside the yard facing south towards Duncombe Place. Masonry structure to the west is the Red House. Brick structure to the east is the TWH (Author 2022).

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PR 175. folio 328, will of Jane Wilkinson

PR 219, folio 753, will of John Joseph Tate Wilkinson

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HMU/14/100, Newspaper cuttings

HMU/18, Dean Duncombe

MSS/2/368, letters patent of George III

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Y/PPT/6/1/3003, Theatre Royal Proposed New Exit Scheme 1

Y/PPT/6/1/4190, Ground Plan, Theatre Royal York

Y/PPT/6/1/4477, Proposed Alterations to Theatre Royal, York

Y/PPT/6/1/4480, Alterations to the York Theatre The Managers Departments

Y/PPT/6/1/4483, General Section of Staircase [Theatre Royal]

Y/PPT/6/1/4485, Theatre Royal York- Plans as at Present

Y/PPT/6/1/4487, Theatre Royal Annotated Floor Plan

Y/PPT/6/1/4488, Theatre Royal Annotated Floor Plan

Y/PPT/6/1/4494, Untitled [Theatre Royal York Floor Plan]

Y/PPT/6/1/4495, Theatre Royal York

Y/PPT/6/1/4496, No title [Theatre Royal York Floor Plan]

Y/PPT/6/1/4497, Theatre Royal York

Y/PPT/6/1/4498, Theatre Royal York, Plan at Pit Level

Y/PPT/6/1/5209, Theatre Royal York, Suggested Improvements

Y/PPT/6/1/5280, Theatre Royal York: proposed improved means of exit

Y/PPT/6/1/5281, Theatre Royal York: proposed improved means of exit

Y/PPT/6/1/5290, Theatre Royal York: proposed improved means of exit

Y/PPT/6/1/5303, Theatre Royal York. Ground Plan

Y/PPT/6/1/5304, Theatre Royal, York. Plan at Dress Circle Level

Y/PPT/6/1/5305, Theatre Royal York Plan at Pit Level

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