

5-2012

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHANGES IN BUSINESS STRUCTURE AND TOURISM GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, 1899-1999

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHANGES IN BUSINESS STRUCTURE AND
TOURISM GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN CHARLESTON,
SOUTH CAROLINA, 1899-1999

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Graduate School of
Clemson University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy
Parks Recreation and Tourism Management

by
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May 2012

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation investigates how a medium-sized U.S. city (Charleston, SC) transformed itself from an old depressed port, with a predominance of manufacturing industries, to one that is a popular international tourist destination. The research seeks to answer the following questions:

- What urban processes have been most influential in shaping the tourism product?
- Can Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) model be used as a basis for measuring tourism growth in the Tourism Business District of a U.S. city?
- Is the change in a city's business structure related to the growth of the tourism industry?
- What measures have to be taken by the public and private sectors to develop and maintain the tourist product in the Tourism Business District?
- What other factors are important to the growth and success of a destination?

The TALC model is examined by looking at the changes in business structure over a hundred year period from 1899-1999. "Snapshots" are taken every twenty years using business data taken from city street directories. For tourism businesses (accommodations, restaurants, antique stores and gift shops), the snapshots are taken every five years to obtain a more accurate picture of growth and change. The analysis also includes graphs of tourist visitation rates and expenditures and maps of the central area of Charleston.

An historical analysis helps to explain why some of the changes in Charleston's business took place and how tourism became the leading industry in the area. Topics

such as events, advertising, beautification, facility development and tourism management give a picture of the tourism development process in the community. The study concludes that while the city may go through cycles of business growth, change and decline, tourism is not always affected by those cycles. Exogenous factors like recessions, gas shortages and price rises, have far more impact on tourism. Butler's model is suitable for a description of tourism development but there needs to be more focus on the process and evolution of tourism management and planning as tools for maintaining the urban tourism product and in a multifunctional city some better measures of estimating tourist numbers.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family Peter, Anna, Jonathan, Paul, Tracie, Emma, Ethan, Michael, Stephen and Gerald.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee for all the encouragement and support they have given me through the long process of preparing this dissertation. I would particularly like to thank Drs. Bill Norman and Fran Maguire my two major advisors, who encouraged me to finish this work. I am grateful to Drs. Paul Anderson, Mickey Lauria, Barry Nocks, and Gregory Ramshaw for lending their interdisciplinary expertise and advice.

I would like to thank other faculty members who helped me along the way: Drs. Larry Gahan, Gina McClellan, Greg Hawkins and Wes Burnett.

I am grateful to the staff of the Charleston County Public Library, especially those in the South Carolina History Room and the librarians in charge of microfilms. I would like to thank Sharon Bennett of the Charleston Museum, the staff of the Charleston Department of Urban Planning and Development, the South Carolina Historical Society, the Charleston Library Society, and the College of Charleston who helped me find materials used in the research for this dissertation. I would also like to thank the staff at Delorme, a mapping software company who gave me permission to use Delorme's copyrighted maps as base maps for my spatial data.

I would like to thank my children Anna and Jonathan who patiently waited through the years for me to graduate and were often my inspiration.

I am grateful to my friends who never gave up on me and made me feel confident that I could complete the degree. I would also like to thank Dr. Frank Garland, my department head at TriCounty Technical College, who was very patient while I finished

my writing.

Above all, I would like to thank my husband Peter who stood by me through all the years of study, never failing to encourage me and making sure I met my deadlines, and for being one of the few people who have read this entire dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of this dissertation is to investigate the evolution of a successful downtown tourism business district using a tourism life cycle model. It adopts a historical geography approach focusing on the tourism business district of Charleston, South Carolina. Charleston is a prime example of a successful destination that has been evolving for over three centuries. However, the dawn of modern tourism in the city did not occur until the turn of the twentieth century. The dissertation examines the history of the city from 1899 to 1999 to answer the question: What has influenced Charleston's development into an internationally popular place to visit? It will describe the urban processes, the development and change of business structure, and the plans and policies adopted by local government, organizations and private citizens to regulate and guide tourism development and shape the city into a marketable tourism product.

Background

Cities have always been the recipients of visitors. As centers of trade and religion in historic times, cities evolved from the relatively uncomplicated clusters of crafts people, merchants and religious leaders, after the stabilization of agriculture, to the complex multi-functional concentrations of population they are today. In modern times, they have become centers of industry, business and finance, providing employment in manufacturing, retailing and services. They often house the headquarters for corporations and associations. They are also centers for health, education, cultural interests and entertainment. Cities are focuses of transportation, they can be origins, transition points or destinations for travelers. Their influence may be regional, national

or global. Above all cities are for people, and visitors to cities can partake of and enjoy most of the amenities the city has to offer.

Urban tourism is what visitors to cities engage in. The problem of defining urban tourism is complex. Cities are multi-functional and most of those functions have the potential to be used by the visitor. They are also used by the residents and it is often difficult to distinguish between resident and visitor. Visitors to cities come for a variety of reasons. They may visit for cultural activities, sightseeing, sporting events, festivals, museum visits, entertainment, shopping, visiting friends and relatives, education, personal business, business meetings, conventions, and whatever else the city has to offer in the way of leisure pursuits. They may also engage in different activities during their stay so that the visit itself is multi-purpose.

Within large cities, especially capital cities, tourism becomes spatially concentrated into well-defined areas. There may be a restaurant district, a theater district, a hotel district. In smaller cities the tourist/cultural attractions are often concentrated into one central area which has been called by various names such as Tourism Business District (Getz, 1993) or, more recently Tourist Precinct (Hayllar, Griffin, & Edwards, 2008). It is usually this area that convention and visitors bureaus and chambers of commerce promote to the prospective visitor. This is the area where most of the tourist activity takes place. It is very convenient for the visitor because movement between attractions can be accomplished on foot, avoiding the necessity of finding parking spaces or waiting for public transit. However, these areas tend to suffer from overuse. They are frequently crowded, sometimes intermittently, seasonally, at weekends or all the time.

Tourists mix with central city workers and downtown residents and tourism businesses share the area with offices, downtown shopping areas and financial institutions. Tourism can change an area's way of life and its pace, causing antagonism between the tourist, the resident and other urban users. The predominant feature of the central city is its space limitation which means an increase in the value of real estate and restrictions on large-scale commercial development. To preserve the character of the central area and create an acceptable balance between uses and users requires strict controls, not just on the size and height of buildings, but also their conformity to the general atmosphere of the place. This is especially true in a city with unique or interesting architecture, an historic core, or some other physical or cultural attraction. Tourism itself carries with it its own needs for regulation ranging from bus parking provision and control to wear and tear of monuments and historic buildings.

Rationale for Study

Urban tourism, until the 1990s, was neglected by researchers in the United States. Therefore, both theoretical and empirical studies of tourism related to urban structure were sparse. Studies of U.S. cities were often conducted by scholars from outside the country and were mainly the purview of geographers and planners. Until recently, urban tourism researchers in the United States paid more attention to resort cities or areas of tourism urbanization. Studies of city tourism in the US were more likely to be conducted by local governments, convention and visitors bureaus/chambers of commerce and private consultants who were commissioned to study particular problems and find practical or policy solutions.

During the 1990s, studies by other disciplines began to appear in the literature. Sociologists, psychologists, and urban design professionals began to show the relevance of the tourist's behavior in cities and how urban aesthetics were important to enhancing or enriching the tourist's experience. Because the study of urban tourism is now multi-disciplinary, there are opportunities for approaching the subject from different academic perspectives which will give a broader theoretical base to the discipline instead of the more traditional pragmatic approaches.

Although these new approaches add new dimensions to the study of urban tourism, there is still a need for examining how tourism fits into the urban context. Studying the supply side of tourism, *i.e.*, the hospitality industry and tourist-type businesses lays the groundwork for future tourism development and planning and gives insight into how tourism can be accommodated in a multi-functional city without first losing the essential character of the city or second, hindering prosperity garnered from other economic activities.

One way of examining urban tourism is to delimit tourist areas in the city and discuss how they came to be tourist areas. Researching the evolution of tourism business districts (TBDs) can highlight problems and pitfalls in tourism development policies and help other cities avoid the problems faced in initial development of tourism in a city. Integrating urban tourism and the life cycle model introduces a new perspective on both urban tourism studies and life cycle studies. Few studies using the life cycle model have been conducted in urban areas. Those most often cited are Richardson's study of Galveston (Richardson, 1986) and Getz's study of Niagara Falls (Getz, 1992). However,

the life cycle approach may provide another step toward producing a more definitive model of urban tourism. A model such as this could then be used by planners and policymakers to plan for an urban environment that satisfies all users of the city.

Conceptual Background

Two general statements serve to illustrate the theoretical underpinning of this dissertation.

First, to understand the nature of urban tourism, one has to understand the underlying urban processes that help to shape it.

Second, unless urban tourism is regarded as being part of the urban fabric, it cannot be fully described or explained.

The first statement relates to how urban tourism develops in an urban context. It implies the need to examine the historical development of tourism in a city, the events and processes that have occurred to bring the urban tourism product to its present form. Although, various aspects of the historical development of tourism have been investigated, Butler's holistic model of the cycle of tourism evolution (most often referred to as the tourism area life cycle or TALC) represents one of the first steps toward a theory of tourism development. It is useful in the urban context because there are so many intervening variables influencing tourism's evolution. But Butler's model has the flexibility of being supplemented or modified without losing its essential character. The model assumes that tourism is a product which follows a particular pattern of development similar to the product life cycle in the field of marketing. The tourism life cycle has six stages (exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation,

and decline/rejuvenation). The cycle starts when a place is discovered by travelers who like to explore areas that have not yet been visited by many people and do not provide many tourist functions. These are generally the well-educated and wealthy and those who live a Bohemian life-style. As the place becomes fashionable, more tourists arrive. Hotels and tourist infrastructure are built. The place eventually becomes a destination for masses of tourists with provision for commercial entertainment, accommodations and man-made attractions. The original visitors have long since disappeared, moving on to other remote locales, and the place becomes regarded as a tourist trap. If it follows the product life cycle pattern, it will begin to stagnate, still receiving large numbers of visitors but no longer growing. Eventually, it will begin to decline unless business or government introduces a new attraction which encourages a different market and improves the environment.

The second statement is that unless urban tourism is regarded as being part of the urban fabric, it cannot be fully described or explained. This statement stresses the need to set tourism into its urban context. Describing and explaining spatial patterns and analyzing tourist areas within the city gives planners and policymakers a clear idea of where they need to focus their efforts, not only to maintain the popularity of the destination, but also to satisfy the needs and interests of businesses and residents. Describing the spatial distribution of tourism facilities in the city as a whole provides insight into the impact of tourism upon the urban landscape as a whole. Studies adopting this approach will typically select one type of facility for examination (e.g. hotels or restaurants). The analysis of tourist areas within the city provides insight, not only into

the impact of tourism on the urban landscape, but also the urban landscape's impact upon tourism, a kind of symbiotic relationship. If tourism is present, the business structure of a small area changes and may become dominated by tourist-type businesses and the character of the area changes. Conversely tourist businesses have to fit in with the environment they are in. Adaptive reuse of buildings is typical of this phenomenon. For example, old warehouses are converted to small fashionable shopping areas or accommodations. Fast food restaurant chains have to change their signage to conform to appearance regulations and tourist buses are either prohibited from entering an area or have special parking areas provided for them. Studies of central tourist areas usually describe them in broad terms of their touristic content and their relation to other urban functions or structure.

Problem Statement

There have only been a few systematic studies of the stages of tourism growth and development over long periods of time in U.S. cities. There is a need in the tourism field to examine how tourism in U.S. cities has grown and been integrated into the urban environment. There is also a need to examine how management tools have developed to cope with increased visitation as well as providing quality tourist infrastructure and facilities. This dissertation examines the growth of a tourist destination in the context of general urban and industrial change, from its first conscious decision to attract tourists over one hundred years ago to its development into a world-class tourist destination with an annual revenue exceeding \$1 billion.

Research Questions

What urban processes have been most influential in shaping the tourism product?

1. Can Butler's TALC model be used as a basis for measuring tourism growth in the Tourism Business District of a U.S. city?
2. Is the change in a city's business structure related to the growth of the tourism industry?
3. What measures have to be taken by the public sector to develop and maintain the tourist product in the Tourism Business District?
4. What other factors are important to the growth and success of a destination?

The Case Study

Charleston has been chosen because it is a medium-sized city with a well-defined and compact tourist core which lends itself to a more manageable analysis than a larger city. It is in a popular tourist destination region and attracts people because of its architectural uniqueness, its history, urban functions and cultural resources, as well as its proximity to several beach resorts. It is one of the most popular cities to visit in the United States being visited by over 5 million tourists per year. On US tours, it is often scheduled as a stop-over between New York and Miami (Bridges, 1998, p. 30). It consistently ranks at least fourth in *Condé Nast's Traveler Magazine's* People's Choice Awards and has been in first place several times sharing the limelight with San Francisco, Santa Fe and New Orleans. In 1999, it achieved third place ranking for the first time. It has a wealth of historical archival materials which yield a considerable amount of information about tourism in the city as well as its urban functions and their

evolution.

Charleston's site is on a peninsula, located at the confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers in South Carolina, a state in the southeastern section of the United States. Its site lies about 10 miles from the Atlantic Ocean. First settled in 1670 by the British it became a thriving port during colonial times. Its historic core is confined to the lower part of the peninsula and older homes, distinctive in their architectural style surround the Central Business District. The old port used to be located along the Cooper River on the East side of the city along what are now Concord and East Bay Streets and the wharves were lined with factories and warehouses serving the port. When the port moved upstream on the Cooper River, the warehouses and factories gradually disappeared and East Bay Street became transformed to a thoroughfare which is rapidly changing to a fashionable tourist area.

Charleston lies in an area prone to hurricanes and, throughout its history, has suffered extensive damage from natural and man-made disasters. Hurricanes, fires and disease frequently wreaked havoc in the city and the last half of the nineteenth century was particularly devastating. Civil War and Reconstruction, economic hardship, several hurricanes, an earthquake, and an extensive fire in the center of the city took a tremendous toll on the city. By 1899, the city was in a very depressed state physically, economically and psychologically. However, Charlestonians are a people who seem to be indomitable and, after each disaster, the citizens have always started to rebuild again, each time with some improvement and never seeming to lose faith in their city. Therefore, as a background to tourism development, we have a city that, out of necessity,

frequently remakes itself, a city that is used to adapting to change. This ability to accept change and adapt to it gave Charleston the potential to become a great tourist destination. Because of the vagaries of the tourism industry, the tourist destination has to be prepared constantly to change and improve, keeping up with innovations and fashions within the industry.

Assumptions and Scope of the Project

The study assumes a medium-sized US city with a typical urban structure - an inner area containing a business, entertainment/cultural, retailing center surrounded by older/historic neighborhoods, suburban development and satellite urban areas.

The study also assumes that Butler's life cycle model can be applied to Charleston, but describes how the cycle has progressed in the city and how it has deviated from the ideal pattern.

The dissertation examines the general business and industrial structure of downtown Charleston and looks in more detail at some tourist businesses, hotels/motels, restaurants and tourist-type shopping (primarily antique stores and gift shops as representative of tourist shopping).

In terms of geographic scale the dissertation will be focusing primarily on the Central Business District of Charleston. However, where applicable the growth of the region will be described as it illustrates the underlying urban processes that influence the downtown urban tourism product.

Methodology

Human geographers tend to adopt two main methods of investigating historical

phenomena in a spatial context: either taking cross-sections through time or providing explanation by describing stages. This dissertation uses both methods to describe the evolution of modern tourism in Charleston.

Three main forms of analysis are used to examine the information and data.

The first method is a “snapshot” taken every 20 years, from 1899-1999, by recording the businesses in the central core of the city. The data sources used are street directories and phone books. This produces six databases with approximately 2000 records in each database. For the tourism businesses, data is recorded every five years to obtain a more accurate picture of changes during the hundred years. A synthesis of statistics from the database shows both the general changes in business structure in the Tourism Business District and the growth of tourism businesses.

The second method is the construction of maps and diagrams to show the spatial aspects of urban tourism in Charleston, specifically the distribution of accommodations and restaurants.

The third method is an analysis of trends that have shaped the tourism product. Information sources for this method are historical texts, newspaper and magazine articles, brochures and guidebooks.

The first two methods relate to taking a “snapshot” at twenty-year intervals (and 5-year intervals for specific tourism businesses) and examining the tourist environment at that time. The third method refers to the examination of processes that have given Charleston its modern tourist landscape.

Definitions of Terms

Following is a clarification of some of the terms used in the dissertation:

Urban Tourism. It is important to understand the difference between urban tourism and what has been called “tourism urbanization.” Urban tourism is an activity within a multi-functional city like New York, Boston or Los Angeles, a city which would exist even if there was no tourism. Tourism urbanization refers to the growth of an urban area because of the presence of a tourism attraction or a tourist activity, for example, Las Vegas, Orlando and Myrtle Beach. Tourism urbanization produces a very different physical environment and demographic/socioeconomic structure than an evolved multi-functional city.

Recreational Business District (RBD). Stansfield and Rickert who first used the term RBD describe it as “characterized by a distinctive array of pedestrian, tourist-oriented retail facilities and is separated spatially as well as functionally from the other business districts.” (Stansfield & Rickert, 1970, p. 213)

Central Tourist District. Burton, Bateman and Ashworth introduced this term in a study of Western European cities. They state that the central tourist district “occupies only a small proportion of the city’s area but contains most of the tourist facilities. In smaller historic towns such a district usually shares the city-centre with other central business district functions, while in the larger cities tourism can develop as an exclusive use over extensive areas.” (Burtenshaw, Bateman, M., & Ashworth, G.J., 1981)

Tourism Business District (TBD). Donald Getz defines TBDs as being used to “describe concentrations of visitor-oriented attractions and services located in

conjunction with urban central business district (CBD) functions.”

He states that in older cities, the TBD and CBD often coincide with heritage areas. The difference between an RBD and a TBD is that a TBD is found in a traditional city whereas an RBD is associated mainly with beach resorts. Getz also maintains that the two areas also differ in form, function and planning-related issues. (Getz, 1993).

Dissertation Chapter Synopsis

The dissertation is divided into ten chapters. The first three chapters provide an introduction to the study. Chapter 1 is an overview of the project, the theoretical background, justification for the study and the reasons for choosing Charleston as an example for the analysis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature related to urban tourism areas and the destination life cycle. Chapter 3 describes the information resources, data sources and methodology used in the analysis. An introduction to the characteristics of the city is also included.

Chapter 4 analyzes the data acquired from the Charleston city directories. It includes tables and graphs showing the change of business structure in the TBD. It also examines the growth of tourism business activities, including accommodations, restaurants, and retail businesses important to the Charleston tourist. Some maps also show the changes in distribution of accommodations and restaurants during the twentieth century.

Chapters 5-9 examine the history of Charleston as it relates to tourism during the twentieth century. Each of these chapters covers a twenty-year period starting in 1899 and finishing in 1999. The chapters contain a discussion of events that helped shape

tourism in the city, the nature of the tourism product, and an examination of the present-day Tourism Business District as it was during the time-frame of the chapter.

Chapter 5 looks at the beginnings of mass tourism in Charleston. During the last part of the nineteenth century, Charleston had suffered bombardment during the Civil War, a major fire that destroyed part of the city, an earthquake which also caused major damage, hurricanes, Reconstruction and deliberate attempts to keep Charleston from recovering its former economic advantages, economic recession and political exclusion in South Carolina. However, despite all these catastrophic events the city fathers were determined to see their beloved Charleston recover and become great again. The combination of civic pride and the recognition of tourism as a way to economic recovery led Charleston along a path toward becoming one of the major tourism destinations in the United States.

At first, the provision of tourist facilities (hotels, restaurants, tourist type shopping facilities) was inadequate for the plans the city fathers had in mind and large numbers of visitors could only be expected and accommodated during special events by housing visitors in private homes. However, during this period the region began to develop its own tourist attractions, when the Isle of Palms was opened, first for day trips by light railway and later for permanent settlement. During this time there was much talk about the need for a large new hotel in Charleston and there were several abortive attempts to encourage investment but it was not until the 1920's that the dream was realized in the construction of the Fort Sumter Hotel on the South Battery and the Francis Marion Hotel on King Street.

Chapter 6 examines the period 1919-1938 when tourism experienced a “take-off” phase with attractions such as Magnolia and Cypress Gardens, historic preservation of the older buildings in the city and the beaches drawing in larger numbers of tourists. The advent of the automobile had a significant impact on Charleston at that time, making it more accessible to the tourist. The opening of the Cooper River Bridge heralded a new era of travel into Charleston. No longer was the stranglehold of the railroads so tight and Charleston could promote itself as a destination without hindrances from the railroads. The 1930s and 1940s were significant for suburbanization and St. Andrews Parish and North Charleston grew and provided new highways on which to build motels and other accommodations suited to the motorist.

Chapter 7 reviews the years 1938-1958. During this time Charleston's tourism was interrupted by World War II. By 1947, Charleston began to recover its tourism industry. The late 1940s and 1950s were a time of realization that Charleston, and South Carolina as a whole, were lagging behind other areas in terms of the number of visitors. Newspaper articles about tourism at the time were preoccupied with the amount and nature of publicity for the city and the state. In the city itself, tourist infrastructure was being improved with the introduction of two small visitor booths at the approaches to the bridges over the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. This was a time when King Street was beginning to decline due to the development of out-of-town shopping centers. But historic preservation in the downtown area was having an impact on tourism. In the late 1940s the Charleston Historical Foundation was established and during the 1950s the famous tours of homes began.

Chapter 8 covers the years 1958-1979. The 1960s and 1970s were marked by the number of studies conducted by and for the city with regard to tourism. Charleston was experiencing a period of growth in tourism and several experiments were tried to improve the tourism product. In the middle 1970s, the ascendancy of Joseph P. Riley as mayor of Charleston had long-term implications for the tourist industry. His enthusiasm for tourism as a force of regeneration in the city was a vital factor in Charleston becoming one of the most popular tourist destination cities in the United States.

Chapter 9 describes the years 1980 to 1999. During this time we see changes in the structure of accommodation in Charleston. The number of inns and bed and breakfast businesses increased, Charleston Place, a luxury downtown hotel and shopping complex, was built. The character of shopping in the downtown area also changed during this period with an increase in boutiques and specialty shops as well as the continuing popularity of the Market area. The restaurant businesses diversified, introducing more ethnic and gourmet dining menus. Tourism planning became a driving force in tourism development putting restrictions on undesirable developments, tour traffic (buses and carriages) and coping with the influx of large numbers of tourists with its inherent problems of traffic noise, parking and littering.

Chapter 10 discusses the major findings of the analysis of business and the historical account and shows how the destination life cycle can be traced in a city such as Charleston. Conclusions are made as to the usefulness of the destination life cycle as a measure of tourism development in a multi-functional city. Some suggestions for future research are also included.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Urban tourism as an academic subject was relatively neglected in the United States until the 1990s. Before that time, many studies of urban tourism were carried out by geographers (Pearce, 2001). There are several possible reasons for the lack of interest by other disciplines at that time. First, it was believed that measuring urban tourism was complicated because tourist-type facilities not only blended with other activities and land uses in the city, but were also used by the residents of the city. Second, tourists in the city are often hard to recognize because, unless they are visible in groups or boarding a tourist bus, for instance, they tend to blend in with the local population (Law, 2002, p. 6). Third, visitors to cities come for a variety of reasons - to attend special events, visit museums, watch a sports event, listen to concerts or plays, visit friends and relatives, view the sights, conduct personal or other business, attend conferences and conventions, visit for education or religious worship. Whatever recreational activities or services the city has to offer there is potential for an out-of-town visitor to participate. This again renders the tourist virtually invisible. Fourth, many academics tended to focus on the demand side of tourism, examining motivations, visitor profiles and visitor satisfaction. Since the tourist is hard to recognize in the urban environment, unless cornered in his hotel, it is difficult to interview him for a demand-side study (Law, 2002, p. 6).

On the positive side, interest in urban tourism has grown as a result of two main factors. First, there has been an increase of visitation to cities not previously popular as destinations. This has produced a need for sound policies that address the needs of

tourists and residents as well as preserving the attractions and maintaining a viable city environment, one in which business and industry not related to tourism can still operate. Second, tourism is recognized as a tool in revitalizing or redeveloping urban areas (Pearce, 2001). As facilities and attractions are upgraded or created, input of tourist dollars brings more money into the community which can be used for further development and improvement. The improvement of heritage sites, building new hotels and shopping complexes also increases the value of residential property attracting more affluent people to live there. Those residents demand more upscale developments which again attracts more tourists producing an upward spiral of community income, environment and well-being.

Urban Tourism Study Approaches

In a review chapter on urban tourism, Ashworth suggests that, for a long time, tourism studies had a rural bias (Ashworth, 1989, p. 33). He observes that in the early years of study, leisure researchers were land economists with an interest in land use. Certain models like Christaller's periphery model regarded cities as just part of a regional system rather than an individual entity. Other researchers viewed cities as suppliers of tourists rather than recipients. For the geographer, Ashworth maintains that tourism was ignored because it was a poor indicator of regionalization compared with other urban functions. He describes tourism as a discipline that has developed in a systematic way with sub-disciplines that examine various aspects of the industry but not in a holistic way. He suggests that although policy makers and planners at the time are now showing an interest in tourism there are no studies that have synthesized an urban geography of

tourism. He categorizes urban tourism studies into four approaches: facility approaches; ecological approaches; user approaches and policy approaches.

The facility approach is often little more than a classification of different tourist facilities (hotels, restaurants *etc.*), or selecting individual facilities to examine in depth to the exclusion of other facilities. Hotels especially are selected for locational analysis, and researchers produce descriptions of locational patterns and accessibility. Ashworth criticizes this approach because it extracts the facility from its environmental and use context and omits its relationship with other facilities in the urban tourism system.

The ecological approach integrates the different facets of tourism in the context of the city as a whole. Resorts with a concentration of tourism are examined by dividing them into zones of accommodation, entertainment, and shopping. Cities with historical and cultural attractions can also be delineated by zones. However, multi-functional, non-resort cities with less obvious touristic functions are more difficult to analyze on a spatial basis. Ashworth argues that this approach only produces static models and the purpose of urban tourism zones (or regions) is not to produce an urban mosaic but to understand the underlying urban processes which make up these spatial patterns.

The user approach concentrates on the tourist – who visits cities, what tourists do in cities, why they visit cities and how they perceive them? Ashworth argues that tourist behavior within cities provides a link between tourist demands and facilities in the city. But analyzing tourist behavior requires complicated research techniques.

Policy approaches tend to have a more pragmatic orientation than a theoretical one. He describes urban tourism research as being “policy-led.” He suggests that urban

policy tends to view tourism as being externally generated making urban problems worse and can only be controlled by defensive measures (controls on growth and development) (Ashworth, 1989).

Another approach to studying urban tourism is based on spatial aspects. The spatial approach can be applied to the whole city or to just a small section. The whole city as a destination zone would require examination of the four elements Gunn describes as “attraction clusters” (groups of things to see and do); the community (providing services, facilities, attractions and products); the “circulation corridor” (main access by land, air or water); and “linkage corridors” (connections between the supporting services (accommodation) and attraction complexes) (Gunn, 1988, p. 61). Other spatial aspects involve development and process. Van der Borg’s suburbanization of tourism is an example of process. His study of Venice, Italy, describes a migration of tourist facilities away from the central city area (Van der Borg, 1988). Yokeno’s study of land rents in relation to tourism type is another example (Yokeno, 1968, p. 15). His concentric rings around the city delineated zones which he called “promenade zone,” “public park belt,” “picnic range,” and “travelling district” (Yokeno, 1968).

Most tourism in multi-functional cities takes place in the central area where touristic spaces are more distinctive and can be delimited for analysis on a small area basis. Jansen-Verbeke describes the inner city as being not only an “activity place” but also a “leisure setting” with primary, secondary and conditional elements. (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986, p. 86). The activity place is the supply side of facilities. Among the primary elements, cultural and entertainment facilities, events, festivals and exhibitions

create the “activity place” and historic buildings and their layout, parks, waterfronts, ambience and way of life create the “leisure setting.” Secondary elements consist of accommodations, catering facilities, shopping facilities and markets. Conditional elements are touristic infrastructure – tourist bureaus, guides, signposts and parking facilities.

A useful approach to studying the spatial aspects of tourism is to identify areas where the majority of tourist activities occur and to use it as the focus for analysis (Page, 1995, p. 68). The ecological approach, discussed above, comes from Gilbert and Barrett in their studies of English seaside resorts (Gilbert, 1939) and later Wolfe in Wasaga Beach, Ontario (Wolfe, 1992).

Tourist Districts

Areas in cities where tourists congregate have been recognized as vernacular regions for a long time. Such places as St. Mark’s Square, Venice; Trafalgar Square, London are both places where tourists congregate and provide good reference points when exploring a large city. Other areas include restaurant quarters, theater districts and nightclub areas where visitors are familiar with the surroundings and have a range of opportunities to sample the different variations of a particular land use. Many of these districts in large cities are also used by local residents. Some areas in cities incorporate varied land uses within their perceived boundaries.

The Recreational Business District (RBD). Stansfield and Rickert conceived the idea of the Recreational Business District in 1970 (Stansfield & Rickert, 1970). Following traditional urban structure theory they suggested that “the resort town

represents a unique form of urban landscape and urban economic base.”

The nature of the RBD is quantifiable because “the characteristic blend of retail establishments and their distribution among retail districts may serve as a measure of resort status and degree of dominance of resort functions.” Stansfield and Rickert state that American resort towns often present a unique departure from the traditional classic view of business districts. Most reasonable size towns have a Central Business District, shopping thoroughfares, neighborhood shopping areas, and malls which are all characterized by particular types of retail businesses. Resort communities have an added function of a “seasonally oriented linear aggregation of restaurants, various speciality food stands, candy stores and a varied array of novelty and souvenir shops which cater to visitors’ leisurely shopping needs.” (Stansfield & Rickert, 1970, p. 213)

Marketing professionals frequently classify retail businesses into convenience, shopping and specialty. “Convenience” establishments are those used frequently for everyday items (grocery stores, drug stores, gas stations etc.), “shopping” businesses serve periodic needs (barber shops, beauty salons, dry cleaners, department stores) and “specialty” businesses are infrequently used (jewelry, furniture, specialty clothing). Suburban shopping centers usually have a cluster of “convenience” and “shopping” establishments whereas the Central Business District (CBD) has more “shopping” and “specialty” stores for infrequent shopping drawing on a much wider catchment area.

The Recreational Business District can be observed in seashore resorts and other natural phenomena recreational areas as an additional retail district. The RBD is designed to provide maximum accessibility to the visitor. Often the RBD will be located

near a natural attraction like the beach in a seaside resort and is likely to be pedestrian-oriented. Stansfield and Rickert state that in RBD's there is a tendency for shoppers to walk greater distances than in normal shopping centers because of the ambience of the environment being part of the whole recreational experience (Stansfield & Rickert, 1970).

Stansfield and Rickert point out that the existence of an RBD does not mean a complete segregation of visitor trade. The whole resort benefits from tourist patronage but the RBD exists almost entirely for the benefit of tourists and receives most of its revenues from them. In larger resorts, like Atlantic City, the seasonal nature of usage is ameliorated by convention business which enables businesses to stay open all year. In a multi-functional city the businesses serve both the local population and visitors and are also less likely to be seasonally affected. In resort towns with a natural attraction, the RBD is often clearly separated spatially from the other business districts.

Stansfield and Rickert describe the RBD as a social phenomenon as well as an economic one. It provides a means of entertainment for families who may not otherwise shop together. The desire to spend time casually shopping for resort clothing and decorative items results in a concentration of gift and variety stores in RBD's. In addition, they say that the type of stores reflect the socioeconomic status of the tourist.

Stansfield and Rickert used a twelve category classification to refine their measurement and distinguish tourism businesses from regular businesses. The twelve categories are: food and beverage consumption (on premises or walk-away); gift-novelty-variety; drug and proprietary; clothing and shoes; gas stations; automobile sales and

accessories; candy, nut, and confectionary; commercial amusements and theaters; personal services; financial services; grocery, delicatessen, and bakery, and general "shopping" and specialty merchandise.

Most prevalent in RBD's are restaurants, gift-novelty-variety stores and commercial amusements and theaters. The businesses that are relatively unimportant are drug stores, gasoline service stations, automobile sales and services, personal services, financial services and grocery, delicatessen and bakery.

Stansfield and Rickert conclude that the RBD is a reality. Its location, seasonal character and distinctive array of retail establishments justify its separate classification from other retail districts. They suggest that for a detailed analysis of the RBD that sales floor area plus sales data and customer interviews should be examined (Stansfield & Rickert, 1970).

The difference between a seaside resort and a resort city with multiple functions is the number of amusements within an RBD which limits its direct application to a multifunctional city. After Stansfield and Rickert's study, the concept was added to by Taylor, who included tourist accommodation in his analysis instead of just retailing (Taylor, 1975).

Tourist Shopping Villages. Getz (1993) extended the RBD concept by including what he called tourist shopping villages (TSVs). Like the RBD, these villages are located near natural or historical attractions but instead of being linear along the edge of a shoreline, for instance, they line touring routes or are found in destination areas or near-urban centers. They combine visitor-related services and retailing and the kinds of stores

present are specialty shops (often selling souvenirs), catering and entertainment businesses. They are very different from urban business and shopping districts because they are smaller in scale and have a “distinct ambience” (Getz, 1993a, p. 15).

The Central Tourist District. Burtenshaw, Bateman and Ashworth used the term Central Tourist District to describe an area containing most of the tourist facilities. In smaller historic towns the CTD usually shares the city center with other Central Business District functions but in larger cities tourism may develop as an almost exclusive use over extensive areas. The CTD also usually coincides with the historic/conserved city (Burtenshaw, Bateman, M., & Ashworth, G.J., 1981, p. 172).

Tourism Business District. Getz developed further the concept of the Central Tourist District, renaming it the Tourism Business District. (Getz, 1993, p. 583). In older cities, especially in Europe, the TBD and CBD often coincide with heritage areas. Getz states that “the form and evolution of TBDs reveals much about the nature of urban tourism and its impacts.” He states that TBDs differ from RBDs in form, function and planning-related issues. Getz cites a number of coastal resort studies that employ the RBD model but concludes that it is not as appropriate in cities where there is a blending of functions, and tourists and residents use the same facilities. The main difference between TBDs and RBDs is that TBDs are not seasonal in nature as are RBDs. Since they are serving both tourist and resident, businesses remain in operation throughout the year. The form of the TBD is generally concentrated as opposed to the RBDs linear shape (usually parallel with a shoreline). In the TBD the attractions are man-made, historical or cultural, whereas the RBDs attraction is natural. TBDs may either include

the CBD or develop separately from it. RBDs develop separately from the CBD but later merge with it or influence it over time. The TBD incorporates non-visitor functions such as offices, business services, government offices and major shopping areas. RBDs are predominantly oriented to tourist-service and retail provision. The environmental image of the TBD is cultural and urban whereas in the RBD it is cultural and natural.

Tourist-Historic City. The tourist-historic city is an amalgam of what Ashworth and Tunbridge call the “tourist city” and the “historic city” (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990, p. 73). These “cities” are actually zones within a city or a perceptual layer superimposed on the existing physical fabric of the city. The tourist city is “a pattern of spatially clustered sets of functional associations that relates the activity of tourism to cities in general, allowing the tourist city to be compared to other types of 'cities.’” (Ashworth & Tunbridge, 1990, p. 72)

To analyze the tourist city, variables that can be used as regional indicators are those that can be mapped e.g. accommodations, catering and attractions. The historic city consists of preserved urban forms that have survived the development of the modern city. They describe the historic city as originating from architectural forms and morphological patterns, as well as the historic associations attached to them. The tourist-historic city is constructed by superimposing a map of the tourist city onto a map of the historic city and the area of overlap becomes the tourist-historic city. The CBD is included in the model and the tourist-historic city and the CBD also tend to overlap. The part of the historic city that is included in the tourist-historic city is the part that is actively used by tourists which means that the rest of the historic city has the potential for future inclusion in the

area. Similarly the excluded part of the tourist city (which would be the area outside of the historic area and probably part of the CBD) could be included for planning purposes although could not be included as part of the tourist-historic city because of its lack of historic resources. Much of the model's usefulness lies in planning for and managing tourism in the historic areas of cities. The model assumes a medium-sized city with only one tourist core. In large cities where there are a number of tourism nodes the model is difficult to apply.

Ashworth and Tunbridge's model also looks specifically at the distribution of hotels in historic cities. Hotels may be clustered within and around the inner-city business district or historical attractions or be located near transport termini or major highways.

De Bres has applied the tourist-historic city model to six Kansas towns (De Bres, 1994). She found that in Kansas the size of the city and its morphology both had an impact. In the Kansas towns, the primary attractions were in the central core but the distribution of hotels, restaurants, shopping areas and secondary attractions (De Bres defines these as a mixture of tourist services and small attractions in their own right) were dispersed along the major highways into town including the interstate highway connector, producing a definite linear pattern. The tourist-historic city model depends on having one central business core district and one cluster of tourism facilities. But in Kansas many of the central functions have moved to the periphery of the cities. However, the models did show some similarity in that in both cases the CBD has moved away from the historic core. Morphologically, the Kansas cities are bound by the grid-iron pattern of streets

with their rigid layout compared to the organic growth of European cities. She concludes that the tourist-historic city model could prove useful in providing a basis for other urban tourism models.

Timothy and Wall applied the model to Yogyakarta, Indonesia to test its applicability in an Asian setting (Timothy & Wall, 1995). They found that the main tourist attractions were located at a distance from the city center and outside of the historic city. However, the distribution of tourist land uses resemble the tourist-historic city model particularly the hotels and guest houses which were located in similar arrangement to Western Europe.

Tourism Precincts. The study of small areas in cities is not a new phenomenon in urban geography. Subdividing a city into regions, which have a relatively homogeneous distribution of the variable under study, is a typical research method for the urban geographer and the planner. Therefore it is a logical step for a geographer studying tourism to decide where tourists congregate, how to define those areas and plan and manage them to preserve character, maintain infrastructure, provide services and allow a city to function in its other activities without too much disruption.

The first formal definition of tourism precincts came from McDonnell and Darcy

“An area in which various attractions such as bars, restaurants, places of entertainment or education, accommodation, amenities and other facilities are clustered in freely accessible public spaces. Tourism precincts by their nature enhance certain aspects of the touristic experience and facilitate social interaction between tourists, and between tourists and locals.”

(McDonnell & Darcy, 1998)

This definition is a departure from the previous types of tourism area definitions in that it incorporates the experience of the tourist and his or her interaction with other tourists and local residents. Since the 1990s, the study of urban tourism has paid more attention to urban form; preserving sense of place, authenticity, and sustainability than in just describing tourism areas, their extent and their business structure and their definition reflects that more comprehensive approach.

Hayllar and Griffin redefined the tourist precinct in a phenomenological study.

“A distinctive geographic area within a larger urban area, characterized by a concentration of tourist-related land uses activities and visitation, with fairly definable boundaries. Such precincts generally possess a distinctive character by virtue of their mixture of activities and land uses, such as restaurants, attractions and nightlife, their physical or architectural fabric, especially the dominance of historic buildings, or their connection to a particular cultural or ethnic group within the city. Such characteristics also exist in combination.” (Hayllar & Griffin, 2005, p. 517).

Tourism precincts as spaces in cities often share uses and users. Often tourism precincts will contain CBD functions used by local residents (shopping centers, transport foci) or local people will avail themselves of the facilities that tourists use (specialty stores, entertainment, dining, nightlife and cultural opportunities). Other precincts stand apart from the regular pattern of city life and are designed for the sole purpose of attracting tourists. There is always the danger

of creating not just similar precincts to other cities but to commodify the area so much that it takes on the characteristics of a theme park (Judd, 1995).

The tourism precinct may be larger than a restaurant or theater quarter where only one land use dominates but not as large as to incorporate a whole downtown area. The precinct may have a distinctive spatial arrangement (a central square or a neighborhood), cultural institutions (theaters, museums), ethnic identity (e.g., Chinatown, San Francisco; Little Italy, New York; Notting Hill, London), social characteristics (places for meeting and socializing – parks, squares, formal gardens, plazas), historical structures (houses, castles, churches), iconic features (monuments, statues, fountains) or economic identity (shopping streets) (Hayllar, Griffin, & Edwards, 2008a).

Tourism precincts sometimes evolve over time, *e.g.*, Plaka, a neighborhood in Athens, Greece (Spirou, 2008, p. 31) or they are created through refurbishing old warehouses with the idea of rejuvenating old derelict industrial areas or waterfronts in cities, *e.g.*, Albert Dock in Liverpool, England (Spirou, 2008, p. 24). They may be created to inject some new life into rundown neighborhoods that contain historic buildings of value and interest, *e.g.*, The Rocks in Sydney, Australia which is the site of the first European settlement in Australia (Griffin, Hayllar, & Edwards, 2008, p. 44). Promoting history and heritage may also serve to boost the image of a city, encouraging investment and increasing revenue to the city (Judd, 1995, p. 177).

Precincts may include activities to promote economic development – specialty stores and restaurants which attract small professional businesses as well as tourists. The growth of tourism in an area is often interlinked or accompanied by gentrification where

the physical fabric is rehabilitated and dwellings are sold for higher prices. The increased affluence of the neighborhood leads to the desire for more upscale retail businesses and the whole area becomes attractive to tourists.

Griffin, Hayllar and Edwards have produced a typology of precincts from the existing literature. Those precincts are as follows:

- Recreational or tourism business districts.
- Tourist shopping villages
- Historic or heritage precincts
- Ethnic precincts or quarters
- Cultural precincts or quarters
- Entertainment precincts
- Red-light districts or bohemian quarters
- Waterfront precincts
- Festival marketplaces (Griffin, Hayllar, & Edwards, 2008, p. 54).

Most of these types of precincts contain a concentration of land uses that attract visitors to cities. Often these land uses accrete over time as more visitors enter the area and agglomeration economies come into play. The tourism precinct takes on the characteristics of the post-Fordism landscape – a number of businesses clustered together enjoying mutual economic benefit. For the tourist this means he or she does not have to waste time traveling long distances, for example, from a museum to a restaurant. (Judd, *Promoting Tourism in U.S. Cities*, 1995)

However, in the case of waterfront precincts and festival marketplaces the clustering

of land uses is contrived. The problem that Judd, and later Spirou, point out is that often constructed tourism precincts which contain entertainment, shopping, recreational and apartment complexes, as well as large hotels, tend to be copied not just within a country but also world-wide (Spirou, 2008). Some of the complexes in the United States were designed and built by the same companies. James Rouse is particularly famous for his work on Harborplace in Baltimore. John Portman was responsible for the construction of Atlanta's Peachtree complex and the Renaissance Center in Detroit. Both developers have also built many malls using similar designs (Judd, 1995, p. 183).

This standardization and the isolation of the facility from the everyday life and appearance of the city tend to make them seem mass-produced. Not only does this homogenize the tourist experience even as people travel to more distant locations but also sets up considerable competition between cities (Spirou, 2008, p. 35).

As tourism has become increasingly important in the economies of cities, the study of urban tourism has begun to attract the attention from disciplines other than geography and planning. Political economists, sociologists and psychologists are more concerned with the tourist's experience. Political economists look at urban tourism from the standpoint of marketing the city, advertising it to give an attractive image to encourage investment and economic redevelopment. Others assess the impacts of tourism especially such activities as large sporting events (Darcy & Small, 2008, p. 66). Cities know that maintaining a successful professional sports team is going to draw a large number of visitors to the city as well as giving the city a powerful image (Judd, 1995, p. 181).

Promoting heritage, hosting meetings and conventions, building casinos are all

considered as encouraging visitation but it is the quality and variety of other facilities and their accessibility that can make or break a destination. Also of interest to political economists are the effects of government initiatives in infrastructure repair and economic regeneration. Many of the planned precincts involve an alliance of government and private sector enterprises. These public-private partnerships (PPPs) are seen as a way to use government resources efficiently and have become accepted as a management strategy in urban redevelopment (Darcy & Small, 2008, p. 68).

Sociocultural approaches look at four issues: “the tourist, the relations between tourists and locals; the structure and functioning of the tourist system, and the social and environmental consequences of tourism” (Darcy & Small, 2008, p. 69). The sociological aspects of race and ethnicity have been examined since many tourism precincts (those that have grown naturally) are located in areas that contain people of varied ethnic backgrounds or a concentration of one particular ethnic group. Psychologists are interested in the experience and behavior of the tourist in tourism precincts. Hayllar and Griffin have identified intimacy, authenticity, and the sense of place as being the most important aspects of tourist experiences (Hayllar & Griffin, 2005, p. 526).

These kinds of studies have added to the richness of the tourist experience in precinct areas because as more attention is paid to layout and presentation of the tourist product, tourist satisfaction is increased. Studies of tourism precincts look at how the precinct has developed and its relative success, how it functions, and what works with respect to satisfying both the tourist and the city resident. In a city like Charleston which has had a deliberate policy of courting tourists for over a century, the story of how this city has

become popular with domestic and international tourists is one from which urban tourism professionals can draw lessons and parallels even with the more sophisticated analytical tools they possess for assessing tourism today.

One aspect of today's analyses is that not much account is taken of the city's fortunes generally. As cities in America have changed from manufacturing centers to services and now the new information economies, the fortunes and nature of tourism have also changed. Political changes like the Reagan administration's removal of funding to cities took their toll on cities. They left them without help to cope with problems of aging infrastructure and poverty. The federal government suggested that cities should begin competing for investment by making themselves more attractive to potential investors, residents and visitors (Judd, 1995, p. 175). A number of "Messiah mayors" began campaigns of self-help and renewal in their cities (Judd, 2003, p. 27).

Receiving tax breaks, subsidies and forging public/private partnerships a period of regeneration was initiated. At the same time, and probably as a result of it, tourism in cities began to grow. Judd remarks that even cities with very high crime rates could create "tourist bubbles" to protect visitors and middle-class residents from the dangers of the city. These enclaves of sanitized environments divorced from the realities of poverty, pollution, crime and gang violence that still plague cities are now being constructed all over the world, a kind of network of safe havens for the wary tourist. Judd likens these bubbles to a theme park because they provide entertainment in a clean environment with attractive (albeit artificial) surroundings (Judd, 1999).

Other tourist areas. Large cities usually have more than one node of tourist

attractions especially in historic cities. Cathedrals, monuments and museums often create their own small tourist districts. Pearce has studied these kinds of areas with the examples of churches, large department stores and the sewers as visiting places in Paris (Pearce, 1999). He suggests that geographical studies of spatial structure ignore processes and phenomena at localized scales. Also he observes that spatial studies have tended to research the morphologies of specialized resorts, particularly on the coast, or a concentration on the distribution of hotels in other types of cities. He examines the three micro-scale areas in Paris from a place identity point of view and the development of management techniques, observing some of the conflicts that arise between different types of users of a facility.

While detailing the problems of managing these areas, Pearce does not neglect to point out that they should be kept in perspective by studying their context in the wider urban area (Pearce, 1999, p. 95). In another study of Paris he suggests that there is a dearth of studies of polycentric cities (Pearce, 1998). In these settings tourist districts appear as nodes within the urban areas. Linkages between them have to be established (corridors which may take the form of roads, walkways or people movers of some kind) which themselves become tourist attractions. It is important in these studies to compare the structure and function of these clusters of tourism activity and, because they are located in diverse urban environments, how they interact with the rest of the urban area.

In the New World, the type of city is more important to urban tourism studies. Fainstein and Judd describe three types of cities that exhibit different kinds of tourism area (Fainstein & Judd, 1999, p. 262). Resort cities are places created for tourism. The

development of these cities has been named by Mullins as “tourism urbanization” (Mullins, 1991). Coastal cities in Florida and Las Vegas, Nevada are good examples of tourism urbanization, as is Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. They have cores which are exclusively devoted to accommodations, restaurants and shopping areas.

Tourist-historic cities, as already described, are not as prevalent in the US as they could have been because of the urban renewal activities of the 1960s. However, New Orleans and Charleston provide good examples of this kind of city. Converted cities are those that have been adapted to cater to the tourist and are often older port cities where warehouses and old port businesses have been replaced by hotels and luxury waterfront apartments or the buildings have undergone renovation and adaptive reuse. Downtown areas in these cities are now dominated by retail and entertainment facilities instead of office uses.

In converted cities TBD’s often abut impoverished, high crime areas and tourism professionals have begun to create “defensible spaces” (Fainstein & Gladstone, 1999, p. 27). Hotels, convention centers, restaurant districts and shopping malls are separated through creative architecture from the poorer areas. Sometimes highways and walls are built as barriers to keep out “undesirables.” Policing by security personnel and surveillance cameras protect affluent visitors and create a feeling of safety. Examples of this kind of development can be found in Baltimore and Detroit. The harbor area features a festival marketplace, a museum, and an aquarium as well as a waterfront area to relax or walk between facilities. The area has been built in an area of urban blight, although there are no barriers to cross to reach it. Another example is Greektown in Detroit which

has an enclosed mall as an anchor. Not all cities in the US require protective measures. San Francisco, New York and Boston all absorb tourism easily (Judd, *Constructing the Tourist Bubble*, 1999, p. 37). Judd suggests that these tourist enclaves have now become so popular that, in the fierce competition that exists between cities to obtain the tourist dollar, urban leaders feel they should also invest in these enclaves.

Urban tourism as a research field in the US has not traditionally been undertaken by geographers. In fact the subject has been approached more by planners and the tourism industry and as such has taken on a more pragmatic and applied character. In relation to tourism business districts, Bosselman discusses districting strategies (Bosselman, Peterson, & McCarthy, 1999, p. 57). He describes how tourist areas can be mapped and subjected to zoning controls so that tourism and other land uses do not conflict. Controls can also be used to protect the special qualities of a destination, reducing density of development, creating buffers, green spaces and corridor zones to separate land uses and encourage tourism in areas where its impacts can be absorbed more easily. Planning strategies have often been devised as the need has arisen but little theoretical research into the nature and spatial characteristics of tourism business districts in multifunctional cities has been conducted.

As already mentioned, the problem of studying urban tourist areas is that they usually take the form of a “snapshot” at one point in time. To really understand their nature and the processes that shape them a more dynamic approach is needed. To this end the incorporation of an evolutionary model is appropriate. One model that has received attention in the tourism literature is the destination life cycle model.

The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) Model

Conceptual development. The concept of life cycles originated in the biological sciences where it was used to show the life cycles of different species from conception through birth, reproduction and death. The biological growth curve is S-shaped and has four phases: lag stage with little growth, rapid growth in the youth stage, slower growth in the maturity stage and organic decline in old age (O'Hare & Barrett, 1997, p. 68). The product life cycle, which was modeled after the biological cycle, was developed by marketers to plot the sales curve of a product over time. It describes the evolution of a product as it passes through the stages of introduction, growth, maturity, and decline which also yield an S-shaped curve when plotted on a graph. It assumes that products have a limited life, that profits rise and fall at different stages of the life cycle and that different marketing strategies are required as the life cycle progresses. However, its usefulness as a predictive model is debatable (Di Benedetto & Bojanic, 1993). Butler's resort life cycle model was developed from the product life cycle theory. In this model, tourism is viewed as the product and the number of visitors replaces the number of sales (Agarwal, 1997).

Butler's model, while being drawn from the product life cycle was also a result of a number of evolutionary studies related to tourism. The initial concept of destination growth and development has mainly been credited to Gilbert (Gilbert, 1939). His study of English seaside resorts lists three factors as being important to their growth. First, starting in the mid-eighteenth century, physicians began to recommend visits to the coast for health reasons. Second, freedom from the threat of invasion after the Napoleonic

Wars made the coasts of England more viable and attractive for settlement. Third, and probably most important, was the development of railways. Very quickly the coasts of England became accessible to the inland urban areas and began to attract the masses. Gilbert classifies resorts into three types: health spas (e.g. Bath and Leamington), old ports or fishing harbors converted to resorts (e.g. Brighton and Scarborough), and new resorts which were deliberately developed for leisure functions (e.g. Bournemouth, Blackpool and Southend). Gilbert classified people in these towns as residents (often retirees), visitors who stayed longer than a day, and day-trippers. The research interest in the growth of resorts was probably started when he said, “The origin, the form and function of towns must all be studied if their growth is to be explained.” (Gilbert, 1939).

Christaller, in 1963, sparked interest in the progress of resort development. (Christaller, 1963). Writing about “peripheral regions,” he traces the course of development of a tourist destination. In out-of-the-way places like the highest mountains, the loneliest woods, and the remotest beaches, he suggested that one can find better opportunities for recreation and sport (Christaller, 1963, p. 95). Peripheral regions are first discovered by painters looking for unusual places to paint. As the place becomes known among artists an artist colony becomes established which gradually becomes popular with poets followed by “cinema people, gourmets and the *jeunesse dorée* [gilded youth]” (Christaller, 1963, p. 103). Existing cottages are converted to boarding houses and hotels begin to be built. By now the artists have moved on and the place is becoming fashionable and the gourmets, etc. begin to stay away. The destination is encouraging mass tourism, package tours, and traveling parties but the wealthy visitors stay away

(Christaller, 1963).

Plog contributed to the model's development by classifying visitors according to their psychographic profile. The profile operates along a continuum represented by a bell curve. At one end are the "allocentrics," often higher income people who like to visit non-touristy areas, the explorers and trend-setters. Generally they are better educated, have inquiring minds, earn higher incomes, like to fly to destinations, enjoy meeting people from other cultures and prefer only basics in accommodation and transportation (Plog, 1974). Allocentrics would be the equivalent of Christaller's artists, gourmets, and *jeunesse dorée* and would be the first visitors to discover an area. As the profile tends to the mid-point of the curve, travelers are known as "mid-centrics". These travelers prefer a more established tourism structure with hotels, tourist shops and activities. By the time a destination reaches this stage, the allocentrics have moved on to search for new places. As the tourist industry expands the destination further, the other extreme of the spectrum, the "psychocentrics" begin to visit and its appeal begins to decline for the "mid-centrics". The destination is seen through package tours and by people who like to feel safe by traveling in groups. Psychocentrics often visit places that are close to home and are people Plog calls "unsophisticated travelers." Psychocentrics are often less well-educated, unadventurous and have lower incomes (Plog, 1974, p. 56).

Butler, writing his PhD thesis on tourism in the highlands of Scotland in the 1960s, found that there was a considerable change taking place in tourism destinations and changes in the behavior of tourists and the tourism market. The railroads and ferries that had been the main mode of travel to tourism destinations were declining in use and

were being replaced by the automobile. Vacationing was also changing. The traditional one to two-week vacation at the nearest coast by families from industrial areas was declining. Butler points out that this marked the end of a very stable era for tourism in both Europe and North America. Numbers at traditional resorts were declining, the facilities and infrastructure were declining and the socioeconomic status of the visitors was changing from upper middle-class to middle- and lower middle-class using cars and buses for transport. At the time of his thesis research, Butler states that he took notice of these changes but tourism literature was sparse and it was not until the 1970s that articles about tourism began to appear in the academic literature. Even then, Butler admits that much of the literature depended on observation and experience on the part of the authors rather than empirical evidence. (Butler R. W., 1998, p. 2).

Stansfield discussed the resort cycle in his study of Atlantic City but did not really formalize it into a model (Stansfield C. , 1978). In an historical analysis he traced Atlantic City's development from a deserted beach, through a thriving beach resort city, to decline and eventually rejuvenation through the introduction of gambling as a new activity in the area. He showed how the cycle progressed through stages of usage by different socioeconomic groups governed by the provision of different modes of transport and increasing ability to participate in leisure.

In the first phase of the cycle, Stansfield described the discovery of an area's potential for recreation. There may be a pre-existing settlement present or the resort is created virtually from nothing, usually by a group of entrepreneurs. Atlantic City was a created resort. Previous to its inception, the area had been inhabited by fishermen,

farmers and a lighthouse keeper. The city's growth accelerated with the advent of the railroad. Stansfield describes how all the new and plush facilities in Atlantic City's early days were what made it so popular. He summarized the early stage of the cycle as being characterized by "intensive real estate speculation, rapid construction of the expanding infrastructure of the resort, and, commonly, relatively affluent vacationers attracted by the combination of fresh uncrowded natural recreation resources, and new plush accommodations, restaurants, and transport facilities of the latest design." (Stansfield C. , 1978, p. 244).

Changing transportation technology had a significant impact on Atlantic City's fortunes. Stansfield remarks that as leisure time and disposable income became democratized, more lower-income groups could afford to travel to the city for recreation. "This trend toward a broadening of the social strata patronizing the resort is intimately related to the progressive lowering of the time and money cost of travel to the resort." He concludes that the socioeconomic orientation of a resort is therefore associated with its accessibility throughout its history.

During the second phase of the cycle, Stansfield describes a period of "stasis" (stability or stagnation) around the beginning of World War I, when everything seemed to be running along smoothly without too much effort or many new developments. However, as the facilities at Atlantic City began to become worn, the number of large hotels reached saturation point, and travel to the city became cheaper (especially as the automobile became more popular), the available entertainment began to reflect the tastes of lower income visitors. Stansfield states that this shift toward working-class tastes was

both a cause and a consequence of the decline in middle class patronage of the resort. Snow and Wright have also observed this phenomenon on Coney Island (Snow & Wright, 1976). However, the upper income groups were also looking for new recreational environments, so their changing allegiance could, in part, be explained by boredom.

During the third phase of the cycle, the resort began to deteriorate. There was no new investment of higher-priced facilities because of the decline in wealthier visitors. Also a decrease in passenger train service, because of the increased use of the automobile, had additional impact. Interstate-level highways, and later airplanes, bypassed Atlantic City providing access to newer resorts. Faster and cheaper travel began to make Florida a feasible alternative for progressively lower income vacationers. Atlantic City's urban structure and street layout also contributed to its own demise. As a railroad resort, the city had been built with the pedestrian in mind and all the facilities were located within walking distance of each other. The streets were narrow and not designed for heavy traffic or parking. As in the case of many barrier islands, development and expansion was restricted because of the lack of land. Vacationers began to stay in cheaper motels on the mainland, second homes were also constructed there and visitors to Atlantic City drove to the beach from the mainland. Middle class families avoided the place because of its garish entertainments and their desire to find smaller, less crowded and less noisy destinations. Suburbanization of the population and the city's facilities meant that Atlantic City's population contained more poor, aged and minority groups (Stansfield C. , 1978).

In the last phase of the resort cycle Stansfield describes the problems that were facing the city. Natural amenities had deteriorated, environmental pollution was increasing and it had lost its more desirable middle class patronage. In this stage he says that resorts will “attempt to modify their appeal to vacationers” because a resort “can no longer rely on its original set of attractants.” There are possibilities for attracting new visitors at this stage, including emphasizing historic or cultural uniqueness, hosting conventions, introducing more non-tourist functions, or introducing a new man-made activity like legalized gambling (as in Atlantic City’s case).

Stansfield’s four phases were growth, stasis, decline and rejuvenation which paved the way for Butler’s generalized model in 1980 (Butler R. W., 1980). Using the product cycle concept as a framework, Butler suggested that there are six basic stages that areas go through: exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation, and decline/rejuvenation. He bases his description of the different stages on the number of tourists, tourist facilities and attractions, the physical, economic, and social environment, interaction with and reactions of local residents, advertising, market area, seasonal patterns, organizations and government (local, regional and national).

During the *exploration stage*, Butler suggests there will be few tourists who will make their own travel arrangements (Plog’s allocentrics). Contact with local residents is high and no facilities will be provided for visitors. The impact of visitors at this stage is minimal and does not affect the residents’ way of life. As the destination progresses to the *involvement stage*, local residents begin to provide facilities for visitors. There is some advertising by local organizations and a market area becomes established as well as

a developing tourist season. Tourism begins to have an impact on the way of life of the community and pressures are put on public agencies to improve transportation and tourism facilities.

As the *development stage* is entered the market area becomes more well-defined and advertising increases in intensity. Local involvement and organization of tourism declines as outside organizations and firms begin to invest in the area. Regional and national governments are needed in planning and providing facilities. Man-made facilities supplement existing natural and cultural attractions and changes in the physical appearance of the area become pronounced. The type of tourist is now the mid-centric of Plog's classification. The number of tourists has increased to a point where it equals or exceeds the resident population at peak periods.

During the *consolidation stage*, the rate of increase in visitation declines. The area's economy has become dependent on tourism. Advertising reaches into a larger market area and efforts are made to extend the visitor season. During this stage tourism businesses are parts of national chains or franchises and well-defined tourism business districts can be recognized. Older facilities are becoming outmoded and local residents begin to oppose the invasion of their community. At the start of the *stagnation stage* the visitors are at peak numbers and carrying capacity is reached or exceeded. Visitors tend to be more the psychocentric type, those who want their whole experience to be organized for them. The area also begins to rely on repeat visitation and conventions are often used to fill surplus hotel capacity. The man-made facilities eclipse the original natural and cultural facilities and existing businesses to experience a higher turnover as

profitability decreases. As decline increases, and the area enters the *decline stage*, it cannot compete with newer attractions elsewhere. The destination becomes one used for day or weekend trips. Tourist facilities disappear and the area begins to move out of tourism as a mainstay for the economy. At this point tourist businesses may fall back into the hands of local entrepreneurs.

Figure 2.1 shows the progression of the cycle of evolution. When the *decline stage* is reached the destination's tourism industry has to make a decision on where it is going to progress. ("At that critical stage, capacity constraints are reached and several potential evolutionary responses are possible") (Strapp, 1988). It could decide to give up completely on tourism and allow decline to continue to its inevitable conclusion. It might try to renovate its facilities or even completely change its *raison d'être* by introducing a new activity either man-made or it could use hitherto unused natural resources. If a *rejuvenation stage* is contemplated, the destination needs assistance from government, private organizations/businesses or a combination of both to successfully make the transition. Depending on the type of new facilities provided during rejuvenation the type of visitor may change. Special interest groups and mid-centrics may be attracted to the area and the psychocentric group will become reduced in proportion to the total tourist population.

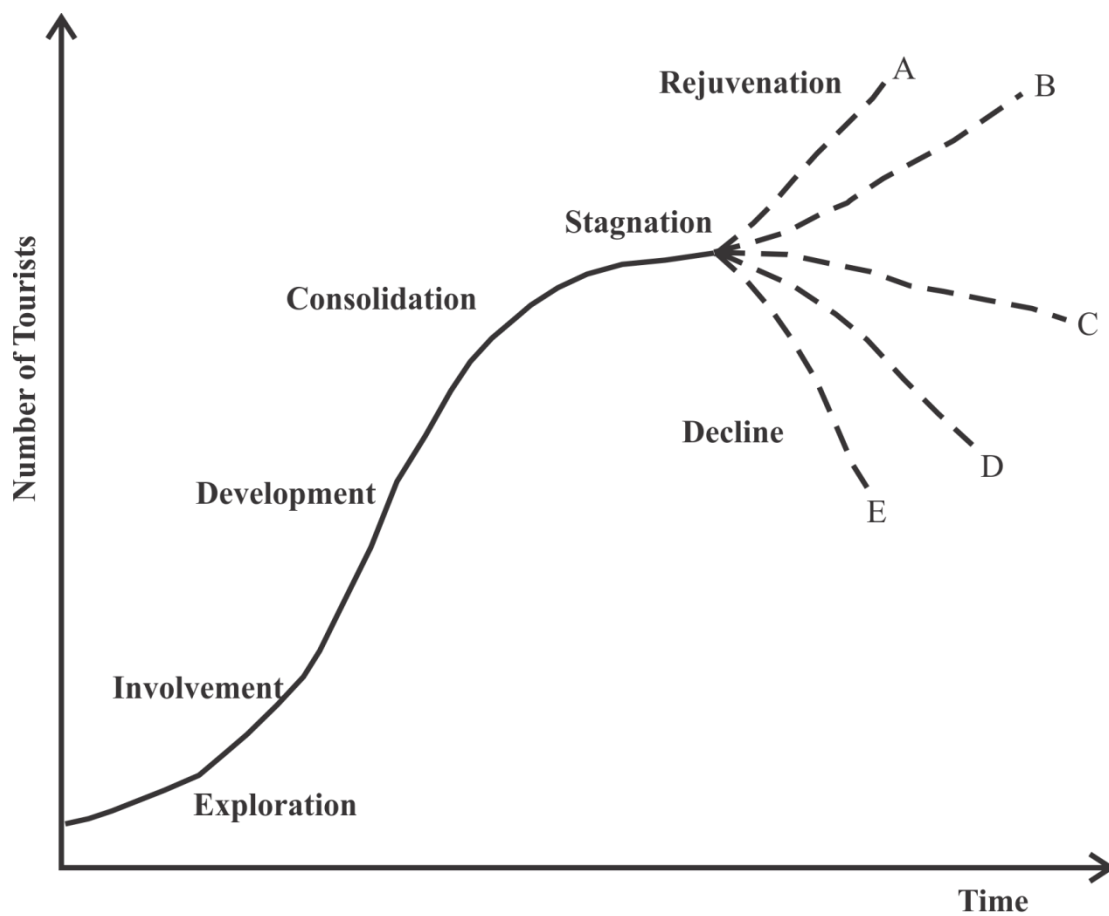
Butler asserts that some of the provisos and implications of the model are that not all areas experience stages of the cycle at the same rate or that the stages can be clearly recognized. Hence the shape of the curve will vary for different areas (urban versus rural, coastal versus inland, scenic versus cultural). In addition, areas may become

unattractive to certain types of visitor long before capacity levels have been reached for each stage. Different stages may be prolonged by intervention (*e.g.*, restrictions on development, conservation and prudent management of natural resources and careful marketing). Some areas may not experience some of the earlier stages, for instance, “instant resorts” like Cancun, Mexico.

Empirical application of the model. The term “resort” is often used to loosely describe a place for leisure. The Oxford English Dictionary defines a resort as a “place frequented usually for specified purpose or quality (health, holiday ~, mountain, seaside ~).” (Fowler & Fowler, 1959) King clarifies the definition:

“The term resort is sometimes used to refer to the highly specific and sometimes to the highly nebulous... The expression is often used to describe only developments that satisfy very specific criteria of high capital intensity. When used in its broader sense, the term resort is used to describe a whole destination region - cities are sometimes described as resorts, for example, notably in their promotional material. According to this usage, virtually any tourist destination can be called a resort” (King, 1994).

Mathieson and Wall refer to resorts as “types of towns which can be distinguished from other urban centres by their specialist functions.” They cite Robinson’s classification of resorts into two categories: the first being centers which have developed as tourist destinations by adding man-made attractions and infrastructure to pre-existing natural attractions (*e.g.* Miami, Florida), or just by



Adapted from Butler, R. W. (1980). The Concept of a Tourist Area of Evolution: Implications for Management of Resources. *Canadian Geographer*, 14(1), 5-12.

Figure 2.1 Butler's Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area

developing tourist infrastructure in areas without any natural attractions (e.g. theme parks).

Second are towns which have developed a tourist industry as an incidental part of their normal functions. Some cities and capital cities are examples of this type of resort (Charleston falls into this group). They add a third type which is the recently developed, planned integrated resort. In these destinations all facilities and services are located within the resort, e.g., Cancun, Mexico (Mathieson & Wall, G., 1982).

With these definitions of the term 'resort,' researchers are given free rein to apply the model to any area that provides tourist resources and infrastructure. Therefore many researchers have used Butler's model as a framework for studying a variety of environments with widely different physical, economic, social and political backgrounds as well as geographical scales and have used a broad range of perspectives and variables. Butler's original term "resort cycle" has often been renamed to adapt to the area being studied. In other words, such terms as "destination life cycle" (Getz, 1992) and travel life cycle (Oppermann, 1995) refer to the same concept. Butler's concept has also been referred to as a model, a description, a hypothesis (Harrison, 1995) and a more recent study has referred to it as a theory (O'Hare & Barrett, 1997). However, it refers to an idealized progression of tourism evolution and, as such, is more akin to a model. For the purposes of this dissertation Butler's 'resort life cycle' will be referred to as a model.

Shape of the curve. Butler's S-shaped curve is produced by plotting time on the x axis and number of visitors on the y axis. As the cycle progresses along each axis, attractiveness and quality of the environment are reduced. The shape of the curve varies for different areas and is related to the rate of development, the number of visitors, accessibility, government policies, and the number of competing areas (Butler R. W., 1980). Haywood suggests that the S-shaped pattern is only one of a number of empirical patterns (Haywood, 1986). He discusses four possible patterns for four different types of destinations. On the smallest scale the resort complex (especially in sand, sea and sun environments) is virtually an instant success and can grow rapidly into a larger resort like Cancun, Mexico (Butler R. W., 1980). The multi-functional city which has a variety of

attractions and has a consistent number of visitors displays a smooth, almost S-shaped curve but with no decline. An urban resort which grew up initially because of tourism may show a decline followed by an upswing in the curve because of the addition of a new attraction (e.g. Atlantic City, NJ and gambling). A tourist destination region which may experience peaks and troughs in its cycle due to unforeseen exogenous factors displays another pattern.

Choy, in a study of some Pacific Islands, also found a variety of shapes to the growth curve (Choy, 1992). He postulated a number of curve shapes for destinations based on Kotler's work (Kotler, 1988). The "Growth - Decline - Maturity" cycle follows Butler's model with the 'C' stage of rejuvenation operating. Choy gives New Calendonia as an example of this pattern where declines have been experienced and the island has not recovered its former visitation rates. The "Primary Cycle - Recycle" pattern shows a primary growth and decline followed by a secondary growth and decline sequence. This pattern is similar to Haywood's regional area curve (which depicts Hovinen's study of Lancaster County, PA). However, both Hovinen's and Choy's studies show the curve's downward trend as only a temporary decline (Hovinen G. R., 1981). If resort histories are taken over a longer period, say one to two centuries, then it is possible to have decline and for the cycle to start again at a later time experiencing growth followed by another decline. The peaks in the curve may also be reversed whereby the primary cycle with the higher peak occurs after the secondary peak. This would particularly apply to an older destination that rebuilt itself and started a new cycle with increased visitation. The third pattern, "Scalloped Growth," is a growth curve that shows the effects of occasional

influences such as natural disasters, economic recessions, or political upheaval which may cause a series of dips in the curve while there is overall growth. Choy cites the Cook Islands, Tonga, and the Solomon Islands as having this pattern. In the Pacific island nations Choy shows that the five destinations with the highest visitor volumes have more even patterns to their curves than those with low visitor volumes. All the curves for the Pacific destinations were affected by exogenous factors during the last thirty years especially the oil crisis of the early to mid-1970s. Fiji was affected in the mid-1980s by political unrest. French Polynesia suffered decline due to high prices, reductions in airline flights and the termination of a major cruise ship's visitation in the region (Choy, 1992).

Cooper and Jackson state that factors on the demand side also affect the shape of the curve, such as the rates of change of visitor numbers, visitor expenditure, type of tourist, market share and profitability (Cooper & Jackson, 1989). Also different market segments may display different curves (Getz, 1992).

Operationalization. One of the problems of using the life cycle model is its operationalization. Butler measures the life cycle stages by the number of visitors to a destination. This measure may be valid but is not reliable. In a closed system such as a single facility, or an island where arrivals are by sea or air, visitor numbers can be closely monitored and an accurate number can be assessed. For a city it is very difficult to assess the number of visitors. Many visitors to cities arrive by car, do not stay in commercial accommodation, and visit different facilities within the city.

Haywood suggests six major measurement decisions that have to be considered when

measuring a destination's life cycle (Haywood, 1986). They are:

- Unit of analysis – Haywood maintains that defining the unit of analysis for a resort is the most important step in attempting to measure the life cycle. While any geographical scale can be used, he asserts that areas should be selected on the basis of the kind of information needed and how it is going to be used.
- Relevant market – Haywood states that most applications of the life cycle have focused on total visitation levels. However, there are occasions when it may be more appropriate to consider the resort-area life cycle by market type (e.g. domestic vs. international tourists), market segment (e.g. family vs. corporate group) or distribution method (tour operators vs. individual reservations).
- Pattern and stages of the life cycle – as discussed above, Haywood suggests that different destinations will display different shaped curves (Figure 2.2).
- Identifying the stage in the life cycle – Haywood maintains that there are two relevant questions that need to be asked to identify stages in the life cycle. What stage has the destination reached? And how can one tell when a destination moves from one stage to the next?
- Determining the unit of measurement – While Butler's model is based on total visitation, Haywood argues that this is not sufficient. He says due consideration should be given to length of stay, the distribution of tourists within the area, the characteristics of the tourist and the season of the visit. Also a decline in tourists does not necessarily mean a change in stage. Expenditures may stay the same if the destination starts attracting more affluent visitors or those with different

spending habits. In this case a measure of profits might be more applicable.

Ioannides adds the contribution of tourism to GDP, earnings from foreign exchange, employment and income generated, and contribution to government revenues as additional variables that might be used (providing one is examining a country as a unit of analysis) (Ioannides, 1992).

- Determination of the relevant time units – Most tourist life cycles are based on annual data. But it may be more appropriate to examine monthly or quarterly data in areas which have a definite season or seasons. (Haywood, 1986).

Various studies have used different measures to operationalize the model.

In Strapp's study of Sauble Beach, Ontario the growth of second homes was an important factor in the development of the community (Strapp, 1988). Tourism changed from short stays to longer stays and his "person-day" parameter explained the progression of the life cycle in that community.

Di Benedetto's study of Cypress Gardens used a step-logarithmic approach which produced a good fit with Butler's curve (Di Benedetto & Bojanic, 1993). Johnson and Snepenger's study of Yellowstone Park examined four indicators to explain the life cycle of the park: visitation trends, growth of the service economy in the regions, host resident's perceptions of current tourism development and current biological indicators of the ecosystem (Johnson & Snepenger, 1993). They found that Butler's model was too simplistic. His assumption of one curve for a destination is not borne out in Yellowstone because the natural resources seem to be at a different stage than the visitation levels.

Cooper and Jackson suggest that while it is difficult to operationalize, it is a

useful descriptive tool. But it cannot be used as a prescriptive or a predictive tool because of the difficulties in identifying stages, the lack of long-term data, and difficulties of aggregation (Cooper & Jackson, 1989). Most studies rely heavily upon historical description and analysis without using the levels of visitation or any other variables as a measure.

The model seems to be most effective as a framework for historical analysis and a descriptive measure for determining the pattern of evolution of a destination. Butler's approach is a holistic one, looking at different aspects of physical, economic, and social environments and thus provides a useful tool in analyzing the growth of tourism in urban environments where a pre-existing societal structure was already in place before tourism developed and continues to function even without the added factor of tourism.

Criticisms of the model. Butler's model is often criticized on the basis of determinism/non-determinism. In the early stages of the cycle, many destinations tend to fit the model's sequence. However, by assuming that an area will fit the life cycle's pattern and relating growth with environmental and infrastructure deterioration, Butler imposes determinism on the model (Bianchi, 1994). Butler's assumption that a tourist area will eventually decline also makes the model deterministic because it introduces inevitability into the process. In the latter stages of the cycle (decline/rejuvenation), Butler presents different scenarios for the destination's future development and the model becomes a non-deterministic one. Cooper and Jackson criticize it for this reason because it precludes decision-makers from making predictions about the progress of development. It is at this point, however, that intervention of some kind is crucial to direct the future

development of the resort given whatever planning tools are available to decision-makers at the time.

Some researchers suggest that the life cycle model is lacking certain components. Debbage, for instance, states that studies of the resort cycle typically consider the type of visitors, the number of visitors and capacity levels. However, he maintains that to understand the cycle better, such concepts as corporate strategy, acquisitions and mergers, and competitive economic behavior be incorporated into the model. He also argues that the cycle tends to focus on endogenous (internal) factors affecting resort areas. By including profit levels and corporate structures, exogenous concerns can be incorporated into the model (Debbage, 1990).

Prideaux argues that models of destination development, including the life cycle model, fail to satisfactorily examine the impact of tourism development on the supply side of the economy. Models should include questions about the role of transportation; the composition of the accommodation stock and other tourism infrastructure; planning actions required to move from one stage of development to the next and predicting these actions ahead of time; the effects of price changes on demand, supply and investment in the resort market; forecasting the impacts of growth on employment generation, human resource requirements and general infrastructure required by a permanent population (schools, retail areas, etc.) (Prideaux, 2000).

Scale and measurement is another problem that researchers face when applying the life cycle model. The model does not specify at what scale it should be applied. Resorts covering different geographical scales will have different cycles. A study of a

whole country will exhibit different characteristics and be impacted by different variables than a single resort. Time scales are also important. Older resorts with an exploration stage in the late eighteenth century are difficult to compare with new resorts that have developed rapidly in the last twenty years. The use of total visitation as a measure of the life cycle presents problems. O'Hare and Barrett state that, a tourism destination is shaped by events and circumstances and not just by total numbers of visitors. (O'Hare & Barrett, 1997). Ioannides makes the point that the model does not account for seasonality and that different types of tourist may visit a destination at different times of the year. He also maintains that researchers have not looked sufficiently at the influence of external and international factors and the role of governments at each stage of the cycle (Ioannides, 1992).

Another criticism of the model is that it tends to oversimplify the processes of tourism change and reduces each resort to a homogeneous social, economic and political structure (O'Hare & Barrett, 1997). On the other hand, using carrying capacity as an explanatory variable adds a complexity which makes measuring the life cycle impossible. Carrying capacity can vary depending on what aspect of an area one is examining. Areas vary in their natural and cultural features and they can vary spatially within an area or even seasonally (Agarwal, 1997). Many authors argue that it is difficult to determine what stage of the life cycle a resort is in and there may be little agreement between planners and other practitioners on the current stage (O'Hare & Barrett, 1997). Also a destination's progress through the cycle is only obvious in hindsight which makes it more of a hypothetical path rather than an independent process (Priestley & Mundet, 1998).

Prosser criticizes the model on both conceptual and empirical grounds. Conceptually he says that no single model can satisfactorily explain tourism development. He describes the limitations of the product life cycle because of the number of alternative patterns of growth for many products and that products do not usually change during their life cycles whereas tourist destinations are constantly changing. He criticizes the concept of the carrying capacity concept for its rigidity and complexity. He cites other conceptual limitations as being the difficulty of differentiating or identifying the different stages and the assumed universality of the model. Empirically he criticizes the life cycle model for its methodological limitations and its lack of predictive power. Also he says that the model has limited practical utility in tourism planning because it cannot be operationalized (Prosser, 1995).

In defense of Butler's model, it must be remembered that Butler wrote his paper before tourism planning, development policies and creative marketing had reached the level of sophistication they are at today. New innovative ways of ameliorating negative tourism impacts and even preventing them have arisen over the last three decades that could not have been foreseen when Butler formulated his concept. Also, as with many models, variables have to be held constant in order to generalize a pattern. In the case of the life cycle model, the task of the researcher is to select one or two independent variables on which the individual resort's life cycle depends, and concentrate on analyzing how those affect the life cycle. Butler's paper, while taking a fairly comprehensive view of resorts generally, could not possibly include all the phenomena that have bearing on a particular resort. Also models are and should be dynamic. Any

criticism can be used to refine the model as tourism research moves toward a workable theory.

Post-stagnation. Recent studies, especially those in Europe have emphasized the importance of examining the post-stagnation stage, when there is a danger of decline.

Butler suggests a number of reasons why resorts begin to decline or are threatened by decline. When resorts begin to face obsolescence due to aging infrastructure, tourists' tastes or other exogenous factors, they also face competition from other destinations. For instance British seaside resorts began to decline when travel became less expensive and the lure of sunny, warm water beaches in Southern Europe was greater than the cold water beaches of England ((Agarwal, 1997) and (Cooper & Jackson, 1989). Also the British tourist market became more discerning, shunning the traditional "bucket and spade" family vacation (Agarwal, 1994). Priestley and Mundet found that in l'Estartit, Spain, competing resorts, while offering a similar product to l'Estartit, were marketing more effectively (Priestley & Mundet, 1998). Debbage suggests that resorts that depend on an oligopolistic tourism industry also are vulnerable to competition because once an oligopoly is established it emphasizes market share over innovation and diversification (Debbage, 1990). On the other hand, facilities like Cypress Gardens, far from losing patronage when Walt Disney World was opened, increased its visitation because visitors to Disney World also visited Cypress Gardens as part of their visit to the region (Di Benedetto & Bojanic, 1993).

Another factor of decline is environmental degradation from overuse. Meyer-Arendt found in Grand Isle, Louisiana that as beach houses deteriorated and the attitude

to environmental conservation changed, the area began to experience stagnation (Meyer-Arendt, 1985). Environmental deterioration also occurs because of natural disasters for example, hurricanes (in the case of Louisiana), earthquakes and especially beach erosion.

Early applications of the resort cycle discuss the concept of carrying capacity as a factor related to the stagnation/decline stage. Carrying capacity has been defined by Mathieson and Wall as “the maximum number of people who can use a site without an unacceptable alteration in the physical environment and without an unacceptable decline in the quality of the experience gained by visitors.” It can refer to natural and man-made environments and relates to biological, physical, ecological, facilities, social and behavioral components of the environment. With regard to the resort cycle, during the stagnation stage capacity levels become exceeded. However, capacity thresholds are difficult to define. Hovinen described capacity in terms of the maximum number of visitors that can be tolerated (Hovinen G. R., 1981). He also discussed different perceptual capacities. From the Amish point of view, Lancaster County reached its carrying capacity long ago but the tourists would not necessarily agree with this. Johnson and Snepenger state that capacity is reached when it negatively affects the host population (Johnson & Snepenger, 1993). Neither study found single thresholds that measure capacity effectively. Martin and Uysal comment that there is a dynamic relationship between carrying capacity and the resort cycle generally but, since both concepts cannot be measured accurately, there is no empirical data that can confirm this relationship (Martin & Uysal, 1990). Wall criticizes using carrying capacity because it imposes fixed limits whereas the idea behind the resort cycle implies change. Also

because it cannot be quantified he suggests it will lead tourism investigators down a blind alley (Wall, 1983).

Some authors consider that Butler's scenarios of decline/rejuvenation are not sufficient in explaining the experiences of many resorts. They suggest that the model be restructured to reflect these experiences. Hovinen proposes a "maturity" stage as an alternative to the post-stagnation phases which combines the consolidation and stagnation stages (Hovinen G. , 1982). His maturity stage started when rapid growth in the number of visitors to Lancaster County ended. In the Niagara Falls region, Getz states that no permanent decline is foreseen. Elements of consolidation, stagnation, decline, and rejuvenation co-exist and can remain that way with appropriate and ongoing planning and management dealing with problems as they arise (Getz, 1992). In the presence of such a popular natural attraction as Niagara Falls the maturity phase is likely to be a permanent one. Lancaster County's appeal is also likely to continue because of the enduring interest in the Amish culture (Hovinen G. , 1982).

In other studies researchers have pointed to the need to prevent decline or to attempt rejuvenation. Agarwal asserts that it is not economically or politically acceptable to allow a tourist resort to decline. In any case, it is unlikely to happen as dramatically as Butler suggests unless there is a war, an epidemic, severe economic recession or some other man-made (or natural) catastrophe. She also maintains that as long as tourist facilities exist, tourism will continue to be pursued even if there is a decline in profitability. She proposes a "re-orientation phase" in which restructuring is a continual process of trying to revive the existing industry and upgrading and introducing new

tourism facilities and infrastructure (Agarwal, 1997). Strategic planning carried out by introducing new facilities and attractions; more aggressive marketing strategies; improving image; seeking new markets in a wider range of origins; diversifying the product; specializing; increasing the length of the season; or using hitherto unused natural resources are all options to extend the life cycle (Priestley & Mundet, 1998).

Independent variables. Changes in the life cycle depend on many variables both endogenous (internal) and exogenous (external) to the resort. They include political factors, governmental structure, social and demographic characteristics of host populations, visitor types, facilities and development. It is not possible in this review to cover all of them in any depth. However, three factors are deemed important to this study, geographical characteristics, economic issues, and planning.

Geographical characteristics. The geographic and spatial aspects of the life cycle model can be divided into geographical scale, accessibility, settlement patterns and spatial distribution.

Geographical scale is important to the study of the resort life cycle. Examining an area at any level of aggregation ranging from a small destination to a whole country, the researcher will encounter a unit that contains facilities and areas with differing life cycles (Haywood, 1986). Single facilities like hotels or integrated resorts will be impacted by different variables, especially local and national controls, than whole countries which are more likely to be affected by international travel patterns and investment. A small resort also has less control over the decisions that will determine its economic health and is subject to greater fluctuations in visitation, especially where weather or environmental

conditions vary (e.g. lake levels or water quality) (Strapp, 1988).

Accessibility has been found to be crucial to the progression of the resort life cycle. Areas that are located in peripheries, remote from industrial cores and transport nodes, are more likely to stay in the discovery or local control stage (Keller, 1987). Lack of accessibility or isolation can also hinder tourism development as Tooman found in western North Carolina where highway construction and provision of transport facilities lagged behind the rest of the state (Tooman L. A., 1997). More accessible locations, like Lancaster County tend to grow at a steady rate and remain high in visitation, even if visitors are only passing through on their way elsewhere (Hovinen G. , 1982).

Transportation innovation has considerable bearing on the resort cycle. Studies of early resorts show the impact the railroads had on places with tourism potential (Stansfield C. , 1978). In the United States, interstate highways also contributed to the growth of Florida and modern, cheaper air travel has broadened the market for most places.

Settlement patterns can change over the course of the resort life cycle and vary according to scale of observation. On a national scale Ioannides study of Cyprus shows that, during the life cycle, tourism shifted away from the hill villages toward the coast establishing a new type of tourism destination. On a local scale, Meyer-Arendt's study of Grand Isle, Louisiana traces the pattern of house construction with a similar trend of migration toward the beach but this time only across the dune ridge.

Little has been written on the changing distribution and character of tourism activities and facilities within a resort in relation to life cycle stage. Richardson's study

of Galveston traced the history of a small part of the city showing how the nature of a small urban area can change over time and the impact of local preservation activity on a declining area. Although facility provision is covered in most historical analyses using the resort cycle, studies have not investigated the spatial relationships of different facilities, attractions or activities within resort areas and their relation to the resort cycle. The impact of tourism land use on a pre-existing settlement has important implications for planners and managers of resorts. Knowing the spatial distribution of tourism resources and their role and level of integration into the local environment can aid planners in creating and maintaining both an attractive environment while sustaining an agreeable way of life for the residents.

Planning issues. The evolution of tourism areas is important for tourism planners and managers. Such features as character, ambience, and attractiveness of facilities can be impacted positively or negatively. The local community's social structure might change affecting investment levels. Change has to be both understood and planned for. Otherwise costs to cover them quickly rise as the need for adaptation grows and becomes more visible (Agarwal, 1997). Planners can ameliorate or control the effects of tourism growth through different strategies and controls depending on the political structure under which they are operating.

Butler's life cycle model suggests that tourism planning of any attraction or resource cannot be viewed as static (Johnson & Snepenger, 1993). At all stages planning and management options vary according to the level of visitation, the quality and sustainability of the resources, and the problems inherent in overpopulation of an area

(traffic congestion, parking problems, noise, littering, inadequate infrastructure support etc.).

During the early stages of the cycle when governments and large organizations are not very active in the process, organizations should be flexible and creative. As Richardson found in Galveston this stage is likely to include community groups, arts associations, and groups of business leaders. (Richardson, 1986). For remote and environmentally sensitive areas, Keller suggests a strategy of keeping decision-making within the control of the local authorities (assuming that they have the necessary skills for managing and administering tourism) and to confine development to a level which can be operated and financed at the local level. Much of this control will depend on a strong and powerful local tourism organization that has the support of all sectors of the tourism industry in the local area (Keller, 1987).

As the growth stages progress, planners should be monitoring change within the destination to manage uncontrolled development, pressure on existing tourist resources as well as those used by the local population. This may take the form of defining short and long-term goals and ongoing product evaluation. The key during these stages is to prevent problems before they arise. (Richardson, 1986). Also important is the diversification of the economy to reduce the potential over-dependence on tourism and to reconcile the differences between pro-development factions, conservationists and local government within the community (Digance, 1997). As maturity and stagnation begin, emphasis should be on upgrading deteriorating facilities, general improvements in the built and natural environment, undertaking market studies to forecast future trends and

adapting to changing markets, maintaining market share and preserving or improving the destination's image (Priestley & Mundet, 1998). Cooperation between the public and private sectors is also important at this stage with creative, joint financing programs to upgrade facilities and introduce new development.

Instead of trying to identify the cycle stage for a destination, Getz asserts that planners should concentrate on monitoring and forecasting market and impact-related indicators. Indicators should include visitor numbers, growth/decline rates, shifts in market segments, length of stay, spending and activity patterns, supply by sector (accommodations, attractions, and restaurants), prices, promotions, accessibility and convenience, visitor expectations and levels of satisfaction, profits and competitiveness, reinvestment and upgrading business, environmental and social problems (Getz, 1992).

In Europe planners have had to focus their energies on the maturity stage because of the number of declining resorts. Much of their planning takes the form of strategic plans. This can be defined as a managerial process of developing and maintaining a strategic fit between an organization's goals and capabilities and its changing marketing opportunities (Cooper, 1992). From a tourism point of view, strategic planning is really an activity aimed at providing a sustainable tourism industry at the destination (Cooper, 1992). In other words, at each stage in the life cycle, expected market growth, distribution of market shares, degree of competition, profitability, and marketing options, vary. This means that a different marketing mix may therefore be appropriate at each stage. Cooper describes the process as defining the mission statement, business portfolio analysis and growth strategies (Cooper, 1992). For example, in 1985, the English Tourist

Board held a “Resort 2000” competition to find the best ideas for rejuvenating the English tourist industry. From this competition came four possible strategies proposed by Diamond:

- Turnaround strategy – public/private sector effort to reverse falling visitor numbers by investment in development, planning and promotion.
- Sustainable growth strategy – concentrates on maintaining existing markets and achieving a low level of growth by recruiting new visitors to supplement the repeat clientele.
- Incremental growth strategy – a phased approach with limited use of test marketing new products to secure a new market.
- Selective tourism strategy – only certain market segments are targeted to reinforce and capitalize on the resort’s strengths (Morgan M. , 1991).

Economic issues. The economic aspects of the model refer mainly to the type of investment in tourism, especially whether it is from inside or outside the community/destination. In the early stages of the life cycle, investment in free market economies comes from local interests. As the cycle progresses external investment begins to take control of the industry. The type of investment also varies between different areas. In the United States local “mom and pop” operations in the hospitality industry were prevalent in the 1930s but by the 1960s chain establishments were proliferating. Later, in the 1980's and 1990's, external investment was in the development of integrated resorts by large international corporations. The United States shows a pattern of gradual transition from local to national and international investment.

Other areas, such as some small island nations, may never experience the local investment stage because the indigenous population does not possess the capital to invest in tourism business. For example, former British colonies such as Grand Cayman, Swaziland and Cyprus all experienced this kind of development where Britain was the major investor in tourism (Weaver, 1990; Harrison, 1995; Ioannides, 1992).

A special case of colonial domination occurs in former plantation societies, such as Antigua. Weaver maintains that, although tourism replaced plantation agriculture, the inequalities and exploitation inherent in the plantation system continued. Local decision-making is absent in these areas and the impoverished interior regions of a plantation island provide cheap labor for the wealthy tourism-dominated coast (Weaver, 1990). The result of this is that these nations do not have control over the development that takes place in their countries.

Apart from governmental investment and control, external investment can come from other sources, especially the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Receiving aid to develop, expand or improve tourism resources can accelerate the life cycle of a destination. Douglas discusses the establishment of a tax haven in Vanuatu in 1971 which prompted a large amount of investment in the country along with land speculation and general international interest (Douglas, 1997). The introduction of large internationally-owned hotels also has considerable impact on a tourist industry.

At the local level economic problems can arise from unrestrained growth and dependency on tourism. Agarwal's study of British seaside resorts, which grew because

of tourism, and are now suffering because of their over-dependence on it. Tourism is not only the major form of employment in these areas, it is also the foundation for a large number of small businesses in the towns and a decline in customers presents a major impact on an area's economy (Agarwal, 1994). Tourism can provide welcome employment and diversification in a local economy in the early stages of the destination life cycle but its advantages diminish in the later stages. Tooman examines the economic benefits and impacts for the local population as the life cycle progresses. In the early stages of the cycle, the local population can expect slow growth and lower income levels. However, revenues stay within the community and local entrepreneurs are inclined to enter the industry. During the development stage, profits begin to be removed from the community by external investors. The local entrepreneurs find it harder to enter the industry or are forced out by competition from larger non-local businesses. Also local income in the area remains low because tourism employment is typically low-income and the industry also suffers from seasonality which means periodic unemployment for tourism employees (Tooman L. , 1997).

At a regional or national level, uneven distribution of tourism resources can lead to spatial inequalities and result in depopulation. In Cyprus, tourism moved toward the coast after the mid-1970s aided by government incentives to hoteliers to build in the region and the construction of a second international airport on the island. However, the northwest region and many of the mountain areas with their mainly agrarian economic base, and an underdeveloped tourism sector are undergoing depopulation, as many of their economically active population migrate to urban centers and the fast growing resorts

(Ioannides, 1992).

At a national level an economic recession can have an impact on a resort that depends on domestic tourism. For instance, in the US the Depression of the 1930's had the effect of decreasing tourism. Meyer-Arendt discusses the fact that on Grand Isle, Louisiana, islanders had to sell their properties to developers thus changing the face of tourism on the island (Meyer-Arendt, 1985). With recovery from the Depression, tourism experienced a “take-off” phase with more emphasis on beachfront development. In Asheville, North Carolina tourism experienced a boom in the 1920's with outside investment making it possible for the area to progress to the development stage. However, the boom collapsed in 1926 which led to failure of local banks and default on local government indebtedness. This economic crisis together with the Depression in the 1930's followed by World War II meant an end to Asheville's tourism economy for a while. Most of the large old hotels and sanitariums in the area closed and strict limits were placed on indebtedness. In the 1970's the oil/gasoline crisis had an effect worldwide. In the US, Hovinen attributes the decline in visitors to Lancaster County to this crisis (Hovinen G. R., 1981).

At a national and international level the structure of the tourism industry generally also has bearing on the life cycle of a destination. Debbage argues that Butler's model, by not including corporate structure in the tourism industry, under-emphasizes the importance of external factors in the life cycle. He also found that where tourism is operated by only a few companies, *e.g.*, Paradise Island, Bahamas, a number of problems arise.

In the beginning of the cycle emphasis is placed on innovation and novelty and there is a lack of competition. However, as the cycle progresses and firms face stiffer competition some will consolidate by taking over smaller businesses, a term known as oligopolizing. This may take the form of horizontal mergers or vertical integration. Consolidation can lead to better profits and, as competition is reduced, to increased market share. Often companies will improve management, but there is the danger of becoming dependent on one form of management and failing to change with changing tourist tastes and needs. Debbage observes that the advantage of oligopoly is the integration of services. Companies may own several hotels and restaurants and so can integrate the customer's experience within one resort. On the other hand, there is always a problem that businesses in an oligopoly will run into their own internal difficulties and, especially if bankruptcy occurs, the destination suffers from a major economic disruption (Debbage, 1990). Ioannides found a similar pattern in Cyprus where the tourism industry's dependence on a few large-scale tour operators has promoted a "non-diversified 'could be anywhere' destination." This has made the country vulnerable to competition from other "less mature 'sunlust' areas that offer superior environmental quality" (Ioannides, 1992).

Prideaux discusses the lack of economic perspectives and the role of market structure in the research into resort development. He proposes a new model which he names the Resort Development Spectrum which is similar to Butler's cycle. His model concentrates on the supply side of the tourist industry. At each stage of growth a state of equilibrium is reached between demand and supply. Tourists are assumed to be normal

consumers and their choice of a destination is based on their wish to maximize available resources of time and money. The supply side includes private and public sector elements (including all aspects of the hospitality industry and other attractants to the area). He traces a number of growth phases which start when the resort caters to visitors from within the region (from the surrounding countryside or from nearby towns). As the resort gains popularity, new source markets are cultivated and growth commences. These new markets may be based on distance, cost or a combination of the two. Distance markets may start with intrastate visitors, progressing to interstate travelers and finally international visitors. Cost markets may include people who live fairly near the destination but never thought of it as a possible vacation area because it did not provide the right facilities or attractions. As the resort grows, investment in new infrastructure is required (accommodation and transport facilities) and an equilibrium point is reached when the maximum capacity of a resort is reached and additional tourists cannot be accommodated with existing facilities. Over time a number of equilibrium positions will be reached if growth occurs. The success of the tourism industry rests on the interaction of demand, supply, equilibrium and capacity. Prideaux adds that a number of growth curves can be constructed for the resort according to the market segment under analysis (*i.e.*, the different price ranges that tourists are prepared to pay) and that each segment will have a different curve and different equilibrium points. As growth occurs a resort will add new sectors and generating regions, creating a multi-sector market within the destination. If the resort wants to grow then it has to look for new market sectors and/or at a greater distance (Prideaux, 2000).

The main difference between Prideaux' resort development model and Butler's life cycle model is that it uses the market type and tourist origins as criteria for measuring development. His five phases are local tourism, regional tourism, national tourism, international tourism and decline/stagnation/rejuvenation. He argues that each phase carries with it its own particular facility provision. For example in the local phase accommodation will include the equivalent of camping grounds, tourist homes, and inexpensive motels. By Phase 4 (international tourism) accommodation there will be large international luxury hotels and vacation apartments in place, in addition to the Phase 1 accommodations. The model does not assume exclusivity. For instance, there may be a small number of international tourists during Phase 2.

When the resort reaches international status it may experience decline if it does not adapt its product to changing market demands, fails to promote itself effectively, suffers from competition with other resorts, or does not refurbish infrastructure. However, decline is recognizable and can be corrected in most cases. Prideaux uses the example of Cairns, Australia as following his growth pattern. He concludes that while previous models have concentrated on the effects of growth, the Resort Development Spectrum looks at future growth and actions required to facilitate it. Local authorities have some control over growth through growth management procedures which prevent certain kinds of development. His model is one that benefits from past experience of resorts who have followed the traditional resort cycle. The development of tourism planning as a profession aids in producing a model which can be forward looking but much of its success depends on the political structure of the country in which the resort is

located and the power of local governments to impose controls on growth.

The Usefulness of Butler's Model. Butler's model is a descriptive tool, a framework that can be used to describe the evolution of a tourist destination. Butler never intended it to be a forecasting tool nor a universally applicable theory. It is just a simplified version of what in reality is very complex. However, Butler was aiming to provide a holistic view of the dynamic progression of tourism through time and as such the model integrates all aspects of the tourism industry and its relationship with the tourist destination. It helps to identify key factors, both internal and external, that are important to the individual destination. It shows what actors - organizations, businesses, and governmental authorities are involved in shaping the destination's image, its attractiveness, and its appeal to visitors. It illustrates the evolution of the tourist market by volume, type of tourist and tourist origins. It can also be used to emphasize areas where planning and controls are needed to keep growth within acceptable limits and prevent serious degradation of environmental and cultural resources.

However, in terms of empirical analysis, Butler's model is not really intended for quantitative analysis. Various aspects of destination evolution can be measured and analyzed and can then be integrated into the framework. This serves both to extend and refine the model which needs to remain flexible and dynamic. Even if the results of a quantitative analysis are not generalizable, they may serve the needs of the destination under examination and practitioners can use them for coping with problems in the community as they arise and using the experience of other communities in later stages of the cycle to forestall any problems that could occur.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODS

The research questions for the dissertation have been stated in Chapter One. This chapter's objective is to show how these research questions can be answered. It describes the methods of measuring the variables involved. The first step in the research design is to define the area where most of the tourism activity occurs in Charleston. There have been a number of suggestions as to how to define tourist areas in cities. The concept that best fits a study of business structure related to tourism is that of the Tourism Business District (TBD) described in Chapter Two.

The second step in the project design is to select a timeframe that most closely reflects the period in which tourism has been important to the city's economy. Charleston, as a port city, had always been the recipient of visitors, but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that tourism was consciously considered as an industry worth encouraging. The city had suffered devastation in the Civil War, followed in the next thirty years by an earthquake, a major fire and two hurricanes. By the 1890s the city was in economic straits and needed to rebuild not only its economy, but also its self-esteem. Tourism was suggested as a way of bringing revenue to the city and, in 1899, the Confederate Veterans Reunion marked the beginning of an era of tourism growth that eventually brought Charleston to the point of being one of the top tourist destinations in the United States.

The third step in the research design is to combine the first and second steps by examining the evolution of the TBD. The Tourism Area Life cycle (TALC) model is a well-tested theoretical basis for the project and suggests various stages that a tourist

destination passes through as it grows and develops. One of the aims of the project is to see if the TALC model can be applied to a multifunctional city and, more particularly, to a Tourism Business District. Studies of the life cycle of destinations have typically concentrated on visitor numbers and the demand side of tourism. They also have examined various kinds of destination – resort areas, national parks, and areas of tourism urbanization, but have not tested the model in a multifunctional city. This project looks strictly at the supply side of the industry. It is hypothesized that the TALC in a multifunctional city is affected not just by the vacillations of the tourism industry, but also by other urban forces at work. Therefore, the project is designed to take account of trends in urban growth and change over the last century.

The two concepts of tourist districts in cities and the TALC model have been reviewed in Chapter Two. This chapter's goal is to show how the two concepts can be combined and analyzed. Several methods of data collection were employed to fulfill the goals of the project. First, to describe the business structure of the TBD during the 20th Century, databases of business structure were built by extracting names, addresses and types of business in the TBD using Charleston street directories. The directories are housed in the Charleston County Public Library.

For the general business structure analysis, databases were constructed with information taken at twenty-year intervals. Six databases were built for the years 1899, 1919, 1938, 1958, 1979, 1999. Information limited to hotels and other accommodations, restaurants, antique dealers, and gift shops were recorded from directories for every five years to give a more detailed description of tourism businesses. While not every year is

covered by a directory, it is possible to find directories for every 5th year of the century, with only a few exceptions. There were only a few directories published in the 1960s and none were around 1964. However, the library also contains old phone books and tourism business information was taken from the phone book for that year.

The resulting data are used to trace Charleston's life cycle of tourism development through tabulation, graphs and descriptive statistics. The analysis is supplemented with a historical narrative using primarily newspaper accounts of tourism activities and development.

The Charleston Tourism Business District

Although recent research has focused on tourist precincts as areas to study in cities, the tourist precinct is not sufficient when studying tourism business history. Firstly, tourism businesses - hotels, restaurants, antique stores, confectioners, souvenirs and gift shops are not always located in a tourist precinct, and tourist precincts are not usually large enough to incorporate the whole Central Business District (CBD).

The appropriate area for studying just business history in Charleston is the Central Business District (CBD). Charleston's CBD is very compact and is concentrated around Broad Street and into Meeting Street with the major shopping area being in King Street. However, while the CBD does include some retail outlets like restaurants, it tends to consist mainly of general business offices and services, government offices, financial, legal, real estate and professional services as well as major shopping areas. Buildings in large city CBDs tend to be high rise because of the land values and rents. However, the Tourism Business District (TBD) which is an area dominated by tourism businesses and

related services locates on cheaper land away from peak land values. Thus, the TBD is a much broader area than the CBD since land for recreation and tourism (parks, plazas and other open space) as well as entertainment venues require more space and cheaper rents.

In a city like Charleston however, the TBD area includes the CBD area, areas of accommodation around Calhoun Street, the backstreets away from the main thoroughfares, and public space like the Market Street area where tourists can meet and browse the market stalls and specialty shops. The CBD is counted as part of the TBD not just because the tourism and CBD businesses are intermingled within the area, or because they form part of the access from the area of tourist accommodations around Calhoun Street to the historic residential area south of Broad Street, but also because the CBD itself is part of the historic area of the city. Charleston's CBD is nothing like those of larger cities. In Charleston's CBD there are only two high-rise buildings (the People's Building on Broad Street and The Francis Marion Hotel on King Street). Also a walk through the streets of Charleston's CBD presents the visitor with a range of architectural styles which are being carefully preserved for historic and aesthetic reasons, and so the CBD is counted as part of the heritage attraction. The TBD extends further north than the CBD and so is ideal for delimiting the study area both for studying business history and tourism history.

The aim of the dissertation project is to study Charleston's business history in relation to tourism for the 100 years from 1899 to 1999 and relate business patterns in Charleston to the progression of the TALC model. The most appropriate approach for achieving this goal was to take "snapshots" of business structure at regular intervals using

information from the Charleston city directories. However, with Charleston's growth during the 20th Century and the development of new business areas outside the city's core, it would have been impossible to compare changes over a long period of time without holding spatial extent constant. Therefore, a study area had to be defined that, not only incorporated the area where business was concentrated in the early part of the period, but also where present day tourists and tourist businesses tend to be concentrated. Coincidentally, most of the businesses that cater to tourists today are concentrated in the TBD which is where most of the economic activity took place in 1899.

The most convenient boundary for the study area is the one delimited by the 1990s tourist bus route around the city which includes the Central Business District. The boundary incorporates King Street on the west between Ann Street in the north and Broad Street in the south. The southern boundary is Broad Street between King Street in the west and East Bay Street in the east. The eastern boundary is East Bay Street between Broad Street in the south and Calhoun Street in the north and the northern boundary is defined by Calhoun Street from East Bay Street to Meeting Street, Meeting Street northward to Ann Street and Ann Street from Meeting Street to King Street (see the black outlined area in Figure 3.1). Both sides of the boundary streets are included in the analysis.

Data Sources

The Charleston city directories are divided into four main sections. Residents and/or businesses are alphabetized by street, name, business type, and phone number. Before 1960 the resident and business names section was also subdivided by race into



Base Map:



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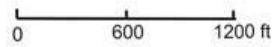


Figure 3.1 The Study Area

White Department and Colored Department. African Americans were also identified in the street and business type sections with the letter “c”. The street sections started to

include home ownership information around the 1930's and in the 1970's recorded whether people were newcomers to the area.

For data collection purposes the City Directories present certain problems:

- First, addresses for some businesses appear twice if they have entrances on two streets. For instance, lists of businesses in the Market Street area of Charleston are listed under both Market St. and Meeting St.
- Second, the directories mention businesses more than once. For instance, a hardware store might be listed under agricultural implements and stoves as well as general hardware. One store in 1899 was listed in 7 different categories.
- Third, several businesses (and residences) may be listed for the same address. In recent years with business turnover being so fast, especially in the restaurant business, a restaurant will be present one month and gone the next and two different restaurants will appear in different sources, e.g., phone directories and street directories produced by different companies. In this case it is necessary to stay with one data source and assume that the fieldwork was carried out in a reasonable amount of time and that the directory represents a snapshot of land use at one moment in time.
- Fourth, businesses included in one section of the directory (e.g. the street address section) may not be listed in another section (e.g. the business section). The reasons for these omissions are speculative but do provide some plausible explanations of why they happened:
 - There may have been separate surveys at different times for various sections of the directory. During this time a business may have closed or moved.

- The surveyor may have missed a business during fieldwork for the street section or may not have listed businesses operating out of homes in the business section.
- Older business lists may have been used for the business section and these were not properly updated.
- There were errors in collecting and recording. Typographical and cross-referencing errors are evident in the directories.

These problems have to be taken into account because they compromise the accuracy of the data. Since the business history is designed to give only a broad impression of land use in Charleston at different points in the century, slight inaccuracies in the data are considered acceptable.

Another factor that needed consideration in building the databases was the addresses of buildings in the TBD area. The street sections of the directories listed businesses and residences by block so it was easy to check the numbering system for the streets within the TBD. Field observations of addresses showed that the numbering system of buildings has not changed since 1899. An exception occurred around George Street where the road had been rerouted. However, this was in a residential area and did not affect the business entries.

The publishers of the street directories varied throughout the hundred-year period. The companies who produced the directories used for this study were Lucas and Richardson (Charleston, SC), Walsh Directory Company (Charleston, SC), Hill Directory Company (Richmond, VA), Baldwin Directory Company (Charleston, SC), R.L. Polk

Company (Richmond, VA) and Southern Bell Telephone Directory (1964).

Databases

The databases were constructed using Microsoft *Access* software. For each business and its activity in Charleston, including businesses operating out of residential premises, the author created a database record. This meant that the database often had several records for each business. For each business activity an SIC (Standard Industrial Classification) code was entered at two-digit levels and six-digit levels.

The Bureau of Transportation Statistics defines the Standard Industrial Classification as a system, first used in 1937, that, “groups establishments by primary activity to ease data collection, tabulation, presentation and analysis. SIC was intended to promote greater uniformity and comparability in data presentations by government, industry and research institutions, SIC classifies industries by composition and structure of the economy.” (Bureau of Transportation Statistics, 2001). The SIC system organizes information at an increasing level of detail. At its most aggregated level the sectors are agriculture, fisheries, forestry; mining; construction; manufacturing; wholesale; retail; services. Data can be obtained at the two-digit, four-digit, six-digit levels etc. according to the level of detail required for a project. The two-digit is a generalized level that is the next level down from the broad sectors listed above. This level was used to give a broad description of business patterns in the TBD – how much retailing businesses as opposed to manufacturing firms were present. The six-digit level was determined to have sufficient specificity as to what kind of business they were. For instance at this level, what are described as eating and drinking places at the two-digit level could be

distinguished according to whether they were a bar, a restaurant, a delicatessen, a coffee shop or a tea room. Counts and percentage change were calculated from the databases.

The first step in the analysis was to eliminate all duplicates from the list of businesses and count the total number of business units in the Tourism Business District. The databases were created at 20-year intervals for 100 years from 1899-1999 and the resulting tables are included in Appendix I. The “snapshots” were taken every twenty years that ended in nine. In two cases, 1938 and 1958, the nine-numbered year did not have a street directory published.

The problems discussed in the previous section were solved in the following ways:

- For businesses that appear on more than one street because of two entrances, the side entrances were discarded from the database.
- For those businesses that were mentioned more than once (i.e., one business had more than one function) the SIC code was examined. At both the two-digit and six-digit levels they were counted as two separate businesses if their functions fell into two separate categories. However, if both functions were categorized in the same SIC, only one of the records was counted. For example, in 1899 and 1919, several grocers were listed as both wholesale and retail. These businesses had to be counted twice at both the two-digit and six-digit levels. But, on the other hand, some insurance agents also sold real estate. While they would be classified in the financial category at the two-digit level, they appeared in two different categories at the six-digit level. This meant that they would only be counted once at the two-

digit level but twice at the six-digit level.

- Where there were several businesses at one address, that address was recorded in different records. Another problem with having more than one business at a single address is not that they share the same address but it appears when comparing different sections that they were recorded at different times and a business moved during the interim. So the lists of business types were taken as the major source of information and the street section was used as a secondary source to include home businesses etc.
- While it is best to stay with one data source to avoid inaccuracies, the author made an exception to this rule for the 1999 database. Data for businesses in 1999 were first taken from a CD that contained all the phonebooks in the United States (Powerfinder by PhoneDisc (2nd Edition) (Computer Software), 1998). This CD was used because there were so many more businesses in the TBD at that time and they were already coded with industrial codes which saved a lot of time in data entry. After extracting the businesses in the study area, however, they were checked against the 1999 Street Directory for Charleston and adjusted to match the street directory entries.
- The methods of counting adopted tend to inflate the total number of businesses. To resolve this problem and obtain a more accurate count of total businesses, all duplicates were removed so only one business was counted for its particular address. The discrepancies between total numbers of different types of businesses and the grand total of all businesses can be seen in the tables and should be taken

into account when reading (Table 4.1 and Appendices I-V) and interpreting the tables.

- Some problems arose in classifying businesses under the SIC system. Some businesses, especially those in 1899 and 1919, did not have a listing in the recent classification lists. For instance, in Charleston in 1899 there were a number of horseshoers. Because there is no modern SIC code for that kind of business, an approximate equivalent had to be found. In the case of horseshoers, they were given a code the same as blacksmiths. This happened in relatively few cases and a substitute classification was easily found.

Data Analysis

The data analysis examines the growth of Charleston's tourism industry in two ways. First, the data for the TBD is tabulated using the constructed databases. A general description of the business structure of the city's core gives insight into what the environment was like that visitors were encountering in the early days of tourism in the city. The twenty year snapshots show some marked changes in the nature of Charleston's TBD during the hundred year period. The distribution of hotels and restaurants are also plotted on maps to show the distribution of tourism activities in the TBD at different points in time.

Second, the growth of tourism businesses is tabulated and graphed using five-year increments. The number of hotels and other accommodations, restaurants, and specialty shops are graphed to show the various life cycles that go to produce TALC model for the TBD. These specific businesses are tracked at five-year intervals to yield more data

points and a more accurate picture of tourism business change.

Historic Narrative

The historic narrative is a major part of any TALC study. Describing the evolution of a tourist area is critical to assessing how the destination has developed and what influences have guided or hindered it along the way. The hypothesis of the dissertation is that major urban forces like urban growth, suburbanization, de-industrialization of the urban core, the growth of service industries, changes in the extent and nature of transportation have had considerable bearing on the nature of tourism in Charleston. Two world wars, and natural disasters, like Hurricane Hugo, have had short-term but serious impacts on tourism in the city. Human factors (actions of entrepreneurs, investors, planners and city councilmen, preservationists, and concerned citizens) have all affected the progression of the city through the life cycle stages.

Various sources of information have been used to trace the history of Charleston's tourism industry. The most important one was the city's newspapers. The *News and Courier* and the *Charleston Evening Post* (both newspapers were the forerunners of today's *Post and Courier*) provide some interesting accounts of tourist activities, festivals, conventions, and other events in the city as well as a broad overview of city life that had effects on tourism. In the first forty years of the period, the newspapers had to be browsed. Fortunately, stories about tourism, news about Charleston, and letters to the editor were restricted to certain pages of the newspaper. After the 1940s, the newspapers have been indexed and are easily accessed in a card file in the Charleston County Library.

To complement the newspaper accounts, magazine articles were found in the

archives in various institutions in the city. Old maps, brochures and guidebooks give impressions of what the city was like and what it had to offer the visitor who came to the city. Various reports, the city yearbooks and council minutes also add to the historic narrative.

Sources of information include the following institutions:

- Charleston County Library
- South Carolina Historical Society
- Charleston Museum
- College of Charleston
- The Charleston Library Society
- Charleston Chamber of Commerce
- Clemson University Special Collections and Reserve Collections

Maps, Diagrams and Tabulations

Base maps were constructed from Delorme's *Street Atlas USA* software and the maps were overlaid with data from the databases and from archival material. Tables were constructed from the databases. Tables include counts for different SIC categories with percentages and percentage changes during the twenty-year intervals (Table 4.1 and Appendix I). Graphs were constructed in Microsoft *Excel* using the databases.

CHAPTER 4 CHANGES IN BUSINESS STRUCTURE IN THE TBD 1899-1999

The business structure of the center of Charleston changed significantly between 1899 and 1999. At the turn of the twentieth century, Charleston was a depressed port but one that served the low country of South Carolina. Trade and industry had bypassed Charleston partly because of its role in the Civil War and the punitive attitude of the railroads. However, industries like phosphate fertilizer manufacturing and cotton production were native to the area. This section examines the different industrial sectors and how they changed during the 20th century as well as how they changed the face of Charleston's business and industrial landscape.

Two levels of the Standard Industrial Classification (SIC) codes are examined to discuss how broad industrial structure changed and how, at a more detailed level, business increased and declined throughout the century so that Charleston changed from an industrial port and manufacturing center to a thriving service center and tourist destination.

Business Structure and Change in the TBD 1899-1999 (2-digit SIC level).

Table 4.1 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the broad fluctuations not just of business totals, but also of the composition of business types over the hundred years.

In the primary sector of extractive industries there is little representation in the TBD because the study is looking at a downtown area where only company offices are present while the actual extraction is taking place elsewhere. So agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining businesses only accounted for 0.21% in 1899 and 0.58% in 1999. However, construction businesses were more numerous in the center of Charleston at the

beginning of the twentieth century. These businesses increased until 1919 and were comprised mainly of general contractors, plumbers and roofers. However, more specialized construction businesses like marble workers and cornice makers were also present. The sector increased until 1919 and then decreased dramatically. It reappeared in the period between 1979 and 1999, when again the majority of businesses were general contractors, but the increase was not a significant one.

There were 137 businesses in the manufacturing sector in downtown Charleston in 1899 but by 1979 this had decreased to 18, recovering to 30 by 1999. In 1899 the textile industry (especially cotton) was significant as was food processing and soft drinks manufacturers. By 1999 most businesses classified as manufacturing were newspaper publishers and printers.

The transportation sector had 65 businesses in 1899, rising to 86 in 1938, and decreasing to 41 in 1979 and increasing again to 50 in 1999. In 1899, there were 27 warehouses and 11 railroad offices. In 1999 the transportation sector was dominated by steamship agencies (6), tour operators (6), travel agencies (7) and marine surveyors (4). There was only one warehouse in 1999.

Like transportation, wholesale trade was an important sector of business in the center of Charleston in 1899. At that time there were 174 businesses. These increased to 197 in 1919 and then decreased to just 19 in 1999.

The most significant changes came in retail trade; services; and finance, insurance

Table 4.1
Total Businesses by Sector

SIC Category	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry and Mining	3	3	3	2	4	9
Construction	48	72	62	48	25	28
Manufacturing	137	102	59	35	18	30
Transportation, Communications & Utilities	65	52	86	52	41	50
Wholesale Trade	174	197	171	113	37	19
Retail Trade	518	590	663	438	340	541
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	210	215	217	304	191	225
Services	169	276	324	204	82	197
Professional Services	128	166	197	214	232	420
Unclassified	0	10	4	5	12	23
Total Economic Activities	1452	1683	1786	1415	982	1542
Total Businesses	1088	1098	1241	1141	891	1524
	Percent of total businesses					
	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
Agriculture, Fishing, Forestry and Mining	0.21	0.18	0.17	0.14	0.41	0.58
Construction	3.31	4.28	3.47	3.39	2.55	1.82
Manufacturing	9.44	6.06	3.30	2.47	1.83	1.95
Transportation, Communications & Utilities	4.48	3.09	4.82	3.67	4.18	3.24
Wholesale Trade	11.98	11.71	9.57	7.99	3.77	1.23
Retail Trade	35.67	35.06	37.12	30.95	34.62	35.08
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate	14.46	12.77	12.15	21.48	19.45	14.59
Services	11.64	16.40	18.14	14.42	8.35	12.78
Professional Services	8.82	9.86	11.03	15.12	23.63	27.24
Unclassified	0.00	0.59	0.22	0.35	1.22	1.49

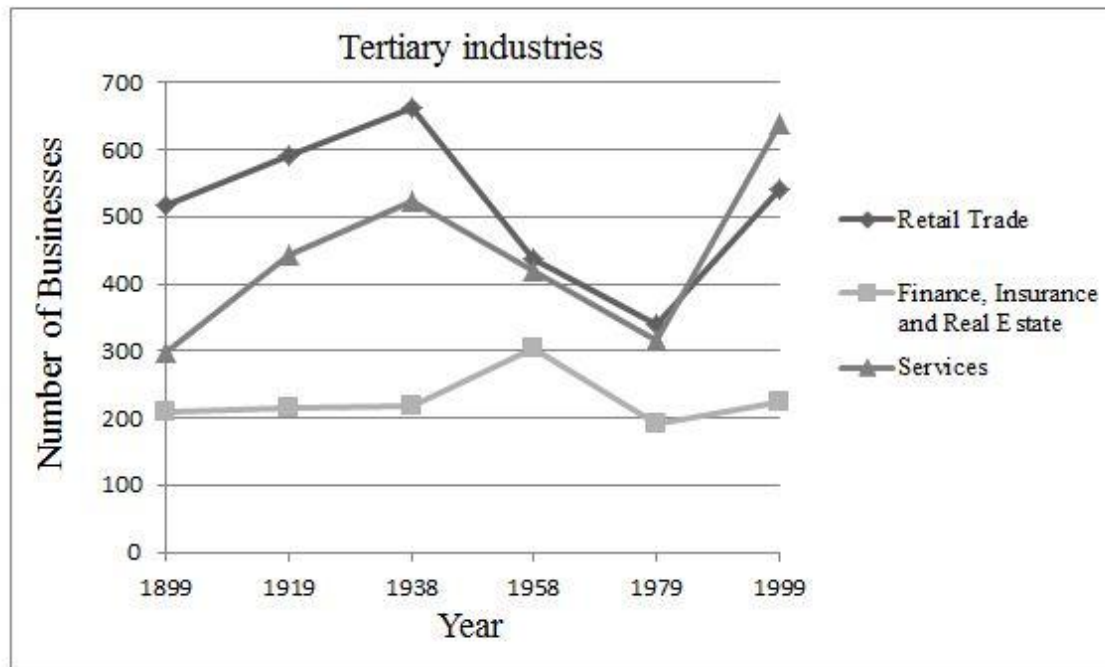
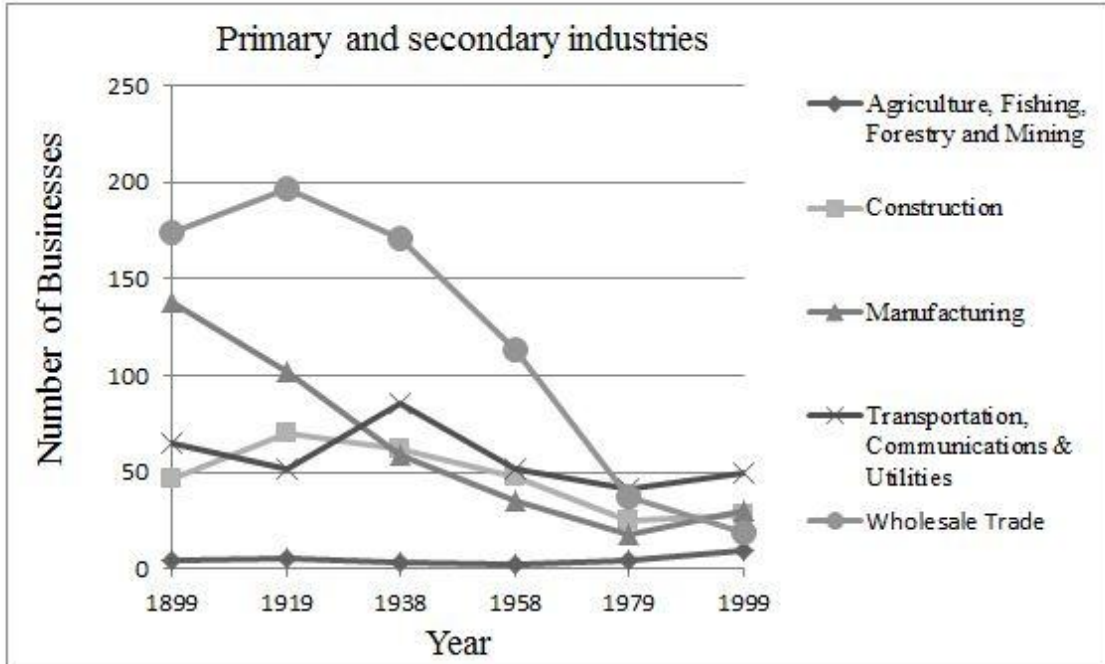


Figure 4.1 Distribution of Industrial Sectors 1899-1999

and real estate. While retail trade accounted for approximately 30-35% of businesses throughout the 100 years from 1899-1999, it shows considerable fluctuations in the graphs reflecting the economic health of the downtown area. Retail trade in the center of Charleston increased until 1938 (663 businesses) and then decreased to almost half that number by 1979 (340 businesses). Most of this decrease can be explained by stagnation during World War II and the move to suburban shopping centers beginning in the 1940s and lasting until the 1960s. After 1979 retail establishments rebounded to 541 in 1999 but had still not regained the 1938 level.

Like the retail sector, the service sector increased until 1938 and then decreased until 1979, increasing again to 1999. The curves for retail and services on the graph are almost identical in shape. The professional services sector throughout the 100-year period was dominated by the legal profession. This sector never showed a decrease. It climbed steadily until 1979 and then increased in the same way as the other tertiary sectors until 1999.

Finance, insurance, and real estate stayed relatively stable throughout the century with less dips and peaks than the other sectors. During the 100-year period credit companies waxed and waned but real estate continued at a steady pace with the development of the greater Charleston region and the beach communities.

Business Structure and Change in the TBD 1899-1999 (6-digit SIC level)

Business structure in 1899. The data for the SIC codes at the six-digit level are tabulated in Appendix I.

In 1899, Charleston was mainly a retail and service center for the resident

population. By ranking the businesses, regardless of size or number of employees, one can gain an impression of the predominance of business type in the TBD, although not of employment distribution. Apart from the manufacturing industries, Charleston was obviously a city full of small businesses, owned by local residents, and retail food stores ranked the highest in number. The most numerous businesses in 1899 were grocers, followed by fruit and vegetable dealers, dry goods stores and restaurants. The fifth ranking business was meats and then more specialty kinds of retail like cigars and cigarettes, followed by general goods like clothing (including boots and shoes), drugstores, baker's and dressmakers, milliners, jewelers and book dealers.

The Tourist Business District (TBD) contained 1,088 individual businesses in 1899. The largest number of businesses in the TBD was in the retail sector (518). The most important shopping street in Charleston was King Street. Here was the regional shopping center which served the city resident, people from other parts of South Carolina, as well as visitors from other parts of the country. The part of King Street in the TBD (i.e., between Broad and Ann Streets) contained 30 dry goods stores, 21 grocers, 18 clothing stores and 18 boot and shoe stores. Other establishments included 13 fruits and produce retailers, 11 drug stores, 10 furniture stores, and 10 restaurants. King Street also specialized in other kinds of apparel, especially men's clothing, hats, caps and furnishings. Hardware stores, booksellers, news dealers and stationers, and specialty items such as art, pianos, music and musical merchandise could also be found on King Street. On Meeting Street, food was a more important commodity in the retail outlets (i.e., as a proportion of total retail businesses) with seven fruit shops and six grocers.

However, hardware stores were more frequent in Meeting Street than in King Street. These stores dealt in stoves and tin ware, harnesses and saddles, bicycles, and guns. East Bay Street had seven restaurants serving the steamship terminal and port area. Other stores on East Bay included cigars and tobacco manufacturers and dealers (3), fish and oyster dealers (3), grocers (2), paints, oils and glass (2), and liquor dispensaries (2). The east-west streets had their own patterns of retail stores. Broad Street very obviously catered to the city's business section with four cigar and tobacco manufacturers and dealers, three booksellers, two merchant tailors and various other men's apparel stores. Market Street contained the city market which was located in a building running down the center of the street. In 1899 the market primarily sold meat, fish and produce. Calhoun Street was a shopping street for local residents with small fruit, produce and grocery stores. In the neighborhoods between the major thoroughfares, bakeries and grocery stores were common, and were located generally on the street corners. In fact, 75% of the grocery stores in the TBD at that time were on street corners.

Service industries came second to retailing in the number of individual business units. The TBD included 37 boarding houses, 32 barbers (24 of whom were African-Americans), 18 physicians, 18 auctioneers, 16 dentists, 11 watchmakers and 10 undertakers. Other service businesses included horseshoers, Chinese laundries, photographers, midwives and nurses, and music teachers. There were five hotels listed in the city street directory for 1899. (1899 Charleston City Street Directory, 1899). Because of the diverse types of employment classified as services, these businesses tended to be scattered throughout the TBD with the notable exception of the 70 lawyers who were all

confined to the Broad St and courthouse area.

In 1899, the largest manufacturing plants in Charleston were bagging and bag manufacturers, two of the companies employing more than one thousand people (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1908). Clothing manufacturers were numerous in Charleston producing underwear, shirts and pants. Other textile products included sail and awning makers. The city, as a whole, had eight printing and publishing firms (all of which were in the TBD) and there were mills for rice, flour, lumber, spices and knitting. The TBD itself had some concentrations of manufacturing types. The larger, heavier industries like rice and flour milling, cotton presses, etc. were mainly located on East Bay Street near the port area. Meeting Street contained several printers, a soap manufacturer, boiler makers, and a marble works.

As distance from the wharves increased, manufacturing industry became lighter in type and smaller in size. King Street had some small specialized manufacturing establishments, such as mattresses, candy, picture frames and pianos, but most of them had a retail function attached. Small manufacturing industries, operating out of workshops could also be found in some residential streets in the area. Coopers, wheelwrights, harness-makers, shoemakers and dressmakers lived and worked on the same premises. Carriage manufacturers, bicycle manufacturers and ice manufacturers could be found along residential streets and breweries were located in John, Anson and Church Streets.

Charleston was a major wholesaling and jobbing center serving a multi-state area. According to the Chamber of Commerce, more than 5,000 people were employed in the

jobbing center, the largest on the South Atlantic Coast (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1908). In the TBD, the wholesale trade accounted for 92 businesses, including 29 commission merchants. The latter bought and sold goods for businesses on commission. Other types of wholesale business in the TBD included dry goods, boots and shoes, beer, clothing, hardware, chemical and fertilizer brokerages, cigars and tobacco, druggists, agricultural products and house furnishing goods. The wholesale district showed a highly clustered spatial pattern. It extended along East Bay, south of Market Street, through Market Street to Meeting Street and along Meeting Street one block to the north and south of Market Street. The wholesale businesses along East Bay Street related mainly to food wholesalers, rice dealers and commission merchants. Along Market Street, commission merchants predominated and in Meeting Street, wholesalers were mainly involved with hardware, drugs, boots and shoes, clothing and dry goods.

The financial businesses in Charleston were nearly all located in Broad Street. However, the other major retail streets (Calhoun, East Bay, King and Meeting) all had one bank apiece. Other finance businesses such as insurance agencies, real estate agents and brokers, and stock and bond brokers all had one or two businesses off Broad Street but the rest were all on Broad Street. The TBD, as a whole, contained 18 banks, 34 insurance agents, 17 real estate agents and 13 stock brokers.

The construction industries in Charleston were mainly small firms although there were some heavy construction businesses such as shipbuilding, bridge building and sewer line construction firms. In the TBD, there were only 23 purely construction businesses, but 39 businesses had a construction component in them. Most construction businesses

were general contractors, plumbers, gas and steam fitters (9), tanners and roofers (8), or painters and paper hangers (7). Some other specialized firms included three bell hangers and three galvanized cornice installers. The spatial distribution of construction firms around the TBD showed concentrations in Meeting and King Streets, which related to the hardware stores present.

The South Carolina and Georgia Railroad had its depot and yard in the north of the TBD on Ann Street. Railroad offices were located mainly on East Bay Street. To the north of Broad Street transportation businesses included stables on Chalmers Street, one block north of Broad, and Horlbeck Aly and a drayman had his premises on Lingular near the market. To the north of the market area on Hayne and Pinckney Streets were warehouses adjacent to the manufacturing firms producing beer, soda water and ice. Warehouses were also located on East Bay Street near the wharves and on Meeting Street near the railroad depot.

Business structure in 1919. By 1919, grocers were still the most numerous type of business in the TBD. Restaurants had now moved into 2nd place and automobile dealers, dealing in new cars had moved into 3rd place where there were now 27 businesses selling cars in the downtown Charleston area. Again cigars and cigarettes ranked high in numbers of businesses and clothing. However, fruit and vegetable dealers and dry goods stores had moved down in rank and had virtually halved in number since 1899. Other types of businesses that were less important than formerly were furniture dealers, candy and confectionery, millinery, clothing stores for men, boots and shoes and drugstores.

Changes from 1899 to 1919. Chemical production, especially phosphatic fertilizers, still had an office presence in the TBD in 1919, and had actually increased since 1899, (even though phosphate mining had ceased in the region). It remained important to the economy of the Charleston region for some years after that. Patent medicines also increased during the twenty-year period. However, the city experienced decline in many of its manufacturing industries between 1899 and 1919. The cotton industry was diminishing and where there had been four cotton processing companies in 1899, there were none in 1919. That year, the boll weevil destroyed the Sea Island cotton and hastened the demise of cotton processing. There was, however, still a cotton oil mill, cotton brokers and cotton wholesalers in the TBD.

Similarly, other textile firms disappeared from the center of Charleston in the twenty-year period 1899-1919, including the knitting mills. In 1919, all that was left of the textile industry in the TBD was one wool mill and a textile bag manufacturer. In the same way, lumber and wood products had also disappeared. In 1899 there had been three businesses producing picture frames, one making railroad ties and one manufacturing baskets. By 1919 the center of Charleston had only one saw and planing mill left. Fabricated metal products had also disappeared from the center of the city.

Another part of the economy to show some changes that impacted the central area was transportation. Automobiles and trucks became more important in the area in the twenty-year period, replacing old horse-drawn vehicles. Symptomatic of these changes were the disappearance of company and livery stables and an increase of businesses such as movers and local passenger transportation in the central area. Warehouses were still

present, influencing the landscape of the area, but many of these had been used in World War I for billeting troops and other military purposes. Consequently, warehouses decreased from 29 in 1899 to 3 in 1919 as they were still being used by the military.

Changes in construction, manufacturing and transport businesses were reflected in the changes in wholesale and retail trade patterns that occurred between 1899 and 1919. Wholesale trade of durable goods increased between 1899 and 1919 from 29 to 54 businesses. Durable goods in 1899 consisted of agricultural implements and supplies (6), leather findings (probably supplying the many shoemakers in the city), machinery (4) and textile mill supplies (3). Suppliers for the construction industry included building materials (3), brick, stone and related materials (3) lime (3), electrical equipment and supplies (3), hardware dealers (4), and some small specialized businesses supplying sewer pipes and fireplace equipment. By 1919 building supplies had become more important although businesses were more general in nature: building materials businesses (4), builder's hardware (3), general hardware (2) and lumber (11).

The wholesale trade of nondurable goods in the TBD decreased from 102 to 86 between 1899 and 1919. Office supply businesses began to make their appearance at this time with office furniture and equipment (3), calculating and adding machines (2), cash registers and supplies (2). This marked the beginning of the transition toward a white-collar business district. Not only was office equipment available, but also stenographers' schools and stenographers made an appearance in the central area.

There were some changes in wholesale business practices between 1899 and 1919. In 1899, there were a large number of commission merchants in Charleston (29).

Commission merchants generally buy and sell goods for other people and are paid on a commission basis. In the early twentieth century, many of them were involved in the sale of fruit and vegetables. By 1919 there were only 2 commission merchants left but there were more merchandise brokers. These people also act as middlemen in the trade process. They help to sell products of several manufacturers and arrange for display of those products in stores. However, they do not buy the goods for later resale. In 1899 there were 18 merchandise brokers in Charleston but, by 1919, there were 28 and many of them occupied offices/buildings previously occupied by commission merchants. The decrease in commission merchants is probably related to the decrease in the number of fruit and vegetable retail businesses.

The most important business sector for most tourists is the retail sector (after accommodations). By 1919, Charleston was an important shopping center for people who lived within the confines of the city and in the surrounding areas of the city, if they were accessible, as well as people visiting the city from further afield. During the first part of the 20th century there were significant changes taking place in the retail sector. An example of these changes was clothing retailers. Judging by the number of tailors (7), dressmakers (12), and shoemakers (31) in the center of Charleston in 1899, people purchased more custom-made clothing and footwear. By 1919, there were far fewer one-person businesses. Tailors had not decreased (8) but dressmakers (7) and shoemakers (17) had. There had also been an increase in general clothing stores and men's and women's clothing stores as well as specialty clothing like furs and millinery and hats. In 1899 there had been no women's apparel stores listed in the directory but by 1919 there

were 13.

Another important innovation in retailing was the department store. Many department stores in the US were formerly dry-goods stores, but made the transition to department stores beginning in the 1860s. (Microsoft ® Encarta ® Reference Library 2005., 1993-2004). In Charleston, there were 8 department stores in 1919 and 4 Variety/five-and-dime stores. Five of the 1919 department stores were listed as dry goods stores (clothing, fabrics and notions) in the 1899 directory. So they were in existence just not described as department stores and, it is likely with this kind of retailing, that they had expanded their inventory. The variety and five-and-dime stores were similar to department stores in that they sold a variety of goods. However, most of the items were much cheaper, especially in the five-and-dime stores which sold goods priced at under \$1. The most famous of these kinds of stores was F. W. Woolworth who opened his first store in 1879 and whose company was incorporated in 1911 (Microsoft ® Encarta ® Reference Library 2005., 1993-2004). Charleston had a Woolworth's store by 1919 along with three other variety stores. All of these stores would be considered important adjuncts to tourism retailing today and were probably used by visitors at the time.

Food stores had a very significant decrease in numbers between 1899 and 1919. It is impossible to tell from the directory whether food store businesses had expanded and smaller units had gone out of business, but the number of grocery stores in the TBD had decreased from 69 to 43 in the twenty-year period. Produce dealers declined from 41 to 22 and meat dealers declined from 31 to 14. The retail grocery stores that were present in

both years and at the same address total 8 and 33 grocery stores were still occupying the same address but with a different owner. Wholesale grocers had a more stable pattern with many of them at the same address.

In the service sector, tailors (alterations and repairers) even as retail tailors selling new clothing decreased. Clothes cleaners also increased from 3 to 11 and barbers (32 to 40). Automobile repairing and servicing (0-20) and billiard parlors (0 to 12) both made an appearance during the 20-year period.

Other service businesses that made an appearance between 1899 and 1919 were land companies (0 to 10), nurses and nurses registries (0 to 10), tax dealers from (0 to 9), Service businesses that did not change included credit reporting agencies, and engravers. None of these changes are significant where the tourism industry was concerned.

Those showing decreases were insurance companies from 76 to 21, boarding houses went from 37 to 22, attorneys from 70 to 55, blacksmiths from 15 to 9; midwives from 4 to 0.

Accountants increased from 1 to 3, music instruction instrumental from 3 to 8, and architects 2 to 5. News dealers went from 3 to 7, and contractors from 5 to 11.

In the financial sector, banks and brokers increased and insurance agents increased while insurance companies decreased (probably due to a change in classification).

Business structure in 1938. By 1938, restaurants had now achieved the highest ranking position in the retail business sector in terms of numbers. Grocers came second, men's clothing came third, and automobile accessories and service stations were fourth

and fifth respectively. Fruit dealers and furniture dealers were 6th and 7th followed by drugstores and women's clothing stores. Automobile dealers ranked 8th compared to third in 1919, their numbers having dwindled which may have been due more to the space requirements than loss of popularity. After automobile dealers came liquor stores, beer parlors, millinery and jewelry.

Changes from 1919 to 1938. During the period 1919-1938, Charleston became a center for both automobiles and household appliances. Service stations and automobile accessories increased significantly. Service stations went from 1 in 1919 to 18 in 1938 and automobile accessories increased from 4 to 18. Lubricating oils also made an appearance. The end of Prohibition probably had an impact in Charleston. The twenty-year gap between snapshots makes it impossible to say when liquor and wine stores appeared in the TBD but there was an increase in liquor and wine businesses from 2 to 4 between 1919 and 1938. Also, beer parlors made an appearance. Where there were no beer parlors in 1919, in 1938 there were 14. Beer and ale wholesale also increased by five businesses.

Household appliance retailers grew in number during this time as the use of electrical appliances increased. Refrigerator and freezer dealers, for instance, went from two businesses in 1919 to 9 businesses in 1938 and major household appliances went from 0 to 11. Television and radio dealers and repairs also made an appearance, 12 being recorded in 1938.

In the service sector beauty salons increased from 5 to 22, also loans, credit institutions and finance companies increased or made an appearance. In the tourism and

entertainment sector, amusement and recreation businesses increased from 1 to 4 and sightseeing tours increased from 1 to 3.

Between 1919 and 1938, Charleston remained about the same in its provision of grocery stores, jewelry stores, department stores and news dealers. Just as new demand for electrical appliances took place during this period, there was reduced demand for the services of blacksmiths (decreased from 9 to 1). Horses and carts had now been supplanted by automobiles. Another reduction was in billiard parlors which decreased from 12 businesses in 1919 to 2 businesses in 1938. Some of these may have been replaced by the beer parlors after Prohibition ended. Other businesses might have moved out of the center of Charleston. For instance, land companies decreased from 10 to 2. There was also a decrease in the number of retail stores selling hats between 1919 and 1938. Tailors decreased from 8 to 2. Some businesses disappeared, for instance shoe manufacturers of which there were 17 in 1919 were no longer present in 1938. Some of the construction industry businesses like mantels and contractors disappeared from the TBD. Wholesale cotton goods disappeared as did chemical brokers, agricultural implements and wholesale suppliers and many other wholesale businesses. This showed a distinct transition to a retail and service-oriented economy.

Business structure in 1958. In 1958, restaurants were still the most numerous type of business but had decreased considerably from 60 in 1939 to only 39 in 1958. Beer parlors and drinking places had increased to second in rank. Third in rank were grocers. After food and drink were retail boots and shoes, furniture, clothing - women's and men's; followed by liquor stores, jewelry stores, gas stations and pharmacies.

Changes 1938-1958. Included in this period, World War II and its aftermath as well as the growth of suburban residential and shopping areas had considerable influence on business structure in the center of Charleston. Many retail outlets moved to shopping centers on the outskirts of the city. The center began to experience decline as retail stores closed and professionals and personal service workers moved out of the CBD.

In the retail sector, businesses connected to the automobile again showed an increase, this time in used cars. There were now four used-car dealerships in the center of Charleston. However, new car dealerships decreased from 16 to 8. Automobile body repairing and painting made an appearance and increased to 9 businesses during the two decades. Jewelry retail increased (1-4 businesses), as did retail boots and shoes (from 9 to 20 during the period). Nightclubs also increased from one in 1938 to four in 1958.

In the service sector, insurance adjusters increased; and credit card and other credit plans also increased from 1 to 5 and businesses giving loans increased from 8 to 39, a considerable increase. In other sectors, roofing contractors increased as did wholesale ship chandlers and marine supplies. Real estate management businesses also appeared during this period. While the retail of household appliances became important in Charleston between 1919 and 1938, between 1938 and 1958 household appliances wholesale made an appearance. Charleston stayed the same for men's clothing and the retail of hats. The number of warehouses stayed the same at 18; wholesale beer and wine also remained the same, as did hotels (8 businesses).

Businesses in the retail sector like fruit and vegetable dealers and meat dealers declined considerably, the former from 17 to 3 businesses and the latter from 13 to 1.

The decline in the central city economy during and after World War II also shows in the decrease in personal services. Beauty salons, barbers, tailors, and dressmakers decreased significantly in the center of Charleston during those two decades. There was also an exodus of professional people. While, optometrists remained at six businesses, physicians and surgeons declined from 23 to 6, and nurses from 15 to 4.

Businesses that completely disappeared included merchandise brokers and various wholesale businesses like paint and liquor, Retail businesses that catered to household and personal needs such as carpet and rug dealers, wallpapers and coverings, luggage, stationers, gun dealers and coffee sellers all disappeared from the TBD. In the manufacturing sector, ice-cream manufacturers and publishers also disappeared.

These disappearances were mainly related to growth of suburban centers where there was more space for larger premises and access to residents. The downtown area was one for purchasing major items such as large appliances.

Business structure in 1979. By 1979, there had been a distinct emergence of tourist-type businesses. Restaurants ranked highest in the number of businesses with 56 restaurants in the area. There were 41 clothing stores and 35 antique dealers, 21 gift shops. Furniture dealers were still important as were jewelry stores (10 businesses). Art galleries had also increased by 1979 with 9 businesses whereas there had only been one in 1958. Grocers had fallen in rank with only 8 businesses in 1979 compared to 24 in 1938. Large supermarkets were superseding the small grocery store. Boots and shoes, and department stores ranked 9th and 10th.

Changes 1958-79. In the time period 1958-1979 Charleston underwent some

significant changes in business structure. This period marked the revival of the downtown area and the growth of new types of business. Professionals began to return to the city center. Legal services, including attorneys, increased from 20 to 138. This is not as significant as it would seem because the classification in the street directories changed from “Attorneys” in previous directories to “Legal Services.”

Architectural firms also increased from 4 to 10. However, dentists decreased from 9 to 1. Increases showed significantly in the tourist support businesses: restaurants increased from 39 to 56; antique dealers increased from 11 to 33 businesses; gift shops increased from 7 to 21, art galleries and dealers from 1 to 9; and book dealers from 1 to 5. Both the economic recovery and the transformation of Charleston into a Tourist Business District began during this time.

Other businesses that increased at this time were banks (11 to 16), florists (2 to 5) travel agencies, steamship agencies, and importers, all showing the transformation of Charleston into more of a retail and service center than a port dominated by manufacturing and wholesale industries.

Businesses that appeared for the first time between 1958 and 1979 also illustrate this trend. Finance companies, loans and mortgages, title companies showed an increasing presence as the area was opening up to new resort developments. In the manufacturing sector, publishers, women's handbags and purses made an appearance in the city center. In the retail sector, two convenience stores were added, other specialty stores made an appearance like wigs and toupees (2), kitchen accessories (2) coffee shops (2) craft supplies (2) leather goods dealers (2) coin and stamp dealers and supplies

(2) . Businesses giving loans decreased from 39 to 3; insurance companies decreased from 48 to 18; and insurance agents from 64 to 35; and real estate agencies from 83 to 64 businesses.

The structure of retail grocery changed, small grocery stores decreased from 24 to 8 with the advent of larger supermarkets. In the retail sector, beer parlors and drinking places decreased from 27 to 5 and liquor stores from 16 to 4, retail boots and shoes decreased from 20 to 8, office equipment from 12 to 2, major household appliances from 10 to 1, and drugstores from 11 to 3, news dealers disappeared. Businesses related to the automobile also decreased or disappeared. Automobile repair service decreased from 14 to 2 businesses and gas stations decreased from 13 to 4. Automobile dealers (both new and used) disappeared, as did tire dealers. Television and radio dealers and repair services disappeared. In the construction industry air-conditioning systems and roofing contractors disappeared.

All these changes show the transformation of the city center from serving primarily the resident or other businesses of the city to serving visitors with luxury items, and tourism services. The city also became one of professionals and financial businesses during the period.

Business structure in 1999. Attorneys were now the most numerous businesses in the TBD of Charleston (222). Restaurants ranked second in numbers of businesses (125). Real estate came third but after that, the next four businesses in order were gift shops (48), art galleries/dealers (48), antique dealers (37), and women's clothing (32) all indicative of the importance of tourism. The top ten businesses were rounded out by

accountants (25), business management consultants (25), and jewelers (24). These numbers indicate how the center of Charleston was now transformed into a tourist service center and professional quarter.

There were still six department stores in 1999, the same as in 1979, but there had been nine in 1958. Furniture dealers significantly declined from a maximum of 19 in 1958 to 15 in 1979 and seven in 1999. Charleston could no longer be considered the center for home furnishings and appliances but one of specialty items and tourism services catering primarily to the visitor.

Changes 1979-1999. Business change in Charleston between 1979 and 1999 reflected the growth of computer technology, business management systems, and the continued reshaping of Charleston into a professional service center as well as a tourist destination. Such businesses as business management consultants increased from 2 in 1979 to 25 in 1999. Accountants increased (15 to 25) as did tour operators and promoters (1 to 7). Included in the professional sector, attorneys increased from 36 to 222, dentists increased from 1 to 6, and physicians and surgeons from 2 to 11, and landscape architects increased from 1 to 4. Many of these professionals were returning to the center of Charleston probably because of the convenience of location as well as the physical and economic improvement of the downtown area.

In the retail sector art galleries and dealers increased from 9 to 48. Other increases were delicatessens (1 to 4), T-shirt outlets from (1 to 4), toys stores (1 to 3), coffee shops (2 to 6), cosmetics and perfume stores (1 to 3), hardware dealers (1 to 3), ice cream stores (1 to 3), records, tapes and CDs (2 to 5), jewelers (10 to 24), gift shops from

21 to 48, antique reproductions (1 to 2), candy and confectionery (2 to 4); beauty salons (9 to 17). The most important change for the tourist trade was restaurants, which increased from 56 to 125 and hotels, motels and other accommodations increased from 7 to 29. Most of these increases reflect the specialty shops visitors enjoy when on vacation and transformed downtown Charleston into an upscale shopping and lodging area.

Eleven new bed-and-breakfast accommodations appeared between 1979 and 1999, 9 live theaters appeared, as did 9 museums, as well as pizza restaurants/deliveries (5), coffee and tea sellers (9). In the professional services sector, social service organizations appeared for the first time (6 offices), marriage and family counselors (6), computer systems design (5), commercial nonphysical research (5), and arts organizations and information (5). In the financial industry sectors, investments securities appeared for the first time (6), business services (6), and building contractors reappeared (8),

In the finance, insurance and real estate sector, financial advisory services increased (1 to 5); stockbrokers (4 to 17); and businesses providing loans (3 to 10); real estate investments (1 to 3).

Between 1979 and 1999, businesses that had no change were department stores (6), steamship agencies (6), liquors/wine retail (4), baker's retail (3), title companies (3), convenience stores (2), credit reporters (2), credit unions (2), leather goods dealers (2), linens retail (2), publishers (2), and railroad agents and ticket offices (2).

Businesses that decreased between 1979 and 1999: barbers went from 6 to 5, finance companies (8 to 1), insurance companies (18 to 3), picture frames dealers (6 to 1),

cocktail lounges (6 to 1), warehouses (5 to 1), insurance adjusters (4 to 1), and opticians (3 to 1).

Businesses that disappeared between 1979 and 1999 included bus lines, importers, information bureaus, wholesale boots and shoes, retail china and glassware, photographic equipment and supplies retail, securities, rental agencies, and blueprinting.

Tourism-Related Businesses 1899-1999

Figures 4.2 to 4.5 show graphs of business change for specific kinds of tourist-related businesses. The data for the accommodations graphs are tabulated in Appendix II and the data for restaurants, antique dealers and gift shops are tabulated in Appendix III.

Accommodations. The accommodations sector shows considerable change in Charleston during the twentieth century, not just in numbers, but also in variety of accommodations (Figure 4.2). Starting with a few hotels, often catering to business travelers, the accommodations industry transformed into a provider of upscale and specialty accommodations, in keeping with the plans and regulations of the historic district and its landscape. Large hotels decreased in number and motels began to appear in the 1950s. Motels did not have a major impact on the area because of their need for parking space, which was scarce in the center of Charleston, and controls on their development were put in place. The second graph shows the growth of smaller fashionable inns, bed and breakfast and suites accommodations in the center of the city. It was not long after motels appeared that these accommodations also appeared and became dominant in the downtown area, demanding high-prices and providing luxury facilities, attracting an affluent clientele.

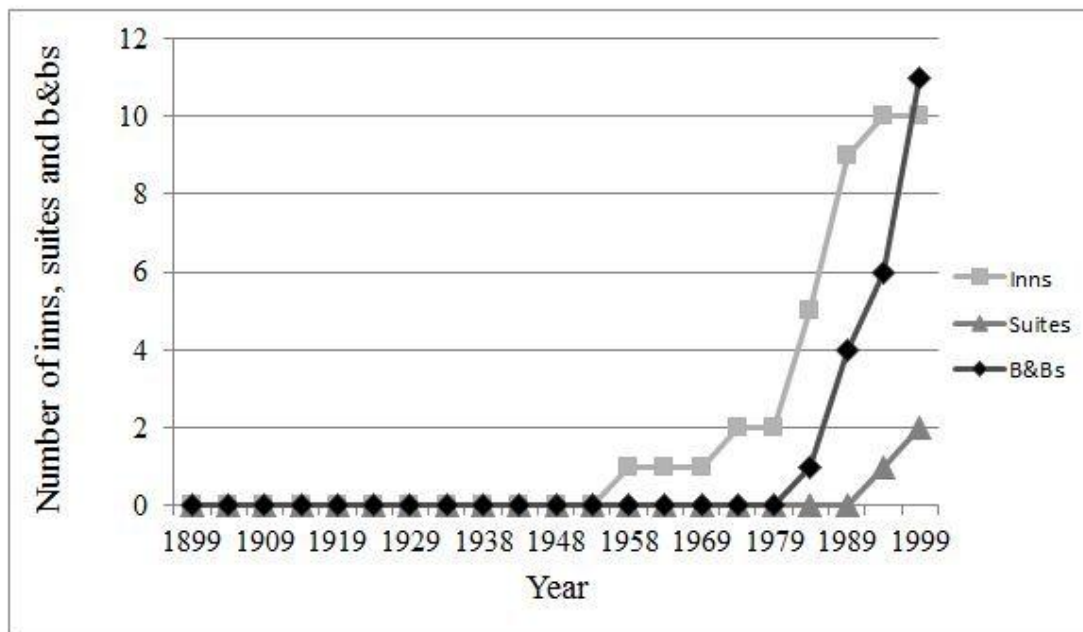
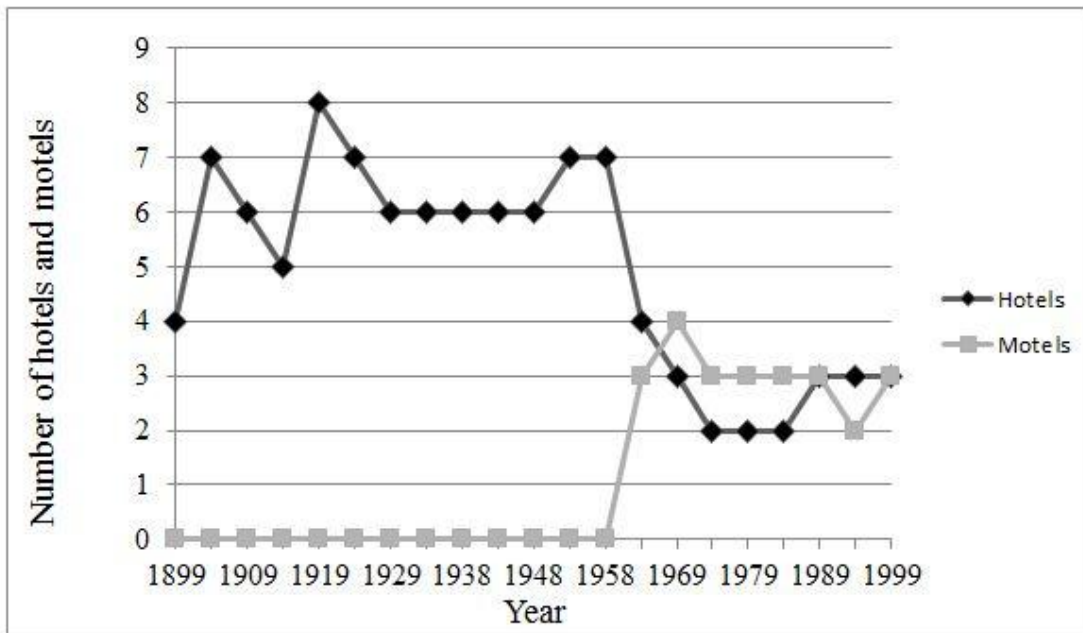


Figure 4.2 Growth of Accommodations 1899-1999

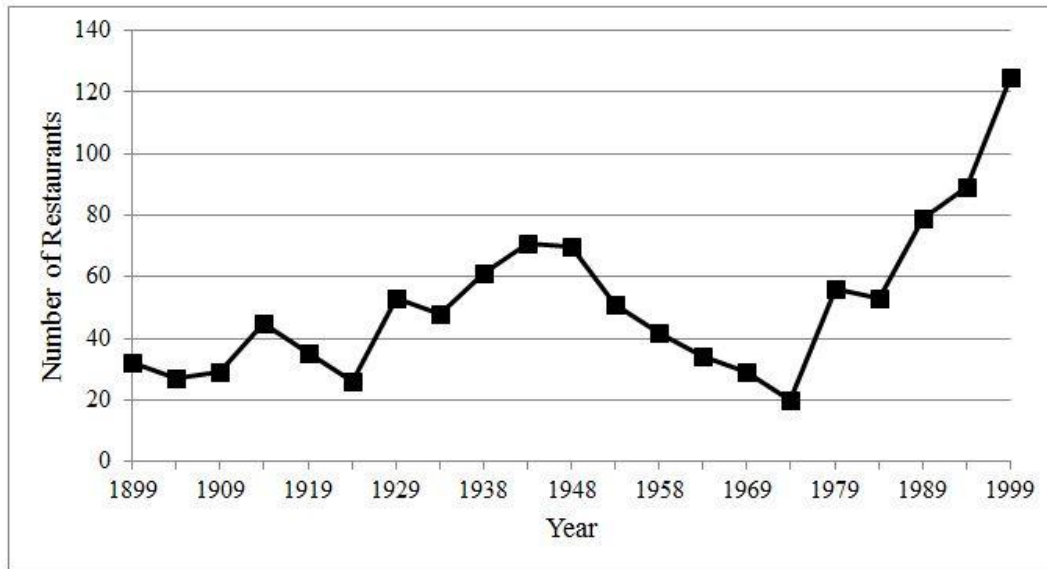


Figure 4.3 Growth of Restaurants in the TBD 1899-1999

Restaurants. The graphs of the retail sector (restaurants, antique dealers and gift shops) show some similarities in the shape of their curves (Figures 4.3 - 4.5). The fluctuations illustrate the general economic health of the center of Charleston and of the United States generally during the hundred-year study period. Restaurants increased in the TBD until World War I, when they show a sharp dip. They did not start growing again until after 1924, and had a minor decrease during the Depression (Figure 4.3). They reached a peak just before World War II when tourism was taking off in the number of visitors coming to the city (Figure 4.6). The number declined steadily until 1974 when there were fewer restaurants in the downtown area than there had been in 1899. After the nadir in 1974, the numbers of restaurants took off and increased from 20 in 1974 to 125 by 1999 reflecting the accelerating numbers of tourists visiting Charleston. They did show a similar slight decrease in 1984 which may have been related to the recession of the early 1980s.

Antique Dealers. There were no antique dealers listed in the street directory for 1899 or 1904. Dealers began to appear in the early part of the century as “antique furniture dealers” but really began to increase after 1924 until 1934 when the Depression probably seriously affected trade. Between 1934 and 1938 there was a sharp decline in antique dealers, the number halving to 10 dealers (Figure 4.4). After 1938 there was a steady rise until 1954 when there was another decline until 1964. After that the numbers increased sharply until 1999 with a minor glitch in 1984. This growth pattern reflects very much the growth of tourism in the city.

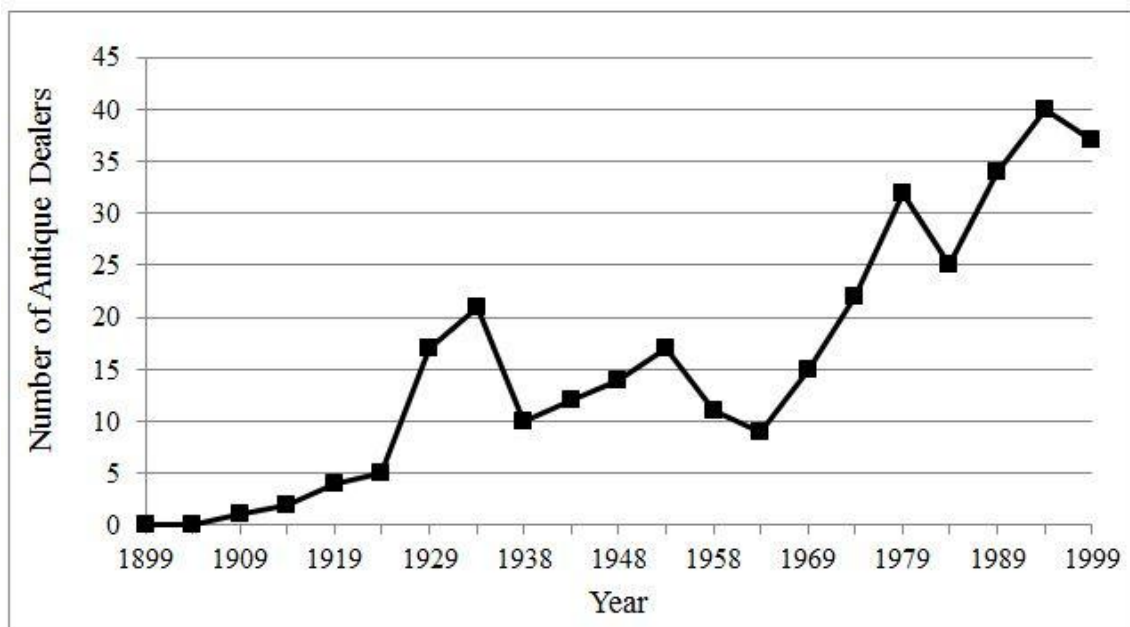


Figure 4.4 Growth of Antique Dealers in the TBD 1899-1999

Gift Shops. There were no gift shops in Charleston in the early years of the twentieth century but in the mid- to late 1920s gift shops showed an increase similar to antiques. Like antique dealers, gift shops also decreased as a result of the Depression.

After World War II, gift shops fluctuated more starting from a high point of 12 shops in 1948 but decreasing to lows of 7 in 1954 and 1958; and 6 in 1969 (Figure 4.5). There was a brief increase in the early 1960s (unlike antique dealers). The take-off stage for gift shops started earlier than restaurants but later than antique stores. The sharp increase in gift shop growth started in 1969 compared to 1964 for antique dealers and 1974 for restaurants. In any case, between 1964 and 1974, tourist-related businesses began to increase at rapid rates.

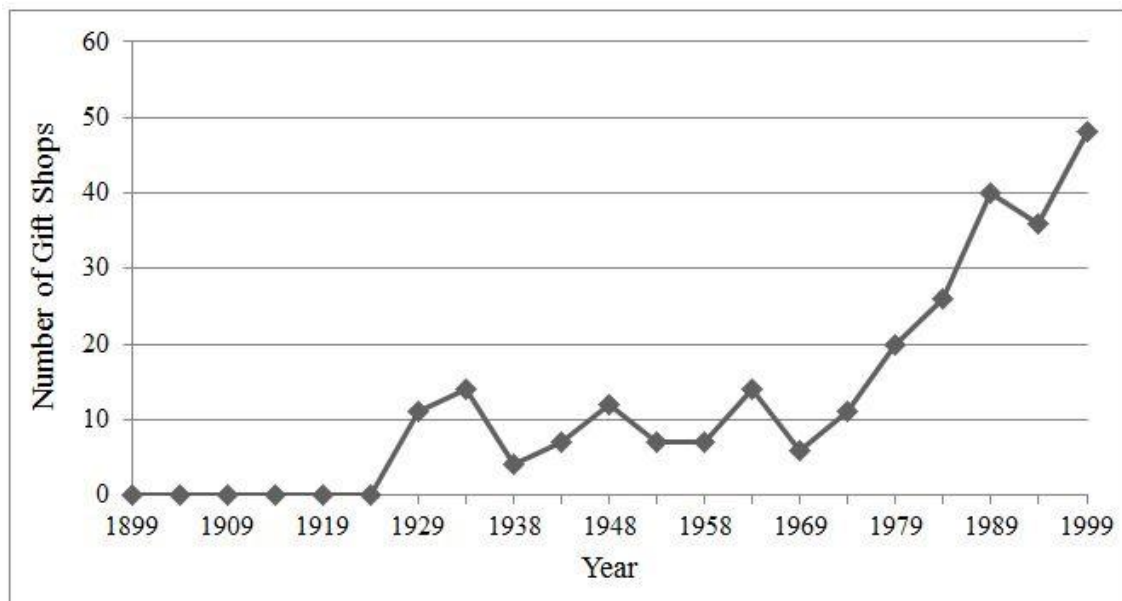


Figure 4.5 Growth of Gift Shops in the TBD 1899-1999

Tourist Visitation to Charleston 1899-1999

Figure 4.6 shows the growth of tourist visitation to Charleston during the twentieth century starting in 1929 when the information was first recorded. The data for the graph have been tabulated in Appendix IV.

The slope of the graph shows a slow rise at the start of the period, until 1962 is

reached. However, there is so much missing data between 1947 and 1962 it is difficult to interpolate within the graph. The data was taken from various sources, mainly the *Charleston News and Courier* articles written using Chamber of Commerce statistics. However, the broad trends of rises and dips in the graph do correspond with trends reported in the newspaper about occupancy rates and number of visitations to the local tourist attractions. From these figures and newspaper reports, some broad conclusions can be drawn from the slope of the graph.

The dip between 1962 and 1969 looks like an anomaly with only one data point between 1947 and 1969. However, in 1962 the newspaper reported a record year for visitation to Charleston ('62 Season Ranks As One of Best For City, 1962). The next dip, a minor one around 1974, reflects the oil crisis of that year and the decrease of tourism, especially in the first few months of that year.

Between 1979 and 1982 a similar dip happened due to another gasoline problem. High prices of gas and the fear of shortages curtailed travel considerably as well as the economic recession at that time. (Local Tourism Off To A Good Start, 1975). During the same period, Charleston was undergoing a radical shift in tourism policy and management. Commercialism was banned from the area south of Broad Street, and the Charleston Historic Foundation decided to cancel their tour of homes. (Glass M. , 1981). Residents had been complaining about having to open their homes and the dangers of being robbed. It is difficult to say what impact these measures had on visitation to Charleston, but the *News and Courier* reported that the changes were giving the city a bad name in the region. After 1985, the graph shows a steep incline until 1995. During

that time, measurement of the success of tourism began to change to one of looking at how many jobs were being created and the economic impact on the city.

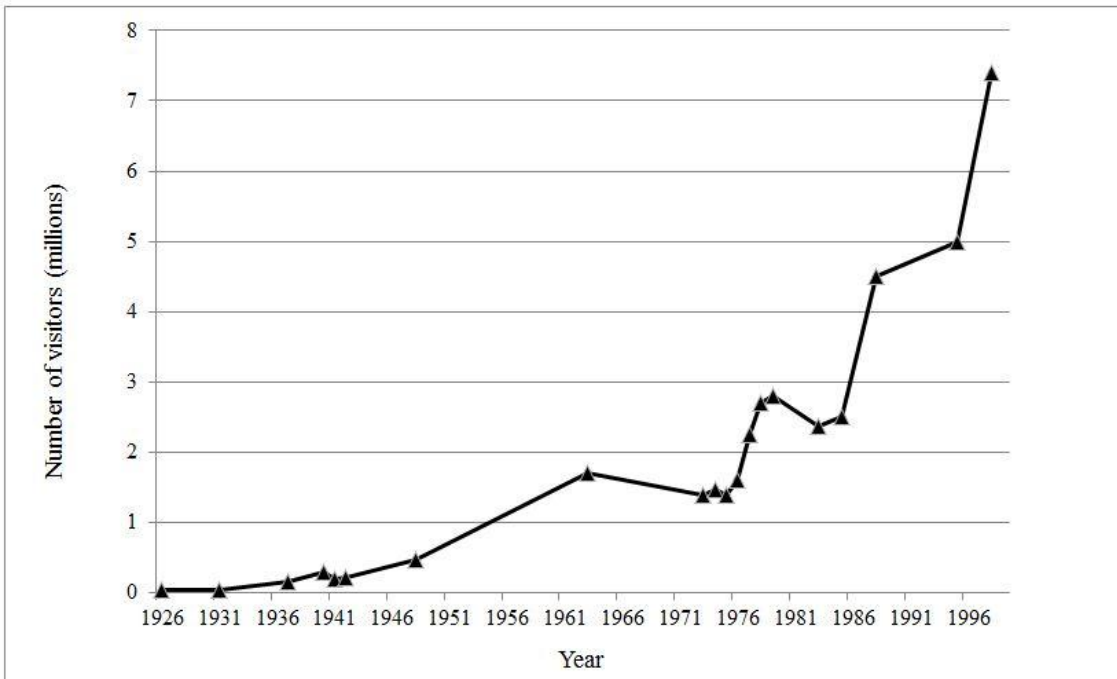


Figure 4.6 Growth of Tourist Visitation to Charleston 1926-1997

Tourist Expenditures 1899-1999

Figure 4.7 shows the corresponding tourist spending in Charleston. The data for tourism spending have been tabulated and graphed using inflation-adjusted tables and 1999 values of the dollar. (DollarTimes). The tabulations are in Appendix IV. The shape of the curve is virtually the same except for the 1962 anomaly in the visitation rates. Correlation between the two graphs (i.e., similar shape of the curves) would be expected tourist expenditures are calculated using occupancy rates which are also used for

calculating total numbers of visitors. The estimate of expenditure is based on a survey of the number of actual hotel, motel and guesthouse registrations during the year and the national average expenditure per person.

Expenditures in the area started at \$4 million in 1929 from 47,000 people (the equivalent of \$38,339,181 in 1999 and increased to \$1.5 billion from 5 million visitors in 1994 (the equivalent of \$1.6 billion in 1999). The jump between 1993 and 1994 seems unrealistic but these figures are only estimates. The other consideration about numbers of visitors and expenditures is that Charleston has grown into an urban region, first going through suburbanization and later combining with other newly incorporated towns like North Charleston. All through that time, facilities were being constructed away from the TBD and adding to the number of accommodations available to tourists as well as supplementing the kinds of activities to be engaged in in the city center. However, the fortunes of downtown Charleston in terms of the hospitality services and tourism-related retail outlets seem to mirror the trends in the Charleston region.

The Spatial Distribution of Accommodations in the TBD 1899-1999

In Charleston in 1899 there were only five hotels. Figure 4.8 shows that they were all either on King Street or Meeting Street in the center of the TBD. By 1919, the number of hotels had increased to eight (Figure 4.9). However, the concentration along the main thoroughfares was still in place. There were now more accommodations on Meeting Street (6) than on King Street (2).

By 1938, hotels in the TBD had decreased to six, possibly because of the effects of the Depression (Figure 4.10). The Francis Marion Hotel, which is a famous landmark

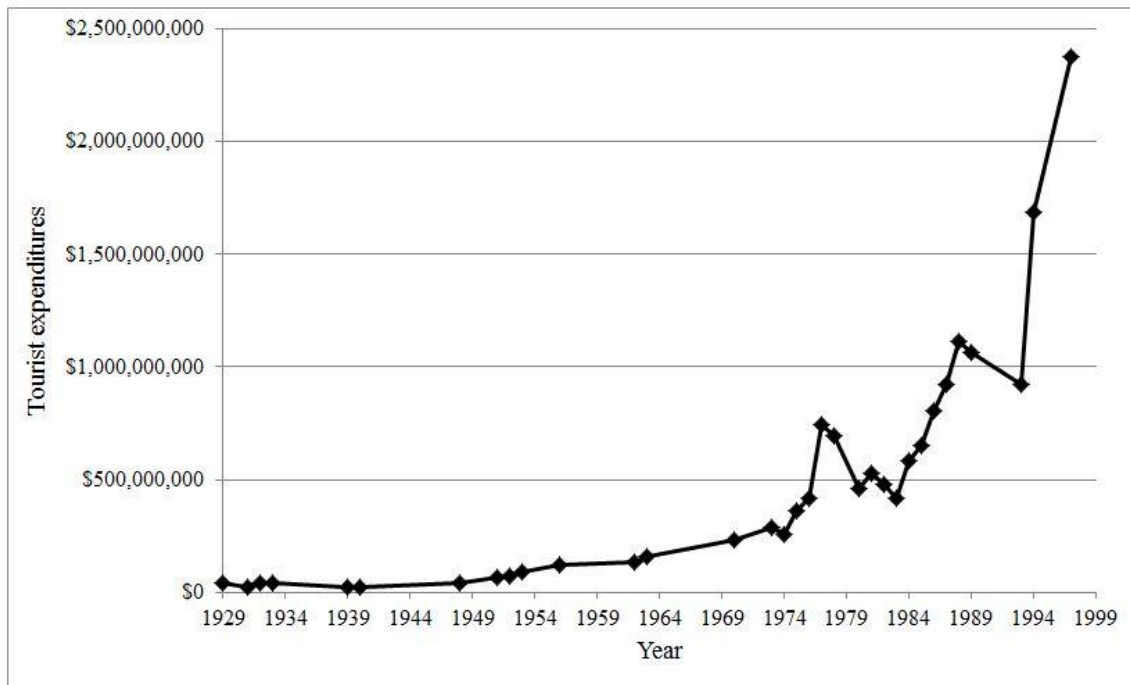


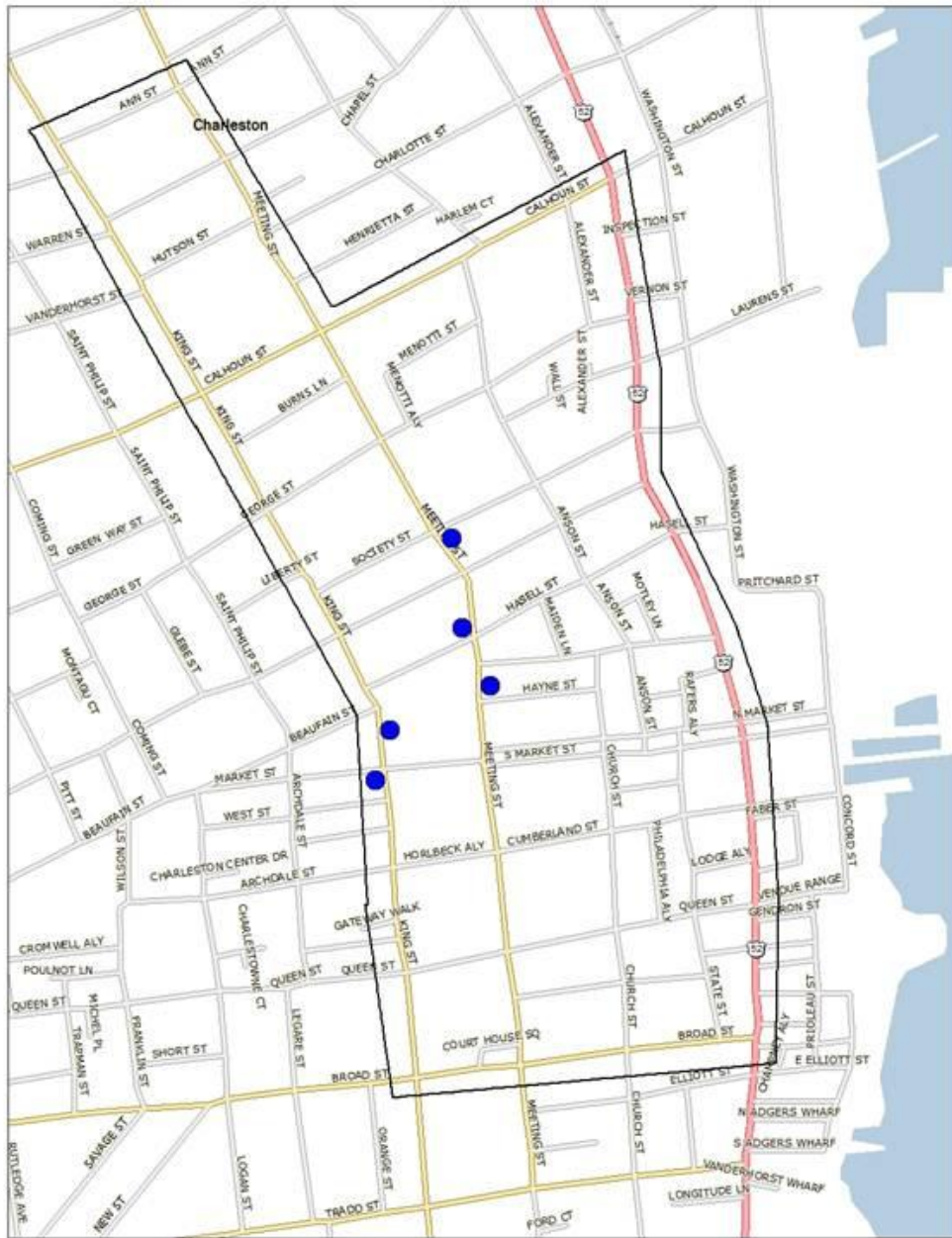
Figure 4.7 Tourist Expenditures in Charleston 1929-1997
(Adjusted to 1999 dollars)

in the city, had been constructed in 1924. Apart from that hotel, King Street only had one other hotel. By 1958, the picture was beginning to change with the introduction of the motor inn or motel (Figure 4.11). The King and Queen Motor Inn on Calhoun Street was the forerunner of the Holiday Inn which is now a Courtyard by Marriott hotel and the Charleston Hotel had become the Heart of Charleston Motor Inn. Despite the increase of accommodations and, with the exception of the Holiday Inn, all other accommodations were still on King or Meeting Streets. However, this concentration changed between 1958 and 1979. Hotels diminished on King Street so that, by 1979, the only hotel left on King Street was the Francis Marion Hotel (Figure 4.12). There were now two motels on Meeting Street and one on Calhoun Street but the trend toward smaller inns had started in downtown Charleston. The Indigo Inn on Maiden Lane was

the first in the TBD but other inns had opened just outside the area (*e.g.*, Vendue Inn in Vendue Range).

By 1999, the type and distribution of accommodations in Charleston had completely changed (Figure 4.13). While there were still some places to stay on King Street, most of the accommodations were dispersed throughout the TBD. They were now to be found in quieter residential streets as well as on the main thoroughfares. In these quieter streets, larger houses had been converted to small inns and bed-and-breakfast accommodations, sometimes called boutique hotels. Other places were former warehouses adapted for luxury accommodations especially on East Bay Street (*e.g.* Lodge Alley Inn).

The TBD was now catering to the more affluent visitor. It is important to note, however, that there were more hotels and motels located on the peninsula outside the TBD. Most of these were chain hotels and motels and were to be found especially along the Ashley River in Lockwood Drive. In 1999, there were only three motels in the TBD but the concentration of inns around Market Street and bed-and-breakfasts in the residential areas shows more of a dispersal of accommodations. It was during this period that the location and number of hotels in the TBD were being controlled. The city did not want to see the area overrun with accommodations and realized the value of locating hotels in areas that needed to be revitalized. Good quality accommodations in an area can attract other businesses and have the potential to save an area from blight. Using zoning as a way to control the spread of accommodations has considerable bearing on the dispersal.



- Hotel ■ Motel/Suites ▲ Inn 🏠 Bed and Breakfast

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Figure 4.8 Accommodations in 1899

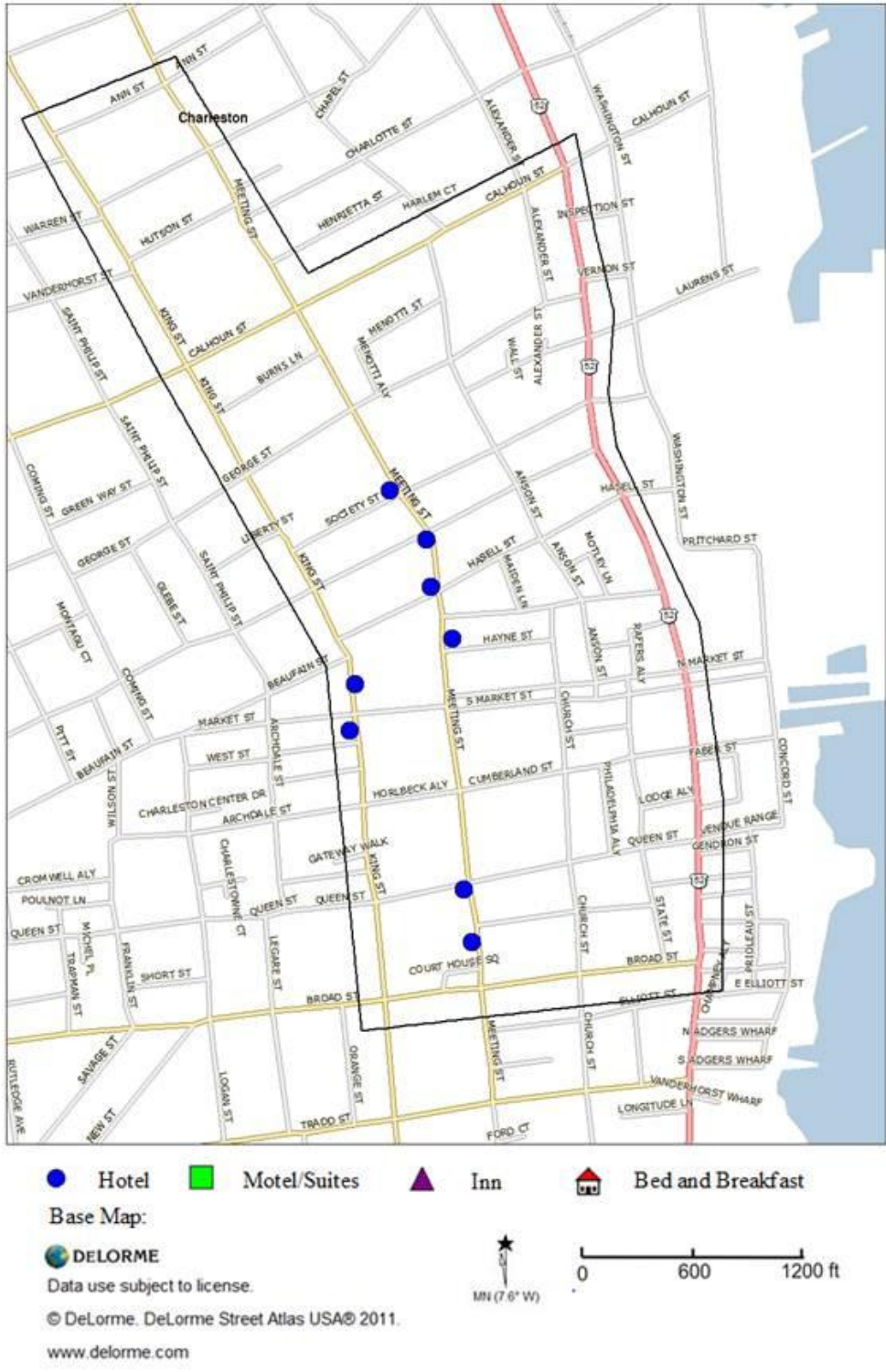
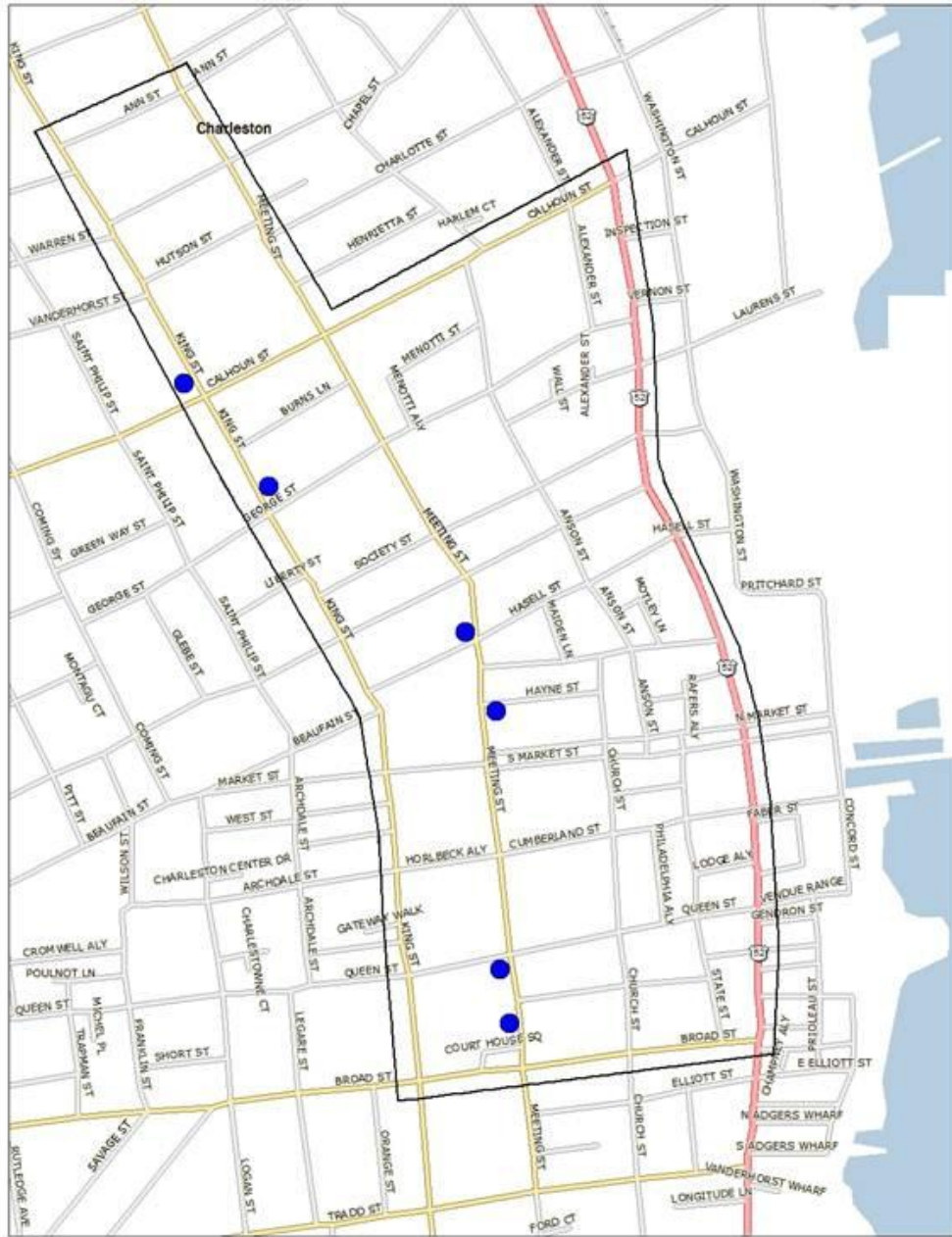


Figure 4.9 Accommodations in 1919



- Hotel
- Motel/Suites
- ▲ Inn
- 🏠 Bed and Breakfast

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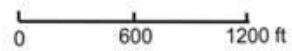


Figure 4.10 Accommodations in 1938

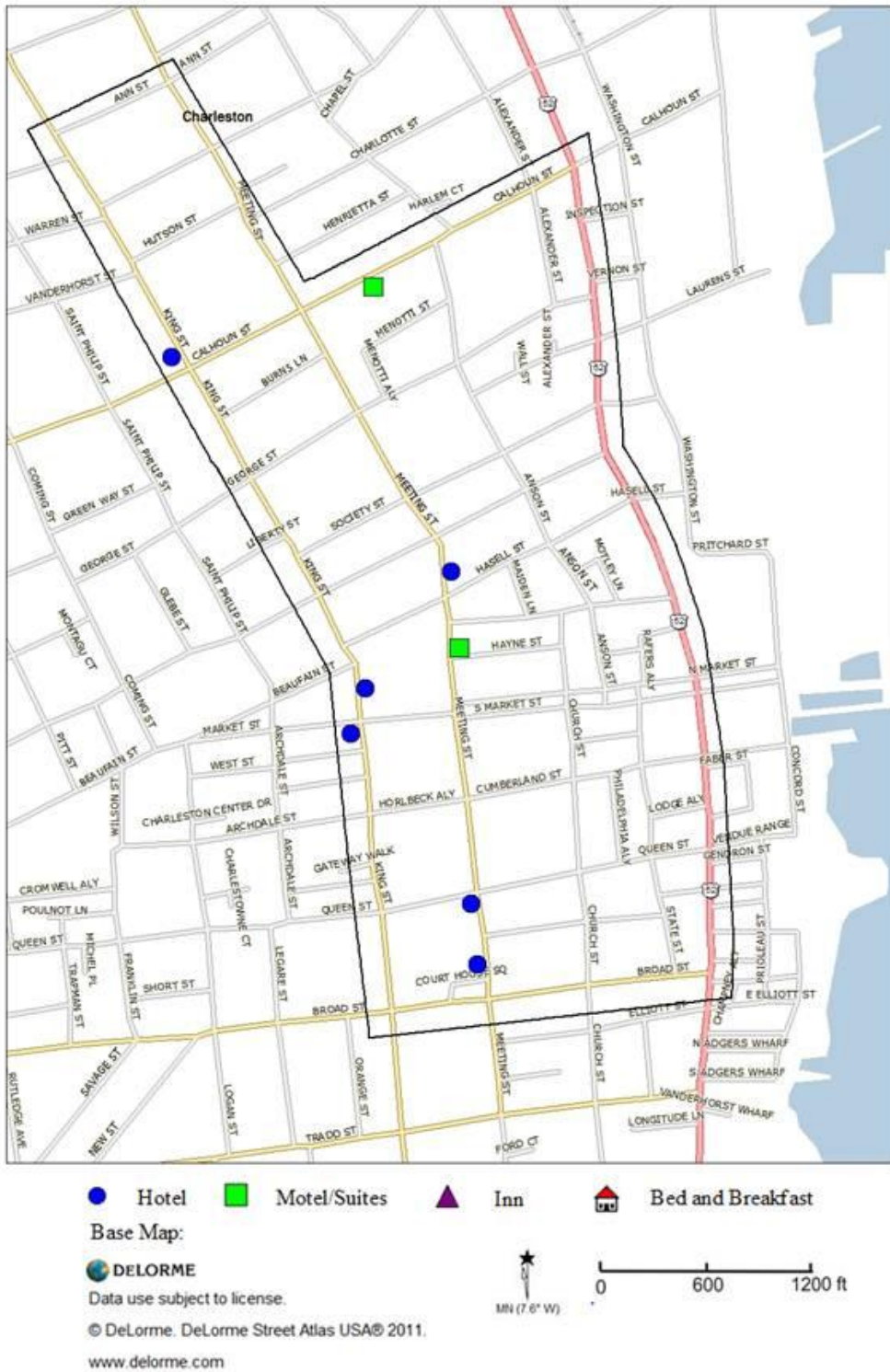


Figure 4.11 Accommodations in 1958

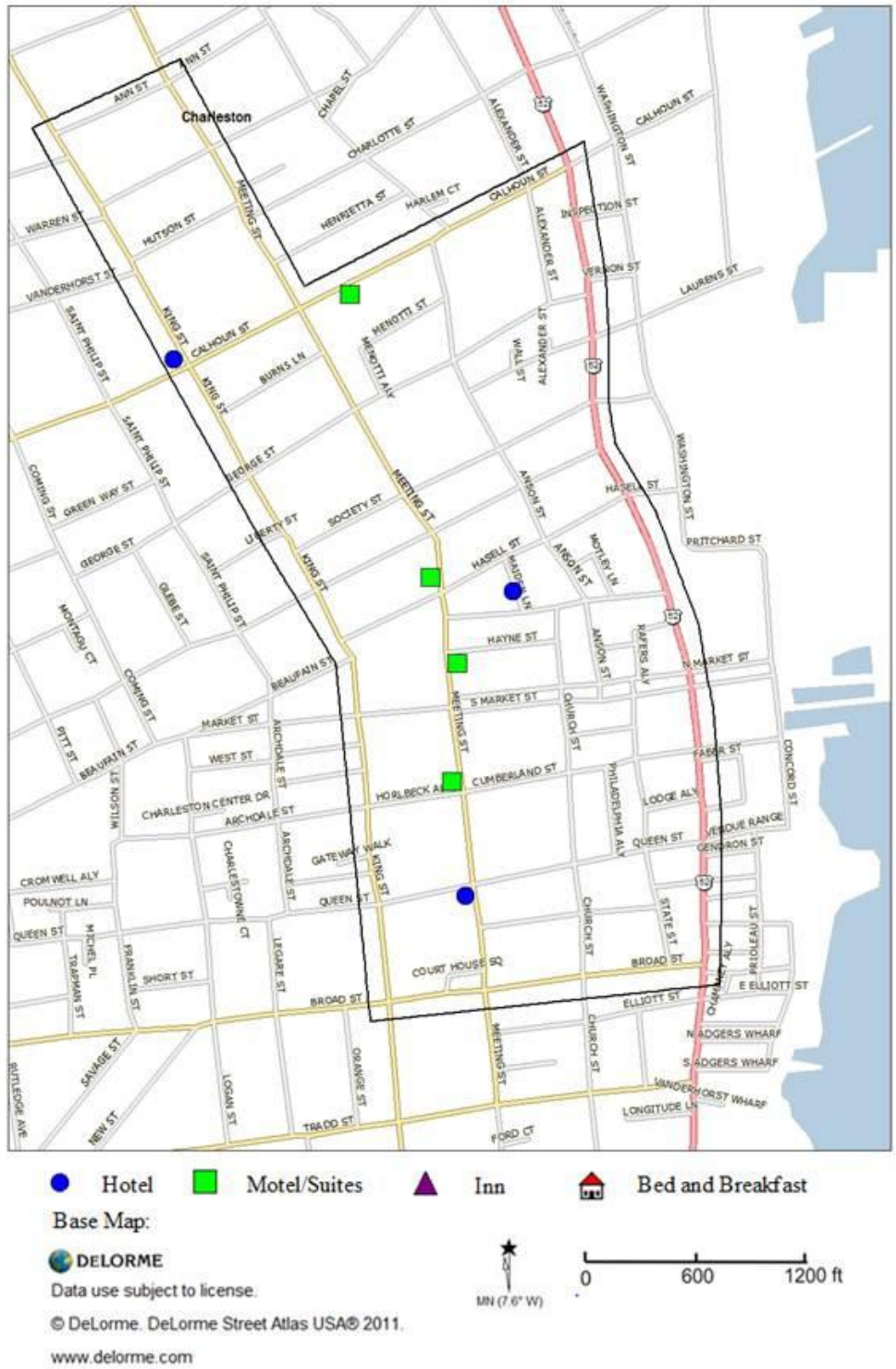


Figure 4.12 Accommodations in 1979



Figure 4.13 Accommodations in 1999

The Spatial Distribution of Restaurants in the TBD 1899-1999.

The distribution of restaurants in 1899 (Figure 4.14) was concentrated in three streets: King Street, north of Market Street; Market Street; and East Bay Street, South of Market Street. Only five restaurants in the TBD did not conform to this pattern. In 1919, the distribution had changed slightly (Figure 4.15). King Street had more restaurants to the south of Market Street. Restaurants could now be found all the way from Broad Street to Ann Street (the whole length of the TBD). But, at the same time, restaurants had disappeared from East Bay Street. There were still clusters around Market Street. At that time the number of restaurants increased from 32 in 1899 to 35 in 1919.

By 1938 there were 61 restaurants in the TBD. The Depression had not severely affected the supply of restaurants. As in 1899, restaurants were clustered in the section of King Street north of Wentworth Street two blocks north of Market Street (Figure 4.16). At this time there were more restaurants in Meeting Street but only south of Wentworth. It appears as if Meeting Street served the southern end of the King Street/Meeting Street spine while King Street served the northern half. Most of the restaurants in Market Street were confined to the market area serving lunches from stalls in the market. Some dispersion had taken place with a cluster of restaurants on Calhoun Street, and some were dotted along Queen Street and State Street. The dispersion of restaurants was only slightly more obvious in 1938. Restaurants decreased to 42 in 1958. They were still prominent along King Street (Figure 4.17). Many restaurants in 1938 had had the word “lunch” in their name or were coffee shops. By 1958, lunch places were still prominent but grills and cafes were becoming more numerous. At this time there was still only one

restaurant on East Bay Street. The cluster of restaurants on Calhoun Street was still present in 1958 and two restaurants served the Broad Street area. There were now only eight restaurants on Meeting Street.

In 1979 there was a much bigger cluster of restaurants around Market Street, especially on the corner of Market and Church where there were eleven restaurants present in an old warehouse building (Figure 4.18). The cluster was still present along King Street north of Market but a new cluster in the Queen Street/Meeting Street/King Street area had appeared. Three restaurants now served the Broad Street business district and East Bay still had no restaurants.

In 1999, there were 125 restaurants in the TBD. But the actual distribution pattern had not changed with the exception of the East Bay Street revival (Figure 4.19). The distribution pattern strongly resembled the one in 1899 (Figure 4.14). Restaurants could be seen along King, north of Market, through Market Street and a considerable number were now present on East Bay Street south of Market Street. Other clusters occurred just south of Market in Cumberland Street, Church and State Streets just one block from Market Street. The most significant pattern throughout the century was firstly the S-shaped pattern of restaurants along King/Market/East Bay Street but with a complete disappearance of restaurants on East Bay Street, and reappearance again toward the end of the century during East Bay's revival. It would be difficult to define a "restaurant quarter" as such in the TBD but the three streets of King/Market/East Bay have the most claim to be the principal part of a restaurant quarter.




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 Restaurant



0 600 1200 ft

Figure 4.14 Restaurants in 1899



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Restaurant

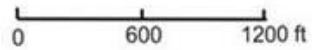


Figure 4.15 Restaurants in 1919




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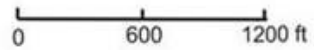


Figure 4.16 Restaurants in 1938




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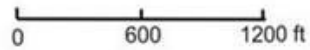


Figure 4.17 Restaurants in 1958




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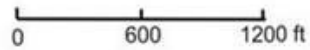


Figure 4.18: Restaurants in 1979




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 Restaurant

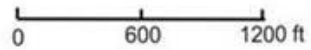


Figure 4.19 Restaurants in 1999

CHAPTER 5 1899-1919 THE BEGINNINGS OF TOURISM IN CHARLESTON

Introduction

The turn of the century was early in the period of mass tourism and destinations relied on accessibility and transportation to benefit from it. Charleston was easily accessible by both steamship and railroad. However, the city's economic, physical and political fortunes in the second half of the nineteenth century had left it in a very depressed state and a poor prospect for tourists. Physically, the city had suffered Union bombardment during the Civil War, a major fire in 1861, two hurricanes (one in 1885 and another in 1893), and an earthquake in 1886, all of which had caused considerable damage to buildings in the city.

Economically, the area's primary industries were suffering for various reasons. The phosphate mining industry was severely affected by the hurricane of 1893, when many of its workers were drowned and its machinery and facilities were damaged. The industry also had to contend with competition from new sources with richer deposits and political feuding within the state (Rhett, 1940). Cotton production declined as foreign buyers started finding better sources in Mississippi and Texas and sea-island cotton was facing destruction by the boll-weevil. Rice planting was also becoming less competitive. The industry faced the constant threat of storms and drought, whereas other rice-growing areas in Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas were less hazard-prone and maintained a constant supply of water through irrigation. Eventually, the price of rice fell to below the cost of production in South Carolina and a series of hurricanes, over a period of twenty years, ended the industry in 1911 (Rhett, 1940). Many businessmen in Charleston decided to

leave the city and relocate their businesses, which compounded the effects of the decline. One industry that remained prosperous during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, however, was locally-grown vegetables. The industry had started around 1865 and by 1906 its value had increased to nearly \$4m. (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1908, p. 12).

Charleston's economic decline was reflected in its financial position. South Carolina adopted a constitution in 1895 containing a clause that no city can incur debt of more than 8% of its assessed value of taxable property. (Duffy, 1963, p. 4). Charleston's bonded debt was about 21% of its total assessed value. Much of this debt had been incurred in unsuccessful railroad ventures during the nineteenth century (Duffy, 1963). Charleston had been desperately trying to establish an east-west railroad route and had invested money in various companies to achieve this but the route had never materialized. To add to this problem, the taxable value of real estate in Charleston fell while the minimum tax rate, needed to maintain city government, increased. (Duffy, 1963). City taxes increased by almost 25% between 1887 and 1900 (Boggs, 1977, p. 16). The receipts from the port activities also diminished, the volume of trade falling from \$98.5m in 1890-1 to \$29.5m in 1900-1 (Fraser, 1989, p. 327).

Charleston's infrastructure was also badly in need of modernization. Lack of an adequate water supply had been recognized for some time. The water company had contracted to supply three million gallons of water daily from four artesian wells, but was supplying no more than two million and the quality was poor. The city actually needed five million gallons of water daily (Rhett, 1940, p. 331). The city sued the Charleston

Waterworks Company in 1898, but the State Supreme Court ruled in favor of the company (Fraser, 1989, p. 330). The company's assets were later purchased by a new water company which dammed Goose Creek and guaranteed a supply of six million gallons per day (Rhett, 1940, p. 331).

Charlestonians had a negligent attitude toward sewer construction and connection. By 1904, the streets South of Broad Street had been supplied with sewers but few residents had hooked up. (Duffy, 1963, p. 47). Even after a City ordinance was passed, it was difficult to persuade them to make use of the utility (Duffy, 1963).

By the mid-1890s flagstone sidewalks and curbing were replaced by concrete, mainly to the south of Calhoun Street. However, street paving was slower. In 1900 more than half of the streets in the city were still unpaved. (Boggs, 1977, p. 13). Many streets were still cobbled making bicycle riding (a popular mode of transport in the city) difficult.

The promotional literature, published by the Chamber of Commerce, tried to project Charleston as a healthful winter resort (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1904, p. 3). However, this was mainly because of its mild winter climate rather than its sanitary conditions. Public health in the city was a problem. Between 1865 and 1897, typhoid claimed the lives of 1,418 people, and in 1906 a further 394 cases and 44 deaths from typhoid were reported. (Fraser, 1989, p. 331). Yellow fever was also prevalent. In 1900 it was discovered that the disease is caused by mosquitoes. In 1905, during an outbreak, police had to inspect trains and wharves, enforcing a quarantine while the city carried out extra trash collections and searched for mosquito breeding places (Duffy, 1963, p. 54).

One of the Chamber's brochures gave a detailed description of the Board of Health, consisting of three physicians and eight members, appointed by the Mayor (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1904, p. 10). It went on to say that the most important duty of this body was quarantine enforcement. A quarantine station was established at Fort Johnson which cleared and fumigated ships and cargo entering the port (Fraser, 1989, p. 331). Public health was not improved by the presence of cows and goats kept in backyards or on vacant lots. (Edgar, 1998, p. 466). Buzzards were a protected bird in the city because of their usefulness in removing meat scraps thrown onto the streets from the market (Whitelaw & Levkoff, 1976).

Transportation

The predominant form of transport into Charleston, at the turn of the century, was the railroad. Charleston boasted having the first railroad line in America (the Charleston to Hamburg line built by the South Carolina Railroad in October 1833) (Kovacik & Winberry, 1987, p. 96). During the 1890s the railroads in South Carolina began to undergo major reorganization and came under the control of Northern syndicates. One objective of these railroad companies was to reduce the dependence of the inland areas on Charleston as a port, financial and commercial center. They achieved this by building new routes that bypassed Charleston and charging heavy freight rates on goods being shipped to Charleston (Rhett, 1940, p. 325).

The major railroad companies involved in consolidating the railroads were the Southern Railway, the Atlantic Coast Line and the Seaboard Air Line. The Southern Railway, formed in 1894, built a line connecting Washington and New Orleans via

Spartanburg and Greenville and another linking Spartanburg and Cincinnati (Kovacik & Winberry, 1987, p. 120). It established a connection to Charleston by taking over the South Carolina and Georgia Railroad (formerly the South Carolina Railway) in 1899 (Rhett, 1940, p. 325). The railroad also acquired the Charlotte, Columbia and Augusta Railroad thus dominating rail transportation in the central and western areas of the state (Kovacik & Winberry, 1987, p. 120).

The Atlantic Coast Line, organized in 1898, bought some of the bankrupt railroads in the Eastern part of the state. These included the North Eastern Railroad and the Cheraw-Darlington Railroad in 1898, and the Plant System (formerly the Charleston and Savannah Railroad) in 1902 (Rhett, 1940, p. 325). The Seaboard Air Line built lines between Norfolk and Atlanta, via Chester and Greenwood, and from Richmond to Florida through Columbia (Kovacik & Winberry, 1987, p. 120).

The effect of the railroads' reorganization was that Charleston lost much of its inland trade. The railroads now had the power to control freight traffic into Charleston and did so by imposing stiff freight rates, making Norfolk more attractive as a port. However, the freight restrictions did not affect passenger travel to Charleston. In fact, it probably helped it by making it more accessible, comfortable and convenient to travel there, especially from the North. The Northern syndicates that had acquired the railroads in South Carolina improved them to the point that "travelers in the Southern states now receive the same accommodations in the matter of railway comforts that they do in other sections" (Improvement in the South, 1900). One reason why the railroads felt the need to improve conditions for passengers was that many wealthy people from the North used

the railroads to go to winter resorts in the South” (Improvement in the South, 1900). The Atlantic Coast line ran train services between New York and Charleston, Savannah, Jacksonville, Tampa, Augusta and Macon (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901, p. 165). The “New York and Florida Special” was described as “composed of the most modern Pullman sleeping, parlor, dining, library and observation cars, lighted by electricity, heated by steam, and runs solid between New York and Florida during the winter season” (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901).

All trains into Charleston arrived at the Union Station, built in the early 1900s. Agents of the Charleston Transfer Company boarded the trains before they entered the city and arranged transfer of baggage for the passengers (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1911). The station provided services such as a dining room, a newsstand and a barber shop. The Charleston Transfer Company also provided transport to the various hotels and the docks for transfer to the steamships.

The Clyde Steamship Line operated steamships connecting Charleston with New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Boston (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901, p. 163). Steamships also ran, on a more local basis, to other coastal cities in the Carolinas under the control of the Charleston, Georgetown and Wilmington Steamboat Company and the Beaufort and Edisto Company (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901).

Ferries operated out of Charleston to Mount Pleasant and the Isle of Palms and excursion boats were run to Fort Sumter and Magnolia Gardens especially during special events.

In 1897 a group of Baltimore businessmen bought out the old horse-car street

railways and converted them into an electric system of street cars under the name Charleston Consolidated Railway, Gas and Electric Company (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1911, p. 108). The system served not only transit needs within the city, but also extended to Chicora Park, a park five miles north of the city limits on the Cooper River, and owned by the City of Charleston. Another company ran street cars to the Isle of Palms from Mount Pleasant.

Communications in Charleston were improving at the beginning of the twentieth century. By the late 1890s, City Council had authorized private companies to erect the city's first telephone poles along Church Street and in 1899 Southern Bell installed the first long distance lines linking Charleston and Augusta (Fraser, 1989, p. 332).

Population

The 1900 Census of Population counted Charleston's population to be 55,807, an increase of only 1.5% over the 1890 figure (Charleston's Population, 1900). In the decade 1880 to 1890, the population had increased by 9.35%, probably due to the number of new immigrants to the country who settled in Charleston. The Board of Health in Charleston had estimated a much higher number, but the Census taker rechecked the records and stood by that number. Several reasons were proposed for this slow growth. Places around Charleston, like Mount Pleasant, Summerville and Sullivan's Island had grown significantly. Many African-Americans had moved north of the city limits to be closer to their work at the phosphate mining sites. The number of African-Americans in the city was estimated to be 31,569 or 56.5% of the population (Charleston's Population, 1900).

In 1903, Mayor Rhett estimated that the German population made up nearly one-third of the population. Other ethnic groups represented in significant proportions in the city were Italians, Irish and Jews (Boggs, 1977, p. 16). The names in the city street directory show some concentrations of these ethnic groups in the TBD. For instance, Hasell, Wentworth and Society Streets were a German neighborhood with a two Lutheran Churches, a German Fusilliers Armory, a German Artillery Hall and names like Meyer, Hofstetter, Heidenreich, Schwacke, Wuhrmann and Hopke. The distribution of African-American residences was also becoming clustered in 1899. Roads one block south of Calhoun Street and northward had higher concentrations of African-Americans. There were also some clusters along Anson Street (which runs parallel to Meeting and East Bay Streets) and a concentration in and around Philadelphia Aly. Racial segregation did not come as fast to Charleston. Many African-American domestic servants lived near their place of work, but as these jobs diminished in number they began to move away. The conditions they lived in were not particularly healthy. Areas where they lived had no sewers at this time and made them more vulnerable to disease (Boggs, 1977, p. 9).

Accommodations

Accommodations in Charleston at the turn of the twentieth century were of three types. There were five downtown hotels mentioned in the 1899 street directory, although there were some others that had fallen into disuse, been converted to apartments or were classified as boarding houses. Those hotels listed in the directory were either located in Meeting or King Streets with access to both the port and the railroad passenger terminals. Many were suffering because of the city's economic troubles. Boarding houses were

plentiful (37 in the TBD) and although they tended to cater to longer term visitors to the city (i.e., those who were staying for a whole season), they were often opened for tourists who were visiting the city for special events. The third kind of accommodation was in private homes, mainly for people visiting friends and family. However, during special events private homes were often used to house visitors at low rates.

Between the Confederate Reunion in 1899 and the National Education Association Conference in 1900, Charlestonians began to realize that the supply of hotels in the city was woefully inadequate, especially for the ambitious events they were organizing. Various articles in the *News and Courier* advanced strong arguments for improving and increasing the stock of accommodations. In the short term, there were concerns that there would be inadequate facilities for the NEA conference attendees, not to mention the planned Exposition in 1901 (*Homes Must Be Opened*, 1900). A second reason for increasing accommodation was the belief that Charleston, with more hotels would become a popular winter and/or health resort (*Hotels for the Exposition*, 1900). Most wealthy tourists from the North were spending the winter season in Florida (*Opening the Charleston*, 1900). Those in favor of promoting the city suggested that Charleston's climate was milder and therefore healthier. Charlestonians were also hoping that wealthy Northerners would visit the area and like it so much they would want to settle there permanently, investing their money in South Carolina and thus improving the low-country's flagging economy (*The Exposition and the Hotels*, 1900). They hoped that a better stock of hotels would attract these people to make an initial visit to the area and later they would stay in them while they looked for land or somewhere to live in the

region.

The grandest hotel in Charleston at the turn of the twentieth century was the Charleston Hotel. The hotel was designed by Charles F. Reichardt and built twice. Located at the corner of Meeting and Hayne Streets, work began in February 1837 and by June the walls were already completed. The interior, however took longer to complete and when the hotel was nearly ready for use, it was destroyed by fire in April 1838. By early 1839, rebuilding had begun and the hotel was completed in 1841 (Riddock and Byrns, 191*). The four-story structure of brick and stone was regarded as a “symbol of antebellum Charleston” (Rosen, 1982, p. 78). Its fourteen monumental columns extended the width of a 150-foot block imitating the columns of the Coragic Monument of Lysicrates in Athens. In its center was an open court 75 by 80 feet with wooden balconies on three sides (Mazyck, 191*). The grand dining hall, lobby and assembly rooms were used for conferences and conventions and there were a number of rooms for private dinners and parties. There were also reading, writing and smoking rooms (Charleston Museum, c1910). In the 1890s the hotel was remodeled with sun parlors on the first and second floors and new furniture, carpets etc. Telegraph and ticket offices were introduced (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901). In 1900 the hotel had 225 rooms and could accommodate 500 people. (Official Guide - South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition, 1901). The tourist season finished in April and since business was slow in the summer the hotel closed its dining room for 2-3 months and operated on the European plan (only the cost of the room is included in the hotel’s rates, meals are charged separately) .

Although, the Planter's Hotel was not in operation as a hotel by the turn of the twentieth century, the building played a major role in Charleston's cultural life in both the nineteenth and the twentieth century. The Planter's Hotel, Charleston's first hotel was built on its present site, in Church Street, in 1806. Before it was built, travelers stayed in taverns, inns and boarding houses or in private homes (Rosen, 1982, p. 78). The Planter's Hotel catered to planters' families, wealthy families from the upcountry, visiting businessmen and tourists and was especially popular during the horse-racing season (Bland, 1999, p. 71). The hotel was built adjacent to the old Dock Street Theater which had been important as a cultural center since 1735. The hotel declined in the latter half of the nineteenth century and was converted to a number of apartments which fell into disuse and disrepair. By 1885 it was described as a "cheap tenement" and by the turn of the century it was in a dilapidated condition. However, it was restored during the 1930's under a Public Works Administration program and became the new Dock Street Theatre as it still is today (Bland, 1999, p. 71).

The Mills House was opened in 1853 at the corner of Meeting and Queen Streets (115 Meeting Street). The site had been formerly occupied by the St. Mary's tavern which later became the Planter's Hotel and subsequently moved to Church Street. The Mills House was designed by architect J.E. Earle and owned by Otis Mills, a grain merchant and real estate developer (Stockton, 1985, p. 351). Built of brownstone, it was frequented by planters' families of South Carolina, Georgia and other states who came to the city for shopping and social life. Other patrons were wealthy travelers from the North and West. It prospered until after the Civil War. In 1900, in an article in the *News and*

Courier, Richard Lathers reported that the Mills House had been sold to the owners of the Charleston Hotel who closed it down to rid themselves of competition (Lathers, 1899).

The Mills House reopened in 1902 as the St. John Hotel with accommodations for 500 people. It had cheaper rates than the larger Charleston Hotel and in 1911, H. K. Leiding quoted a ditty that was popular about the Mills House:

“If you want to cut a dash

And have not got the cash

You may go

To the Mills House O!” (Leiding, 1911).

The St. John Hotel continued in operation under this name until 1967 when it was found to be unsound. It was demolished and rebuilt, adding height, but keeping most of its original design and ornamentation (Moore M. , 1997, p. 46). Completed in 1970, it reverted back to its old name of the Mills House.

The St. Charles Hotel was located at the corner of Meeting and Hasell Streets. It was run on the American Plan (fixed daily rate including meals) and was often used as an information center when special events were taking place in Charleston. In September, 1899, it was badly damaged by fire, losing much of its roof. It remained unrepaired and suffered further damage from rain. It was bought in 1900 by two men who planned at first to renovate it and later decided to completely rebuild it, keeping only some of the outside walls but adding an extra floor. They hoped to have it completed in time for the NEA convention in July 1900 (Hotels and the Exposition, 1900); however, the changes were so extensive they could not be completed until 1901, when the hotel was renamed

the Argyle Hotel. With five stories, it contained 120 rooms and could accommodate 300 guests (American Journal of Commerce, 1910). Information about hotels in brochures and other publicity materials tended to say very similar things about each hotel and not always very informative. For the Argyle Hotel the description in the American Journal of Commerce is typical:

“Offices, reception and dining room are richly decorated, and are connected with the floors above with spacious staircases and elevator. Several of the rooms are en suite affording bedroom and bathroom - self-contained and luxuriously furnished” (American Journal of Commerce, 1910). The description of the dining facilities was even less informative “All delicacies in season and the very best the market can provide.” (American Journal of Commerce, 1910).

The criteria for a modern hotel at the time were steam heating, private bathrooms, and protection from fire. This last concern was frequently mentioned by both advertiser and visitor. The *American Journal of Commerce* describes the Charleston Hotel’s rooms as “well ventilated and comfortable, while the means of escape, in case of fire, are perfect.” (American Journal of Commerce, 1910). The St. John Hotel was described as “its outer walls are exceedingly thick and present a stalwart barrier against any fire that might occur” (Salley, Guidebook and Historical Sketch of Charleston, SC, c1903, p. 5). People attending the NEA conference in 1900 were very concerned about fire escapes. The Charleston Hotel’s manager reported that he had received many letters inquiring about fire escape provision. One woman wrote, “If my room is not near a fire escape you will have to furnish me with a rope.” (They Ask Queer Questions, 1900).

Eating Places

Charleston's restaurants did not have a very good reputation. The *News and Courier* opined: "When the restaurants are visited, it is only a chance as to which can boast of the dirtiest table linen or the slower service." It suggested that if Charlestonians did not do something about this situation then outsiders would come in and take business away from them. The newspaper also made the point that, while it was frequently said that Charleston could not support a first class restaurant, it had never really been tried. In 1900, the "Savoy" opened at 171 Meeting Street. The promotional literature described this as "strictly first-class in every particular, elegant in its appointments and in every way a model business of its kind." (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901) For the tourist staying in Charleston, most of the hotels ran on the American plan, which included meals in the room price; therefore, many ate in the hotel dining rooms.

There were 46 restaurants listed in the 1899 city directory's streets and business sections. Of these, six had other functions and would not have been full service restaurants (two ice-cream parlors, one bakery, one classified as a "soda water restaurant" and one "refreshments" establishment). There was an interesting ethnic mix of restaurants. In Charleston as a whole, 19 of the 46 restaurants were run by African-Americans, eight by Germans, six by Italians, and two by Irishmen. The restaurants run by African-Americans were mainly located outside the TBD in African-American neighborhoods. Five, however, were located on South Market St., where there were a number of African-American businesses. These were in the heart of the market/wholesaling area and probably served the workers. Another feature of African-

American eating places was the “cook-shop,” of which there were four in the TBD. These were described by Dubose Heyward in *Porgy*: “Directly within the entrance of the [Catfish] Row, and having upon the street a single bleary window, wherein were displayed plates of fried fish was the “cook shop” which catered to the residents of the tenement.” (Heyward, *Porgy*, 1985, p. 17). The cook shops served people living without cooking facilities of their own.

Other restaurants in the TBD were located along East Bay Street, serving the port area, in the Market Street area, and in King Street, near the hotels but serving the retailing district. There were no restaurants along Broad St. at that time.

One law that affected restaurants during the first half of the twentieth century was racial segregation. South Carolina’s State Constitution was adopted in 1895 and effectively disenfranchised the African-American (Fraser, 1989, p. 336). In order to vote, citizens had to pay a poll tax and a property tax, and show an understanding of the state’s constitution (Fraser, 1989, p. 329). Various laws passed between 1898 and 1906 led to segregation on railroads, street cars, ferries, steamboats, restaurants, parks and playgrounds. The African-Americans were even barred from the Battery in Charleston.

Drinking Places

The promotional literature for the South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition (henceforth known as the SCIS&WI Exposition) promoted three drinking places in Charleston. The first, owned by Thomas Marks was located at 334 King St. (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901, p. 151). His place was described as a “favorite place to pass a pleasant hour” and carrying in stock the “choicest drinks,

carbonated beverages and cigars” as well as having two pool tables. Another place rated highly was E.H. Gardner’s stationery store, where Mr. Gardner specialized in fruit-flavored soda waters, which he served hot in winter (Charleston and Vicinity - Illustrated, 1901, p. 150). Vincent Chicco’s hotel, café and store on South Market Street were the other recommended places in the guidebook. Vincent Chicco, an Italian immigrant, had various titles to his name. He was a member of City Council, a “well-known importer of delicacies” and sometimes a “notorious bootlegger” according to whose side you were on in the alcohol war raging in the state. (Fraser, 1989, p. 326 and 357)

The feuding between Charleston and Governor Ben Tillman was already well known by the turn of the century. Charleston had supported the Democratic ticket in the gubernatorial election and Tillman, an agrarian with a grudge against people in urban areas of the state in general, and the Charleston aristocracy in particular, had quickly shown his hand by passing an Act creating State dispensaries for the exclusive sale of alcohol. (Rhett, 1940, p. 319). Under this law, which went into effect on July 1, 1893, the state assumed a monopoly on both wholesale and retail trade of alcohol, and liquor could only be bought in dispensaries. Manufacturers were allowed to send their liquor out of state for sale if they chose. Each county could have one dispensary with the exception of Charleston County which was allocated 10 and Richland County (containing the city of Columbia) which was allowed six. Liquors and beer could only be sold in quantities of more than one-half pint but less than 5 gallons. They could not be consumed on the premises where they were sold. Applicants for the position of dispenser could not be druggists, hotel or restaurant keepers or owners of places of amusement

(Huggins, 1997, p. 125).

In Charleston, citizens had been used to drinking in bars and restaurants. A number of dealers had been in operation for many years and the measure came as a shock to the city. The *News and Courier* predicted it would never be implemented. The Charleston members of the General Assembly vigorously opposed the bill, to no effect. Several hundred bar keepers met in Charleston and agreed to do everything they could to defeat the law. They established a committee to investigate the law's constitutionality (Huggins, 1997, p. 126).

When the law went into effect, many bars stayed open but served only soft drinks. In Charleston, however, some bar keepers decided to ignore the law and grand juries threw out indictments for the sale of liquor (Rhett, 1940, p. 319). Illegal bars became known as "blind tigers" (Fraser, 1989, p. 326). People would pay an entrance fee to see a blind tiger and then were given a drink. The first arrest made in Charleston for the sale of liquor was Vincent Chicco, a member of City Council. A group of officers went to his saloon and he became verbally abusive. A crowd gathered and taunted the officers provoking one to draw his gun. Chicco was later freed on a \$500 bond (Huggins, 1997, p. 139).

Other complaints about the law came from druggists who were afraid they would not be able to obtain alcohol for their medicines. Also the hotels felt that the restrictions would severely curtail their business. The Charleston Hotel's proprietor went to the state board to request an exemption from the law and was denied. He left saying that the law would probably force him out of business (Huggins, 1997, p. 130). The Dispensary Law

remained in effect until 1907. During its fourteen-year control of the liquor business more than 200 blind tigers were in operation in the business district of Charleston alone and 300 in the city as a whole (Fraser, 1989, p. 346).

The Isle of Palms

The Isle of Palms, until 1898, was known as “Long Island.” Fishermen and yachtsman were familiar with it but it was little known in the city of Charleston probably because of its inaccessibility (despite the fact that it was only ten miles from the city) (Isle of Palms, 1898). Located to the Northeast of Sullivan’s Island, it is a barrier island. In 1898 it was a pristine wilderness of live oaks, water oaks, cedars and palmettoes, abundant in wildlife and with about eight miles of deserted sandy shoreline. However, in nine months it was converted to a fully-fledged seaside resort and amusement park.

Early in January 1898, there were rumors of extending the city’s street-car lines to the suburbs and islands. In March a company was formally organized and plans for the Charleston and Seashore Railway were laid. At the same time the Long Island Improvement and Construction Company was also organized which began to drain the island, fill in the lagoon, remove underbrush, lay terra cotta piping under the sand and generally prepare the island for buildings (Isle of Palms, 1898).

The residents of Sullivan’s Island and Mount Pleasant who would have use of the railway were enthusiastic about the project and bought much of the available stock in the company. During the spring, negotiations were carried out to amalgamate the new railway company with the old Mount Pleasant and Sullivan’s Island Ferry Company. The offer was declined and the ferry company countered with an offer to take over the new

company. This offer was also declined which led to a price war when the new ferry and railway were opened, pleasing Charlestonians because it meant that prices remained low. Trestle bridges were built across the water from Mount Pleasant to Sullivan's Island and across Breach Inlet between Sullivan's Island and the Isle of Palms. They were built not just for the railway but with roads to the side for driving over to the islands (at first in carriages and later in automobiles). In Charleston, Central Wharf was purchased in June to provide the passenger station and landing for the new ferry to Mount Pleasant across the Cooper River (Isle of Palms, 1898).

While waiting for the new railway to be built, Dr. Lawrence, president of the Charleston and Seashore Railway Company used the new ferry boat, the "Commodore Perry" to give excursions around the Charleston harbor, especially to the inmates of various charitable institutions in the city. On July 28, 1898, the Charleston and Seashore Railway was formally opened, although the last 1200 feet had not yet been completed on the Isle of Palms (A Great Event for the City, 1898). The journey from Charleston to the Isle of Palms via ferry and railway took just over a half hour once the track had been worn in. At the island's western end, near the Breach Inlet, the dunes behind the beach reached enough height to be described as a number of low sand hills. The plans for this part of the island were to have the sand leveled and lots laid out for summer residences. At the end of the "sand hill section," was the railway station and beyond and behind that an area was marked as the site of the new hotel. Near the station was the site for a large dance pavilion, a restaurant and an amusement area. These areas would be surrounded by a piazza and connected to the station by a boardwalk. In the forest area a winter

residential section was planned with lots of several acres (A Great Event for the City, 1898).

The railway track was completed by August 1. By the third week in August, the pavilion was ready for use and fitted with electric lights for evening entertainments and the restaurant was supplying meals, although not yet ready for seating (A Day By the Seashore, 1898). During September club rooms and dining rooms were built next to the pavilion. The plan to enclose the pavilion with glass and construct large fireplaces to make it usable in winter was being put into action. The first cottage was started at this time for Dr. Lawrence.

In October, Dr. Lawrence began to realize his plan for creating an amusement park on the Island by purchasing a steeplechase and large electric carousel from Coney Island in New York and a Ferris wheel from Atlantic City. His aim was to make the Isle of Palms the “Coney Island of the South” and the most popular resort along the South Atlantic Coast (Coney Island of the South, 1898).

The company organized many kinds of activities for the visitors’ entertainment. They rented out swimsuits and provided places to change clothes in the bathing pavilion. Bicycles were also rented because the eight miles of sand were hard-packed and conducive to cycling. Wood was placed on the beach for cooking fires and the visitors brought their own frying pans to cook freshly caught fish. After the first fish fry the company took over cooking the fish, which was caught in nets in the shallow waters with the visitors watching. The fish fries were so popular that the Company decided to make it a weekly event. Days were arranged especially for family picnics with special

entertainments for the children. The pavilion provided opportunities for dancing and four times per week an Artillery Band gave concerts.

Despite a large amount of rainfall, the railway transported 60,000 people to the Isle of Palms in the first month (Carried 60,000 Passengers, 1898). After two weeks the railroads were giving special rates to excursionists to go to the Isle of Palms (Excursion to the Seaside, 1898). The first reported excursion to the Isle of Palms was from Batesburg, Barnwell and Allendale on the Carolina Midland Railway, on August 24 (They Had a Good Time, 1898). The train was met at Branchville by the manager of the St. Charles Hotel, who escorted many of the visitors to his hotel on arriving at Charleston. The visitors either spent as much time on the Island as possible or stayed in Charleston to see the sights on the second day. To help promote the excursions, the Seashore Railway Company advertised the Isle of Palms as an all-weather resort. By providing shelter at the wharf in Charleston they could guarantee that visitors to the Island need never go out in the sun or rain, but could travel comfortably and sit in the pavilion which held more than one thousand comfortable chairs, if they so chose (They Had a Good Time, 1898).

The Isle of Palms very quickly became popular with Charlestonians as a place to go at weekends and the improved access meant that Mount Pleasant and Sullivan's Island could become commuter towns for Charleston. This raised the value of real estate in the two communities by at least 50% (Flocking to the Seashore, 1898). Islanders could also have an easier means of evacuating before hurricanes hit the islands. Charlestonians felt that "The city will be greatly benefitted for the reason that rapid transit to and from her

seaside resorts will bring thousands of visitors this way every year who would not have come otherwise.” (Flocking to the Seashore, 1898). It also gave Charleston the opportunity of using the Isle of Palms as a venue for entertaining dignitaries who were visiting Charleston and later to think of other ways the resort could be used, for example, conventions, meetings, reunions, etc.

The Tourists

At the turn of the century visitors to Charleston were of varied types. The traditional model of artists and the wealthy discovering an attractive place, before the majority discovered it, applied only partially to Charleston. Since Charleston was a fully functioning city as well as being an architectural and historic gem, other groups of people were frequent visitors. For instance, people from the state’s interior visited Charleston to shop and for city activities as well as for business. The Isle of Palms also attracted many people from inland places and with the development of Charleston as a convention center; visitors could be expected in the city all year round.

Charleston promoted itself as a winter resort. Unfortunately, most of the season’s travel was to Florida, where a number of hotels were popular and people, as a matter of habit, often stayed for 2-3 months to escape the northern winter. The season in Florida had become fashionable with the wealthy elite and people came and went according to what the recognized social leaders were doing (Heavy Tourist Travel, 1900). In 1900, the *News and Courier* noted that the season in Florida would officially end on April 10 that year, when the Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine closed and the special trains that ran to Florida in the winter were taken off. All Charleston could hope to capture

were those travelers heading north who wanted to break their journey for a rest. Even then, many only stayed for a day or two, or perhaps a week at most, before moving on toward home (Heavy Tourist Travel, 1900). Charlestonians felt that if the tourists from the North could be introduced to Charleston, then they would want to return and perhaps spend the next winter there. To this end the Charleston Hotel's manager traveled to Florida to personally encourage people to stop in Charleston on their way home (Tourists and Their Haunts, 1900).

Soaking up the remnants of the Florida season was not Charleston's only hope for tourism. In May 1899, with many of the Isle of Palms facilities completed, a plan was prepared to promote a series of excursions to Charleston from Columbia, Augusta and other inland places. The excursions were to be of 1-5 days duration and would attract people to Charleston during the summer months when business was at its lowest ebb. The *News and Courier* suggested that the city should encourage two or three excursions per week and should extend the catchment area in North Carolina as far as the Virginia border and into Georgia. The railroad also had been approached and seemed willing to cooperate (As A Summer Resort, 1899).

In 1900 these excursions really began to become popular. In June 1900, two large excursions from Atlanta, Georgia, and Spartanburg, South Carolina, brought 1,000 and 400 people respectively. The excursion from Spartanburg arrived in seven cars and half the visitors were immediately taken to Sullivan's Island and the Isle of Palms to spend the night at the Atlantic Beach Hotel and the Seashore Inn. The other half stayed overnight in the city and were taken to the islands the following day (Make Them

Welcome, 1900).

The Atlanta excursion involved a railroad journey through the night in day coaches and sleepers arriving in Charleston at 8:00 a.m. and followed by an ocean trip. The Atlanta people felt they had enough of city life and wanted to be on the open water (Make Them Welcome, 1900). Although they did not spend much time in the city, both excursions brought visitors to the region and these visitors would promote the area to other people.

By July, the excursion business had picked up with Sunday day trips from Augusta, Columbia and Savannah. Charleston then became a serious competitor with Tybee, Cumberland and Brunswick, Georgia for short excursions. The railroads began to offer a weekend special to the Isle of Palms from Atlanta (On a Steady Increase, 1900).

Toward the end of July, the visitors to the islands had overcrowded the hotels and people were sleeping on extra cots. The impact of this tourist traffic was felt in the city hotels and boarding houses. The newspaper reported nearly 2,000 visitors to the city on a Sunday. Other excursions during July came from Darlington, SC, Rock Hill, SC and Gainesville, GA. Charleston arranged a series of baseball games between Augusta and Charleston for the visitors' entertainment (More Excursionists Coming, 1900).

Events

The United Confederate Veterans Reunion. The UCV Reunion was held May 10-13, 1899. The project was indeed a community affair. Various committees were established to manage the accommodations for an estimated 40,000 people, providing food during their 4-5 day stay, financing the affair, entertaining the Veterans and their

guests.

August Kohn, writing for the *News and Courier* told how he received news to go to the UCV Reunion in Atlanta in 1898 and help secure the next reunion for Charleston (Kohn, 1899). An official committee was formed to attend the Atlanta Reunion after a citizen's meeting. They were assisted by the South Carolina Delegation to the Atlanta Reunion, (Smyth, 1899, p. xxiii) and the Charleston Chamber of Commerce also sent delegates to do "missionary work" (Kohn, 1899). It was a matter of competition between Louisville and Charleston as to who would hold the 1899 Reunion. Charleston won the vote primarily because many of the Western delegates (especially those from Texas who held considerable influence) wanted to visit Charleston once again and to reminisce in the city that was the "Cradle of the Confederacy" (Kohn, 1899, p. 12).

The city was conscious that this event would have an impact on Charleston's reputation for its generous hospitality. "It will be to our shame as a people and to our fatal loss of prestige if any one of the vast multitude go away from Charleston hungry or uncared for" (The Confederates are Coming, 1899). "It is the intention of the gentlemen in charge of this gathering to have every visitor leave the city a walking advertisement of the thorough manner in which Charleston accomplishes its undertakings, socially and commercially" (Only a Month Off Now, 1899, p. 8). The Reunion's organizers also hoped that it would aid in rejuvenating the flagging economy and bring more visitors to the city: "The appropriateness of assembling Confederate Veterans in this city impresses the country with such favor that it can almost be promised that hordes of visitors will flock to this city." (Our Great Reunion, 1899b, p. 8).

The *News and Courier* exhorted the people of the city to work together to make the Reunion a success, appealing to their loyalty and sense of duty to the community: “It will require the united energy of the people of Charleston to provide for them [the Confederate Veterans]; and if there ever was a time when the community should stand and pull together, it is now, and for the purposes of the Reunion” (The Confederates are Coming, 1899, p. 4).

At another citizens’ meeting, an executive committee was formed to take control of the arrangements. Under the executive committee were a number of other committees set up to accomplish different tasks as the need arose¹. The organizers calculated that all the Veterans attending the Reunion, together with their families and friends, and other visitors would total at least 40,000 people.

The event was not just a Charleston affair according to other communities in South Carolina, but a State affair. The *Greenville News* stated: “One thing the State of South Carolina will respond to is a call for help in entertaining and caring for Confederate Veterans. We are all glad and proud to have a share in that work and to have Charleston as our representative in it.” (Working For The Reunion, 1899). Many communities sent contributions of cash and other items. A letter from the camp at Pendleton was sent to the Finance Committee Chairman, Captain F. W. Wagener: “I send you as chairman of supply committee for the Confederate Veterans fourteen dollars and fifty cents in cash. . . . I expect to be able to send you some fat hens, dressed, and

¹The committees listed in the 1899 Charleston City Yearbook were: Finance; Accounts; Veterans; Receive

some good butter, one good ham and a few eggs (Pendleton Heard From, 1899).”

One of the most important by-products of the Reunion was the construction of an auditorium for holding the Veterans’ gatherings. The Thomson Auditorium was built using the money from a bequest by Mr. John Thomson of Charleston who had left real estate to the City without specifying for what it was to be used. The sale of the real estate raised nearly \$26,000 and with an additional sum of \$5,000 from the City together with a site in one of the City Parks, the Auditorium was built in ninety days. (Smyth, 1899, p. xxvii). Able to hold 8,000 people, the Thomson Auditorium’s construction helped pave the way for Charleston to become a major convention city.

The Reunion was largely financed by sponsors within the community and each week the newspaper published the Roll of Honor which listed people who had made contributions to the fund (and how much they had contributed). Small sums of money also came from other parts of the State, but the largest contribution came from the Consolidated Railway, Gas and Electric Company who donated \$1,000 to the fund (Our Great Reunion, 1899a). The company more than recuperated this outlay, with more than 200,000 rides given over the four-day period, at five cents per ride yielding at least \$10,000. The railroads into Charleston also obliged by granting a fare of one cent per mile from all points, and relaxing the “iron-clad clause” within 300 miles of Charleston. This meant that a ticket purchaser would not have to sign the return ticket in front of a railroad officer in Charleston to make it valid for the return trip (Our Great Reunion, 1899). The railroads also agreed to transport supplies for the Reunion free of charge and the Clyde Steamship Company transported 6,000 chairs for the Auditorium from Boston

at no charge (Our Great Reunion, 1899c).

Accommodation for the expected 40,000 people was probably the largest task undertaken by the organizers. Commercial accommodation was not sufficient to house all the visitors, although the hotels doubled and trebled their normal occupancy by providing more shared accommodation. The Committee on Housing and Quarters appointed twelve canvassers to visit every white household in the city and distribute circular letters urging residents to provide accommodation to some visitors. They were asked to complete a form giving an estimate of how many people they could take in and whether they could provide food or not. They were expected to charge the same rates as a boarding house for visitors' lodging. Other lodging facilities included dormitories in schools, churches, public halls and the old Roper Hospital. The public schools gave their students a week's vacation so that the school buildings could be used. Warehouses on the wharves were converted to provide accommodation for the Veterans free of charge or at very low prices. The "Reunion Hotel" – two warehouses on Adger's and Boyce's Wharves accommodated 1,000 veterans and visitors. The "Confederate Hotel" on Commercial Wharf was for veterans only and housed the former soldiers free of charge (On To Charleston, 1899). By April, estimates for housing (both men and women) were – hotels, boarding houses, and private houses – 10,739; dormitories – 2,720; Confederate Hotel – 1,500; Mount Pleasant – 166. In addition, the Committee on Information estimated that citizens would be providing free lodging for 8,500 veterans and their guests, who were family or friends (After The Reunion, 1899).

The Committee on Information had the task of helping visitors to find

accommodations before or after their arrival. Although its headquarters was in the downtown area, the Committee also set up substations in the railroad passenger depots. A guide to the Reunion was printed listing events, and excursions and various portraits of prominent military figures of the Confederacy as well as advertisements for local businesses (Veterans Guide to Charleston, SC, 1899).

Boat excursions were arranged to Fort Sumter, Fort Johnson and the Isle of Palms. Land excursions went to Magnolia Cemetery (advertised as the “Most Beautiful Cemetery in the World”) and Chicora Park on the Cooper River. Other entertainments for the Reunion were typical of the entertainment fashion at the time – a concert with choirs singing military favorites, speeches (including one by General Wade Hampton), bicycle racing, horse racing, fireworks displays, and the US Cruiser *Raleigh*, which had just returned from battle in the Philippines, anchored in the harbor and available for tours. The *News and Courier* made the prediction that this would influence how many people visited Charleston; “The fact that the *Raleigh* is coming to Charleston has been sent broadcast over the country by the wires of the Associated Press and the fact is sure to add no small number of people to the crowds that are to visit the city” (Will Be A Great Attraction, 1899). The fireworks displays were accompanied by dramas depicting the Battle of Manassas and the bombardment of Fort Sumter during the Civil War. The Veterans, who were able, participated in a parade around the center of the city in full regalia and carrying battle-scarred flags and other war memorabilia.

The city of Charleston joined in the festivities. A competition was held for the best decorated building (residential and commercial). Flags, banners and ribbons covered

the unpainted buildings and for a few days Charleston forgot her economic plight. King and Meeting Streets were decorated with eight incandescent lamps every one-hundred feet and some businesses in the city closed for the duration of the Reunion (Our Great Reunion, 1899c).

Apart from the commercial restaurants, several temporary eating places were set up for the four-day event and the city suspended its ordinance requiring boarding houses, restaurants and dormitories to pay licenses (Ready For the Veterans, 1899). The Veterans Restaurant on East Bay Street near the Market was prepared to feed, free of charge, up to 4,000 Veterans at each meal. A warehouse on Union Wharf was also transformed into a dining room to seat fifteen hundred people (News of the Reunion, 1899). The Christ Love Mission served meals and used the opportunity to raise funds for a home in Charleston for the “unfortunate and outcast” people in the city.

After the Reunion, the Committees estimated that around 30,000 people had visited the city during the period, and there were many discussions about the Reunion’s success and its impacts. One banker put forward the typical Charleston pride when he said:

“The greatest benefit that Charleston has derived from the Reunion was not the money that the visitors left here, and that would not have been the greatest benefit even if the amount had been twice as large as it really was.

...

To my mind I think that the fact that all the visitors were pleased was the great triumph of the affair, and untold good will come to the city from the

talk those many visitors will indulge in” (Made Thousands Of Friends, 1899).

The people of Charleston, however, also felt that it would bring more commerce to the city and that Charleston would regain its former economic supremacy. They realized that tourism could be of great value to the community economically. “Did you ever reflect that one visitor to the city does as much good in a commercial way as does the handling of five bales of cotton?” (News of the Reunion, 1899, p. 8).

Another opportunity that the Reunion offered to improve Charleston’s image was advertising the Isle of Palms. The News and Courier said:

“The new resort, very naturally, greatly impressed all our visitors of last week, and they will advertise it effectively throughout the State and the South. When its merits become more widely known as the result of such friendly reports, and of others of like authority and enthusiastic character that it will draw such throngs of visitors as will make every week in Charleston in the hot season -- elsewhere -- a striking reminder of the week that has just passed. We shall have a Reunion that will last all summer, and be repeated every summer. We firmly believe that this happy experience is ahead of us, and not far distant” (Our Great Summer Resort, 1899).

In another article the *News and Courier* also said:

“The people of the middle and upper section of this State and Georgia are great folks for running to the Seashore during the summer months, and

heretofore have been going to Tybee and other places. These resorts are not in it with the Isle of Palms, and the people who have been to the Reunion from the sections mentioned will make this fact known wherever they go, and the summer tourists are surely coming to the Isle of Palms if the railroads will furnish the rates and the schedules” (Made Thousands Of Friends, 1899).

The Isle of Palms resort reported that at least 16,000 people visited the island during the four days of the Reunion (Our Great Summer Resort, 1899). Fish fries and other amusements were daily events and the official guide listed the attractions as “Steeplechase - Ferris Wheel - Dip in the Surf - Meals at Café” (United Confederate Veterans Reunion Official Guide, 1899).

Gala Week. In October 1887 the Fall Festival known as “Gala Week” was started to celebrate the city’s recovery from the earthquake. It continued for the next twenty-two years every fall and was designed to attract people from across the state (Fraser, 1989, p. 318). Railroad fares were reduced and visitors were given some free entertainment and food as an incentive to attend. While in Charleston they often shopped for winter clothing and supplies and merchants from around the state came to Charleston to do business during this week. A Bureau of Information was established in the Hotel Calhoun, where visitors arriving on late trains would be directed to hotels and boarding houses (Welcome One and All, 1899).

The stores and businesses were decorated with banners and flags and merchants paraded through the streets advertising their products (Waring, 1980, pp. 70-71). There

was also a fireman's parade during the week, the fire trucks and wagons were decorated with flowers and raced up Meeting Street demonstrating their capabilities. Other festival attractions were yacht races in the harbor, horse races at Washington Race Track and a grand fireworks display at the Rutledge Street Pond (now Colonial Lake) (Sparkman, 1966). Sideshows operated along King Street and other amusements were arranged outside the city.

In 1899, the new Thomson Auditorium was put to use for a Grand Vaudeville show. Visitors to Charleston were allowed one free admission to the show (using their railroad tickets as entrance) which included dancers, comedy acts, acrobats, singers, a comedy clay molder, and a moving picture machine.

The Isle of Palms was promoted again, as it had been at the UCV Reunion. The Ferris wheel, carousel and steeplechase were all operational. There were also free fish fries, dancing every afternoon, and band music in the pavilion. Chicora Park was another venue for festival-goers with daily band concerts by a military band and a free oyster roast. Other activities in the 1899 festival included a Chrysanthemum flower show, a child's costume competition, and a nightly musical show at the Academy of Music.

After the festival many shopkeepers agreed that the festival had helped their trade. The festival committee estimated that more than seven thousand people from other parts of the state attended the festival (Pleased With The Festival, 1899).

The South Carolina Inter-State and West Indian Exposition. The Exposition took place in Charleston from December 2, 1901 to May 31, 1902. It was conceived as a project to promote Charleston and its surrounding region to the world and to develop

trade with the West Indies, Central and South America (Bland, 1999, p. 13).

Charlestonians were anxious to boost the economy in any way they could but as historian A. S. Salley, Jr. wrote at the time:

“No place can become a great city that has not a hinterland teeming with people. . . First let the section develop and the city will develop with it. The object of this Exposition is to develop the section” (Salley, *Charleston and the Ivory City*, 1902).

The Exposition site was set on 250 acres of land which included a farm owned by Captain F. W. Wagener and part of the Washington Race Track. The “Ivory City” that housed the Exposition was constructed of wood and painted in an alabaster color. The buildings contained displays of machinery, commerce, transportation, agriculture, mining, forestry and livestock. There was also a “Negro Building” and a Woman’s Department. A midway amusement area was set up to entertain the visitors and gardens of azaleas and other shrubs and flowers decorated the place.

The Exposition faced financial difficulties from the start. Although it received some funding from the State, Congress refused to pass an appropriation bill to help the Exposition. There had been several Expositions in the United States in the previous decade and Charleston’s was the only one that did not receive Federal funding. Also, even though it was supported by Mayor Smyth and City Council, only a few of Charleston’s wealthy and prominent citizens endorsed it (Fraser, 1989, p. 339).

The most vocal advocate and contributor to the Exposition was Capt. F. W. Wagener. He was the chairman of the board of the Exposition Company established to

organize the event. Captain Wagener was a German immigrant and a wholesale grocer in Charleston. His name was often connected with various activities in Charleston designed to attract visitors. For instance, he was the chairman of the finance committee and a major financial contributor to the United Confederate Veterans Reunion. He was also the owner of the Pine Forest Inn in Summerville, which not only was a popular resort for tourists, but also was the hotel of choice for visiting dignitaries to the area. Many people favored it as a place to stay over any of the hotels in Charleston.

The Exposition opened in December 1901 with a big parade in the city. During the period of the Exposition, two battleships were anchored in the harbor, Philadelphia sent the Liberty Bell for display, and President T. Roosevelt and Mark Twain both visited the city. In spite of all these attractions the Exposition ended up losing a lot of money. However, from the point of view of tourism it was a success. It brought more than 500,000 people to Charleston during its six-month run. According to J.C. Hemphill, editor of the *News and Courier*, the Exposition brought more people to Charleston in six months than it had in nearly as many years (Hemphill, 1903, p. 169). Hemphill also reported that it gave the hotels, boarding houses and railroads more business than they had ever had in a similar period in the past. It advertised Charleston and its surrounding area, it added three to five million dollars to the city's economy, and it provided much extra employment during the six months that it ran (Hemphill, 1903). The openings of three new firms in Charleston were attributed to the Exposition, the American Cigar Factory, the Oyster Canning Establishment and the United Fruit Company (Hemphill, 1903).

Although the Exposition was not as successful in the long term as was hoped, Hemphill in his usual optimistic way suggested that it gave Charlestonians more confidence in themselves and showed what can be accomplished when a community unites and works together.

Fleet, Fair and Fashion Week. In November 1912, Charleston combined three events that brought in more than 25,000 visitors to the city from other parts of the state and the region. The United States Atlantic fleet visited Charleston for one week, the first County Fair in Charleston County was held, and Charleston's downtown businesses decorated their store windows and had a small exposition of their own, showcasing Charleston's goods and services.

As in previous large events in the city, various committees were set up. They managed finance, publicity, decorations, harbor transportation, landings, military affairs, field and aquatic sports, and automobiles. The finance committee canvassed the citizenry for funds. The committee on harbor transportation secured about 40 boats to ferry people from three wharf sites to the battleships for sightseeing. The committee on military affairs contacted the different branches of the military, the National Guard, and the Citadel Corps of Cadets to participate in the grand parade. The field and aquatic sports committees arranged all the games and meets during Fleet Week. The committee on automobiles sent postcards to automobile owners to see if they would be willing to lend their cars to transport the visiting dignitaries during the week (*Fleet Plans in Fine Shape*, 1912). Many political leaders and dignitaries were invited to the city to participate in the celebrations. President Taft declined the invitation, but U.S. Senators E.D. Smith and

B.R. Tillman both accepted invitations to the banquets during the week, as did Congressman Stephen Ayres of New York (Fleet Week, 1912) and (Guests During Fleet Week, 1912).

Other preparations for the week particularly involved the railroads. The railroads granted low fares on lines to Charleston from all points in South Carolina as well as North Carolina and Georgia (Hundreds Coming from Georgia, 1912). They posted signs in nearly every station in South Carolina advertising the week (The Fleet and the Fair, 1912). Attractions were also advertised by putting notices in local newspapers over a period of two months, letters sent out by Charleston merchants, and advertising cards distributed at the State Fair in Columbia (Fair Program Announced, 1912). The local newspapers in the State wrote editorials and columns about the week. The Georgetown editor wrote: "Charleston never does things by halves, as is shown by the way it has taken hold of its County Fair" (Free Attractions at the Fair, 1912). As far as accommodating all the visitors during their stay, the usual canvass of the city yielded a number of homeowners willing to rent out rooms for the week. Lists of accommodations were prepared and placed at various information bureaus in the city. These information bureaus were set up in the Charleston Fair Association's main office (located in the Charleston Hotel), at the railroad terminal, and in various stores, mainly on King Street.

The custom of decorating for special events was carried out as usual. The citizens and business people of Charleston were encouraged to show pride in the city and help in showing it in a good light to the visitors. The business district streets were decorated for forty blocks. As an incentive to the merchants, prizes were awarded for the best

decorated stores. The committee on decorations, composed of Charleston businessmen, directed the decorations on Meeting, King, Broad and East Bay Streets at the general fund's expense. Lines of flags and bunting were stretched on wires across the streets and special lighting was installed. The street decorations were done by professional decorators who had decorated other US cities for special occasions. Public buildings were not omitted. City Hall was decorated with American flags and red, white and blue bunting (City Awaits Fleet's Coming, 1912). Other public buildings such as the Gibbes Art Building, the Charleston library, the County Courthouse and the Fireproof Building also received decorations. The three largest hotels spent hundreds of dollars on decorations to look conspicuous among all the other decorated buildings (City Awaits Fleet's Coming, 1912). Citizens were also asked to decorate their homes and hang out as many flags as possible (Charleston to Wear Gay Attire, 1912). The resulting display yielded a number of foreign flags, showing the cosmopolitan nature of Charleston's population (Fleet Expected This Afternoon, 1912).

The U.S. Atlantic Naval fleet consisted of 11 battleships which stayed in Charleston's harbor for the week beginning November 17. While the ships were in harbor civilians were allowed to board them for tours and sightseeing. At the same time the city entertained the officers and men by arranging field sports, football and basketball games, aquatic sports, an Army and Navy parade, barbecues, oyster roasts, smokers, balls and fairground entertainment (Fleet Expected This Afternoon, 1912). All these activities were enhanced by the musical performances of military bands including several from the battleships. The climax of the week for the visitors was the grand parade.

Approximately 7,000 men from different branches of the military marched through the streets accompanied by nine bands. The parade lasted three hours and the whole route was lined with an estimated 30,000 people (Thousands Witness Splendid Pageant, 1912). The men in the parade passed in review before the Lieutenant Governor of South Carolina, Navy admirals and senior Army officers and their staffs on Marion Square, at the corner of King and Calhoun Streets (Thousands Witness Splendid Pageant, 1912). For the officers of the fleet the big event was a very lavish banquet at the Charleston Hotel where prominent local citizens, two US senators, a former Governor of South Carolina and the present Lieutenant Governor sat side by side with the fleet's senior officers. After the dinner there was a series of speeches from the naval officers and local dignitaries with Mayor John P. Grace acting as toastmaster (Great Banquet Climax of Week, 1912).

The first Charleston County Fair was held at Palmetto Park; formerly the track of the Charleston Fair and Racing Association converted into a pleasure park (Charleston Fair To Be Best That State Has Ever Seen, 1912). The site was on a direct street-car line up Meeting Street and about 30 minutes ride from the upper part of the city. The fair included an exhibition of agriculture, commerce, industry, domestic science and home arts in a number of buildings. The agricultural section included a show of field crops, poultry, horses, cattle, pigs, sheep and goats. The industrial and commercial sections were intended to be educational, showing visitors how products were made. Many of the city's retailers were represented. Homemaking was also a major section in the exhibition and local school children displayed their art and craft work in the educational section

(Charleston Fair To Be Best That State Has Ever Seen, 1912).

A large “Amusement Avenue” was laid out with shows and typical fair attractions, including a free circus and a military band. Apart from the athletic events for the sailors in port, the Fair week also included contests for amateur athletes from the local area and horse racing. As the week progressed, the crowds increased. Every train entering the city was filled and extra coaches were expected to be needed before the end of the week (County Fair Is Drawing Crowds, 1912). By Thursday, which was designated as “Governor’s Day,” the entrance fee was reduced and people from all over the State were present. The estimated attendance on this day was 10,000 (‘Big Thursday’ at Fair a Brilliant Success, 1912). The crowds were added to on Thursday (one of the “big” days at the Fair) by a special day excursion from Florence by rail (Visit of Fleet Draws to Close, 1912). For the whole week the attendance at the fair was estimated at more than 16,000.

The Fashion Show, as it was called, was really a set of window displays. The idea was conceived by the Retail Merchants Association. The merchants of King Street dressed their windows with displays of their wares. There were prizes for the most artistic display, the best lighted windows, the most unique window, the best trade’s window and the window that best advertises the Fashion Show (Big Fashion Show to Start Tonight, 1912). At a certain time the draperies across the windows were all removed and receptions were held for visitors inside the stores. It was designed to show visitors that Charleston was a good place to shop and that people did not have to go north to find the latest fashions (The Fashions, 1912). The people who had come to see the

Fair and the Fleet also combined their visit with shopping and the large crowds that viewed the Fashion Show made the merchants feel that it was all worthwhile.

Charleston hoped that the Fleet's visit to the harbor would show the world that the depth of the water and the size of the harbor were good enough to make the city one of the major ports for traffic using the Panama Canal, which was about to be opened (County Fair Is Drawing Crowds, 1912). The business people felt that the County Fair and the Fleet in the harbor were the means of attracting the largest crowds to have visited Charleston since the Exposition. Hotels and boarding houses had been filled to capacity. Estimates from the railroads were that the week's events brought 25-30,000 visitors to Charleston (not including the men of the fleet) (Fleet Week Huge Success, 1912). Not only did the merchants feel that it was an immediate financial success, but also that it gave Charleston an advertisement in the whole region. Comments from the men of the fleet, both officers and sailors, suggested that Charleston's hospitality "far exceeded the expectations of all on the ships" and would make them eager to revisit the place (Fleet Week Huge Success, 1912, p. 5).

Promoters and Boosters

Guidebooks and brochures during the first decade of the twentieth century tended to focus on the attractions of the Charleston region rather than the city itself. The Chamber of Commerce brochure, issued in 1904, examined climate and temperature, early vegetables and the health of Charleston as background description. Brief profiles of Charleston's hotels, with pictures, were included but the attractions described were the Navy Yard, the Country Club, the Cemeteries, Magnolia Gardens, Summerville, the

Pinehurst Tea Garden, the Isle of Palms and Sullivan's Island. Hampton Park and St. Michael's Church were the only attractions within city limits that were included. The brochure also promoted yachting, hunting and fishing as winter activities in the area (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1904).

In 1904, the St. John Hotel (the Mills House) issued a guidebook written by the historian, A.S. Salley which described the city's attractions. However, rather than discussing the architecture of the single house, the piazzas, the gardens and the ironwork, it focused on a walking tour highlighting the city's notable public and larger buildings. Exceptions were residences such as the Brewton Mansion (today the Miles Brewton House) and the home of Judge Heyward (today the Heyward-Washington House) (Salley, c1903).

To accompany special events held in the city at the turn of the century (the United Confederate Veterans Reunion, the National Education Association Conference, and the South Carolina Interstate and West Indian Exposition), guidebooks were produced describing features that would be of particular interest to the participants. Some suggested viewing residential streets but it was not until after 1910 that promotion and description of Charleston houses began to appear. H.K. Leiding in 1911 described "A Walk Around Ye Olde Historic Charleston" which included a history of the settlement and a description of the streets. Some of the old residences and their ironwork were mentioned among the descriptions of the public buildings, but were still only incidental to the narrative (Leiding, 1911).

The Chamber of Commerce, during the early part of the century, was more

interested in advertising Charleston to attract more business into the City. In their 1912 Annual Report they described their publicity as a number of small folders. “Charleston the Plumb Line Port” was an item designed to promote commercial ties with the Panama Canal and told the story of the \$1.5m spent along the waterfront to improve facilities. The Chamber also circulated an industrial edition of the *News and Courier* giving facts and figures about commerce in Charleston. A number of articles were written for industrial magazines but 40,000 copies of a Tourist and Convention Folder were distributed (20,000 being acquired by the railroads). In spite of the tourist literature, attention was still on “showing our industrial conditions and advantages . . . [and] . . . agricultural opportunities” (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1912-13).

The Chamber did realize that tourism was a valuable asset to the city, it was just not a priority. Elsewhere in the same report, the Chamber joined the chorus of calls for a new tourist hotel:

“Few cities in the US offer greater opportunities for tourist travel than Charleston. . . . With a good climate, fine fishing and boating, splendid drives, the best hunting in the South, and wonderful tropical foliage and growth, Charleston lacks simply a tourist hotel to make her the Los Angeles of the South. . . . We need the capital and we welcome the development the tourist is certain to bring” (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1912-13).

Work on tourism in the Chamber was carried out by the Tourist and Convention Department which took more interest in securing conventions for the city. In 1917 the Tourist and Convention Department Committee was given a \$1,500 budget for its work.

Of this, \$250 was used to employ someone to persuade motion picture companies to come to Charleston on location. Another \$750 was given to the Freight Rate Steering Committee, which had exhausted its budget, to employ someone to secure the Southern Transportation Company (shipbuilding) for Charleston. The justification for not using the budget for tourism promotion was that although many conventions were invited to the city, the War took priority and also the Isle of Palms Hotel had been destroyed by fire. However, the motion picture industry did show interest in Charleston and several movies were shot in the city. In 1918, no efforts were made to secure conventions because the city hotels were full of military personnel but the motion picture work continued. In 1919, tourism was not mentioned and conventions were moved into the Department of Publicity and Conventions. In 1920, tourism was almost a footnote, the Department listed as its last item of work for the year, "Maintained information bureaus at the Chamber of Commerce for the benefit of tourists and others seeking specific information regarding community" (Charleston Chamber of Commerce, 1917-20).

The *News and Courier* editor, J. C. Hemphill, could always be counted on to boost Charleston's image both to its residents and wherever the newspaper was circulated outside the city. He took every opportunity to promote the city for its beauty, its history and its character. He also used much of the newspaper's space to publish letters from people who made favorable comments about Charleston, the "Old City by the Sea." For instance, in May, 1900 the *News and Courier* reprinted an article from Harper's Magazine dated 1895 in which the author, Julian Ralph, described Charleston:

"First it is very beautiful, next it is dignified and proud, third, it is the cleanest city

(or was when I was there) that I have yet seen in America, and last of all it is a creation by itself.” He went on to say: “Charleston is old and finished and complete – a small, inviting, pretty - a dignified, almost splendid little city” (Ralph, 1900).

A representative of the *Chicago National Hotel Reporter* wrote: “Reminiscent of war times, sunny old Charleston, SC is a perfect Mecca for Northern and Western tourists” (A Mecca for Tourists, 1900). Other glowing comments were often made about Charleston’s hospitality and friendliness and its appeal to artists and historians.

The other side of the coin appeared in an article in the *Charleston Evening Post* when a correspondent from Savannah commented on the genteel poverty of Charleston:

“One of my first questions on arriving in the city was ‘Is there an especially high tariff on paint in South Carolina?’ It really did seem that there must be some good and sufficient reason why the majority of houses appeared so guiltless of fresh, clean paint which to the average American is the first sign of municipal prosperity” (Impressions of Charleston, 1899, p. 2).

Some of the letters had suggestions to make. Colonel Richard Lathers, a former prominent citizen of Charleston who had owned a mansion on the Battery, was given nearly three columns to expound his views on Charleston’s need for a new hotel on the Battery (Lathers, 1899). William O. Lloyd revealed a potential crisis when he wrote: “let the old ram-shackled piles of brick, mortar and wood, sink into oblivion, while out from the ashes, decay and mold, Phoenix-like, will arise modern homes and houses that we may point to with pride and admiration” (A New Charleston, 1899). It was fortunate for Charleston that not everybody agreed with him. Mayor Rhett, in a speech to City

Council in 1907, outlined the general plans for city development and heralded the preservation movement which started in the 1920s:

“This city has probably more to preserve, which, when once destroyed, can never be restored, than any city of the Union. It is in my judgment of more than usual importance that the best architectural and engineering talent which can be secured anywhere should plan out for us the lines along which we shall develop” (General Plans for City Development, 1907).

CHAPTER 6 1919-1938 BUILDING TOURISM INFRASTRUCTURE

Introduction

During World War I, most Charlestonians were pleased to see an increase in jobs at the Navy Yard and North Charleston began to grow as the city expanded its boundaries (Rosen, 1982, p. 130). In 1919, John Patrick Grace was returned as mayor in the city elections. He had been mayor from 1911-1915 and during that time had initiated a number of improvements in the city such as paving the streets, passing new health laws and installing playgrounds for the first time (Rosen, 1982, p. 130). After his second victory, he promptly resumed his policies of improving city services. He had run his campaign primarily on taking control of the docks. The waterfront area was severely neglected and was controlled by the railroads through the Terminal Company (Rosen, 1982, p. 130). They had not been keeping the area in good repair. During the Grace Administration, the city bought the waterfront for \$1.5 million and the Ports Utility Commission was created to manage the port.

The year 1919 was a time of assessment and planning for the future as Charleston emerged from World War I. The editor of the *News and Courier* discussed an article in the *Manufacturers Record* comparing South Carolina with California and Florida (A Time to Go Forward, 1919). The magazine had cited one of its correspondents as writing, "I think I've sensed the great success of California. It's good roads and advertising." The *Manufacturer's Record* was reported as saying that, "if the South would take hold of things boldly and aggressively as the people of California do, "if counties and cities would enthusiastically advertise their resources as do those of

California, we would soon see a wonderful development in this whole section.” Florida (A Time to Go Forward, 1919)

The editor of the *News and Courier* echoed these sentiments by saying, “there is not a doubt of it. The only reason the coast of South Carolina is not a rival of California is that our own people have lacked the faith and the vision and the energy which have combined to make California the playground of America” (A Time to Go Forward, 1919). He tempered his comments by saying, “our backwardness is not wholly without excuse” citing the Civil War and subsequent economic problems as reasons. “We got a bad start in more ways than one. The civilization we spent decades in building up collapsed. Our institutions were wrecked. Our people were left bankrupt. We had many and grave handicaps to contend against in laying the foundations of a new civilization.” “But,” he continued, “in spite of them we ought to have done more than we have done; and certainly the way is open now to taking fresh hold and by availing ourselves of the opportunities which are still waiting for us to make the South blossom even as California has been made to blossom by virtue of the courage and foresight of its people.” The editor agreed with the correspondent that good roads were the most important improvement needed and that advertising came second. He also cited comments by Mr. Clement S. Ucker [chief clerk of the Department of the Interior] that the South’s prosperity depended on the people adopting a “new psychology” with respect to their section of the country as well as a new psychology of the rest of the country toward the South. In other words, a psychology not based on “misunderstanding and ignorance and mistrust” but one based on knowledge (A Time to Go Forward, 1919).

The editorial blamed Charleston for not attracting tourists to the city. “It is our own fault that so few of the visitors who come South every winter include Charleston in their itinerary. They do not come because they cannot. If they were sure of hotel accommodations such as they find elsewhere and if we had highways they could travel with ease and comfort. It is not the climate of Florida that has made her rival California, it is her climate plus hotels and roads” (A Time to Go Forward, 1919).

During the first decade of the twentieth century motoring had been confined to the Northeast of the country and was essentially in the domain of the wealthy. Consequently, the idea of paved roads had not been regarded as a necessity except by bicyclists and early automobile enthusiasts (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 138). As the automobile became more affordable, the demand for roads in the Northeast initiated a road building program producing a network of paved and improved roads in that region. After World War I automobile ownership had grown to include business travelers, farmers, doctors, and others. With this expansion of automobile usage came an increasing demand for better roads and the Good Roads Movement started. Supporters of the movement argued that it would improve the quality of life in rural areas. Revenues in agriculture, industry and business would increase as delivery of goods and services was made easier. The postal delivery system would become more efficient and children would have more access to education. In Charleston, a speech by William Burguson to the Travelers’ Protective Association cited access to more jobs for the poor and increased value of property (and hence more revenue from taxes) as additional reasons for promoting good roads (Says Good Roads are Live Assets, 1922).

As the Good Roads Movement gained momentum, organizations were created at local, state and national levels to lobby for road construction. Some promoted particular roads which were given names. Shaffer states that by the 1920s, there were at least 250 named trails or roads and about 100 “trail organizations” (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 140). Chambers of Commerce and local governments promoted the cause (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 138). Local newspaper articles raised awareness with editorial articles. In 1919, the *News and Courier* stated that “The demand for better highways has never been so insistent or so general in South Carolina as it is at this time” and expressed disappointment that the State Legislature had failed to pass any of the measures that would have begun the process of establishing a system of state roads. The editor went on to say that the people of South Carolina were becoming more and more aware of transportation revolution that was taking place and quoted the Lancaster News as saying that the road question was “the biggest question before the people of South Carolina at this time” (People Want Roads, 1919).

The Good Roads Movement was not particularly unified. Farmers, doctors, salesmen, *etc.* wanted a system of roads that would help them transport their products and services. Their interest was therefore in producing local road networks. The wealthy elite wanted to have a system of roads to support motoring as a leisure and touring activity. Their desire was for roads that traversed long distances. Also, there was a continuing debate as to which level of government should supply roads (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 139). In 1912, a new national organization was formed calling itself the National Highways Association (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 154). The organization intended

to unify the Good Roads Movement. The founders, especially Charles Henry Davis (a civil engineer from Massachusetts and a Progressive party member) wanted the movement to support a national, federally-funded highway system. It conceived a four-tier system of roads: national highways, state highways, county roads and township or town roads (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 156). It also incorporated the interests of tourists as an added impetus to the argument. In 1913, Davis gave a speech to the North Carolina Good Roads Association in which he promoted the idea of “See America First” a move to attract tourists, who were more likely to visit Europe, to tour around the United States instead and one that would promote American nationalism and unification (Shaffer M. S., 2001, p. 157 and 159). World War I accomplished this goal to a great extent because Europe was closed to tourists.

In South Carolina in 1919, the movement was beginning to grow at a local level. Municipalities and county governments were clamoring for bond issues to build roads. Union had issued bonds to raise \$1,175,000 to build roads. Anderson was asking for an issue of \$1,450,000. Dillon had contributed a share of \$40,000 to a federally-funded road across the county, and Horry County had started constructing a road between Conway and Gallivant’s Ferry at a cost of \$2,000,000. Governor Cooper also proposed an annual budget of \$12 million for road construction (Road Building in South Carolina, 1919).

Mayor Grace, in his December 1919 inaugural address, outlined his policies for Charleston. Most important of these policies to the development of tourism was his plans for the development and improvement of roads and construction of bridges. “It shall be our policy under whatever conditions, to remove as fast as possible the remaining eye-

sores called “streets” which make us a laughing stock of visitors and give them the impression of Charleston as a city belonging to a dead past (Has Seven Plans for Waterfront, 1919). The streets were in need of paving, especially in the light of the number of automobiles traveling along them. In addition, plans were being made to build a road around the southernmost tip of the peninsula to the south of Whitepoint Gardens, on the Battery, to provide a connection between the downtown area and the Boulevard (later Murray Boulevard). In 1919, several letters appeared in the newspaper protesting this plan. First, one visitor had commented that he was surprised that there was not a hotel on the Battery but he did not think that there should be one (A Beauty Spot Not Surpassed, 1919). Another view expressed by a Mr. Waring was that the street extension would increase the enjoyment of the place but he was disturbed by the presence of automobiles (Mr. Waring's Views, 1919). Mr. Williams echoed this opinion and added that the salty sea breezes would be replaced by gasoline fumes and dust and the roadway would be dangerous to children playing in the park. He proposed that King Street only should provide access to the Boulevard (Mr. Williams Appeals to the Women of Charleston to Prevent Changing of Battery, 1919). Mrs. Ravenel, lamenting the fact that other seaports were devoting their waterfronts to business activities, commended Charleston for preserving part of hers (Mrs. Ravenel Pleads for the Battery, 1919). However, she pointed out that a “speed way” would ruin one of the most beautiful views in the South by “disturbing it with a constant succession of darting little monsters.” Even a simple thing like a concert on the Battery would be spoiled by the noise of passing cars.

In April 1919, the Chamber of Commerce celebrated its 145th anniversary. The

Mayor, Tristram T. Hyde, while exhorting Charleston to make sure it did not get left behind as a seaport made a comment intended to refer to Charleston as a port but was just as applicable to building the city up as a tourist center. He urged the people to forget their prejudices and work together to make Charleston the “most beautiful and the grandest city on the South Atlantic coast, one that will rank with the rest of the country” (Has Seven Plans for Waterfront, 1919). During the same speech he announced that the city was in need of better hotel facilities and that a hotel would be built on the northwest corner of King and Calhoun Streets. He also announced that preparations were underway to invite the President to the celebrations of the 250th anniversary of Charleston’s settlement (Great Hotel is Announced by the Mayor, 1919).

In 1919, a guidebook for Charleston had been produced that gave new information about the city and the area known as the “Neck” (land to the north of the downtown area) into which, the city was expanding its boundaries. The new guidebook was written by General C. Irvine Walker. It contained a revised map of Charleston, ward boundaries and the more important houses and buildings of interest to the visitor. It described individual streets with a list of the points of interest contained in them. In its preface it gave a list of tours for automobile and on foot. It also gave a 12-page historical account of Charleston with a booster section which suggested reasons why the community was going to progress (Charleston Guide Book, 1920). General Walker felt that this would be a turning point for Charleston. The guidebook would find an easy market because there was a demand for it and would be useful to visitors who only had a few hours in the city (Charleston Guide Book, 1920).

At the national level, the United States Railroad Administration issued their first winter resort folder in 1919 and sent it to railroad ticket offices throughout the country (South's Winter Resorts, 1919). It did not try to promote any particular railroad line but included all lines to the South. It gave information about wintering places, lists of hotels and boarding houses and 120 golf courses. The Railroad Administration had also announced improved passenger train service from the North and Midwest to Florida and, as an incentive to travel, it issued winter tourist tickets which were placed in all the main ticket offices in areas outside of the South as well as in the South itself (South's Winter Resorts, 1919).

By December 1919, travel to Europe had not yet been restored after the War and the flow of tourists to Florida had increased (Tourist Season Sure to be Heavy, 1919). Evidence of this increase had been observed in Charleston because of the greater number of yachts and houseboats that had put into Charleston harbor *en route* to Florida and Cuba. Passenger steamships had also been full to capacity for several weeks at the start of the winter season. The economic health of the country had been improved by the war. People, having more disposable income, were using it to spend the winter in Florida (Tourist Season Sure to be Heavy, 1919).

Hotels

In 1919, there were 14 hotels listed in the street directory. Unlike in 1899, when all the listed hotels were in the Tourist Business District, in 1919 only eight (and one residential hotel) were in the TBD. Also hotels had spread outside of the King Street/Meeting Street concentration. The *Charleston Evening Post* reviewed the stock of

hotels in 1924 and cited 7 as “excellent accommodations can be secured by visitors” (Charleston is Hotel Center of Importance, 1924). The capacity of these seven hotels totaled over 1000 rooms, almost half of which were in the two new hotels - the Francis Marion and the Fort Sumter Hotels. The New Charleston Hotel was described in the same article as having “long been noted for its bedrooms, ranging from single rooms to suites of almost any size and equipped with comfortable furniture and tasteful appointments.” What distinguished it from the other hotels was that it ran its own dairy, owned Guernsey and Jersey cows and was supplied with eggs from a local chicken farm (Charleston is Hotel Center of Importance, 1924).

Another type of accommodation had also made an appearance in Charleston. The Villa Margherita was Charleston’s first bed-and-breakfast type of accommodation. Located on the Battery (outside of the TBD) at the tip of the peninsula, it was built by Andrew Simonds and named in honor of a lady from New Orleans. In 1909, it became an inn and was run for an elite and wealthy clientele, including Henry Ford, Alexander Graham Bell, and President Franklin Roosevelt (Farrow, 2005). The authors, Sinclair Lewis and Gertrude Stein also stayed there and the former included the Villa in his novel *Main Street*. The Villa Margherita contained an indoor swimming pool and during the tourist season rented rooms in the neighborhood. The *Evening Post* described the establishment as having a “homelike atmosphere” but Farrow points out that a bowl of turtle soup cost \$25 in the establishment (Farrow, 2005).

Other hotels, like the Argyle Hotel and Timrod Inn, both on Meeting Street catered more for business clientele. The *Charleston Evening Post* described the Argyle

as having “telephone and elevator service, running cold and hot water, and snappy service are provided guests.” The Timrod Inn was described as “a hostelry that has proved popular with commercial men and others who desire to stay at length in the city on business missions.” The presence of an elevator seemed to be the selling point from most of these establishments (Charleston is Hotel Center of Importance, 1924).

The Francis Marion Hotel. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, periodic articles had appeared suggesting the need for a new hotel in Charleston. At the 145th Anniversary celebration for the Chamber of Commerce in April, 1919, Mayor Hyde spoke about the hotels in Charleston being inadequate if the city was to progress. He announced a proposal for a new hotel which, at that time, had been under consideration for over a year (Great Hotel is Announced by the Mayor, 1919).

With the development of new roads and improvement of existing ones in the region, and the new bridges that would be constructed over the Pee Dee, Santee and Savannah rivers, Charleston was expected to grow quickly. The city would not only be made more accessible to South Carolina residents who had hitherto been cut off because of the barriers of rivers and undeveloped highways, but also the city would be opened up to tourists (The New Hotel, 1920). The new coastal route (today US Highway 17) would soon be opened and it was generally agreed that a new hotel would bring in its own business without hurting other hotel businesses in the city (Proposed Hotel Excites Interest, 1920).

The development/construction of the Francis Marion Hotel was regarded as a community affair and promoted as such by the *News and Courier* and the Chamber of

Commerce: “The Hotel Francis Marion at once offers an opportunity for a display of public spirit and for making a good investment, for it is agreed by hotel men that the enterprise will be highly successful” (Building the New Hotel, 1920).

Mayor Hyde estimated that the tract of land on which the hotel would be built, would cost \$100,000 and the hotel itself would cost \$750,000. The hotel was to be 12 stories in height and contain 375 rooms (312 would be bedrooms). To help in this project, Mayor Hyde had already asked a group of Charleston businessmen to procure the site, and the northwest corner of King and Calhoun Streets had been selected. The group formed The Marion Square Realty Company and later sold the land at cost plus interest in early 1922 (Great Hotel is Announced by the Mayor, 1919) and (Francis Marion Takes High Rank in Hotel Circles, 1924). By the time the tract of land had been acquired and cleared, about 9 months later, the number of rooms planned for the hotel had decreased to 275 (Proposed Hotel Excites Interest, 1920).

During the planning and early investment phase, the promoters had decided to increase the size of the hotel from 275 rooms to 300 rooms. This required an additional investment of \$100,000. To achieve the extra funding needed, the Charleston Rotary Club volunteered its members to help secure the subscriptions. Rotarians were organized into teams and received instructions from the president of the organization as to how to pursue the fund-raising campaign (Rotarians To Aid The Hotel Project, 1920).

Originally, Mayor Hyde had estimated that 25% of the financing would need to be locally based (The Hotel Project, 1920). In the early stages, a small group of local businessmen contributed about \$300,000 (The Francis Marion, 1920). Eventually

approximately \$500,000 was contributed by local citizens, which represented about 50% of the structure's cost (Contract is Signed for New Hotel, 1922).

Obtaining financing was one of the principal reasons for considerable delays in starting the construction and for the project to continue. Two years after the announcement by the Mayor, construction had not yet started. The delay was blamed on the changes in the money market but assurances were made that loans could be taken out by the hotel company (Proposed Hotel Getting Nearer, 1921). A year later the foundations were complete and the *News and Courier* pronounced that the building would be completed within nine months of the contract being signed (The Hotel Contract, 1922). Further delays were caused by strikes which hindered the delivery of building materials and later the developers ran out of funds (Francis Marion is Getting Along, 1923). Some people had defaulted on their investment subscriptions due to "bank failures" in the previous year (1922), and although law suits were brought against them, these would take too long for the money to be recouped to continue construction (Must Raise \$130,000 At Once For Our New Hotel, 1923) and (Hotel Fund Now Near to Reality, 1923). It was also suggested that if the contract was allowed to lapse then a new one would cost far more than was currently being charged for the work. At this time the Chamber of Commerce stepped in and started a campaign to raise the \$133,000 needed to complete the building. It was fortuitous that savings were made on delays.

The *News and Courier* made its contribution by appealing to the citizenry. "The grand total of the Chamber of Commerce workers has reached \$113,200 and it was the belief of those present at the meeting last night that a little more civic response will easily

put the drive over” (Final Rally For New Hotel Today, 1923). Through its editorials, *The News and Courier* had championed the cause of the Francis Marion Hotel in all the five years it took for the project to reach completion. For instance, the newspaper encouraged investment: “Surely there are scores of Charlestonians able and willing to put from \$500 to \$1000 in an enterprise” (The Francis Marion, 1920).

Every week during the active construction phase the newspaper reported on the progress of the building work, describing the towers used to hoist the beams, the various materials being used in the construction and liberally making positive comments on the appearance of the building, complimenting the architect, the lessees, and later, the management of the hotel. It kept the hotel in the forefront of people’s minds while making appeals for more investment and the benefits to Charleston that the hotel would bring.

The community involvement in the hotel project was continued by inviting the public to name the hotel. All residents of Charleston were asked to enter a competition with a prize of \$50 for the entrant who produced the name accepted by stockholders at one of their meetings (Proposed Hotel Excites Interest, 1920). The competition yielded 240 different names from 342 residents, the name “Francis Marion” being selected by seven people (Francis Marion for Hotel Name, 1920). When the building was completed, the public was also invited to take tours of the structure (Visitors Will Be Welcomed, 1924) and (March 17 Is Opening Date, 1924). The hotel’s formal opening was spread over two days. On the first day, guests from the Foor-Robinson group (the group that leased the hotel) were brought on a special train from Greensboro, NC to attend the

stockholders' banquet. The banquet was followed by dancing and members of the public were given tours of the premises. On the second night, local dignitaries, public officials, members of the Chamber of Commerce and hotel managers from the local region were the guests of the management for a banquet with speeches.

When the Francis Marion Hotel was built, it was the tallest building in Eastern South Carolina. It was intended to serve both the business traveler and the tourist and was considered to be one of the most modern hotels of the time. It was initially leased for 25 years by the Foor-Robinson hotel system, a company that managed 8 other hotels at the time and had two more under construction. Most of their hotels were located in the southeast from Greensboro, NC to Jacksonville, FL (Hotel Building To Start Soon, 1922). The company also provided the furniture for the building. The Foor-Robinson company never reached the end of their lease because the company went bankrupt in 1930 (Foor Genealogy, 2005). The Francis Marion fell into disrepair in the 1980s and was closed for eight years. In 1996 it was renovated with at a cost of \$12 million and won a National Trust for Historic Preservation award for its restoration. (Francis Marion Hotel History, 2012).

Fort Sumter Hotel. The development of the Fort Sumter Hotel had very different circumstances to that of the Francis Marion Hotel. There had been many discussions through the first twenty years of the century that the Battery was an ideal site for a hotel. For instance, in 1901, Mr. Andrew Simonds had proposed using his land on East Battery to construct a hotel (How to Get a New Hotel, 1901). It had got to the point of a bond issue and urging the public to invest (It is a Good Investment, 1901). However,

it had never been built.

The land parcel proposed for the Fort Sumter Hotel was already owned by the city. The lot had once included a bathing house which had been removed during the reclamation of Murray Boulevard. The tract was now being used as a landing place and was considered an eyesore. The city was determined to remedy this with the construction of the hotel (Tourist Hotel is Progressing, 1923).

Financing came from different sources from outside of the city marking a move toward outside investment and entry into Butler's "development stage" (Butler R. W., 1980). Financing of the Fort Sumter Hotel was arranged through a firm of brokers - G. L. Miller and Company of New York and Atlanta (How The Tourist Hotel on the Battery Will Look, 1923). The Francis Marion had been much more of a community affair with citizens being urged to invest in the hotel. The Fort Sumter went through the whole process in less time than the Francis Marion. The Francis Marion had first been proposed in 1919 and was completed five years later. The Fort Sumter took only 18 months from resolution to opening.

The council passed a resolution on October 10, 1922. The tract was conveyed to E. J. Murphy, a prominent Charleston citizen, and described as a "large holder of Charleston real estate" who was to build and own the Fort Sumter Hotel. Plans were drawn up by the architecture firm of G. Lloyd Preacher and Co of Atlanta (Hotel Proposed for the Battery, 1922).

The aim of the hotel owners was to attract visitors over a wide territory, especially those who usually went to Florida for their vacation without stopping in Charleston along

the way (Tourist Hotel is Progressing, 1923). Building was begun in March 1922 and handed over to the owners in February, 1924 (Fort Sumter Hotel on Battery Site to Open Shortly, 1924). It cost \$650,000 and \$1 million with the furnishings. The hotel had 175 rooms and could accommodate 350 persons. Each room was equipped with a bathroom. The dining room could hold 275 people with additional space when the folding doors to private dining areas were opened (Fort Sumter Hotel Opening, 1924). The furniture was assembled in New York. Racial differences were emphasized by *The News and Courier* when it informed its readers that the hotel staff was all white except for the waiters (Will Be Open All the Year, 1924).

The first manager of the hotel was A. Stanley Stanford. He had managed a number of hotels in the East. He had an idea to extend the structure of 175 rooms and construct a new wing which would add 200 rooms to the hotel. "It is believed that when the Fort Sumter Hotel is established a very extensive tourist business will be developed" (Tourist Hotel Manager Is Chosen, 1923).

As happened at the Francis Marion opening, the public was invited to inspect the hotel before the formal opening. The opening itself consisted of a luncheon, a stockholders banquet and a ball (Fort Sumter Hotel Opening, 1924). The first visitors were expected at the beginning of April when 105 of the rooms would be ready (First Guests at the Fort Sumter, 1924). *The News and Courier* estimated that 1000-1200 people would visit Charleston for 4-5 days during the first weekend of April to visit Magnolia Gardens and would be able to stay at the hotel. However, the dining room would not be ready until Easter Monday (Tourist Hotel Takes Guests, 1924). On April 7,

1924, the hotel was full and 300 visitors inspected the hotel (Fort Sumter Full For The Weekend, 1924). The opening celebrations were postponed until the beginning of May because the hotel did not want to have them during Lent (Fort Sumter Hotel Opening, 1924). The formal opening took place on May 6, 1924. Two big conventions were held there in May - the life insurance men and the railroad freight agents.

By 1925, the management of the hotel had changed and the hotel became linked to the Pine Forest Inn in Summerville, both hotels being managed by the same person (The Fort Sumter Hotel, 1924). The Fort Sumter Hotel was converted to condominiums in 1980 (William Means Real Estate, 2012).

The Tourist Bureau

Previous to 1923, the Chamber had taken an interest in tourism development but had not given it priority. Recognition of the value of conventions and the tourist dollar to the economy of Charleston, together with failing agricultural crops, sparked an interest in developing tourism as a major economic activity in the city. The Chamber of Commerce had a Tourist and Convention Committee. This committee had produced a tourist booklet/folder in 1923 (Tourist Booklet May Be Issued, 1925). By March, 1925, 30,000 of these folders had been distributed through American Express offices in both the United States and Europe, through the offices of the railroads, tourist agencies and newspaper bureaus as well as several hundred clubs affiliated with the American Automobile Association and plans to print another 20,000 were already in progress (Many Inquiries About This City, 1925). The chairman of the tourist and convention committee, L. Jack Oliver estimated that an average of \$20 per day per tourist was a conservative estimate.

Tourism and conventions could bring in a large amount of revenue for the city. Initial discussions began in July 1923 to formalize the development of tourism with a Tourist and Convention Bureau (Will Talk Over Tourist Plans, 1923).

By May 1924, these plans had developed into a proposal for submission to city council. At a general meeting of members of the Chamber of Commerce, resolutions were adopted for organizing the tourist and convention bureau. These resolutions recognized Charleston as being of “great historic interest,” having an ideal climate, possessing facilities for sport and entertainment and an “excellent place for the tourist” (Tourist Bureau Is Recommended, 1924). Mention of the new hotels was included as another attraction for tourists and the desirability of attracting conventions. It was resolved that the development of a tourist and convention business in Charleston would “bring large sums of money to the city, will stimulate trade and commerce and favorably advertise the city to the outside world, will have a tendency to improve business and increase real estate values, and to help in upbuilding the outlying territory surrounding Charleston” (Tourist Bureau Is Recommended, 1924).

The resolutions included supporting a plan for organizing the bureau along the lines set out by the Chamber of Commerce Tourist and Convention Committee which had been endorsed by the board of directors. The Chamber recommended that the mayor and members of city council give their support and provide funds for the work involved in developing the bureau. It urged the general public to support the bureau with both cooperation and “liberal subscriptions” (Tourist Bureau Is Recommended, 1924).

Mr. L. Jack Oliver, the chairman of the Tourist and Convention Committee

estimated that \$20 per day per tourist was a conservative estimate. He added that annual expenses of a bureau would be approximately \$13,000 per year including publicity. He suggested that a secretary and stenographer would be needed to run the operations of the bureau (Tourist Bureau Is Recommended, 1924).

In July of 1924, a dinner was held at the Francis Marion Hotel for the directors of the Chamber of Commerce and businessmen and professionals in the city. The idea of the tourist and convention bureau was now formally adopted and an active campaign was launched. The plan of the campaign was to raise \$15,000 to cover costs of printing and distributing tourist literature. Responsibility for the publicity, the art work and overhead was to be given to the Bureau of Foreign Trade and Port Development and it would operate under the supervision of both the City of Charleston and the Chamber of Commerce. Team captains were appointed at this time to approach likely donors (Tourist Bureau Plan Launched, 1924). By the next day 18% of the total needed had been pledged, and two days later, they had nearly one-third of the needed funds. The Bureau of Foreign Trade and Port Development began work immediately. Work on a new tourist booklet was started and was expected to be published by the fall of 1924 (Tourist Bureau Funds Swelling, 1924). Fund-raising for the bureau had to be halted while they raised funds for the Thirtieth Division reunion (\$5,755 Reported On Tourist Fund, 1924). By August the city had decided to reorganize the Chamber of Commerce because of the joint responsibilities with the Bureau of Foreign Trade and Port Development with regard to the tourist and convention bureau.

The new organization called for a department approach with responsible

secretaries in charge of different activities. The program of work was to immediately try to encourage tourists to Charleston. There was a general state of urgency because the Chamber felt that articles about Charleston should be in national magazines before the fall to acquire more tourists by spring (To Reorganize Local Chamber, 1924). The organization proposed to have a two-pronged approach to its work. The first was to concentrate on special problems, short-term problems that needed priority treatment. These included advertising in magazines, having literature distributed at conferences, publishing articles about Charleston. The popular opinion was that a large number of tourists would relieve the economic depression in Charleston. An increase in tourism would also be achieved by organizing the automobile trades, providing a road information bureau and marking the roads as far away as Cincinnati and Washington, DC. The Chamber also stressed the need for advertising new rail rates and the services of new lines being opened up that year (Tourists Urged To Come This Way, 1924).

In September 1924, one month after the new convention and tourist bureau opened, it entertained a group of the Odd Fellows, a fraternal benefit society, from Wilmington, DE. The group was given an impressive reception including an automobile tour of the city, a ride to Folly Beach and a luncheon at the Francis Marion Hotel. The *News and Courier* stated that this kind of reception was in keeping with the bureau's policy of promoting Charleston's beauty and opportunities (Tourists Urged To Come This Way, 1924). In the same article the newspaper reported that magazines, both regional and national, were publishing pictures of Charleston as well as articles written about the city. Tourists were receiving information both at the bureau and through the

mail before their trip. Their value was also being recognized by the Chamber as a tool for courting potential residents of the area.

The second approach the chamber took was to deal with long-term problems which, from the tourism point of view, included promoting future events (e.g., Defense Day and Navy Day) and preparing a new tourist folder. The long-term tasks also included promoting Charleston as a port. To this end, Mr. H. F. Church, an assistant commissioner of foreign trade and port development, gave an address to the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Association. His address included a description of Charleston as both a port and a tourist center. Not only did he discuss, with commission houses, the advantages of shipping goods through Charleston, but also made arrangements for free distribution of folders and booklets produced by the tourist bureau. Other organizations enthusiastically agreed to distribute literature as well as steamship companies and travel agents. Some of the agencies even expressed surprise that Charleston had delayed so long to conduct a publicity campaign to attract tourists (*Efforts of City Are Pointed Out*, 1924). Mr. Church reported that one New York tourist authority said that Charleston had enormous drawing power and estimated that Charleston could profit if it spent \$50,000 annually in advertising (*Efforts of City Are Pointed Out*, 1924).

Advertising

Community advertising was becoming an important factor in promoting tourism in the 1920's. J. C. Royle, writing for the *Evening Post*, said that community advertising was heavier at that time than ever before and more widely distributed (Royle, 1924). R.S. MacElwee, the Commissioner of Port Development in Charleston, pointed out that

“to be heard at all [above the boosters of other cities] requires unusual effort: not to be heard at all means oblivion” (MacElwee, 1925). Both cities and whole regions were entering into advertising their attractions and attributes as much as possible not only to attract the casual visitor, but also to profit from the presence of conventions choosing their area for their meetings and to encourage economic development. Royle quoted a number of cities, states and associations who had raised significant funds for advertising. For instance, the state of Maine had spent \$30,000 on newspaper advertising in 1924. In California, the All Year Club of Southern California spent \$200,000 in 1923 and \$350,000 in 1924. The state of Florida at that time was spending \$200,000 per year on advertising its attractions (Royle, 1924).

Advertising was not just confined to tourism. The state of Georgia was to spend \$50,000 on describing the industrial potential of its area. Advertising also took the form of slogans. The Oregon Hotel Men’s Association was promoting the Northwest with the slogan “the Pacific Northwest - the summer playground of America.” Businesses were adopting the phrase for their stationery and advertising material. In November 1924, the Lions Club of Charleston published the first folder containing the slogan, “America’s Most Historic City” (Tourist Business History Traced, 1939). This phrase was adopted and used for most of Charleston’s publicity for many years.

In 1925, a Southern Exposition was held in New York. Exhibits were placed by thirteen southern states and South Carolina received 7,000 square feet of space for its exhibit which included the cities of Greenville, Chester, Rock Hill, Sumter, Florence and Charleston (South Will Show Its Resources, 1925). The city of Charleston felt this was a

good way of publicizing Charleston because several hundred thousand people were expected to visit the Exposition and newspaper coverage would be unprecedented in its volume (South Will Show Its Resources, 1925). “Merchants, manufacturers, investors, home-seekers will all study the exhibits at the Southern Exposition not merely for the gratification of seeing them, but in order to investigate the possibilities for new enterprises or investments of home-making in the South” (South Will Show Its Resources, 1925).

Many different ways were being explored to promote Charleston for tourism as well as for economic development. R.S. MacElwee suggested that it was too expensive to compete with large cities for advertising and that using personal and direct appeals would be good methods to adopt (MacElwee, 1925). A successful example of this approach was the *News and Courier*'s special supplement in November 1924. The edition contained a twenty-four page section with 200 photographs of the city, printed using a rotogravure process.² The edition was the result of cooperation between the newspaper and leading merchants and businessmen of the city. It was sent all over the country, and the week after its publication, the *News and Courier* printed eight letters showing some of the positive reactions to it.³

² The Microsoft Encarta Dictionary defines rotogravure as a “printing process with a rotary press: a printing process in which images are etched photo-mechanically onto copper cylinders mounted in a rotary press, from which they are printed onto a moving web of paper.”

³ The Business Manager of the New York Times wrote that “It has been a delight to examine your Art Gravure edition of November 16th. Enterprise like this deserves the encouragement of the people of Charleston.”

The *Wilmington Star* wrote, “We gather from a perusal of the edition that the main idea is to

Another example of networking was through encouraging Charleston businessmen to promote Charleston to business contacts around the country. To this end, the Bureau of Port Development produced a supply of handbooks about the port of Charleston with an envelope ready for mailing to which could be added the tourist folder of information. The port booklets were also being sent out on the regular mailing lists of the Bureau of Port Development and very favorable responses were being received. Charleston residents were encouraged to spread the word about Charleston to their friends in other places (MacElwee, 1925).

Advertising was not just an activity of the Chamber of Commerce or the newspapers of Charleston. J. C. Royle reported that newspapers accounted for 60-70% of community advertising and the remainder was shared between magazines, pamphlets and mail (Royle, 1924). The *News and Courier* reported that national magazines were giving exposure to Charleston and the Southeast. Articles on the architecture of the city were published in national journals and magazines. For example, a series of articles on Charleston architecture appeared in *Architectural Forum* in October and November 1923 and again in early 1924. In 1924, Rear-Admiral A.P. Niblack, a former commandant of the Charleston Navy Yard, wrote an article for the *Landmark*, a magazine published in London, called "Historic Charleston." He felt that, since golf was first played in North

induce tourists to such cities as Charleston, and if our surmise is correct, Charleston has offered to the outside world a very tempting morsel. Attracting tourists to such cities as Wilmington is sound business, and we congratulate our Charleston contemporary upon its enterprise and farsightedness in exploiting its wonders to the world. The "Old Lady of Broad Street" is becoming thoroughly modern."

The President of the Charleston Board of Trade wrote, "This memorable edition of the Sunday News - the first and finest of its kind in the State - is a message to the traveler, an invitation to the tourist and is a direct service to everyone who has the interest of Charleston and heart."

America in 1794 at Charleston, then Charleston should be the port of entry for British tourists (Spreading Charleston's Fame, 1924). Other articles commending Charleston for its charm were produced by various publications. Many of these were flowery and effusive descriptions of the city and its historical attributes rather than giving concrete facts to the tourist. However, they provided exposure for the city and enticed and invited visitors to come and view it for themselves.⁴ L. Jack Oliver, chairman of the Tourist and Convention Bureau of the Chamber of Commerce suggested that stories and articles on Charleston in 1926, both in national and international publications, had given the city \$200,000 worth of free publicity. His estimate was based on what the space would have cost for advertising (\$200,000 In Free Publicity, Tourist Head For City Says, 1926). In the same article, Mr. Oliver was reported to have said he expected Charleston to have its biggest tourist season the next year.

Perhaps the articles that excited Charlestonians the most were those that mentioned the region in *National Geographic Magazine*. The *News and Courier* pointed out that the magazine had a circulation of a million people. "That means that each issue is read by four or five million people, and they are the most cultured, the most intelligent people in the land; people who are specially interested in travel and who do travel, going from world's end to world's end in quest for of whatever interests them most" (Big News

⁴ Three examples of these kinds of articles are Julian Street's Unrivaled Charleston: American Adventures XV which appeared in *Collier's Weekly*, November 17, 1917; Thurston Macalay's The Charm of Charleston which appeared in *McNaughts Monthly* in 1926 - it was reprinted by the *News and Courier*, on December 12, 1926; and the article entitled "Charleston" by Maude Parker that appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* September 3, 1927.

For Charleston, 1925). Two articles appeared in the magazine, one about Magnolia Gardens and Middleton Place in 1926, and the other about Charleston in 1939 (Shaffer E. , 1926) and (Heyward, 1939). “There is no question that the featuring of it [Magnolia Gardens] in the National Geographic will make it such and will bring increasing numbers of people here from all parts of the nation and for that matter from all parts of the world to see it. It will be the finest advertisement any city could possibly have from a tourist standpoint and as one big railroad man on a visit here said when he heard of it, ‘it will be the making of Charleston as a tourist center.’ There is no calculating the value to Charleston of Magnolia Gardens. The only trouble is that Charleston has been a long time waking up to this fact” (Big News For Charleston, 1925).

The hotels in the city were also preparing promotional material. The Fort Sumter Hotel distributed a booklet entitled, “Charleston, Historic City of the Old South.” It promoted Charleston as an all year resort. The results were quickly seen because of the increased interest in the Fort Sumter Hotel. In fact, results of advertising in the mid-1920s generally were seen very quickly as hundreds of requests for information came into the Tourist and Convention Bureau from all over the country. Information packets sent out included a new tourist folder, climatic conditions, information on Magnolia Gardens and Middleton Place, hotel rates, the new port folder, and a general description of the city (Many Inquiries About This City, 1925).

Other areas in the vicinity of Charleston began advertising and promoting features such as the Coastal Highway. A continuous road was to be constructed between Québec,

Canada and Key West, Florida. The Liberty Bank and Trust Company and the Georgia State Saving Association of Savannah jointly published a description of the highway. The booklet was designed to promote Savannah and other places in Georgia but, as the *News and Courier* pointed out, Charleston County had 50 miles of this highway within its bounds and any publicity for the highway was going to benefit Charleston. The *Savannah Morning News* was reported as saying that the “South Atlantic Coastal Highway speedily passed from a sectional project to the most vital part of a great national, even international highway. Ten states north of the District of Columbia will, with a population of thirty-five millions, embracing the richest and most prosperous section of the country already possessing highly developed highway systems, connect up a great trunk road from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac” (Booklet Boosts Coastal Highway, 1925). One of the reasons for Charleston supporting the construction of bridges across the various rivers in South Carolina that were a barrier to North-South traffic, was to open up the area for more tourists coming from the North and having the Coastal Highway running through Charleston was a distinct advantage to the city.

In 1925, The Charleston Automobile Club also produced a guide for Charleston in conjunction with Green Book Guides and Tours Company. The Charleston Automobile Club was consulted on what data would be included but it would focus on the Coastal Highway. Some members of staff from the Green Book Guides and Tours Company were sent into South Carolina to survey and to check on pieces of information they needed for the guide and consulted with officers of the Automobile Club (Green Book Guide For Charleston, 1925).

One way of advertising along roads was to place metal road signs pointing the way to Charleston at frequent intervals along the highways to Charleston from Washington, DC and Asheville, NC. However, the city had to wait for roads to Savannah and Jacksonville to be completed to post signs along them (Many Inquiries About This City, 1925).

In November, 1924, former Mayor Rhett and Mayor Stoney gave addresses on advertising Charleston in a public forum at the Chamber of Commerce. The Mayor commented that what was wrong with Charleston was its “mental attitude.” He pointed out that the bridging of the Santee and the number of good roads linking Charleston with the surrounding areas meant that it was no longer isolated. Also with new hotels in the city, the ferry service to Mt. Pleasant, and the beach at Folly Island, the Mayor said “it is time to get together to see what can be done to bring about a better mental attitude toward the city.” Former Mayor Rhett added that “We have got everything a tourist wantsWe laid a foundation for tourists that will be heard from and bear results.” He suggested that there were four things to depend upon: tourists, commerce, manufacturing and agriculture. “Every obstacle has been removed and the main thing needed now is publicity” (Sell Charleston To Charlestonians Plea Of Speakers, 1924).

A letter to the *News and Courier* reinforced the idea of improving mental attitude. Rev. C. M. Gray of the First Unitarian Church, Topeka, Kansas and former Charleston resident, wrote that good quality of publicity would do much for the community. As a way of conveying the “right psychology about the city and to guide the interest which is already taken in Charleston in the right direction,” he suggested producing a set of lantern

slides and lecture about Charleston and its environs (Charleston Has More Than A Past, 1925). There is no evidence to suggest that this was ever carried out.

The city also became involved in advertising. In 1923, one mill was added to the budget for publicity purposes (Stoney, Mayor Stoney's Annual Review, 1930, p. xxxix). During Mayor Maybank's administration attention was paid to promoting the beach resorts and local hotel accommodations (Maybank B. , 1936, p. 19). During the Depression, Canadian and European destinations were not as popular because of the unfavorable exchange rate with the American dollar. Charleston saw this as an opportunity to increase the resort and tourist business. It was estimated that more than \$3.5 million dollars was coming into the city through tourism at that time (Tourists Wish To See City Must Be Roused Before Trek, 1933). In 1936, Mayor Maybank reported that the city was continuing to cooperate with the Chamber of Commerce and other groups, through the Office of Port Development. At that time, he said that 154,000 pieces of miscellaneous advertising matter had been produced. Other activities included painting and maintenance of highway bulletins, “15 hand-painted posters displayed at Detroit, through exchange courtesy of the Coastal Outdoor Advertising Company; maintained a membership in the Ocean Highway Association; paid for the distribution and special routing services of Ask Mr. Foster Service, and the Southern Time Table Distributing Company; and financed seasonal advertising in 19 nationally known newspapers.”

Roads and Bridges

In 1920, *Country Life* issued an article about roads in the Southern States. The editor of the *News and Courier* commented how *Country Life* stated that all the states in

the Southeast have good roads. Georgia was described as “one of the leading good roads states,” with a \$30 million bond issue already passed to complete a system of state roads. Florida was praised for having made significant progress in good roads development, in possibly a shorter time than any other state. The editor lamented that North and South Carolina had been described as “spending money on roads to their utmost ability.” The editor said that it was generous of *Country Life* to compliment South Carolina in that way because in reality, of all the South Atlantic states it had the “poorest roads and the fewest” (Letting Us Off Lightly, 1920). The *Manufacturer’s Record* devoted one of its issues to good roads and showed that South Carolina was far behind other states, not just in its road-building plans but also in what it had accomplished (Road-building in the South, 1920).

This kind of assessment did not mean that there were no efforts being made in the state to lobby for roads. George R. Wheeler, manager for the SC Landowners’ Association, stated that one of the goals of his association was to persuade the South Carolina Legislature to make appropriations, augmented with federal funding, to build two or three main trunk roads in the state, connecting with similar roads in North Carolina and Georgia as well as connecting all the county seats with hard-paved roads. He stated that his association’s slogan was “Tourists want to see our country, eat our food and buy our wares, but they ask for good roads. Give them good roads and hang out the welcome sign” (Need Good Roads for Automobiles, 1920). He optimistically pointed out that some of the crops raised on local farms and livestock products could be sold through local merchants to the thousands of tourists that would be traveling through the state once

roads, comfortable to drive over, were in place. He also described how, during a trip to Florida, he had met motorists who had purchased land and intended to move to Florida, having seen the lots as they drove through the area. He suggested that this might be a way of encouraging people to settle in South Carolina (Need Good Roads for Automobiles, 1920).

During the 1920s, there were several problems that needed attention with respect to roads in South Carolina. The first was road provision and paving, the second was to bridge the major rivers in South Carolina, and the third was developing the South Carolina section of the Atlantic Coastal Highway to connect northern cities with Florida.

Paving. During the 1910s and 1920s, many states were beginning to convert “auto-trails” into numbered highways. Wisconsin was the first state to start a numbering system in 1917 (Prince, 2005). During the early 1920s South Carolina introduced nine trunk roads that would eventually replace the named routes (Prince, 2005). Each route was marked with a colored emblem and a letter. According to Kovacik and Winberry there were seven federally-designated national highways running through South Carolina. They also state that, in 1925, there were only 300 miles of paved road in South Carolina. However, by 1944 this amount had increased to over 6,000 miles (Kovacik & Winberry, 1987, p. 121).

In the city of Charleston, street paving had been completed by the late 1920s (Dept. of Agriculture, 1927, p. 298). Outside the city, the greater distances meant road building took much longer to show progress. During 1921, 4 miles of highway on the West side of the Ashley in St. Andrew’s Parish were surfaced with concrete. Charleston

County wanted to focus its attention on concreting as much as possible of the Charleston-Savannah route to be able to provide good quality roads for the projected Atlantic Coastal Highway. This was a small start since Charleston County was to have 50 miles of road on the Atlantic Coastal Highway. It accomplished the concrete surfacing of 35 miles by the mid-1920s.

Charleston County was also interested in paving its share of the “Mountains to the Sea” highway. This new road was to link Charleston with the Upstate of South Carolina as well as with Asheville and beyond (Better Highways During the Year, 1922). Two other local paving projects that were of interest to the city of Charleston, and the cause of tourism, were the construction of a paved road from James Island to Folly Beach and the Ashley River Road which formed the approach to Magnolia Gardens and Middleton Place.

In 1920, the Folly Island Corporation purchased \$10,000 worth of oyster shells to put a hard surface on the road being constructed between James Island and Folly Beach. At the same time, the James Island road commissioners were building a new road from the King’s Highway (Savannah Road) through the center of James Island shortening the journey to Folly Beach by two miles. At that point 650 lots had been sold on Folly Island and boats were to be moored at two wharves (Folly Island Road May Be Used Soon, 1920). Folly Island, located 12 miles from Charleston was the newest beach to be opened up to the public. The Island at that time was seven miles long and three-fourths of a mile wide. The town was to cover a frontage of three miles and extend as far back as possible. The Folly Island Corporation was to build a pavilion at the East end of the town and an

eighteen-hole golf course was being planned. Folly Beach was expected to attract many motor tourists because the hard sand surface would make a good drive way. One of the selling points of the island was that it averaged five to fifteen feet higher above sea-level than the land on which Charleston was built and “no storm has been known to wash over the island” (Folly Island Road May Be Used Soon, 1920).

By 1924, the Sanitary and Drainage Commission had built five miles of a cement travel road from the concrete road toward Folly Beach, the remainder being the private road of the Folly Beach Company and a draw bridge was being planned over the Wappoo Cut to take the place of the “narrow and inadequate structure” already there (County Highways of Hard Surface Being Developed, 1924).

The Ashley River Road was considered to be an important road because it was the route taken to visit Magnolia Gardens and Middleton Place, both popular tourist attractions at the time. The road was also an alternative route between Charleston and the inland areas of the state. The editor of the *News and Courier* stated that “in this day of motor traveling a town which lacks ways of easy ingress and easy egress is sure to suffer. Motor travelers from a distance want assurance that they are not running into trouble.” The editor further suggested that the current road condition was the reason that traffic was so light along the Ashley River Road and that a hard surface would bring many more visitors to the attractions via automobile (The Ashley River Road, 1923). Another editorial related a plea, made by Mr. James Allan, to save the flowers lining the road, especially the yellow jessamine (The Ashley River Road, 1923).

Just as the pace of paving roads with concrete began to increase in South

Carolina, Florida began to promote beautification. “Public roads that are particularly attractive by reason of the natural frame of growing trees and flowering plants that mark their course through the country are more popular than those that are unadorned. People, and especially those out to see the country, prefer shaded highways even when driving; they are a thousand times preferred by pedestrians of whom there are quite a number” (Roads and Tourists, 1921). The *News and Courier*, replied by saying “the South Carolina Low Country is so full of interesting places and things that it ought to attract tourists by thousands and is now actually attracting more of them than ever before, requires first of all roads that can be traveled over and is now getting such roads. But it will pay us in making these good roads to avoid in so far as possible spoiling the wonderful natural beauty of most of them for their beauty will count for a good deal with the tourists who will come to the region in increasing numbers as the new highways render its many points of interest more and more accessible” (Roads and Tourists, 1921). Along the newer parts of concrete highway, especially across the Ashley River west of Charleston, the Sanitary and Drainage Commission were very proud of being able to save some fine oaks and became more conscious of the need to preserve trees to provide both shade and attractiveness.

Bridges. In 1920, the idea for a coastal highway had already been conceived. However, it could not come to fruition before major rivers had been bridged. The Pee Dee, the Santee, the Edisto, the Savannah and Altamaha rivers all needed bridges to reduce the number of miles inland that cars had to travel to make their way south. From Charleston’s point of view, a bridge over the Santee would bring motorists to Charleston

opening up opportunities for accommodating tourists on their way to Florida. Also, there was a concern that the bridges should be free. In 1920, the existing Ashley River Bridge in Charleston was a toll bridge. This concern to have all bridges free of tolls, prompted Charleston's Sanitary and Drainage Commission to purchase the old Ashley River Bridge from the Charleston Bridge Company and make it free to cross in 1921.

Apart from the number of motor tourists the Atlantic Coast highway would bring, there was anticipation of improved communication between counties and cities (Coast Highway in Prospect, 1920). Those hitherto unconnected because of river barriers would be brought closer together. For example, Charleston and Florence, Charleston and Georgetown, and Charleston and Savannah would no longer have detours far inland or unreliable ferries with which to contend. Bridging the Edisto "means little less than the Santee, for the people living beyond the Edisto will be enabled to visit Charleston when the spirit moves them and not when the ferryman is obliging" (Coast Highway in Prospect, 1920). The Edisto Bridge was completed in 1921.

During 1922, The Sanitary and Drainage Commission announced that a new concrete bridge would be constructed over the Ashley River downstream from the existing bridge. The existing bridge was owned by the Charleston Bridge Company and had been completed in 1886. Before this, a previous bridge had been struck by a hurricane when it was already under repair and later burned by Confederate forces as they evacuated Charleston in 1865. The present-day bridge, dedicated to those who gave their lives in World War I, was completed and opened to the public on May 5, 1926 at a cost of \$1,250,000 (Fraser, 1989, p. 370).

Probably the most important span for Charleston tourism in the mid-1920s was the Santee River Bridge, opened to the public in December 1923, 40 miles north of the city near Greeleyville and St. Stephen. Previously, travelers between Florence and Charleston, or those traveling to Florida would have had to proceed from Florence to Columbia. Florida bound traffic may then have traveled along National Highway 1 through Aiken and Augusta. Now they could not only visit Charleston but also reduce their mileage as they traveled to Florida. This bridge and its approaches entailed four miles of construction to pass over the Santee swamp. In describing the country around the bridge the *Charleston Evening Post* stated that the highway “is through a stretch of country which is rich in romance and in history. Near it are several of the plantations which in former days were notable. There is great natural beauty of all sides and the tourist will find this section of the coastal highway one of the most fascinating along the route” (Notable Bridges Connecting City with Auto Route, 1924).

Atlantic Coast Highway. When the idea of an Atlantic Coastal Highway was first conceived, it was described as a route from Maine to Florida. Within a couple of years, the newspapers were describing it as an international highway that would run from Québec to Key West. In both cases, cities along the proposed route vied for inclusion either directly by having the highway pass through their municipal areas or to have a reasonable road connection to the highway. In 1922, local businessmen in Edenton, NC proposed that the Atlantic Coastal Highway should include Norfolk, VA, Edenton, NC and Wilmington, NC. They claimed that if this route was adopted then it would save 200 miles between New York City and Florida and would be more attractive to motor

travelers (Shorter Route from the North, 1922). Wilmington, NC was very eager to create a link to the Atlantic Coastal Highway. It proposed bridging the Cape Fear River and “connecting Wilmington with the world.” This would mean having to link up with Highway 40, the Seaside Highway, to Charleston via Georgetown (Another Bridge on Coastal Line, 1922). In 1925, Mayor Stoney wrote an article promoting the development of Highway 40, which would end at the Cooper River and then continue to Charleston via a choice of two ferries. He wrote much of the article comparing the advantages and disadvantages of the short and long ferries from Mount Pleasant to Charleston which, although there had already been talks and plans for spanning the Cooper River with a new bridge, seemed to him to be the only options for crossing the river (Case for Seaside Highway Set Forth By Mayor Stoney, 1925). It would reduce the mileage considerably and did eventually become U.S. Highway 17, but at the time there were many bridges that needed to be built before the road could be considered usable by long-distance motor tourists.

When John Patrick Grace failed to help Daniel L. Sinkler win the mayoral election in 1927, he turned his attention to promoting the Cooper River Bridge and the paving of Route 40 to the North Carolina line (Fraser, 1989, p. 376). Before the adoption of Route 40 as US highway 17 (the old route becoming Alternate US 17), the cities of New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Richmond, Raleigh, Florence, Charleston, Savannah and Jacksonville were the main centers along the route. Charleston was so eager to be located on the Atlantic Coastal Highway that the city invested 77% of the bond money for the Santee River bridge, 66% for the Edisto River bridge and most of the

\$1.25 million for the Ashley River Bridge (Hard Surfacing the Coastal Highway, 1925).

The Cooper River Bridge added an alternate route for the Atlantic Coastal Highway. Places like Georgetown and Mount Pleasant had been accessible only by ferry until the bridge was built. Resorts on Sullivan's Island and Isle of Palms had also relied on the ferries and a railway to bring visitors to them. Ferries had been running across Charleston Harbor since 1748 (Annan & Gabriel, 2002, p. 6). In 1924, the ferry service owned by James Sottile was seized after a court order when his business failed (Annan & Gabriel, 2002, p. 18). He had proposed a design for a bridge and was determined to construct one. However, he was sued by a passenger in 1923 which bankrupted him. The government sponsored a new ferry service under the control of the Cooper River Ferry Commission.

John Patrick Grace became the president of the Cooper River Bridge, Inc. The survey for the construction was started on February 7, 1928 and the ground-breaking took place on May 19, 1928. The bridge was completed and opened in August, 1929 (Stoney, 1929). An elaborate celebration lasting three days entertained visitors to Charleston. On the first day, there were military and naval parades, musical programs, a buffet lunch at the Isle of Palms, and an automobile race on the beach at the Isle of Palms. The day's celebration included an historical floats parade, motor boat races, more musical programs and a sparring exhibition. On the third day the celebrations started with a formal dedication of the Charleston Airport, more boat races, musical programs and a fireworks display at the seashore (Stoney, The Cooper River Bridge, 1929). The opening of the Ashley and Cooper River Bridges both had the effect of accelerating the suburbanization

of Charleston into St. Andrew's Parish on the West of the city and Mount Pleasant on the East.

Many of the states involved in developing the Atlantic Coastal Highway looked to Florida as "an example of good road development and an inspiration to communities who were lagging behind." The Florida Times-Union of Jacksonville stated: "Never in the history of Florida has there been such an influx of motorists as during the early winter season. Time was when a few thousand cars in Florida from other sections created considerable comment. Then it grew to many thousands and this year if the roads had been better entering Florida it is believed that the total for the winter season would reach close to 100,000 cars" (Roads and Tourists, 1921). In Charleston, this statement was greeted with a lament: "If there were one hundred men in Charleston who really appreciated what this tourist movement could mean to this city and section the next twelve months would witness the beginning of the coast country's transformation. Not even the dull times which now prevail could hold us back even temporarily" (Roads and Tourists, 1922). There was recognition that the leadership should be improved where road-building was concerned. "We need a stronger leadership in this State than has yet asserted itself in this manner. The \$6m of road projects which have been approved for South Carolina are in a few counties only" (Road-building in the South, 1920, p. 4). Most of this was attributed to the lawmakers not recognizing the benefits that good roads could bring to the State as a whole.

With the Atlantic Coastal Highway's development, Charleston realized that being involved and cooperating with other cities was one of the answers to bringing tourists to

the city. As part of the Atlantic Coastal Highway, Charleston had a responsibility to pave the roads in Charleston County that were part of the Highway. However, cooperation between cities also involved the cooperation between its peoples. The Atlantic Coastal Highway Association had a convention every year to which Charleston always sent a large delegation on a special train or by motor convoy.

In 1924, the manager of the Foor-Robinson group, of which the Francis Marion Hotel was a part, came to Charleston to help to form the South Atlantic Coastal Hotel Managers Association. The managers agreed that even with the route of the Atlantic Coastal Highway set, people would be taking side trips to visit historic cities and places with scenic value and they must advertise as much as possible (Discusses Value of New Highway, 1924). The manager of the Francis Marion Hotel wrote an article for the Association in 1925 outlining the preparations Charleston was making for tourists in the development of the Wappoo Country Club with golf courses and tennis courts and another development at Yeaman's Hall where homes would be built around two golf courses (Enticing Route for the Tourist, 1925).

Planning and Historic Preservation

Historic preservation in Charleston was a project that started at the very beginning of the twentieth century. For the first thirty years of the century, the activity to save Charleston's historic structures was a piecemeal effort on the part of individual groups. It was not until 1931 it became more formalized as a municipal policy.

In 1902, the National Society of Colonial Dames of South Carolina purchased the Powder Magazine to save it from demolition (Weyeneth, 2000). The Powder Magazine

was built in the early 18th century to store gun powder. When the Colonial Dames purchased it they restored it and at first used the building as a headquarters for their state chapter and then they opened it to the public as a museum. (Weyeneth, 2000, p. xiv).

In 1913, the Daughters of the American Revolution acquired the old Exchange Building on East Bay Street. This was a former customs house and also City Hall and was built in the mid-18th century. The local chapter of the Daughters had started work on acquiring the building in 1899. In 1913, Congress authorized the transfer of the building from the federal government to the DAR. The local chapter used the old exchange for their offices and then opened it as a museum (Weyeneth, 2000, p. xiv).

These two acquisitions by different groups, interested in saving historical structures, were the beginnings of historic preservation in Charleston. The growing awareness of the resource of historic properties in the city and the actions to save historic structures accelerated in the 1920s when there were further threats to old buildings and a perceived urgent need to preserve them.

In 1920, the Joseph Manigault house, originally owned by a wealthy owner of a rice plantation, was about to be demolished so that a gas station could be erected on the site. The risk of this happening prompted a group of citizens to organize themselves into a society dedicated to the protection of all old dwellings in the city. The organization was initially called the Society for the Protection of Old Dwellings (SPOD) but later changed its name to the Preservation Society of Charleston (Fraser, 1989). Using bank loans and pledges from their members, they purchased the Manigault house, and saved it from demolition. The house, built for a wealthy rice plantation owner, was full of carved

wood and decorative plaster work. (Weyeneth, 2000), Today it is the property of the Charleston Museum. Other threats to the historic buildings of the city came from antique dealers, collectors, architects and tourists seeking to purchase decorative ironwork, interior paneling and other embellishments from the old houses in Charleston (Bland, 1999). Many of the owners were prepared to sell because they needed the money. The Society also worried about streets being widened to accommodate automobiles and took exception to the changing of street names like Archdale to Charles Street and Friend Street to Legare Street (Old Dwelling Houses: Society Will Adopt Constitution at Next Meeting, 1920).

During the 1920s, other projects for the preservation movement included trying to save the old Planter's Hotel and the Heyward-Washington House. The Planter's Hotel had been built in 1806 and was the city's first hotel. Adjacent to the hotel was the Dock Street Theater which dated from 1735. Both of the buildings had been allowed to deteriorate to a very poor condition. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the Planter's Hotel was renovated in the 1930s with WPA funding.

The campaign to save the Heyward-Washington House involved the participation of the Charleston Museum. Located on Church Street, the house was built in 1771 and belonged to Thomas Heyward, one of the South Carolinians who signed the Declaration of Independence. George Washington had also stayed there in 1791.

The activities of the small preservation groups to save individual historic structures started a movement toward persuading city government to play a role by initiating some kind of regulatory policy. In the mid-1920s, Susan Frost, the chairperson

of the SPOD had approached the mayor about trying to halt removal of ironwork and
woodwork through a municipal ordinance. However, no legal basis could be found to
justify such a measure. (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 13).

Interest in Charleston's preservation movement also came from outside the city.
While museums and collectors were removing ironwork and interiors from homes, other
outsiders were supporting the movement by sending money to help the SPOD. Some
came from architectural connections made by Albert Simons for the restoration of the
Heyward-Washington House (Bland, 1999, p. 73). Loutrel Briggs, a New York
landscape architect restored Cabbage Row, next to the Heyward-Washington House. It
had been an African-American tenement and was the model for Catfish Row in Dubose
Hayward's *Porgy* (Yuhl, 2005, p. 38). Susan Pringle Frost also made connections with
such societies as the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and
received bulletins from the president of that group (Bland, 1999, p. 67).

One of the founders of the SPOD, Nell Pringle, criticized the business community
for lack of interest or recognition of the plight of historic structures in the city. She
maintained that if the business community could be made to recognize the value of
historic preservation in the form of garnering tourism dollars, then they would rally to the
cause. (Bland, 1999, p. 67). This statement may have been a little hasty because in the
early 1920s, the Charleston Chamber of Commerce was already promoting planning and
zoning in the city, an activity that later became connected to historic preservation through
a zoning ordinance protecting historic areas in the lower part of the peninsula.

The Chamber of Commerce had special committees to study planning and zoning.

To educate the citizenry, they invited various speakers to inform the public about planning. In 1921, a planning expert from Cambridge, Massachusetts came to Charleston and talked to various civic organizations in the city as well as addressing the annual meeting of the Chamber of Commerce (Interest in Planning, 1921). The *News and Courier* described him as believing that planning should concentrate on “efficiency and utility” rather than aesthetic beauty. His talk focused on residential growth and the Young Men's Dynamo of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce provision of playgrounds.

In March 1923, Rex Fuller, an architect in Charleston, wrote four articles in the *News and Courier* covering the subjects of building codes, zoning and “making the most of a city” (*News and Courier*, Sunday News, March 4, 11, 18 and 25, 1923). Rather than focus on the needs of Charleston, he gave a description of these planning tools and policies and how they can benefit cities generally, informing the general public. In 1925 another planner, from New York, stated that Charleston was still too focused on port trade and that it was not keeping pace with developments happening elsewhere. He suggested raising property taxes which would soon lead to properties changing hands or being improved. Also, while Charleston should still keep its port trade thriving, it should also encourage light industries to come into the city and improve railroad access. In relation to tourism, he stressed that while the historic buildings should be preserved, a concentrated effort to attract tourists would not be beneficial as the city had potential for other activities. He did point out that the city should grow as many flowering plants as possible as these would attract tourists (City Planning Before Council: Address by an

Expert, 1925).

In June 1923, a resolution was adopted asking the Chamber of Commerce Board of Directors to consider the idea of asking the state to enact legislation to empower municipalities to introduce regulations relating to planning for the future. To introduce the public to the concept of planning, Dr. Roy S. MacElwee of the Bureau of Foreign Trade and Port Development and a Commissioner of the Chamber of Commerce provided a map of the city, showing areas suggested for certain purposes. He stated that “in May 1922, there were 66 municipalities in the United States that had zoning ordinances and 114 had zoning plans in progress” (A Zoning Plan for Charleston, 1923).

As a result of his address, the following statement was issued in the *News and Courier* in August 1923: “As an outcome of the combined efforts of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, the Bureau of Foreign Trade and Port Development and with the wholehearted cooperation of numerous citizens, the program of zoning Charleston has been officially launched.” Committees had been appointed working on issues of zoning and city planning with sub-committees for building codes, law, historical monuments and fine arts (Efforts to Zoning City Going Ahead, 1923).

Roy MacElwee was also active in the preservation movement. In February, 1925, he wrote a letter to City Council asking for permission to attach wooden markers in the form of tablets on an historic building in the city. He had already started marking buildings with tablets containing a “short description of the dates and outstanding history of the building.” The tablets were paid for by the Tourist and Convention Bureau (Charleston City Council Minutes Regular Meeting, 1925).

By 1929, City Council became involved in the planning process when a temporary City Planning and Zoning Commission was established. Its purpose was to devise a zoning ordinance at the same time as evaluating requests for new commercial construction like that from the Standard Oil Company who wanted to build filling stations.

In October 1929, City Council established a Special Committee on Zoning, which was separate from the temporary City Planning and Zoning Commission. This Special Committee had as its chairman Alston Deas, who was also the president of the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings. A temporary ordinance was passed that prohibited filling stations, automobile repair shops, and factories in the historic parts of the city, south of Broad Street. The committee recommended that a professional firm should help to prepare a proper ordinance.

In October 1930, City Council abolished the Interim City Planning and Zoning Commission and reconstituted it, giving it new legal powers. The former members of the Special Committee became the new commissioners. The City Council agreed to hire the Morris Knowles firm of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, a well-known civil engineering firm, to assist in drafting a zoning ordinance. The firm suggested a set of land-use and height districts as well as a "historic district." (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 13). The Morris Knowles staff mapped the location of buildings that have been constructed before the middle of the 19th century. They also produced projections of population trends and suggested where new schools, parks, playgrounds, and transport routes, should be located (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 13).

In October 1931, City Council adopted a general zoning ordinance, which designated part of the city as the Old and Historic Charleston District. The ordinance made provision for a citizen's Board of Architectural Review (BAR) which had the authority over architectural changes to buildings in the District.

The Old and Historic Charleston District covered a small portion of the peninsula, mostly south of Broad Street, but included some of the study area. The ordinance did not give the BAR any control over the interior of buildings nor could it delay or prohibit demolition (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 13). The BAR was composed of five members with some expertise in historic preservation, engineering, planning, architecture and a representative from the Carolina Art Association.

The historic zoning ordinance was the first of its type. Whereas most historic preservation to this point focused on individual structures, the Charleston historic zoning ordinance focused on a whole area. At first there had been some reservations about the temporary ordinance and protests had to be examined before the ordinance could be passed and implemented. Some complained about being included in the Historic District while others complained about being left out. The Zoning Committee had no doubt that property values would rise in the area and could not see why there would be objections to the ordinance. However, the original area to be covered was revised somewhat.

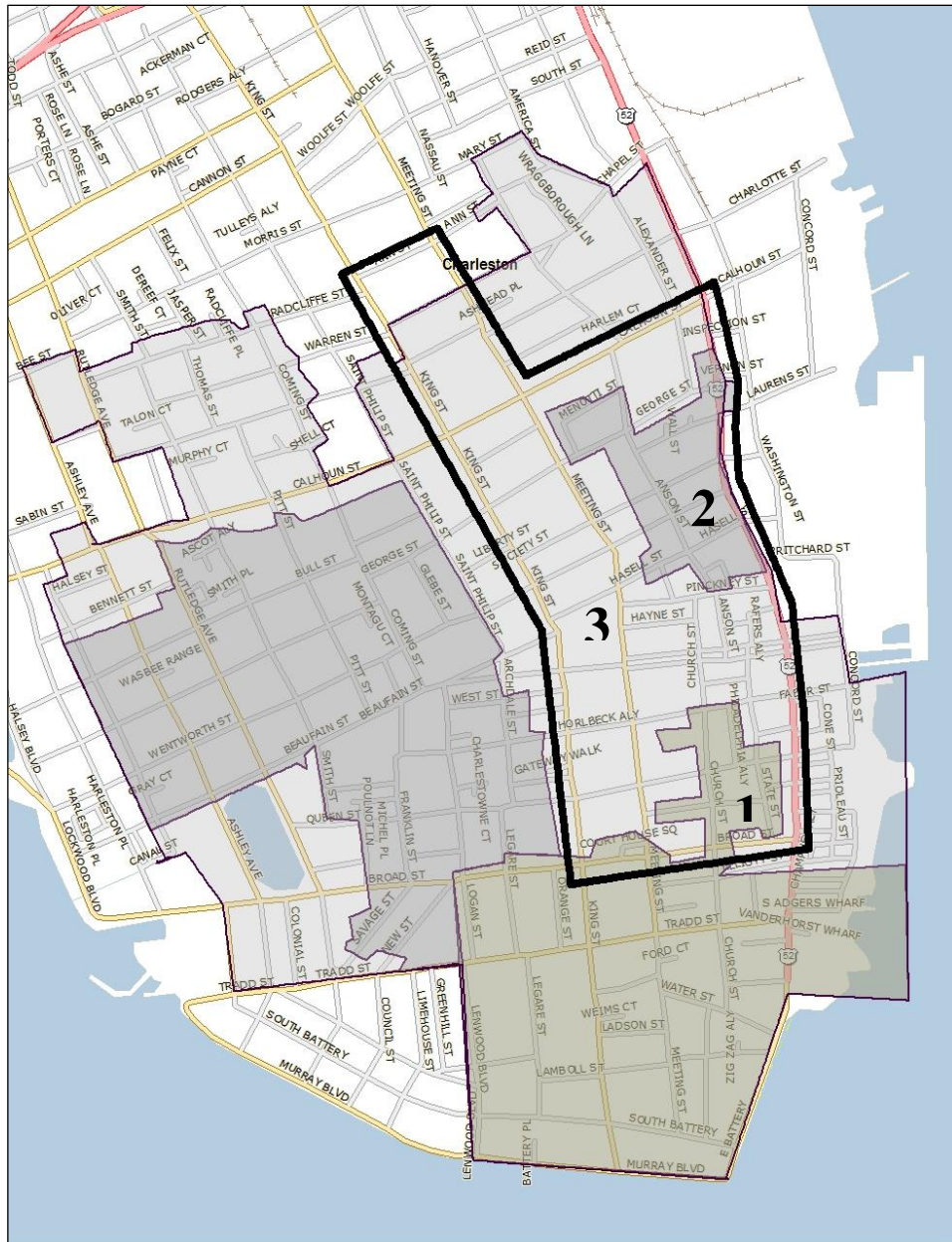
Although, the enactment of the ordinance was a landmark legislation for both Charleston and the whole of the United States, many cities using it as a model for their own historic preservation measures, it was quickly realized that it was not sufficient to perform all the tasks it was hoped to do. A small revision to the plan was made in 1959

when the City Council gave the Board of Architectural Review authority to review demolitions and alterations of pre-Civil War buildings in all parts of Charleston (Bland, 1999, p. 144). It was also given the power to review exterior alterations to buildings built before 1860 within the city limits (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 78). A more extensive revision was carried out in 1966. The Old and Historic Charleston District was tripled in size, and the Board of Architectural Review was now given the authority to deny demolitions rather than just delay them (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 79). In addition, a pre--application review of projects now required the applications to include drawings and photographs and these were to be made public, which made the process of rehabilitation and construction more formal. The Board of Architectural Review was increased in size to seven persons so that the Mayor could appoint people who had knowledge and interest in historic and architectural development in the city. The Board of Architectural Review was now placed on a more professional basis, had considerably more power, and was more accountable for decisions. (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 79). Figure 6.1 shows the area around the tip of Charleston's peninsula that was designated as the Old and Historic Charleston District in 1931. It also shows two area revisions for 1966 and 1975. The map shows that most of the study area had been included in the historic preservation area by 1975.

At first, the ordinance covered only a small part of the study area with parts of Broad Street and Church Street included. The total acreage for this first area was only 138 acres (Carolina Art Association, 1990, p. 134). Most of the professional and financial district in Broad Street was incorporated into the District. Historic structures

like St. Philips Church, the French Huguenot Church, the “Pirate House” and the Dock Street Theatre together with some Georgian houses located in Church Street were also protected under the ordinance. The 1966 revision covered an area of 290 acres in the east of the study area known as Ansonborough. This area covered Anson and Hasell Streets. Located on Anson Street were such structures as Goldsmiths’ Row, originally built as a tenement in 1894, some large houses and St. Stephen’s Church. Hasell Street contains the Colonel William Rhett house built in the early 18th century, St. Johannes Evangelical Lutheran Church and the St. Johannes Rectory built in the mid-19th century. The neighborhood was named after Admiral George Anson, who won the rights to the property in a game of cards, with a local merchant. In 1971, the city received a grant from the SC Department of Archives and History to prepare a preservation plan. The plan took three years to prepare and was published in 1974. In 1975 the contents of the plan became the official inventory of the city. The area defined by the amended ordinance was extended again and included the rest of the study area apart from the area in the north around Ann Street. The new amendment to the zoning ordinance added another 361 acres to the District making a total of 789 acres (Carolina Art Association, 1990, p. 136).

The City and Planning and Zoning Commission also was given more powers and set on an official footing in 1974 with the creation of the City Department of Planning, Relocation and Redevelopment, which consisted of a full-time director and a staff of planners and technicians (Carolina Art Association, 1990, p. 136).



1 1931 Historic Ordinance area
2 1966 Ordinance revision area
3 1975 Ordinance revision area
█ Study Area Boundary
Source: Weyeneth, R.R. Historic Preservation for a Living City.




 MN (7.6° W)
 Base Map:
 **DELORME**
 Data use subject to license.
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Figure 6.1 Charleston Old and Historic District 1931, 1966, and 1975

Azalea Festival

One of the most important aspects of tourism in Charleston in the 1930s was the creation of the annual Azalea Festival. First inaugurated in 1934, it was held annually until World War II. Revived again in 1947, it lasted until the early 1950s. It was an ambitious undertaking in a period when the country was still suffering from the effects of the Great Depression. The festival was held at the height of the garden season in March or April. In its inaugural year it coincided with the annual open golf championship (Tournament of the Gardens) and the horse show, both new activities in the city (Elaborate Balls To Mark Festival, 1934).

The festival always started with a parade that marched down King Street from Line to Broad and then back along Meeting Street to Marion Square where the best float and decorated automobile were awarded prizes. Miss Charleston was also crowned on the steps of the Customs House. The Miss Charleston competition lasted throughout the life of the festival and was attended by 37 beauty queens in 1937. The nine-day festival period was punctuated with a series of three balls each with music and entertainment. The last day was named Colonial Day and store clerks, waitresses in hotels and restaurants were encouraged to dress in colonial dress.

Through the years of its existence, the activities varied considerably and were very elaborate. In 1936, "State Port Day" was marked by a "Pirate Pageant" performed on East Battery and organized by the city of Georgetown, SC. Also that year were held a street criers contest; airplane stunts; a boxing exhibition with the world heavyweight champion in attendance; a lancing tournament and sailboat and hydroplane races. In

1937, at the Azalea Luncheon, more than 500 federal, state and municipal officials were present (Maybank B. , 1938). The next year nearly 200 government officials including Congressmen and the Vice President of the United States attended the festival. In other years, the Postmaster General and the Secretary of the Treasury were guest speakers at the event.

Other communities also became involved in the festival. In 1937, the festival Sunday was called “Summerville Day” when visitors were encouraged to drive to the neighboring community to see the “Flower Town in the Pines”.

The festival was sponsored by city government and organized by a number of organizations in the city as well as committees of the Chamber of Commerce. In various reports, anywhere from 400-500 Charlestonians were involved in preparation for the festival. Mayor Maybank’s annual report stated that “the festival has come to rank with the nation’s leading festivals and is said by many authorities to be runner-up to the famed Mardi Gras in New Orleans.” (Maybank B. , 1938).

The festival was designed to attract people from communities in South Carolina, North Carolina and Georgia and each year hotels were reported as being full to capacity. It was advertised extensively and, in itself was an advertisement for the city. In 1937, the city printed 90,950 pieces of advertising material, and paid for the maintenance of some “strategically located highway bulletins”, and for advertisements in 19 nationally known newspapers as well as keeping up the membership of the Ocean Highway Association. (Maybank B. , 1938).

The festival was not held during the war years but was revived again in 1947

when a corporation was formed, at the request of the business community, to run the festival. In 1948 it was ranked as one of the top six festivals in the country. During that year, promotion for the festival included “8,000 mailings, four news releases to 500 newspapers and radio stations throughout the Southeast.” Also, 15,000 folders and programs, 500 car stickers and 600 posters and billboards were distributed around the state. (Maybank B. , 1936).

CHAPTER 7 1938-1958 WORLD WAR II AND ITS AFTERMATH

Introduction

On the eve of World War II, the growth of Charleston's tourist industry was beginning to accelerate. The Executive Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, Mr. Paul Conant carried out a survey of visitors to the city to gain insights into the nature of tourism. He found that people came from 47 of the then 48 states and that more visitors came in the summer months than the winter although he drew the conclusion that Charleston was a year-round destination with a peak in March and April for the gardens (Charleston Tourist Center In All Seasons of Year, 1940). Also he found that more local people visited the area in the summer to enjoy the beaches (visitors from South Carolina and neighboring states). He suggested that even more people would visit when the roads and bridges were free of tolls. The project seemed to beg the question of whether Charleston should continue intense promotion in New York or change its focus to nearby states or to states much further away. Also, at what time of year should Charleston be more aggressive in its campaign to bring in more tourists? With respect to foreign visitors, Canada was first in rank for the number of visitors from foreign countries (of which there were 17 represented) but Mr. Conant suggested that Charleston should be looking more to Central and South America to attract visitors.

The questionnaire, circulated to people who registered with the Chamber, suggested that the majority of visitors were making their way to Florida and were stopping to visit Charleston on their way south. A large number of them said they came because they had been advised by friends that the city was worth visiting. Some had

come because they had read about Charleston in magazines, newspapers and a popular book at the time as well as on the radio. However, nearly half of the respondents were influenced by promotional literature sent to them and just over one-fourth came because of personal letters sent to them by the Chamber of Commerce. As a result of these figures, Charleston began to put more promotional literature in railroad stations in northern cities, in bus depots, steamship and airline waiting rooms (Mulieri, Study Reveals Charleston Advertised By Many Friends, 1940).

About 1/5 of the visitors in the survey had come as a repeat visit. While 15% stated that it was their second visit to the city, some of the respondents had visited up to 10 times. Many of the second time visitors came to view the gardens in the spring, but those coming for the third and fourth time came throughout the year. The survey showed that more people stayed a week than a few days and some stayed two or three weeks. Those who stayed for longer periods tended to stay in private accommodations rented out by local families, in tourist camps or at the beaches. Most of the visitors came by automobile. Other forms of transport were ranked in order as bus, train, boats and lastly airplane (Mulieri, 1940a).

Visitors were given the opportunity to express their opinions of the city. The most popular criticisms and suggestions were that Charleston should have more restaurants; that the past should be preserved; and painting and repairing houses should be encouraged; the city should offer more amusements; and a headquarters for tourists should be established to help visitors to make more social contacts. Criticisms included poor lettering of street names, expensive rates in private homes, and admission prices to

gardens were too high. They suggested there was a need for better parking facilities, and that tourist homes should have more modern furnishings (Mulieri, 1940b).

Mr. Conant made the following recommendations as a result of the survey. Charleston should do something about the traffic congestion and parking difficulties, tourist and trailer camps should be modernized, lodging rates in private homes should be kept at reasonable levels and names of streets on curbstones should be re-lettered. More promotional literature should be circulated nationally and the city should encourage cruise ships bound for Central and South America to stop at Charleston (Mulieri, 1940b).

Survey of Historic Properties

In the late 1930s the Carolina Art Association, under the chairmanship of Robert Whitelaw acquired funds to make a survey of historic properties in the city. This was the first survey of its kind ever conducted in the US and provided a model for the National Register of Historic Places begun in 1968 (Carolina Art Association, 1990, p. ix). The survey was very important for future planning and regulation of construction and development because it gave the city a base on which to build. Funding for the project came from the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation and 1168 buildings were included in the survey. It was first published in 1944. Buildings were divided as to their architectural value into five groups: Nationally Important; Valuable to City; Valuable; Notable; Worthy of mention (Carolina Art Association, 1990, p. ix).

Traffic and Parking Problems

The city began to deal with the parking and congestion problems of the city at the beginning of the 1940s. Many of the prominent citizens of Charleston felt that the zoning

ordinance had not gone far enough in protecting historic buildings (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 24). Robert Whitelaw, the curator of art in the Charleston Museum and later the director of the Carolina Art Association, assembled a group of concerned citizens to form a committee to formulate a “non-political city plan” (Weyeneth, page 24). The committee invited Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. to come to Charleston as a planning consultant to give advice on the problems facing the city in the absence of a municipal planning department (Weyeneth, page 24). Financial support came from the Carnegie Foundation and Olmsted visited the city in January 1940.

Olmsted’s recommendations were very wide-ranging and a little extreme for Charlestonians at the time. He suggested having a truck route between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers bridges to keep large vehicles outside of the historic area. This would be implemented through a one-way street system. He also suggested making the approaches to Charleston attractive to tourists by having two north-south highways by-pass the poorer neighborhoods and connect the Cooper and Ashley River bridges with the Battery. Unfortunately, this would cut through some of the historic area and affect houses and alleyways. With regard to parking problems, he suggested that, rather than have cars parking along streets, there should be private parking lots constructed which could be made attractive with plantings. He also suggested some central advisory body that could advise citizens on rehabilitation of their properties and financing these projects (Weyeneth, page 31).

With these recommendations, the Carolina Art Association’s Civic Services Committee city began to look at the practical aspects of a downtown parking plan. They

obtained the assistance of a planning consultant who began to study traffic patterns and the possibilities of public parking lots, parking meters and clearing degraded neighborhoods to provide parking space.

The report on traffic and parking was presented to City Council in 1945. There was no implementation of the plan as the city deemed it to be too expensive (Wehman, 1946, p. 14).

While Olmsted's recommendations seemed a little too radical at the time, some of them were implemented fairly quickly. For instance, the city placed parking meters on King Street between Line and Broad Streets, supplementing the meters which had been installed on Broad Street from East Bay to Meeting. The installation of these meters was wholeheartedly approved by of the Retail Merchants Association.

Beautification of Marion Square and Tourist Booths/Centers

Another way Olmsted exerted influence on urban improvement in Charleston was through beautification of the city. In 1948, Mayor Morrison reported that City Council had decided to appropriate \$5000 to augment a gift of \$10,000 from the Rotary Club (Morrison W. , 1949, p. 14). On June 1st that year, a small live oak tree was planted and further landscaping and lighting to fit in with the historic area's landscape was carried out by the City, the Rotary Club, the Washington Light Infantry and the Sumter Guards Board of Officers. At the same time, palmetto trees and azaleas were planted at the entrances to the city and its parks (Morrison W. , 1953, p. 14).

One of the ways of beautifying the approaches to the city was through the construction of visitor information booths at the east ends of the Ashley and Cooper

River bridges. The project was a joint effort of the city and the Junior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycees) as one of their annual projects. The first building was a temporary wooden structure that had formerly been owned by a construction company.

As part of their project, the Jaycees were going to paint the building, install restrooms and the center would be run by the Senior Chamber of Commerce (Jaycee's Get Information Center, 1949). The first center was opened in 1950. The second center was to be a more permanent one. Located at the eastern end of the Ashley River Bridge it was built of concrete blocks. The building contained a lounge, information desk, restrooms, public telephones, and a direct line to Western Union (Tourist Information Center to be built in Spring Street near Ashley River Bridge, 1949). Local builders offered roofing materials, bricks and lumber for construction and funds were obtained from a Jaycee-sponsored football game.

The center was formally dedicated in January 1951 and was marked by the police escorting the first car that came from the south towards the information center. The occupants were registered at the center and were then escorted into the city to receive a free night's lodging at the Fort Sumter Hotel and become guests at the Brewton Inn for dinner. Fortunately, they had intended to stay in Charleston at least overnight (Jaycee Tourist Information Center Formally Dedicated, 1951). The new center was also landscaped which cleaned up an area previously covered with weeds and provided an attractive entrance to the city.

The Tourist Industry

After the end of the War, during the rest of the 1940s tourism began to grow but

did not achieve its pre-War levels (Charleston's Tourist Season Called Better Than Last Year's, 1947). The larger hotels reported full occupancy during the season (March-April) but there was no overflow into private homes as there had been in the immediate pre-War years. Some of the tourist homes reported better business in 1947 than 1946 but owners of the gardens rated the number as about the same between the two years. Some blamed the weather for the lack of growth. By 1950, numbers of visitors were beginning to increase but the Chamber of Commerce decided it had nothing to do with Charleston's efforts but more an aggressive advertising campaign from Florida. The southbound tourists stayed in the new motor courts that were being built along the Savannah Highway and one manager said his business had increased by 50%. Many of these travelers began to spend more time in Charleston and many who were coming from inland areas of South Carolina and neighboring states were coming to visit the beaches (Big Summer Tourist Season is Reported, 1950) (News and Courier, October 8, 1950).

By 1953, the city was looking at the number of conventions that were coming to Charleston and realizing that these were providing the city with some valuable income. The chairman of the Chamber's Tourist and Convention Committee, Mr. Richard Bradham, pointed out that with the current facilities, the city could only accommodate meetings of less than 500 people and that a new civic auditorium would encourage much larger conventions (Tourists Spent \$12 Million Here Last Year Chamber Officials Say, 1953).

In 1953, the Chamber was celebrating another successful season which Mr. Bradham suggested was due to increased promotional activity on the part of the Chamber

and the new tourist booths located near the Ashley and Cooper River bridges (City's Tourist Trade Far Surpasses Previous Record, 1953). Other tourism experts were attributing the increased volume to large industries beginning to give more vacations with pay and extending the allowable vacation period to the fall and winter instead of just in the summer (Charleston's 1954 Tourist Crop is Being Sized Up By Officials, 1953). By 1954, downtown hotels were full to capacity during the garden season and in 1955, there was another 12% increase in tourists visiting the historic sites of Fort Sumter, Sword Gates House and the Charleston Museum.

Much of the increase recorded by the Chamber of Commerce can be substantiated by records kept by the various monuments, museums and historic houses of the city.

Advertising and Promotion

In 1939, the Lions Club held a luncheon to honor the “pioneers” in advertising the city, Mr. Homer Pace who had arranged the program stated, “L. Jack Oliver was a pioneer in the work of advertising Charleston. Many years ago Mr. Oliver traveled from Florida to Virginia, tacking signs on trees and advertising Charleston in many other ways” (Tourist Business History Traced, 1939). As chairman of the Tourist and Convention Bureau he had launched a campaign to promote the city, emphasizing its gardens and places of historic interest. The Lions Club published the first folder containing the slogan “America’s Most Historic City. The slogan was challenged by Fredericksburg, VA and a debate was arranged to settle the issue. The debate, however, was never held. Also at the luncheon the local newspaper was praised for its rotogravure edition published in November 1924 and its special Highway Edition in December 1926.

Both editions were published nationally and increased the tourist inquiries for information about the city. About 100,000 maps that had appeared in the special edition were distributed nationally. At around the same time, Ashmead F. Pringle, paid for a dozen large signs to be erected by the Tourist and Convention Bureau at strategic locations on highways to advertise Charleston (Tourist Business History Traced, 1939). During the luncheon, acknowledgements were made of varying books and articles that featured Charleston and its attributes.

In 1940, Mayor Lockwood's annual report described the special advertising fund administered by the Office of Port Development and the Joint Advertising Committee. The city allocated \$6,000 for financing the annual campaign to attract tourists. Some of this fund was used to reprint folders produced by the Chamber of Commerce. The city also printed and distributed 30,000 guide maps and the same number of historical tour folders and the Office of Port Development produced 62,500 pieces of advertising matter. The city also took responsibility for maintaining "standard highway bulletins at strategic points; seasonal tourist advertisements in 37 nationally known newspapers' subscribed to the services of three distributing agencies and paid for the dues to the Ocean Highway Association. This last paid for the printing of 450,000 roadmaps and folders (Lockwood, 1941).

During World War II advertising and promotion were suspended. In 1948, the Office of Promotional Development was established to join with other civic agencies to promote Charleston. The director of the office went on a goodwill tour to Florida to encourage the growth of spring visitation to Charleston. The group who traveled with the

director contacted civic leaders, city officials, newspaper and radio representatives and travel agents. The office also took over the responsibility for providing guide maps to tourists visiting the city (Charleston Yearbook 1948, p. 173).

Even with these various agencies in place, the amount of advertising done by the city was still considered inadequate. In 1951, Henry T. Gaud, Chairman of the Charleston Chamber of Commerce suggested, “immediate action to produce larger tourist revenues.” He reported that in the previous year, the city had appropriated \$500 and the Chamber of Commerce \$1500 for all advertising purposes. South Carolina had also only appropriated \$30,000 for promotion. He compared this to Virginia’s promotional budget of \$150,000-\$250,000. The results were that Virginia received \$300 million in tourist expenditures while South Carolina only received \$67 million (Gaud Proposes Organization to Attract Tourist Trade, 1951). By 1954, the Chamber of Commerce was appropriating \$9,000 for advertising (Tourism Promotion Has Become Charleston Habit, 1954) and the state had appropriated \$60,000 but the city had not appropriated any funds (Money Is Needed to Draw Tourists, Gaud Declares, 1954).

In 1956, the Chamber of Commerce was maintaining a “tourist-seeking outpost” in New York at the New York Sports, Travel and Vacation Show at Kingsbridge Armory where the Charleston exhibit drew a lot of attention. The attention to detail seemed to pay off because the majority of visitors to the show seemed to visit the exhibit. It was given a frame of imitation ironwork with a large mural of Charleston and each day fresh camellia blooms were flown to New York to decorate the booth. It also featured an automatic book which showed color photos of the city and the gardens. The managers of

the booth gave away over \$100 million in Confederate \$100 bills.

CHAPTER 8 1958-1979 THE MOVE FROM TOURISM ADVERTISING TO TOURISM MANAGEMENT

Introduction

In 1959, tourism was increasing in Charleston but the center of the city was suffering from stagnation as businesses moved out to the suburbs and neighboring municipalities, like North Charleston and Mount Pleasant. The tourists continued to visit because of the historic area but shopping, accommodations, and restaurants could all be found outside the city center and their importance was perhaps not as great as it was to become. However, visitors could stay outside the city and commute to the attractions they wanted to see. The new bridges which were built across the Ashley and Cooper Rivers to add to the existing bridges serving Charleston, and later Interstate 26 (1969) all improved the accessibility to Charleston. (Fraser, 1989)

In April 1961, the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War was celebrated by the cadets of the Citadel “firing” on the *Star of the West*. The city was not particularly enthusiastic about the upcoming event. In December 1960, only the Citadel was actively preparing for the event, growing “vintage Civil War sideburns”. Other organizations, even the Chamber of Commerce, said they had no plans as yet, and if they did, they were not yet ready to make them public. Potential visitors, however, were very interested and inundated the Chamber of Commerce with inquiries for information. Even the National Parks Service announced they would be opening a new Museum at Fort Sumter on April 12 (the anniversary of the start of the Civil War) but had no other events scheduled. (Bowles, 1960) However, the state transferred over 14 acres at Fort Moultrie

(Sullivan's Island) to the National Park Service. The Park Service was then able to establish a headquarters to manage both Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter. (Fraser, 1989, p. 413).

Visitor Centers

A new visitor center was opened east of the Cooper River Bridge in 1963 constructed by the East Cooper Development Board and run by the Board during the summer, while the Greater Charleston Chamber of Commerce operated it in the spring (Tourist Information Center Does Thriving Business, 1965). The center at the east end of the Ashley River Bridge became untenable as an information center in the mid-1960s because of street widening on Spring Street. It was no longer accessible to traffic coming from the south and had to be moved to the west side of the bridge (Jaycee Tourist Center To Get New Location, 1966).

By the early 1970s, visitor information services were located in the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce offices on Lockwood Drive. They were moved into the Arch Building on Calhoun Street during 1972, making tourism information much more central to the tourist area and catering to the needs of visitors on foot as well as providing parking space for those in automobiles. The Arch Building, also known as the Gate House, had been built in 1857 and was restored with a HUD grant matched by the Historic Charleston Foundation (Pillow, 1972). In the same year, the Trident Chamber of Commerce opened a series of mini-tourist information centers. The first was at the Municipal Marina on Lockwood Boulevard. The centers were designed to be completely self-service with brochures and maps, with a larger map on the wall. Others were opened

in banks and other businesses (Tourist Information Center Opened By Trident Chamber, 1972).

The center had only been in operation for five years when Mayor Joseph Riley began to plan a new center in 1977. The sudden increase in numbers of tourists in the mid-1970s warranted a larger visitor reception center.

Advertising

In Charleston, the County Parks, Recreation and Tourism Commission (PRT) was becoming more active in advertising the city. In 1972, various groups in the city including local historical societies were becoming interested in being involved in promotion. The projects were becoming more sophisticated with new film footage to be shown nationwide in movie theaters and on television. Funding for the production was paid for from the one-half mill annual tax levy to fund the commission (Dane, 1972). Other projects at the time were three major travel shows in Chicago, Cincinnati and Toronto. The show in Toronto was included to try and attract Canadians who were going to be visiting Myrtle Beach during “Canadian Days” (Dane, 1972).

Ben Boozer, the Director of Charleston County PRT, was enthusiastic about the cooperation of different organizations. He felt that everyone should be involved and do their share of promoting Charleston. These sentiments spilled over into the creation of a new tourist industry development council in 1975 after a travel industry conference was held in September 1975 (Fennell E. , Cooperation Urged in Attracting Tourists, 1975). Boozer said that while the council would start on small projects, it would gradually expand and suggested that cooperative efforts at promotion could be the first project.

(Reaves, Cooperation Council's Key , 1975) Six months later, the Charleston Travel Industry Development Council began a cooperative advertising program. Their goal in the initial project was to promote Charleston as a destination instead of a stop-over point as part of another trip. Advertisements in magazines, newspapers and television would encourage stays of several days at all times of the year. For the first phase of the advertising program, half of the financing of \$50,000 was contributed by PRT and half by the Council members. The members were representatives from attractions, hotels, motels, guides, banks, airlines, restaurants and other businesses. (Reaves, Joint Promotion Program set for Charleston, 1976)

In August 1976, the Council extended its cooperative advertising program. The campaign which was sponsored by the Council, about 90 tourist-oriented businesses, and the Charleston County PRT. Advertisements were to be included in magazines such as *Southern Living, Travel and Leisure, Smithsonian, Washingtonian and Atlanta*. A 30-second television commercial to be aired in 12 southeastern cities and a five-minute film on Charleston to be shown on television and at travel exhibitions were produced (Flagler, 1976a).

At the second annual Charleston Travel Industry Conference Mr. Pat Callan, the vice-president of Cypress Gardens, urged the participants to sell Charleston as a whole rather than its separate attractions. He suggested that each of the attractions in Central Florida had “benefited from a cooperative promotional program.” (Fennell E. , 1976) The long-established fact that visitors to Charleston were often on their way to Florida was inserted into the discussion and Mr. Callan suggested that the city lure the tourists away

from I-95 and encourage them to stay for a few days (Fennell E. , 1976). Some other topics discussed at the conference were reflections of the growing discontent among the historic district residents. Several Battery residents recommended that special events be disallowed to control noise and litter. Concern about the lack of restrooms for tourists, bus and carriage tour routes, hotel accommodations and parking problems, especially of camping vehicles were all voiced at the conference.

Another project of the Travel Industry Development Council was “Operation Highway Patrol,” a program to increase information at some of the information stops in South Carolina. Places like South of the Border on Interstate 95 were cited as having little in the way of information about Charleston in their brochure racks . Other activities of the Council included compiling a trip planner, mailing information to travel agents and preparing a new press package on Charleston (Reaves, 1976a). Probably one of the most successful promotions, certainly the one that was most talked about, if not blamed on the rapid influx of tourists in the 1970s was the advertising slogan “Discover America’s Best Preserved Secret.” The *Charleston Evening Post* stated that the slogan had “aroused the curiosity of thousands of people all over the world and has caused thousands to come to Charleston in search of it” (Green, 1977). Illustrations of historical sites and a coupon to request information were included in the advertisement which also gave a brief history of the city. The advertisement was placed in national magazines. People who made inquiries were sent a package with a letter from Mayor Riley, a card to use to make reservations at hotels and motels, a list of major events, and an invitation to ask for additional information on any site. After two weeks the recipient of the package was sent

a postcard asking if they planned to visit Charleston.

Beautification

During the 1960s and 1970s there were several projects initiated to revitalize the downtown area. One of these was the beautification of Broad Street started in 1968. Broad Street was laid out in 1672 two years after the colony was established. The Historic Charleston Foundation undertook the organization of the project to improve the appearance of the buildings and the general streetscape. Broad Street in the 1960s was already part of the Old and Historic District. The Historic Charleston Foundation received a grant from the America the Beautiful Fund and encouraged tenants and owners to paint the facades of buildings. A chart of the street showing each building and what color it should be painted. Owners and tenants were encouraged to remove offensive and neon signage and to place historic plaques with date, builder and occupation on the buildings. The city also buried electrical and telephone wires and planted trees (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 80). The Historic Charleston Foundation sponsored other beautification and rehabilitation activities on East Bay and Market Streets and used its revolving fund to purchase properties in Ansonborough for sale after improvements. The need for cleaning up these streets is aptly quoted by Fraser about Market Street in the 1960s: “a street where ‘in one block, in half an hour, and for less than \$10 you could get a bowl of chili, a tattoo, and a social disease.’” (Fraser, 1989, p. 425)

In 1975, Charleston was designated an “Entitlement Community” and received Community Development Block Grant funding for community development projects. The city decided to establish the Department of Urban Planning and Development with

these funds and hired its first team of full-time planners (Bunnell, 2002, p. 225). Also in 1975, a task force of Charleston's Downtown Council chose the firm of Barton-Aschman to conduct a study of the King Street area.

In January 1976, the principal of Barton Aschman, addressed the Preservation Society of Charleston laying out plans for rehabilitating the street and revitalizing the area generally (Greene H. , 1976). When Joseph P. Riley became mayor in 1976, he announced the creation of the Charleston Commercial Revitalization Program. A commission consisting of area businessmen was established. Their task was to examine ways to bring business back to the central business district (CBD). The city appropriated \$100,000 for the purpose (Bunnell, 2002, p. 225). King Street, being the main shopping street for the city would be a logical place to start a revitalization program and building rehabilitation program. Barton- Aschman delivered their report to the city in October 1977 which included what was at first called the "Charleston Place Project." The plan for King Street included a 450-room 12-story luxury hotel, a conference center, retail stores, a department store and a parking garage (Bunnell, 2002, p. 225). It took nine years and one month to complete Charleston Place.

Tourism Management

During the fourth term of Mayor Gaillard's administration in the early 1970s, recognition of the need to manage tourism began to take root. In 1970, City Council enacted an ordinance to stop vehicles from idling motors for longer than five minutes in residential areas (Glass M. , 1981).

One of the events that precipitated City Council to think about regulation was the

arrival of a British double-decker bus to conduct tours in downtown Charleston and Mount Pleasant. The bus, measuring 13.5 feet high, with seating for 52 people, had been acquired by Historic Charleston Tours (an affiliate of Charleston Auto Works) (Gardner, 1974). It was scheduled to make two four-hour trips per day with departure points at the Francis Marion Hotel, the King Charles Inn, the Holiday Inns, Riverview and Downtown and possibly the Mills Hyatt House (Moore M. , 1974).

Complaints about the bus came from competing tour operators who said that the buses did not fit in with Charleston's "authenticity" and that it would increase traffic congestion. Other complaints included that the bus was too tall and could damage city trees with low branches and that loading and unloading of passengers might have to take place in the middle of the road at some points. However, at a City Council meeting the aldermen decided not to hold a public hearing about the bus. The Public Safety and Transportation Committee said they had "little legal choice in the matter" (Glass M. , 1974a). However, there was conflict over the vehicle's appearance and the route it would take. The city's legal department stated that there were no rules on tour buses or tour guides other than a required business license. The city could, however, control which streets the bus could travel along. The city's lawyer said that the city could pass an ordinance to exercise some control over tour buses and guides. Although there was already a draft of an ordinance to require licensing of tour guides, there was nothing drafted regarding buses.⁵

⁵ By 1977 there were three London buses in use and they had become generally accepted. However, they had suffered damage from accidents and vandalism and the company who ran the buses decided to sell

In November 1974, Alderman Joseph H. McGee proposed creating a new Arts and History Commission, with more power than the old commission, to govern “tourist vehicles, tour guide licensing, historical markers and public art.” The measure stated that the regulations were needed to “maintain, protect and promote historical accuracy and aesthetic charm, to reduce unnecessary traffic and pollution, and thus to protect the welfare health and safety of the citizens” of Charleston. Controls would be placed on “a vehicle’s size and appearance, its means of propulsion and its proposed route” (Glass M. , 1974). The City Council passed the measure and the Commission on Arts and History was established on May 1, 1975. Some of the members of the Commission included the president of the Charleston Museum and the president of the Carolina Art Association. The Commission was given the authority to give examinations and register tour guides and issuing certificates of appropriateness for sightseeing vehicles (Isaac, 1975). Council also introduced a measure wherein tour vehicles had to pull over to the sides of the street for traffic to pass so congestion could be avoided (Glass M. , 1981).

Joseph H McGee also proposed the “horse diaper law” which gained international attention and much ridicule (Glass M. , 1981). As a Church Street resident, McGee complained that horse manure from the carriage horses was “unbearable.” It took City Council a year to pass the law and shortly after they rescinded the diaper part but required carriage owners and operators to pick up their horse’s manure by sundown each day.

When Joseph P. Riley, Jr became Charleston’s mayor in 1976, he was immediately faced with many problems and issues related to the mushrooming growth of

them to a firm in Indianapolis to become part of the décor in a London-themed restaurant. (Robinson, 1977)

tourism. At the third annual Charleston Travel Industry Conference at Kiawah Island, he made the statement, “Tourism success came sooner than we thought. We were not prepared for it and were surprised by it.” At a meeting with the Travel Council, Mayor Riley heard some of the problems associated with the increase of tourism. These included: litter in the streets and the parks, traffic congestion especially along the Battery, and vendors in White Point Gardens by the Battery (Freeman, 1977). One of the residents said that people in the historic area were sick of “congestion, horse manure, the crowds that litter their yards and block their driveways. They are tired of tripping over fishing lines, or pop cans on the Battery listening to blaring radios in the Gardens. They are tired of sweeping dried manure off their porches or their kids Keds [shoes]. They are just generally dismayed that the gem of a city is losing its shine” (Flagler, 1977). Other complaints included campers parked overnight on the Battery, large tour buses belching exhaust fumes, vending carts being pushed along the streets, droning of carriage operators, and traffic congestion behind horse-drawn carriages.

In November, 1977 about 350 residents from the historic area, organized themselves into a neighborhood association (Charlestown Neighborhood Association) to persuade City Hall to act on their complaints. Mayor Riley responded to this movement by announcing plans to control the negative aspects of tourism in the historic area and that a study was being conducted. (Old City's Residents Organizing, 1977).

In November 1977, Mayor Riley was attacked for not responding to the needs of the downtown citizens. In a response to the *News and Courier* he outlined what he had been doing to manage the negative impacts of tourism in the city:

- Appointed a citizens committee to study the impact of tourism.
- Supported the tour bus and carriage ordinance.
- Drafted and introduced the horse diaper law as a solution to the horse droppings.
- Reduced the number of organized events allowed to use White Point Gardens.
- Asked for bids for renovation of restrooms in White Point Gardens
- Replaced old trash cans in White Point Gardens with larger and more attractive containers.
- Instituted a Sunday garbage collection for King and Market Streets and the Battery – the areas most populated by tourists.
- Directed the Sanitation Department to wash heavily-used streets in the downtown area on Sunday.
- Appointed a committee to review the White Point Gardens issue, especially with regard to carriages parking there.
- Department of Leisure Services drew up a comprehensive set of parks rules and regulations to control the number organized activities and park curfews.
- Instigated the drafting of an ordinance to prohibit alcohol consumption in the parks and streets.
- Initiated the drafting of an ordinance to ban campers parking overnight on city streets.
- Worked with citizens interested in constructing a park on the Cooper River waterfront which would not only improve the landscape of the waterfront and provide green space, but also would attract tourists away from the historic area,

the Battery, and White Point Gardens.

- Sent city department heads to a Keep America Beautiful conference and as a result of that created a Clean City Committee.
- Opposed rezoning of a water lot on the Battery where a new tour boat facility was proposed.
- Promoted an improved public transit system for Charleston to relieve traffic congestion and reduce the reliance of tourists on their automobiles (Riley, 1977).

Riley also responded that he was not in any way involved in the creation of the Charlestown Neighborhood and that the city was not trying to “get a neighborhood association into bed with the city.” He stated that neighborhood associations were independent bodies and part of citizen participation and it was the city’s responsibility to establish good communication with these organizations and listen to their opinions (Riley, 1977).

At their meeting in May 1979, the Association president, Mrs. Nancy Hawk said, “if the residents don’t get protection for the area so it’s a pleasant place to reside, then the only recourse is to make the neighborhood so unattractive that the tourists won’t want to come here.” The Association also threatened to close their homes and gardens to tourists unless City Hall helped them with some regulation (Adams J. , 1979).

Tour vehicles ordinances. In May, 1977 City Council decided to investigate the problem of tour buses in the downtown area of Charleston. Issues surrounding the problem included the number and size of buses and their routes in the downtown and historic areas. Several subcommittees were formed from the Public Safety and Traffic

Committee to decide whether these factors should be controlled. (Council Plans Probe of Curbs On Tour Buses, 1977)

Six months later an ordinance was given its first reading in council. It was designed to promote citizen welfare; lessen the intrusion of big buses in quiet neighborhoods, protect old streets from excessive wear and tear; relieve traffic congestion in the narrow streets reduce pollution, and generally preserve the atmosphere of the Old and Historic District. (A Gentle Curb On Sightseers, 1977). The ordinance was to restrict sightseeing buses and horse-drawn carriages to 19 specified streets in the Old and Historic District, including the downtown area.

The ordinance was due to take effect in March 1978. Animal-drawn tour carriages and buses carrying more than 16 passengers were to be limited to certain streets and parking was prohibited in many areas. All tour vehicles were also required to carry livery insurance to cover accidents (Flagler, 1977a). Sightseeing passenger cars and mini-buses were excluded from the ordinance.

The ordinance immediately received criticism, mainly from the owners and operators of sightseeing and tour companies. Arguments against the ordinance included discrimination against low-income and older age groups who could not afford to sightsee in tour passenger cars (Flagler, 1977a); limiting tour vehicles to certain streets would increase congestion on those streets while, under the existing ordinance, vehicles could vary routes to avoid potential congestion (Freeman, 1977a); size and weight should not apply to horse carriages; the question of why mini-buses were exempt; not allowing vehicles on certain streets would omit important sights and landmarks from the tours

(Flagler, 1977a).

Before the ordinance was due to go into effect in March 1978, some provisions were revised. The Councilmember who proposed the original ordinance (J. Rutledge Young), said that since horse diapers were now being used, that carriages should be allowed on all streets. However, the Commission on Arts and History recommended that, on some streets, carriages should still be prohibited because the streets were too narrow (Flagler, 1978). The revision was also going to allow buses on several more streets. In May, 1978 the Arts and History Commission recommended opening more streets to large buses but still refused to recommend opening more streets south of Broad to horse-drawn carriages (Glass M. , More streets Approved For Tour Buses In City, 1978). The reason for the recommendation was to allow buses to have access to the Charleston Museum area.

The Arts and History Commission, while agreeing that vehicles in the city should be restricted in numbers, could not agree on a resolution calling for a moratorium on the approval of more tour vehicles (Adams J. , Downtown Tour Moratorium Fails to Pass, 1978). However, the mayor was also interested in seeing compliance with the tour bus ordinances and ordered a “crackdown” on violators (Adams J. , 1979a).

Tourism Commission. During 1979, the city started the process of creating a new commission or department to manage tourism and to formulate a new comprehensive tourism ordinance. The city’s Tourism Management Committee asked the Arts and History Commission to suggest issues of tourism that needed regulation and how tourism management could be brought under one authority (Adams J. , 1979a). The

committee was also charged with the task of studying the possibilities of a comprehensive tourism planning ordinance that Mayor Riley stated would be “something more responsive” (Adams J. , 1979a). The City Attorney, Robert Rosen, said that the new board would be similar to the city’s Boards of Adjustment and Architectural Review with the same kind of authority to regulate tourism. Rosen said that the Commission would contain “residents who are ‘knowledgeable in the history and architecture of the city,’ preservationists, business people, representatives of the tourist industry and residents of those areas of the city that are affected by tourism”. (Adams J. , 1979b)

The new commission would also have an administrator and staff and would work “out of the mayor’s office ‘to monitor and regulated tourism, to enforce ordinances and to administer policies’ (Tourism Policy Commission Recommended, 1979)”. Various ideas had been put forward by Dr. Roger Stough of the College of Charleston’s Center for Metropolitan Affairs and Public Policy. Dr. Stough was to work closely with the Tourism Management Committee (later called the Tourism Management Study Committee) to work on the creation of the Commission. The new commission would “recommend and review proposed city tourism ordinances and formulate policies related to issues such as tour vehicles and vendors in public places.” (Glass M. , 1979). The Tourism Management Study Committee spent the next 44 months mainly studying the issue of tour buses and horse-drawn carriages before it released its final report in 1982.

Spoleto Festival

When he became mayor, Joseph P. Riley, Jr. wanted to increase tourism and, to help achieve this effect, helped to bring the Miss USA beauty pageant and the Spoleto

Festival to Charleston. The Spoleto Festival was started as the “Festival of Two Worlds” in Spain and later moved to Italy in 1957 (Fraser, 1989, p. 431). It started as a place for young American artists to meet in Europe but quickly spread to incorporate many other artists. It included a mix of dance theater, opera, music and the visual arts (Spoleto Festival USA-History, 2012). The founder of the Festival, Gian-Carlo Menotti, an opera composer and impresario, was invited to Charleston. He was looking for somewhere to introduce the festival in the United States. He chose Charleston mainly for its charm but also because the city had a variety of venues (churches, theaters and auditoria) and accommodations to house a large number of people.

Negotiations between the organization and Menotti broke down. Production problems led to rumors of the festival being cancelled (Serious Production Woes Plague Spoleto Festival, 1976). The problems were alleviated when Mayor Riley appointed the former president of the College of Charleston, Theodore Stern to resume negotiations with Menotti. The first Spoleto USA was held in Charleston from May 25 to June 5 1977. A study (commissioned by the Charleston County PRT and the Charleston Travel Council) released later that year found that 16% of early summer visitors were influenced by publicity for the Miss USA pageant or the Spoleto Festival. Also the study found that of 50,000 travel parties surveyed in June and July, 37.3% had seen the Miss USA pageant and one-fourth of those came to Charleston because of it. About 6.6% of the visitors came to Charleston because of Spoleto (Reaves, Spoleto, Pageant Bring Tourists to Charleston, 1977).

By 1994, the Spoleto Festival was well-established in the city as area hotels and

motels supported the festival by offering to house performers free of charge or at low cost. At this point, the festival was bringing in approximately 100,000 visitors, creating 2,400 jobs as a result, and bringing in \$42 million in related spending, although the festival itself already had a debt of \$1 million. (Behre R. , 1994). The Spoleto Festival is still very popular today with 17 days devoted to the arts in Charleston. In 1977, the introduction of the festival, whether consciously or unconsciously, marked the start of a move toward making Charleston more attractive to affluent and well-educated visitors.

African Americans and Tourism

Charleston like the rest of the nation went through nearly 100 years of politically discriminating against black people, including disenfranchisement and segregation. Decisions about Charleston's administration were all made by white leaders and officials. The South Carolina Constitution passed in 1895 effectively disenfranchised African-Americans (Fraser, 1989, p. 329). In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century a series of segregation laws prohibited African-American people from riding trolley cars and from going to the Battery. Segregation signs were also posted on restrooms, drinking fountains, hotels, restaurants, parks and playgrounds. African Americans began to move out of Charleston at the beginning of the twentieth century, at first to be nearer their phosphate mining jobs, later as they lost employment in domestic service. The preservation movement also drove out many African Americans from the center of Charleston (Fraser, 1989, p. 336). Although there was a sizeable African American business community, they were effectively segregated and kept out of political life. In the 1950s, the Hotel James was built for African Americans, but it was outside of

the TBD area at the west end of Spring Street (Negro Hotel to Be Dedicated Here Sunday Afternoon, 1952). The *News and Courier* announced, “Charleston citizens have built for Negro visitors a new and modern hotel, a place in which they can be comfortable while visiting the city for pleasure or business..... That their business is to be opened with a religious service indicates the operation of the hotel will be a credit to the community” (New Hotel for Negroes, 1952). In general there was little interest in African-American tourist business.

During the 1960s things began to change. In 1960, the Charleston Municipal Golf Course was desegregated and was the first municipal facility in South Carolina to be desegregated (Fraser, 1989, p. 411). This was quickly followed by bus and train depots, parks, playgrounds, restaurants and the library. The telephone directory for Charleston, however, was still advertising African American restaurants in the mid-1960s.

In 1970, during Mayor Gaillard’s administration, the first black person was elected to City Council since Reconstruction and the State House of Representatives also received its first African American. In 1954, African-Americans had refused to perform in *Porgy* to a segregated audience. In 1970, as part of the Tri-Centennial celebration, *Porgy and Bess* was performed to an integrated audience with an all-black cast (Rosen, 1982, p. 145).

When Joseph Riley became mayor in 1975, City Council was composed of six blacks and six whites. The introduction of single-member districts had changed the political landscape of the city. Now black neighborhoods could vote for their own candidate. It was at this point that African Americans really entered the decision-making

arena in Charleston.

CHAPTER 9 1979-1999 BALANCE AND COORDINATION

Introduction

In 1979, Charleston was receiving large numbers of tourists and the numbers of tourist businesses were also beginning to take off in response (see Figures 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5). Residents were complaining about the disruption of their lives by tourism and were beginning to form into neighborhood associations to persuade city government to control tourism. Mayor Riley had initiated a number of measures to control the industry, mostly to try to protect the historic area from being overburdened by tour vehicles of different types, to clean up the city, and control inappropriate uses of parks and public spaces. During the period 1979-1999, Mayor Riley spent time stressing that Charleston was a living city and not a museum, that neighborhoods where residents kept their properties in good condition deserved respect and help to keep their area livable in spite of the increasing numbers of tourists. It was also a period when disharmony between different interests in the city was surfacing. Riley's task was to balance the needs of residents, tourists and businesses in the peninsula area. He also had to balance the interests of preservation with those of modernization and change while upgrading worn out facilities, or building new ones to accommodate the tourists. This coordination of different activities to try to satisfy as many parties as possible often meant that projects took much longer to complete. Two examples of this were the Charleston Place project and the Visitor Reception and Transportation Center.

Charleston Place

One of Joseph P. Riley's goals on becoming mayor was to try and bring business back to the downtown area. The CBD and shopping area were in a slump in the late 1970s. The Barton-Aschman report recommended the construction of a hotel and convention complex in an area bounded by King, Beaufain, Meeting and Hasell Streets. This was the site of an old department store. The initial plan was to build a complex that was 12 stories high with a 450-room hotel, conference center, retail stores, a department store and parking (Bunnell, 2002, p. 226). The plan was also to demolish 33 historic buildings while keeping their facades. Supporters of the development said that not only would it revive King Street, but would also add to the tax base and create employment with construction jobs and eventually with 600 permanent positions (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 95). However, downtown residents thought it would increase traffic congestion and make parking more difficult (Bunnell, 2002, p. 226).

The financing for the project came from a bond issue, a \$4.15 million Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) to acquire the land and demolish some buildings, and \$3 million from the Economic Development Administration for building the parking garage. Mayor Riley actually obtained over \$17 million in federal grants and loans during the development period (Behre R. , Time hasn't changed some minds, 1996).

The Board of Architectural Review gave its approval to the "concept" of the project (Bunnell, 2002, p. 227) and the Historic Charleston Foundation also supported the plan. But the Preservation Society of Charleston, the Charlestown Neighborhood Association, the Harleston Village Association and the new Save Historic Charleston

Foundation all decided to cause as much obstruction to the project as possible by filing law suits challenging the project's constitutionality, and questioning the use of federal funds. The lawsuits eventually came to nothing but in the meantime the developer that had been selected ran into financial difficulties on another project and had to withdraw. With the new developer in place a decision was made to reduce the height of the new building to 8 stories from its former 11 1/2 stories (Bunnell, 2002, p. 228). The hotel would now feature an eight-story light brick tower with 4-story perimeter buildings for retail space. The Architect, John Carl Warnecke was very sensitive to the need to fit in with the historic fabric of the area (Guerard, 1984). On the other hand, Lawrence O. Thompson who became the city's revitalization director in 1980, said that it was not just about the building but about "whether the city was going to continue as it was or whether it was going to join the 20th century" (Behre R. , Time hasn't changed some minds, 1996).

Charleston Place opened in September, 1986, nine years after it was first proposed. The completed project contained a hotel (The Omni) with 450 rooms, a ballroom/conference facility for 1,500 people, and retail stores on all four sides of the complex, and a parking garage for 500 cars. Charleston Place also spawned other developments that helped to revitalize the King Street area, for example the old Riviera Theater (Bunnell, 2002, p. 228). The area acquired a new upscale department store (Saks Fifth Avenue) in 1996. When Mayor Riley first agreed to the plan for Charleston Place, the goals for the development were to bring more people to the downtown area especially as pedestrians, link the Market area with King Street, bring more development to King

Street, and build a complex that would serve the city's growing tourism industry. Ten years after the opening, Riley said that Charleston Place had exceeded those goals. (Behre R. , Time hasn't changed some minds, 1996). The economic impact of Charleston Place was considerable. By 1996, the hotel was averaging 2400 guests per week and drew international attention to Charleston. Revenues had reached \$38 million annually, the Orient-Express Hotels which had acquired 20% interest in the hotel in 1995, had plans to upgrade Charleston Place to five-star status (McDermott, 1996). In 1996, it was one of the city's largest taxpayers and one of the area's biggest employers. It brought 550 jobs and a \$10 million payroll as well as increasing downtown property values (and rents), but it did drive out some locally-owned businesses as national franchises like Gap Inc., who could afford the higher rents, moved in (McDermott, 1997).

The Visitor Reception and Transportation Center (VRTC)

The idea for the VRTC was first conceived by Francis Edmonds, the president of the Historic Charleston Foundation (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 86). It was developed into a proposal by the Barton-Aschman firm in their 1978 Tourism Impact Study (Barton-Aschman Associates, 1978). The site of the existing visitor center in the Arch Building was near an old residential neighborhood. It was decided that expanding the site would have negative effects on the neighborhood (Bunnell, 2002).

Various sites were proposed for the center but eventually the city decided to acquire a site of 11 acres in Wraggborough, on Meeting Street, opposite the new Charleston Museum and near to the Joseph Manigault and Aiken-Rhett Houses (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 86). The site was selected for a number of reasons. First, it needed

to be in an area where visitors coming to the city would pass the center. It also needed space for parking so that visitors could be offered an option of taking a shuttle or tour bus around the downtown area or touring the downtown and historic area on foot. The city hoped that by converting an old warehouse in the area to a visitor center that it would help to revitalize the area which had become rundown and dilapidated. Other uses planned for the area included a transit mall for Downtown Area Shuttle (DASH) buses, office buildings, a hotel which would expand the hotel area of the city (Bunnell, 2002, p. 249), pedestrian plazas, shopping areas and a railroad museum (Glass M. , 1981a) .

The purpose of the center would be to orient the visitor to the history of the city through exhibits and films and would contain a theater for the purpose (White M. , City Seeks Grant for Transportation Center, 1983b). The Center would also provide services that would enable the visitor to purchase tickets for city tours and to book accommodations (Bunnell, 2002, p. 249).

The project was supported by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Historic Charleston Foundation and the Preservation Society of Charleston. The warehouse was donated to the city by the Southern Railroad. However, the city had to rely on government grants to pay for the development and construction of the complex. The city received \$5.5 million in a federal Urban Mass Transit Administration Grant from the Department of Transportation. The grant was to be used to construct the visitor center and parking lot. It would also enable the city to purchase four new DASH buses and to this end the grant was shared by the South Carolina Electric & Gas Co. who ran the bus service (McCarthy, 1984). An Urban Development Action Grant from HUD was

used to supplement the UMTA grant by helping in the construction costs, public improvements, and provide a second mortgage to the developer at a lower interest rate (Thompson, 1983).

The Center's development was slowed by political wrangling over the Charleston Place complex. The Charleston Place ran into financial problems in 1982 and the Mayor felt that, since the plans for Charleston Place were further along, the city should concentrate its efforts on that project (Thompson, 1983). Also, the mayor was at odds with the Preservation Society of Charleston over the Charleston Place project. He refused to allow them to be involved in the VRTC project, while the Historic Charleston Foundation worked closely with the consultants on the VRTC project and helped by supporting the \$3 million bond issue approved in November 1987 (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 87). The project was also delayed because Hurricane Hugo damaged one of the main buildings in 1989 (Weyeneth, 2000, p. 88).

It took over 10 years to achieve the groundbreaking in November 1988 and 14 years to reach its opening in May 1991. A plan for a wall painted with "Welcome to Charleston" in eight different languages and an overall cost of \$13.39 million (Morgan K. , 1990) was a far cry from forty years previously when two local ladies in small concrete or wood buildings gave out brochures to motorists traveling between New York and Florida on Highway 17.

Advertising

PRT and the Chamber of Commerce. The trend toward coordinating tourism services and advertising in Charleston was exemplified by the move of tourism

responsibilities from Charleston County PRT to the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce. In May, 1984 a meeting was held between the Charleston County PRT and the Trident Chamber of Commerce at the request of a subcommittee of the Charleston County Legislative Delegation. The PRT commission and the Chamber of Commerce had been disagreeing on whether the Chamber should take over the responsibilities of tourism from PRT. PRT was responsible for running the Charleston CVB, booking conventions and attracting tourists to the county (Greene S. , 1984). The Chamber operated the visitor's center while promoting the Chamber's member businesses.

Both the Chamber and the tourist industry felt that it could perform the tasks currently run by PRT for \$160,000-200,000 per year less than PRT needed for promotion. This would save taxpayer money and/or provide funds for developing parks (Sayles, 1984). Democratic Representative Herbert Fielding stated that he had concerns about the Chamber's attitude and assistance to black businesses (Sayles, 1984). He also said that there could be legal questions as to whether taxpayer money could be transferred to the Chamber because it was a private organization.

In March 1985, a tourism advisory panel recommended that all tourism development be consolidated under the authority of the Trident Chamber of Commerce and its Travel Council. The panel stated that the primary reason was to stop duplication, but also to be able to access the Chamber's resources, volunteers and staff. The advisory panel had been appointed by the PRT Commission to investigate tourism promotion and services (Kellerhals M. , 1985). The transfer to the Chamber would mean it would have the responsibility of running the CVB as well as the Visitor's Center. The CVB could be

placed on a more professional footing with a staff of professionals who would have access to all the resources of the Chamber (Kellerhals M. , 1985).

PRT approved the plan to transfer tourism promotion and visitor services to the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce. The plan was to transfer the PRT Convention and Visitor's Bureau to the Chamber's Travel Council. The Travel Council would then be responsible for all tourism, promotion, advertising and conventions (Kellerhals M. , 1985a). The transfer took place on June 3 before the start of PRT's next fiscal year. What had been the PRT unit was moved to be near the Chamber offices in the Rice Mill Building on Lockwood Boulevard. As a security measure against PRT resuming any of its tourism duties, the Charleston Trident Chamber of Commerce asked the SC Legislature to delete the Charleston PRT Commission's authority to perform tourism-related actions. The SC Senate passed the bill in May, 1985 (Bennett, 1985).

With the exit of PRT from tourism promotion, the Chamber of Commerce began to look at new ways of promoting Charleston. One of the first tasks was to reorganize the Convention and Visitor Bureau and to create specialized departments within the Chamber of Commerce, for instance an advertising marketing program and a travel industry department (Johnson S. , 1985).

In 1990, despite the phenomenal growth of tourism, the chairman of the Trident Chamber of Commerce was calling for more promotion. The Chamber had spent an additional \$250,000 in advertising the area after Hurricane Hugo hit in 1989. The area was also receiving some free publicity when TV productions filmed in Charleston, for example the PBS Civil War series (Givens, 1990).

Attracting African-American visitors. In the 1980s, African-American tourism began to be encouraged with the introduction of the Moja Festival. Starting in 1984, this festival, which is still running in 2012, is a celebration of African-American and Caribbean art. The festival includes various forms of music, drama, dance, educational workshops and literary artists. The festival grew out of three previous biennial Black Arts Festivals and was renamed “Moja,” (a Swahili word meaning “One”) to “illustrate its theme of creating and promoting harmony amongst all people in our community and is designed to highlight the many African-American and Caribbean contributions to western and world cultures.” (City of Charleston Office of Cultural Affairs, 2011).

In 1992, the CVB began to target affluent African-American history buffs, increasing spending on advertising to “high-end” magazines known to have a large black readership. The 1977 TV mini-series “Roots” based on the book by Alex Haley sparked an interest in genealogy from African-Americans (Williams C. , 1998). Tours and other attractions were also promoted related to African-American history. In 1997, State PRT officials were estimating that 2 million African-Americans vacationed in South Carolina and made up 7% of the state’s tourism market spending \$280 million. However, a problem arose in 1999, when the NAACP announced, after its annual national convention in New York, that it was starting a campaign to persuade African-Americans to boycott South Carolina because the South Carolina State House was still flying the Confederate flag (Kropf, 1999).

Attracting foreign visitors. After 1980 the idea of attracting foreign visitors to the area was reported on in the *News and Courier*. In 1980, it was estimated that

Charleston would be receiving a larger number of British visitors. The number of Britons visiting America in 1965 was only 60,000. By 1980 it was 750,000. Charleston would be of interest to the British because of “the historic link between the two” (Murphy, 1980)

In 1980, the South Carolina PRT had begun a marketing program and the state was now becoming more active in trying to attract Europeans. By 1984, the newspaper was reporting that a record number of Europeans had visited Charleston in 1983 with more expected in 1984. The director of the CVB said that Europeans like the warm, sunny weather but they also want to learn something too and Charleston, at that time, was offering many educational opportunities. That was especially true of British visitors who still looked upon South Carolina as a colony. The director of the CVB made the comment that “They’re [the British] kind of proud, you know, the colonies have done real well.” An advantage for having Europeans coming to Charleston was also that they tend to spend more, especially in shopping areas (Deans, 1984).

Another strategy of advertising Charleston during the 1980s was to encourage visitors to come at all times of the year. To this end, the Travel Council had introduced some new activities like an Oyster Festival in January, which would coincide with oyster promotions in local restaurants and clubs, the South Carolina Wildlife Exposition in February, a revival of house and garden tours, the NCAA championship game and Charleston Christmas Festival (Trouche, 1984). Richard Widman, the chairman of the Travel Council, said that “repeat and extended visitation could improve the city’s annual \$460 million revenue” (Trouche, 1984).

At a reception for National Tourism Week in 1988, the vice president for the Charleston Trident Convention and Visitors Bureau, Dick Trammell, announced that vacationers were “staying longer and seeing more” and that the number of hotel rooms had grown 40% in the last four years (Parker, 1988). The Chamber had been trying to attract visitors from further away than traditional visitors, those who “fly to the area or took motor-coach tours into the area and then stay for longer periods of time.” This had resulted in a 10% increase of air travel over the previous four years and bus tours had increasing their market share from 0.8% to 4.6%. The Chamber was also promoting the city to both national and regional medical meetings because it was an upscale market (Parker, 1988).

Tourism Management

The 1983 Ordinance. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Tourism Management Study Commission spent 44 months studying and deliberating how to upgrade the tourism management ordinance of 1977. During that period they studied the problem of tourist bus size and carriage length. They had to stay sensitive to the needs of the touring industry at the same time as considering the wear and tear on the historic district’s physical fabric and the complaints of residents about noise, fumes and vibration. An argument against a possible ordinance was put forward by vehicle operators, PRT and the Chamber of Commerce. They stated that group tours to Charleston were increasing and if the regulations disallowed large buses in the historic district, then those tours might start to bypass the city rather than face transferring their passengers to smaller buses to tour the city. Also the new regulations might make Charleston less competitive (Glass

M. , 1980a). One suggestion that the DASH transit system could become a “more significant mode of transportation for tourists in the historic area” prompted a tour bus operator to say that a “city takeover and would lead to a lawsuit from private enterprise” (Glass M. , 1980)

After the final report was issued in April 1982, concerns about anti-trust laws surfaced. The proposed ordinance had set limits on the type and number of tour buses allowed in the historic district, as well as the number of horse-drawn carriages that could operate in the city. In 1982, the Supreme Court had ruled that local governments are liable under federal anti-trust laws for laws which are found to be anti-competitive. The ordinance had to be revised before being implemented because of the ruling and limits on the numbers of vehicles allowed to operate were removed (White M. , 1983a)

A less contentious issue dealt with in the ordinance was the creation of a new Tourism Commission. The commission was to have 11 members appointed by the mayor and include residents of the historic district and representatives of the tourism industry. The commission would oversee tourism management and a new Office of Tourism was to be created with a Director of Tourism to manage the administration. (White M. , 1983). The new law took effect in January 1984.

Hotel accommodations. In September 1981, the city turned its attention to the problem of accommodations in the city when Mayor Riley stated that the city was interested in controlling the growth of hotels and motels in the peninsula. He stated that too many hotels and motels would reduce room for residential areas and commercial development. In December 1981, a citizen’s advisory panel stated that they were not

happy with the planning staff's proposal of a five-year moratorium on construction of accommodations of over 50 rooms. The panel agreed that the location of new hotels, motels and inns should be regulated and that the city zoning ordinance be adjusted to reflect that. The Planning and Urban Development Department said that if all the proposed accommodation facilities were to be allowed, then the city would be over built. The department recommended that an environmental impact statement be prepared for large facilities after the 5 years was over (Glass M. , 1981).

The Department of Planning and Urban Development prepared a Visitor Accommodations Study which was adopted by City Council in 1982. The idea was that new hotels should only be built in areas where they would revitalize that part of the downtown area and should not be allowed near residential areas or in areas where they would change the general ambience of an area. Accommodations should also not be allowed to concentrate in one particular area and would not be allowed along the waterfront, in residential areas in the Old and Historic District or in residential areas west of King Street or in areas where the city was hoping to lessen the impacts of tourism. The city also wanted to encourage pedestrian use of the downtown area and so hotels were encouraged to locate where there was little space for parking. The policy was implemented through an Accommodations Zoning Overlay District (Bunnell, 2002, p. 235). This is why Figure 4.13 shows the dispersion of accommodations throughout the TBD in 1999.

The city effectively stopped hotel development taking place along the waterfront by incorporating one of the proposed hotel sites into Waterfront Park (Bunnell, 2002, p.

236). The city also forestalled hotel developments further along the waterfront by buying land and developing the Maritime Center and a recreational pier which opened in 1998 (Bunnell, 2002, p. 237).

In 1997, the city called for a new hotel zoning study and hired a consultant to update the 1982 accommodations study. This was in response to several new planned hotel developments in the downtown area, including a Hilton Garden Hotel in Wentworth Street. Under the current zoning regulations at the time, a zoning board had to conclude that traffic noise and other problems would not affect nearby residential neighborhoods (Behre R. , 1997). The new Visitor Accommodations Study was released in February, 1998. It concluded that the historic neighborhoods were shared by both hoteliers and residents who “share a desire to preserve the quality of the community.” The report also said that tourism was not totally to blame for traffic problems because growth of the College of Charleston and the Medical University were also having their own impacts. It said the “recent tourism growth has been important, and has helped sustain a healthy economy in the face of reduced military activity in the region.” While there had been “significant growth projected in hotels” it was mainly outside of the city and most of those proposed within the city were in West Ashley, not in the peninsula.

As far as impacts were concerned the report stated that there was no indication of decline in the City’s historic neighborhoods currently and that “demand and housing values are still very high in the historic district.” The report also stated that the current system of the Accommodations Overlay District was still working well and, while it should be adjusted, it did not need to be changed radically (LDR International, 1998).

Bed and Breakfast accommodations. In 1984 the issue of bed and breakfast accommodations in private homes arose. Residents had been complaining of the commercialization of the historic district residential areas (McCarthy, 1984). New regulations were introduced to limit the number, density and expansion of these businesses. Only houses built in or before 1860 were allowed to operate a bed and breakfast. The regulations stated that bed-and-breakfast accommodations would “not be allowed within 150 feet of each other.” Owners would have to provide an “off-street parking space for every two units” and there would be a limit of two units per house. Owners would also have to apply for a lodging permit, and the approval of their neighbors. Also, owners could only serve breakfast and had to keep a guest register. These regulations were to apply only to new businesses and those who had been operating for less than a year (Rowe, 1984). Other kinds of businesses operating out of homes in the historic district, like gift or antique shops and tea shops would not be allowed (McCarthy, 1984).

Hurricane Hugo

Hurricane Hugo hit Charleston on September 21, 1989, the eye of the storm passing directly over the city. A survey of damage in the city of Charleston showed that 89 city buildings collapsed, 30 of which were major downtown structures. 278 suffered severe structural damage, but only 18 of these were classified as historic. With respect to roof damage, 754 sustained minor damage and 756 major damage (Poston, 1996). The International Economic Development Council estimated that 75% of historic buildings sustained damage, but only 20-25 historically significant buildings were severely

damaged. The Council also estimated that the cost of the damage was about \$2.8 billion in the city of Charleston (International Economic Development Council, 2010).

The disaster generated much concern over what would happen to the 1990 tourist season. A task force was formed called “Save the Season.” Rallying support from 40 retail and small business owners, they began to meet weekly to discuss priorities in the recovery effort (International Economic Development Council, 2010). Mayor Riley met with the group to get advice on cleaning up the Market Street area which had been affected by water damage. As the recovery progressed, the CVB launched a public relations campaign. The campaign’s motto was “We’re Going Strong” and was intended to stop rumors and ideas that the damage was worse than it was. In November, 1989 the Greater Charleston Restaurant Association donated the first \$25,000 to the campaign (Parker, 1989).

The Market area, one of the most important tourist areas in the city sustained little wind damage but was seriously affected by flooding and accumulations of mud. Three weeks after Hugo some merchants were saying that they would not be able to open until the spring and would miss the Christmas season (Morgan & Parker, 1989). However, within three weeks, the hotels were taking reservations and restaurants were open again. The visitor trade was trying to encourage associations who had booked for mid-October not to back out, at the same time as trying to attract new groups to visit the area. Some of the reduction in visitation was offset by the number of construction workers who had come to the area to help in the repairs and clean-up, but unfortunately they did not spend as much money as tourists on eating out and shopping (Morgan & Parker, 1989).

The fall candlelight home tours, conducted by the Preservation Society of Charleston, were also affected by Hurricane Hugo. In 1988, 5,500 visitors had participated in the tours and in 1989, 6,000 were expected. Initially, the Society thought they would cancel the tours but the tourism industry and the city persuaded them to do the tours to give the economy a boost. However, the Society decided to postpone them for a month, until November. Many people who had registered for the tours said they would still attend in November and even donated money to help with the clean-up. Some of the regional magazines gave free advertisements to announce the rescheduling of the tours (Morgan K. , 1989).

Some of the carriage tours suffered from the storm. One company had to close down until the spring because of damage to its building. Others worked on a reduced schedule because of the decrease in visitation (Smith, 1989). Tour bus companies also had considerable reduction in usage. The owner of Gray Line Bus Tours said that their business was only about one-fourth of normal (Smith, 1989). However, once the carriage tours were restored, tour guides were incorporating stories of Hugo into their talks (Steiger, 1990).

Visitors who came in early days after the storm still felt that Charleston's charm was intact as well as many of its historic homes and retail businesses. They talked about how the damage was not as bad as they expected. Some passengers on a cruise ship that visited Charleston in October, said that they could see the severity of the damage and decided to spend more money in Charleston than they would spend anywhere else on their tour as a way to help the repair and clean-up effort (Francis, Charleston still

charming, tourists say, 1989). However, others perceived the damage to be worse than it was and stayed away (Smith, 1989). By February, 1990, some tourist businesses were reporting that visitation rates were better than the previous year (Grapevine: thought talk and speculation, 1990). Others said that although convention and group tour business was normal, the individual visitation was at a lower rate than expected (Associated Press, 1990).

Although Hugo caused a lot of damage in the city, much of it was minor and was soon repaired. In other cases where buildings were severely damaged, the repairs actually improved the structures and some dilapidated buildings were never rebuilt. The amount of insurance money paid out for individual claims gave the owners opportunities to bring back their properties better than before and Charleston probably ended up in better shape than it had been before the storm (International Economic Development Council, 2010).

CHAPTER 10 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Charleston, South Carolina is an excellent city in which to study tourism growth. The city has a long history of tourist visitation based on a decision over one hundred years ago that the city needed a clean industry which could benefit the very economically depressed region. In the last the hundred years there has been citizen support for improving the physical fabric, inviting visitors through advertising, constantly monitoring the competition (especially Florida) and other sections of the country to learn how to promote Charleston as a tourist destination.

While initially advertising itself as a winter resort, the activities of historic preservationists gradually helped to transform the city's way of thinking toward promoting itself as an architectural and historical gem. Later its advertising included its reputation as a center for cultural activities, upscale shopping, fine dining and sophisticated accommodations, inviting affluent visitors to stay and middle class visitors to taste the culture of the city. This dissertation has described and analyzed how an old port city transformed itself to a modern, very popular world-class tourist destination using Butler's (1980) Tourist Area Life Cycle (TALC) as a template

In Chapter 1, a number of research questions were posed. Answers to these questions resulting from this research are now discussed.

Question 1: What urban processes have been most influential in shaping the tourism product in Charleston?

Urban processes that have affected tourism growth and development in multi-functional cities are either exogenous processes, those that are external to the community

and beyond its control or endogenous, (internal) processes that occur in the city whether the tourism industry is present or not. However, they affect the tourism industry because they have an impact on the physical fabric of the city and on its attractiveness as a tourist destination.

Exogenous factors. Exogenous factors are processes or trends that originate outside the city and impact tourism because they affect people's spending power or curtail their ability to travel for some reason. Wars and economic crises are examples of exogenous factors. Wars hinder travel because of the need to conserve resources and the threat posed to safety. Travel and leisure are curtailed during economic crises because they are considered to be luxury or superfluous pursuits that are not necessary to one's economic well-being.

In the case of Charleston both wars and economic crises had an effect on it. The effects of the Civil War were still being felt in Charleston in 1899, the beginning of the study period. The railroads were punishing Charleston for its role in the Civil War and the economy was suffering also from other factors such as the end of the Sea Island cotton (killed by the boll weevil). Textile mills were closing in the center of Charleston and port activities and wholesaling were beginning to decline by World War I. Charleston also suffered from physical disasters during the last twenty-five years of the nineteenth century. Fires, an earthquake, and hurricanes caused physical damage to the city's buildings as well as the citizen's morale. In the late nineteenth century, Charleston recognized that tourism could help the city recover and began to plan for events and conventions to start the process of attracting people to visit the city.

World War I also brought change to Charleston. Military personnel were housed in Charleston's warehouses and brought exposure of the city to more people as a consequence. The establishment of the Naval Base also brought employment to people in the area and people visiting relatives in the military added to the number of visitors to the city.

Around the same time the coming of the automobile brought more visitors to Charleston. The alternative to railroad travel meant that more people could choose to make detours and visit out-of-the-way places or break journeys to visit or stay in places like Charleston as a stopping-off point on their way to and from Florida. Transportation innovations and improved accessibility are important to tourism growth as Stansfield found in Atlantic City (Stansfield C. , 1978). For Charleston they were vital to opening up the region for visitation.

World War II was another period of years when Charleston was host to military personnel and tourism growth was delayed during those years, although the hospitality industry remained intact as it served the soldiers and sailors.

The Great Depression slowed tourism growth but not significantly because numbers of visitors were still small at that time. However, the gasoline crisis of 1974 and gas shortages (or fear of them) and price rises in the early 1980s as well as a recession at that time had distinct effects on visitation.

Hurricane Hugo had a physical impact on the city but Charleston rebuilt itself and within six months had resumed its activities as a tourist destination. Much of this ability to recover quickly was due to Charleston's long history of having to recover from

setbacks and disasters but this time they were considerably helped by money from insurance claims. These monies helped the residents and the city to rebuild with improvements and Charleston came back better than before.

Endogenous factors. Endogenous factors are those processes that are generated internally in the city but over which the tourism industry has no control. These factors have an impact on tourism because they alter the physical, economic and social fabric of the city. Tourism can benefit from these processes because they are generally changes that result in the modernization and improvement of the city.

In Charleston the endogenous factors affecting tourism are typical of those found in many cities in the United States but have had profound effects on the urban environment and also on tourism. The street directory data shows the process of deindustrialization of the center of Charleston and the gradual decline of manufacturing, wholesale and construction to be replaced with service and professional service businesses.

The decline of some industrial sectors and the exodus of businesses and residents from the TBD in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s caused Charleston's downtown area to enter a period of economic slump. Businesses moved to the suburbs in out-of-town shopping centers and malls and while downtown Charleston was still accessible, everything suburban residents needed was supplied by suburban centers. The downtown area became specialized in major household appliances and car dealerships during this period. It was after this thirty-year period that the tourist businesses began to increase in the downtown TBD area.

Another endogenous factor that has bearing on tourism and had significant impact on Charleston was infrastructure development. In the early years of the twentieth century the city was busy with street paving, providing sewers and adequate water supply as well as improving public health through mosquito and other pest control. As the century progressed and roads and bridges were built, accessibility to the city was improved and direct routes from the northern cities were introduced to the region. Tourist visitation began to increase. The building of I-26 directly into Charleston and its connection to the well-traveled I-95, about 60 miles west of Charleston, meant that accessibility was greatly improved and the expansion of the municipal airport also brought in more visitors. The section of I-26 into Charleston was opened in 1969, just before the observed take-off in visitor numbers and probably was one of the most likely reasons for the increase.

The construction of major hotels in the city, the Francis Marion Hotel, the Fort Sumter Hotel and the Omni at Charleston Place all increased the potential for tourism growth. These developments had a lasting impact on the city even though the Fort Sumter was not in the TBD. Later construction of good quality smaller accommodations, with limits on size and location, attracted a wealthier clientele and changed the whole attitude of the city toward the kind of visitor the city wanted to attract.

Question 2: Can the TALC model be used as a basis for measuring tourism growth in the Tourism Business District of a U.S. city?

While the TALC model, developed outside the United States, provides a framework for analysis of Charleston's progress in tourism development, it does not

allow for the United States' experience where regulation and policy differ from other parts of the world. To incorporate a city like Charleston into the model the regulatory processes and progression of tourism management and planning in this country have to be included.

Prideaux' argument that the supply side of the industry has not adequately been examined is still valid (Prideaux, 2000). The supply side of the industry is actually very pertinent to studying the life cycle. Since supply very quickly follows demand in tourism retail sectors it is a good reflection of tourism growth. The number of restaurants in an area tends to be the most sensitive to changes in economic circumstances and levels of tourism, especially if those restaurants tend to serve more visitors than the general population. However, in more major projects such as hotels, the supply tends to lag behind demand. The supply side of the industry is probably a better indicator of tourism growth than visitation rates because it is measurable. There are records of businesses in Charleston going back over one hundred years.

Butler observed that it is not always easy to recognize the different stages in the TALC (Butler R. W., 1980). Researchers have speculated when different stages are reached but the transition is not clear cut and can affect different parts of the product at different times. One of the conclusions of this study is that the TALC model is a good starting framework but a number of variables have to be added to make it meaningful for Charleston and other U.S. cities. The following summary suggests when Charleston went through each stage and incorporates historic preservation, the actions of private citizens and local government as important influences in shaping the tourism product of

Charleston.

Exploration Stage (1899-1919). TALC suggests that in this stage, there are only a few tourists and they make their own travel arrangements. Contact with local residents is high and no facilities will be provided for visitors. The impact of visitors is minimal and does not affect the residents' way of life.

Charleston never really had an exploration stage as such since, as a port, it was discovered as soon as the first ship came into dock. In the first quarter of the 20th century, Charleston was often visited by authors, painters and other artists, the sort of people who explored on their own. However, other visitors were also arriving from elsewhere in South Carolina, by steamship and railroad from other parts of the United States. In Charleston, facilities were present but, for large events, like the Confederate Veterans Reunion and the West Indian Exposition, contacts were made with local residents who "volunteered" to provide accommodation for visitors. The city was an industrial city and port and had a central business district that served those functions as well as the local residents. Charleston was a city full of small grocers, bakers and meat and produce dealers. Tourists at this time would have had to fit in with the kind of city in which they found themselves. A few stores carried souvenirs but, instead of being located in gift shops, they were often to be found in stationer's stores. Antique dealers were slow to appear and there were few clothing stores so the tourist at that time would not necessarily have been a shopper unless it was a special event like Gala Week. Some of the citizens were concerned with acquiring and restoring old buildings and turning them into museums. There was not yet an historic preservation movement as such but

there was the beginning of an awareness of the need to preserve. At this time only unique historic structures were chosen for restoration (the Powder Magazine and the Exchange Building). Local government was not yet involved in anything related to tourism.

Involvement Stage (1919-1938). In TALC's Involvement Stage, local residents begin to provide facilities for visitors. There is some advertising by local organizations and a market area becomes established as well as a developing tourist season. Tourism begins to have an impact on the way of life of the community and pressures are put on public agencies to improve transportation and tourism facilities.

The involvement stage can be seen quite clearly in Charleston. While advertising had been started during the exploration stage, it was done mainly through guidebooks, brochures by individual businesses, and local people writing for special events, conferences etc. Advertising was put on to a more formal footing in the 1920s when the Chamber of Commerce started serious advertising campaigns and the city allocated some of its budget to promoting the city and the port. The construction of the Francis Marion and Fort Sumter Hotels marks the start of improving the tourism facilities and restaurants, antique dealers, and gift shops began to increase during the 1920s. The tourist season was already well-established, at first as people traveled to Florida for the winter and returned after the winter season. Then, with increased use of the automobile, Charleston's main tourist season was established in the spring as people came to view the gardens. The spring was *the* time to come to Charleston. Public agencies improved transportation infrastructure with the construction of the Ashley and Cooper River bridges. Tourism was beginning to impact the way of life of the city as new events, like

the Azalea Festival, were introduced.

This was the time when small groups and people moving from elsewhere were taking an interest in the city either for preserving the old buildings or buying property. Groups like the Society for the Protection of Old Dwellings were formed. While their initial interest did not lie with developing tourism, they recognized tourism as a means to achieve their goals of restoring old buildings. It was a way of allying themselves with, and involving, the business community to help with their endeavors.

Business structure was changing dramatically during this stage with mills and large industrial enterprises disappearing as well as some port activities. Charleston as a shopping center was becoming an area serving the local residents with large appliances, automobiles, and hardware. However, antique stores and gift shops were beginning to make an appearance at this time.

Development Stage (1938-1941 and 1960-1979). In this stage of the TALC model, the market area becomes more well-defined and advertising increases in intensity. Local involvement and organization of tourism declines as outside organizations and firms begin to invest in the area. Man-made facilities supplement existing natural and cultural attractions and changes in the physical appearance of the area become pronounced. The number of tourists has increased to a point where it equals or exceeds the resident population at peak periods.

What saved Charleston from some of the elements of the development stage (for instance, the “man-made facilities”) was World War II and suburbanization. During World War II, the development stage was halted and did not recover again until after the

1960s. From a physical point of view Charleston entered a stagnation phase. Businesses closed and moved to the suburbs and, if one were constructing graphs based on the TALC model, one would see a definite stagnation stage beginning followed by rejuvenation in the 1970s. However, after the War the number of visitors again began to increase rather than decline with the businesses. This leads to the conclusion that tourists, while they like to have facilities and tourism businesses in close proximity to the attraction, are not deterred with having to “commute” to the attraction from hotels in the suburbs.

Thus there were really two development stages in Charleston, the first just before World War II and the second in the 1970s when awareness of the need for planning and management were already on the city’s mind. It is in this stage that Charleston begins to deviate from the TALC model. If World War II had not halted tourism development for a while, and the preservation ethic had not been so strong, Charleston might well have taken the same route as many other cities in the United States, becoming blighted and falling prey to the destruction of its old buildings in urban renewal programs.

During the development stages, in the peninsula of Charleston that were not many "man-made" facilities. The growth of carriage tours might be categorized this way but the cultural and historical attractions continued to be the major draw for tourists. Instead of the city becoming cheapened with loud and gaudy entertainment and facilities (except perhaps the London buses) it began to transform itself by beautifying old business areas, and improving visitor information facilities. Also, businesses continued to be owned and operated by local entrepreneurs. In fact, local owners have always been the hallmark of Charleston’s business. Outside firms have been involved in the lodging industry, but

Charlestonians have always been visible in business ownership in the city. The organization of tourism was always a local activity with an active and influential Chamber of Commerce, and a local newspaper that kept everyone abreast of what was happening in the city.

The market area for Charleston during this period was expanding as advertising increased. At this point the city was not only trying to attract people from all over the country but from other countries too. The idea of attracting cruise ships to Charleston began in the 1950s. Historic preservation was put onto a sounder footing with the inventory of historical properties, the creation of the Historic Charleston Foundation and the revolving fund that allowed the Foundation to purchase historic properties and renovate them for selling.

Consolidation Stage (1979-1999). During the TALC model's Consolidation Stage, the rate of increase in visitation declines. The area's economy has become dependent on tourism. Advertising reaches into a larger market and efforts are made to extend the visitor season. During this stage tourism businesses are parts of national chains or franchises and well-defined tourist business districts can be recognized. Older facilities are becoming outmoded and local residents begin to oppose the invasion of their community.

Charleston fits into this stage and was probably at that stage from the 1970s to 1999 when facilities that had become outmoded or decayed were replaced, for instance, the Visitor Reception and Transportation Center replaced the smaller visitor center on Calhoun Street.

It does not seem that the rate of increase of visitation had declined. The curve of visitation shows a steady climb with a much steeper gradient between 1979 and 1999 (Figure 4.6). Also, the urban region and the tourist area had expanded so much with the growth of North Charleston, Mount Pleasant and the beach resorts that visitation was increasing because of these extra facilities. The area's economy was definitely dependent on tourism and advertising had been extended to target the international or global market rather than just the United States. The visitor season had extended to an all-year season rather than just the spring. Local residents had started to complain in the 1970s, with justification. Simple complaints in the newspaper and to city council grew into the formation of neighborhood associations and threats to disrupt the tourism industry by making the historic area unattractive.

Charleston, however, was saved again by prudent intervention by its city government. Tourism management in the form of ordinances put curbs on the amount of vehicles of varying types crowding the historic areas. The mayor was constantly watchful of the needs of residents, tourists and the tourism industry. He wanted always to keep a balance between the three parties without favoring any one of them. He did this through constant monitoring by committees, commissions and studies by consultants and tourism experts. He stressed that Charleston was a living city and not a museum, residents who kept their properties in good order deserved sensitive treatment, the delicate neighborhood environments should be conserved and that facilities should be developed that gave Charleston a diversity of environments to explore and activities in which to participate.

The idea that definite tourism districts can be distinguished is true if you are looking at the historic city compared to the downtown. However, the maps in Chapter 4 do not show clustering of particular land uses in the center of Charleston. Also with respect to hotels, the distribution in 1999 was being controlled by the Accommodations Overlay District which had control of where accommodations were located. Only Charleston's own name for lower King Street as being the "antique quarter" shows any clustering of particular kinds of business or land use.

Stagnation Stage. In the TALC Stagnation Stage, visitors are at peak numbers and carrying capacity is reached or exceeded. Visitors tend to be more the psychocentric type, those who want the whole experience to be organized for them. The area also begins to rely on repeat visitation, and conventions are often used to fill surplus hotel capacity. The man-made facilities eclipse the original natural and cultural facilities and existing businesses experience a higher turnover as profitability decreases.

Some of the elements of this stage were present in Charleston by the 1980s. For instance, the number of group tours to the city illustrates the growth of psychocentric-type visitors. However, there was no sign of decline. The area did not need to rely on repeat visitation now that Charleston had become an international travel destination ranking very highly in all the tourism polls. While conventions were important to the city, they always had been. One of the ways Charleston measured its success throughout the century was by how many conventions and meetings it had been able to attract. Since 1999, the aim to have cruise ships come to Charleston may bring Charleston to its tourist carrying capacity. That is something that remains to be seen.

The constant monitoring and upgrading noted in the Consolidation Stage makes the Stagnation Stage unlikely to happen although some of the elements are there. It seems that a city can hover between the two stages without actually go into fully-fledged stagnation.

Visitation and the TALC. From the point of view of visitation and the TALC model, there have been no decreases in visitors except when there have been some other forces at work, not necessarily related to the city of Charleston and its tourism product. For instance, World War II, the gasoline crisis of the 1970s, the rise in gas prices and the recession of the early 80s and for a short time, Hurricane Hugo. All of these had some impact on tourist visitation and, with the exception of Hurricane Hugo, were countrywide.

So it seems that a decrease in visitation could happen if there were to be another natural disaster, a war, an economic slump or a shortage of gasoline resources on a long-term basis. However, apart from that, it is difficult to see how the region could diminish in popularity. It has a good climate, well-maintained beaches and a variety of things to see and do in the region. In 1999, and since that time, Charleston has established a firm footing as a tourist destination now that it is accessible for people arriving by many modes of transport. It can also rely on other attractions outside its boundaries to bring people into the area. The beaches, Patriots Point, the gardens and plantations, all help in keeping Charleston assured of a future filled with visitors. All of this success for the city of course is contingent upon the constant monitoring by its city government, the people of Charleston continuing to accept, if not being convinced, that an industry like tourism is

one of the best economic activities for the region, and for tourism businesses to continue to accept that regulation is a necessary part of maintaining a quality product.

The usefulness of Butler's TALC model. The question of whether Butler's model is useful for analyzing a multi-functional city can only be answered with yes, but it is not sufficient, as many studies have already concluded. Successful cities, like Charleston have got past the classic stages of exploration, involvement and development when tourism growth follows typical patterns. But there is no inevitability of decline as the model suggests and they may never reach stagnation and decline because they are cities with traditions and experience with planning and problem-solving.

Whereas the general structure of the model suggests that intervention does not take place until stagnation has been reached, this is not the case for Charleston. The city has been involved at all times in the century that was examined. The acceleration of city government involvement in response to increased numbers of visitors, the complaints of residents, and the new concept of tourism management being used to good effect, suggests that, in a city that did not grow initially because of tourism, there is more awareness of the needs of the citizens and how to run a city as a city and not just as a resort.

Butler's TALC model can answer some of the questions about tourism growth and development but it needs to change the basic assumptions of the inevitability of decline. Agarwal's assertion that it is not politically or economically acceptable to allow a tourist resort to decline (Agarwal, 1997) has certainly been a maxim which Mayor Joseph Riley has lived by since he was first elected mayor. Charleston has not

demonstrated that this inevitability exists. The city seems to embrace both the development and consolidation stages without showing any sign of stagnating.

A new model of the mature stage as suggested by Hovinen (1982) which combines the consolidation and stagnation stage would prove useful in examining cities such as Charleston. Although the stagnation phase had really not begun by 1999, some elements that Hovinen suggests were present in Charleston at that time. During the maturity stage, Priestley and Mundet (1998) suggest emphasis on upgrading deteriorating facilities [Charleston: Visitor Reception and Transportation Center], general improvements in the built and natural environment [Charleston: Waterfront Park], undertaking market studies to forecast future trends [Charleston: many studies of small areas of the TBD, surveys of visitors, as well as numerous committees and commissions initiated by the city] and adapting to changing markets [Charleston: group tours], maintaining market share and preserving or improving the destination's image [Charleston: using the most up-to-date media for advertising]. (Priestley & Mundet, 1998)

In a model such as this, Charleston's situation would have to include regulating the tourist, the industry and the citizen in timely fashion before any deterioration took place. Also, attracting special events to the city and, maintaining authenticity in heritage interpretation (training tour guides etc.) are important variables. A maturity model would also have to include more up-to-date tourism planning and management tools not in existence when Butler first proposed the model. The model could be adapted so that the stagnation phase would never be reached and so would not be part of the model.

Tourism management and regulation do carry with them some problems and limitations. First, city leaders have to know how to balance the needs of all people involved with tourism including the city's residents. Second, in the current climate of resistance to regulation, it is not easy to implement controls. The city's government has managed it by standing firm and gaining support from the various groups with which it has to deal. It has done this by always keeping an open mind and listening to complaints and suggestions. Charleston is certainly a good role model for other communities to study how to achieve success and how to manage it once it has happened. The importance of carrying capacity in the original TALC model needs to be addressed on the supply side as well as visitor usage. Charleston was in danger of becoming overbuilt with hotels and other accommodations in the 1980s. There is a critical mass of such businesses as hotels and bed and breakfast accommodations that can be tolerated in a city while maintaining its ambience. It is not like a beach resort where hotels line the coastline. The idea of keeping hotels away from the waterfront and keeping that for recreational purposes at the same time as restricting numbers, size and location of accommodations is a measure of tourism planning that has many implications. Restricting numbers and size of accommodations preserves the ambience and relieves traffic congestion while restricting location means hotels can be placed in areas that need revitalization and spread the usage around the city instead of having it concentrated in one or two areas. Charleston's Visitor Reception and Transportation Center area is an excellent case in point. It is located at the very edge of the TBD but is near to the Charleston Museum and two historic house museums. The area has also encouraged

other businesses to locate there as well as a suites hotel. This means that a new tourist precinct has been created lowering the density of visitors in other parts of the historic area like the mansions area south of Broad Street. It has also helped with traffic congestion and parking problems by providing easy access to the TBD through the shuttle bus service and is close enough for people to walk into the main tourist area.

Question 3: Is the change in a city's business structure related to the growth of the tourism industry?

With respect to business structure, there are some parallels between Butler's TALC stages and changes in business structure. However, the transition from industrial port to upscale tourist service center is more complex. Businesses in the CBD/TBD of Charleston showed gradual change throughout the one hundred year period from serving the business community with office supplies and lunchrooms, residents with home furniture, appliances and food, to serving the tourist. The general transition from old port to modern city is probably similar to many older cities in this country. Looking at business type from a tourist's point of view, one could say that changes in business have been the reverse of the TALC model. In the early part of the twentieth century, businesses would have seemed quite boring to the tourist, at least the modern-day tourist. Specialty stores and souvenir shops were almost non-existent. Reports in the newspaper suggested that restaurants were dirty and had boring menus. Things improved during the century.

When looking specifically at tourism retail and service businesses like restaurants, antique stores and gift shops, the parallels to the TALC model are more striking. These

particular types of business are much better indicators of whether Butler's model fits the business transition. In fact, the tourist-type businesses, while they took off in numbers during the Development Stage, did exactly the opposite of the model in the Consolidation Stage. Rather than beginning to stagnate or become shabby or boringly repetitive, they diversified, became more specialized and added excitement to the shopping experience and as well as generally contributing to the ambience of the city.

The loss of the textile mills in the center of Charleston and the decline of wholesale businesses especially left a void of economic activity. Tourism had already been selected as an industry that would help the city's economy and revitalize the center of the city. There was a lag time between the industrial decline and the development of tourism retail businesses. The graphs of general business categories show that there is a significant negative correlation between manufacturing, wholesale, construction businesses and tourism retailing, service and professional sectors. When the first three sectors decline to a certain point, the last three begin to increase. However, recording data points every twenty years is not sensitive enough to determine precisely when the balance of business is such that the specialty retail sector serving tourists along with accommodations and restaurants starts to increase. In Charleston, it happened in the 1970s but the rapid increase in the different tourist sectors (accommodations, specialty retail and restaurants) occurred in different years. A five-year period for the primary and secondary sectors would yield a more accurate picture and future projects could look at this distribution in more depth.

Question 4: What measures have to be taken by the public sector to develop and

maintain the tourist product in the Tourism Business District?

The TALC model lends itself to including government involvement, regulation, planning, and tourism management into its various stages. In the early stages of development the city government contributed to advertising Charleston and the Port Authority was responsible for sending out promotional material. The first real involvement by city government was the historic zoning ordinance in 1931. Subsequent revisions to the ordinance, added more provisions for controlling demolition, architectural preservation, and restricting building height.

Starting in the 1940s traffic and parking controls were set in place as traffic increased in the city. Regulation, planning and management, however, really did not start until the consolidation stage was reached. The sudden influx of tourists in the mid-1970s meant immediate intervention was needed at the request of the citizens in the historic area. Dealing with increased littering, noise and inappropriate use of public spaces, street vendors, and horse manure in the streets marked the start of managing the industry by the local government. As the 1970s progressed and the development stage changed to consolidation, regulation of tour buses, and horse-drawn carriages was set in place. Bed and breakfast accommodations and other business activities based in the homes of the historic area had to be controlled as well. Regulating the location of larger accommodations showed a much stronger involvement of the city government.

Apart from regulation, city government was very involved in beautification projects around the city, providing new parks and maintaining older ones, cleaning up signage, and burying electricity lines. During the consolidation period, the city

government also became involved in public-private partnerships and obtaining federal funding for projects. These were very successful, especially in the construction of the Charleston Place/Omni Hotel complex, the Visitor Reception and Transportation Center and the DASH shuttle bus service around the TBD.

The conclusion of this study is that government involvement in tourism is essential to keeping the tourist product up-to-date and coping with the increase in visitation to the city with all its problems of congestion.

Question 5: What other factors are important to the growth and success of a destination?

One of the most important factors in the growth and success of a destination is the actions of the local citizenry and their various organizations.

Organizations like the Chamber of Commerce were instrumental in starting the process of tourism promotion and persuading city government to act on developing the city. Organizing lectures by planning experts in the 1920s, and establishing committees to investigate issues of planning and preservation which culminated in the historic zoning ordinance of 1931, can both be attributed to the Charleston Chamber of Commerce.

The Chamber regularly undertook surveys of visitors as well as providing information, counting visitors and constructing and operating visitor centers (Jaycees project). The Chamber was also involved in researching downtown revitalization in the 1970s and supporting efforts to improve Charleston with funding for projects and promotion and advertising. As Charleston expanded, the Chamber had to expand its activities and coordinate promotion efforts with the Charleston County Chamber of

Commerce and later the Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau (which now organizes the Visitor Reception and Transportation Center). The Chamber also took the promotional responsibilities relinquished by the County Parks, Recreation and Tourism Commission and it formed the Travel Council which contained prominent members of the business community.

Other groups such as, the Preservation Society of Charleston and the Charleston Historic Foundation were also very involved with local improvement by preventing historic structures from being destroyed or defaced and by purchasing properties for later sale after rehabilitating them.

There are other factors that are critical to the success of a tourism destination that are not related to Butler's model. One of these is the attitudes of the citizens. Charleston, throughout its history has maintained a positive attitude despite setbacks and disasters. Charleston has a unique civic pride which translates into action when necessary and is different from many other cities in the United States, to the point that one could call it a "maverick" city. Prominent citizens have been prepared to become involved in improving the status of the city, preserving its environment, being progressive in allowing new ideas to be implemented. The leadership of the city has contained many visionaries who have worked toward their goals steadily, and have not been afraid to regulate if it is in the interests of the community. Through most of the period, different organizations worked in close cooperation with each other to achieve similar goals even with different approaches.

All these attributes: a sense of history, pride in the community, cooperation, civic

engagement, striking a balance and, above all tolerance of diversity, are all important for any community to be successful. In the case of a tourism destination where the community has to show its best face to the world at all times these attributes have to be embraced wholeheartedly. There is not much room for dissension.

Limitations of the Study

One of the major limitations of the study is its qualitative and descriptive nature. In a multifunctional city, there are many variables that are difficult to measure, not least of these being the rates of visitation. While it is easier in a resort to monitor the number of visitors by registrations and reservations, or traffic surveys at entrances, in a city with many different entrances, and many visitors who are there for reasons other than tourism, it is difficult to obtain a measure of tourist visitation that is accurate. The numbers of tourists, extracted from Chamber of Commerce reports and the newspaper, can only represent a general trend and so only a broad picture can be presented as to how tourism increases over time. Similarly, business patterns can only be viewed on a broad basis because of the time it takes to enter the data into a database. The TBD in Charleston contained over 1,000 businesses at each of the snapshot periods and with duplicates to remove, and classification of business type, the time involved in such a project is very lengthy. If there was more time available for data entry, a shorter interval between snapshots would give a more accurate picture of such phenomena as deindustrialization and the growth of the service sector and critical points in time that could show the transition between the stages of the TALC.

In an historical analysis of tourism development, there are many variables and

issues that can have an impact of tourism. Because of the many possibilities, the researcher has to select issues he or she feels is pertinent to the research questions. Some variables may be omitted that could be relevant, so further studies would have to be conducted to augment what had already been covered.

An historical study, as well as being open-ended, however, can incorporate trends and patterns that have the potential to affect tourism but at the time are not related to tourism. For instance, historic preservation in Charleston was not carried out initially to attract visitors to the city. The introduction of tourism management was not just designed to maintain the tourism product, but to protect the interests of the citizens. A city like Charleston has to have planning to function efficiently. This would be the case whether there was tourism present or not. So measures taken for general maintenance of the city will control and manage tourism at the same time. Conversely, new and innovative ways of managing tourism can come out of normal everyday planning activities. The two are inextricably intertwined.

While it is difficult to measure rates of visitation, it is not as difficult to measure the number of businesses that cater to tourists. Admittedly, many tourist-type businesses will be patronized by local residents, so it is important in a supply-side study to select types of business that predominantly serve the visitor, for example hotels. For other businesses like restaurants, antique stores and gift shops, one can only estimate the proportion of business generated by tourists. One of the limitations of this study is that there could be no survey of businesses conducted. There are no systematic records of the number of people employed in tourist-type businesses covering the hundred years

examined or any other information, except the business' existence at a certain address with a certain type of activity.

Another limitation of researching Charleston is that decisions were made about its development while ignoring a very significant proportion of the population, namely African-Americans. They were effectively disenfranchised until the 1960s, segregated in public places and suffered discrimination in retail businesses, African-Americans did not have a voice or even a choice in how Charleston developed until the 1970s. In the 1980s and 1990s there was more encouragement for African-Americans to visit the city, especially as an interest in genealogy grew and the city introduced the African and Caribbean arts festival. Very little can be found on the thoughts of African-Americans with respect to tourism in the Charleston newspapers and magazines before the 1980s because the media were controlled by whites and there was little interest in African-American opinions. Charleston's tourist industry would probably be very different if African-American opinions had been sought.

Another limitation is the spatial analysis of tourism businesses as a reflection of tourism activity in the TBD. Charleston is not a large city so the tourist activity space in the TBD is not large enough to have activities clustering into distinct quarters. While there was dispersal of tourism facilities within the TBD during the study period, it was much more noticeable outside of the area, around the Cooper and Ashley Rivers waterfronts and into the areas north of Calhoun Street. A future study would have to incorporate the whole peninsula area and ideally the whole urban region, incorporating the growth of the beach resort areas. The TALC could then be studied as a regional

model with spatial analysis recording the growth of tourism nodes throughout the region. As far as mapping the TBD is concerned, such things as the revival of East Bay Street and the concentration of tourists around the Market area are valuable in illustrating trends but in a larger city like New York or San Francisco the method would be much more useful for small area planning.

Future Research

As Butler explained, in a chapter written for a collection of TALC model studies in 2006, the model has become well-accepted as a framework for studying tourism development and has been used in many studies (Butler R. , 2006). Butler suggests that one of the limitations of the model is its neglect of tourism management, that destinations that hope to have a long period of success cannot achieve it without careful management of tourists and tourism facilities.

Uncontrolled growth with lack of maintenance is a prescription for eventual decline as overuse causes deterioration (Butler R. , 2006). This study showed that in the last two decades of the twentieth century, Charleston realized this before deterioration set in. It created strategies to cope with the rapid increase in tourism, the wear and tear on the historic structures and acted on the need to upgrade and modernize facilities that cater to tourists.

Butler also suggests that long-term studies are needed to show how destinations have been able to develop and maintain visitation and visitor satisfaction over a long period of time (Butler R. , 2006). This study showed that a city like Charleston, which made a conscious decision over a hundred years ago to build a tourism industry (to

replace the loss of manufacturing and port activities in its commercial core), can survive the long-term impacts of tourism while keeping the product fresh and vibrant.

The supply side of tourism is another aspect that has not been examined as much as it should. Knowing about the behavior of tourists and their needs and expectations goes a long way to knowing how to shape the tourism environment, but managers also have to look at the context of tourism in the environments in which they operate to see how tourism fits in with the current thinking and circumstances of the host community.

From the point of view of a multifunctional city, a study of the progress of tourism planning and management in an urban context serves to give a picture of how tourism managers can proceed in other cities and also in other types of destination. Starting small, with such regulations as prohibiting inappropriate parking of campers (RVs), use of public parks and street vendors is a good place to begin managing the tourist and the small-scale tourism business. Progressing to controlling the number of tour buses, building parking garages and investing in worthwhile development projects serves to show how regulation and planning is necessary for keeping a balance in the community between the needs of residents, visitors and entrepreneurs. Following that, incorporating tourism into the comprehensive plan of a city shows both the maturity of the destination as well as the ability to keep the city thriving and popular with tourists.

A systematic study of tourism management in such cities as Charleston, and learning from its experiences, would help smaller cities put tourism on a stable footing before visitation gets too difficult to handle. Examining tourism development over a long period of time is valuable because, while tourists' tastes, habits and expectations have

changed and such things as transportation innovations have taken place, there is still value in tracing the thought processes and actions of various organizations, individuals and government officials that has led to the present circumstances. Also, over a longer period of time, the dynamics and processes of change in planning tools and techniques shows newer destinations how to avoid the pitfalls that other cities have experienced. With such planning tools as creative zoning measures, architectural review, site development and a commitment to historic preservation, they can all be fitted into a prescriptive model for cities to follow. The ways that Charleston has been able to regulate the environment in the central area makes it a very good role model for U.S. planners.

This study has focused on a U.S. city, with the planning tools available to the U.S. planning profession and the advertising and promotion of the industry in the context of U.S. culture. However, the TALC model has been studied all over the world. For studies of tourism management and planning in other countries, the approach has to fit in with the planning and regulatory mechanisms of the country in which it is being used. Therefore, future research that incorporates long-term studies of tourism planning in different types of destination, and in different cultural contexts, and at different scales would not only be good for comparison purposes but could set up an exchange of ideas that would benefit all countries as well as furthering the conceptual and theoretical basis of the model.

Contribution to Knowledge and Generalizability

This study has examined a city over a long period of time and contributes to the knowledge of the dynamics that make an urban destination successful. Longitudinal studies over a hundred-year period can show the trends of how tourism develops as well as how tastes and tourist habits have changed over time. This is valuable for cities where tourism has not been a major industry for a very long time. The methods adopted for this study, while very time-consuming, can easily be adapted to other cities providing they have old street directories and a set of newspapers that covers a long period of time. One of Charleston's greatest attributes with regard to research is its wealth of archival material.

Other cities could benefit from performing the business analysis conducted in this dissertation. By looking at the various stages of development that Charleston has passed through (deindustrialization and growth of the retail and service sectors) and the responses of elected officials, citizens, and businesses, a city with a less mature industry could easily follow in Charleston's footsteps to achieve success in tourism development. It should not be forgotten, however, that ultimately it is the attitudes of all the people in a host community that make the success possible and the ability to strike a balance between business profit and making the city livable as well as an interesting place to visit.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

Table A1 Businesses in the TBD 1899-1999 (6-Digit Level SIC Code)

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry							
016101	Vegetable growers	2					
017502	Cider			1			
074201	Veterinary surgeons	1	1				1
074203	Animal hospitals						1
075102	Livestock breeders		1				
075212	Dog & cat pet sitting services						1
078103	Landscape architects/ Engineers/designers		1			1	4
078204	Landscape gardeners/contractors			1		1	1
085102	Foresters – consulting			1	2	1	1
091201	Fishermen – commercial					1	
Construction							
142398	Granite - crushed & broken	1					
144203	Sand & gravel manufacturers		1				
147498	Potash, soda & borate minerals		1				
152105	Home improvements/repairs		1		1		1
152112	Home builders		2	1			
152139	Remodeling/repairing building contractors			1	1		
154107	Contractors - industrial & commercial				1		
154109	Building systems & components						1
154213	Contractors - building & general	5	11	7	11	15	7
162203	Bridge builders	1					

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
162303	Gas line installation & repair				1		
162306	Telephone & television cable contractors		1				
162903	Marine contractors					1	
162914	Dredging		1				
162977	Construction			2			8
162999	Heavy construction (NEC)						2
171102	Heating contractors			5	3	1	
171103	Sheet metal work contractors		2	1			
171105	Contractors – plumbing	9	9	12	8	1	2
171109	Sheet metal workers			2			
171110	Furnaces - repairing & cleaning			1			
171111	Solar heating contractors					1	
171117	Air conditioning contractors & systems			5	5		
172101	Painters	7	4	5		1	
173101	Electric contractors		8	7	3	2	
174101	Masonry/bond stone contractors				1		1
174106	Marble contractors	4	3				
174205	Insulation Contractors - cold & heat					1	
174301	Tile - ceramic contractors & dealers		1	3	2	1	
174303	Mantels		8				
175102	Carpenters	3	1		1		
175103	Cabinet makers	3	3	4	2	1	1
175111	Ship joiners						1
175203	Floor laying refinishing & resurfacing						1
176101	Coppersmiths	1					
176102	Ceilings		2				
176107	Roof coating			1			
176109	Roofing contractors	8	7	1	5		
176112	Tinning		1				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
176116	Cornices - building	3	4				
177104	Stucco contractors						1
177105	Concrete contractors				1		
177111	Concrete grinding & finishing			1			
178108	Water systems				1		
179502	Demolition contractors			1			1
179504	Concrete breaking/cutting/sawing & etc.						1
179605	Elevators - manufacturers		1	1	1		
179909	Waterproofing contractors			1			
179999	Special trade contractors (NEC)	3					
	Manufacturing						
201398	Sausage manufacturers		1				
202498	Ice cream & frozen dessert manufacturers	5	4	3			
204101	Flour mills	2	2	2			
204103	Flour - prepared - manufacturers		1				
204401	Rice mills	1	1				
205201	Cookies & crackers - manufacturers	2	1				
206401	Candy & confectionery manufacturers	6	3	1	1		
207402	Cotton oil mills		1				
208201	Brewers	3					
208602	Soda water - manufacturers	6	2				
208603	Soft drinks - manufacturers	2					
209198	Canned and cured fish & seafood - manufacturers				1		
209701	Ice - manufacturers	5	5	5	2		
209902	Vinegar - manufacturers			1			
209998	Food preparations (NEC) – manufacturers		1				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
221103	Cotton goods - manufacturers	1					
223101	Woolen mills		1				
225401	Underwear – manufacturers	1					
225998	Knitting mills (NEC)	1					
228101	Cotton processing	4					
228102	Yarn – manufacturers		1				
232101	Shirts - manufacturers	2					
232501	Pants - manufacturers	1					
233907	Clothing manufacturers					1	
235302	Hats - manufacturers						1
239202	Pillows - manufacturers			1			
239398	Textile bags manufacturers	1	1	1			
239401	Sail makers	1					1
239402	Awnings & canopies - manufacturers	1	1	1	1	1	
242103	Railroad ties - manufacturers	1					
242198	Saw mills & planing mills - general		1				
242609	Furniture components - manufacturers						1
243501	Plywood & veneers - manufacturers					1	
249903	Picture frames - manufacturers	3					
249906	Baskets - manufacturers	1					
251501	Mattresses - manufacturers	2	1	1	1		
251598	Mattresses/foundations/ Convertible beds Manufacturers				1		
253104	Benches - seating manufacturers						1
259901	Furniture - manufacturers				1		
261102	Pulp & Pulp products – manufacturers			2			
267401	Bags (paper) - manufacturers	3	4				
267403	Bags - manufacturers	1	2				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
267801	Stationery - manufacturers			1			
271101	Publishers - newspapers	5	3	4	1		4
274105	Publishers	1	2	3		2	2
274107	Publishers - directory & guide	1	1	1	2		1
274115	Government publishing (NEC)						1
275202	Printers	8	7	12	6	7	9
275208	Offset reproductions				1		
275401	Engravers - stationery - manufacturers	1	1	1	2	1	
275902	Screen printing						2
278902	Bookbinders & blank book manufacturers	4	4	2	3		1
279605	Lithographers	2	1	1	3		
279607	Engravers - Steel and copper plate			2			
283401	Drug - manufacturers		4				
283406	Medicines - patent - manufacturers	1	1				
283601	Biological products (manufacturers)						1
284101	Soaps & detergents - manufacturers	1					
285103	Paint - manufacturers		1	1			
287498	Phosphatic fertilizers - manufacturers	9	13	7	3		
289905	Chemicals - manufacturers	1		1		1	
314402	Shoes - manufacturers	31	17				
316101	Sample cases - manufacturers	1	1				
316104	Luggage - manufacturers	1	2				
317198	Women's handbags & purses - manufacturers					2	
319901	Saddlery & harness - manufacturers	2					
323104	Mirrors - manufacturers			1			

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
327206	Septic tanks - manufacturers			1			
329201	Asbestos & asbestos products - manufacturers		4				
336503	Cooking utensils - manufacturers					1	
341201	Barrels & drums - manufacturers	2					
344198	Fabricated Structural metal - manufacturers				1		
344604	Ornamental metal work - manufacturers				1		
347198	Electroplating/polishing/anodizing - manufacturers	1					
354207	Machine tools metal formation						1
355909	Special industrial machines						1
355919	Petroleum equipment (manufacturers)						1
359903	Machine shops			1			
373101	Ship builders & repairers				1		
375102	Bicycles - manufacturers	1					
382917	Rulers & yardsticks - manufacturers	4					
391101	Jewelry - manufacturers		1		1		
391401	Pewter ware						1
393104	Pianos - manufacturers	1					
395304	Rubber stamps - manufacturers	2	3	1	1		
396501	Buckles - manufacturers						1
399398	Signs & advertising specialties - manufacturers			1			
399931	School supplies - manufacturing				1		
399941	Candles - manufacturers					1	
399954	Umbrellas - manufacturers	1	1				
399967	Badges - manufacturers		1				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
Transportation, Communications and Utilities							
401101	Railroads, agents, ticket offices & yards	11	9	7	5	2	2
411902	Ambulance service			1			
411903	Limousine service				1		3
412101	Taxicabs		5	4	1		
413101	Bus lines			4		4	
414201	Buses - charter & rental				1		
421201	Local passenger transportation, (NEC)	1	5	1			
421205	Delivery service				1		
421304	Trucking			2		1	
421309	Trucking - Motor freight			4			
421310	Express service	1	2	3	1		
421401	Movers	1	10	6	2	1	
421498	Local Trucking with Storage			4			
421502	Parcel delivery			1	1		
422202	Warehouses - cold storage			1			
422503	Storage - household & commercial		1	1	2		
422505	Warehouses - merchandise			1			
422507	Refrigeration, warehousing, storage						1
422509	Warehouses	29	3	18	18	5	1
422601	Automobile storage		1	6	1	1	
431101	Post offices						1
441298	Deep sea foreign transport freight						1
444901	Barge lines & terminals						1
444902	Shipping agents			1			
449103	Terminals - River and Marine						1
449202	Towing - marine			1			1
449901	Surveyors - marine						4
451201	Airline companies					1	
472401	Tourist information						1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
472402	Travel agencies & bureaus				2	3	7
472501	Tours - operators & promoters			1		1	7
472901	Ticket offices/airline tickets			1	3	1	1
472903	Bus lines - ticket agencies			1			
472904	Steamship agencies/lines/companies		1	1	3	6	6
472999	Passenger transport arrangement						1
473101	Freight transport arrangement						1
473104	Freight forwarding/forwarding agents		1	4	2	5	3
473106	Freight traffic service	1	1				
473107	Containerized freight service					1	
473111	Freight - brokers		1				
473113	Brokers - custom house					2	1
478301	Packing & crating service		2				
478501	Weighers				1		
478505	Bridge & tunnel operating companies			1			
478903	Carriages - manufacturers/dealers/parts	2	2	1			1
478991	Stables (company)	9					
478992	Stables (livery)	4					
481204	Radio-telephone communications			3			
481207	Cellular telephone service						1
481302	Telecommunications						1
481304	Telephone companies	1					1
482205	Telegram service	2	4	3	2	2	
483201	Radio stations & broadcasting companies			2	2	2	
491101	Electric/gas light companies	2	2	1	3	1	1
492501	Gas companies			1		2	
494102	Water & sewage companies - utility	1	1				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
495310	Refuse systems						1
495314	Waste materials		1				
Wholesale							
501212	Trailers - Truck - wholesale			1			
501401	Tire distributors					1	
502107	Furniture dealers - wholesale				1		
502112	Office furniture & equipment dealers		3		2	3	1
502304	Bedding - wholesale				1		
502310	Fireplace equipment - wholesale	1					
502336	House furnishings - wholesale	2					
503109	Lumber - wholesale	1	11	5	1		
503114	Building materials - wholesale	3	4				
503144	Wallboard & Plasterboard - wholesale			1			
503206	Concrete Blocks & shapes - wholesale				1		
503209	Cement - wholesale			1			
503212	Brick-stone & related materials - wholesale	3	2	2			
503218	Sewer pipe - wholesale	1		1			
503222	Lime - wholesale	3	4	4	1		
503226	Asphalt Products - wholesale			1			
503303	Roofing Materials - wholesale			2			
503911	Buildings - metal - wholesale				1		
503914	Asbestos & asbestos products - wholesale			1			
504402	Calculating & adding machines/supplies - wholesale		2	3	2		

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
504403	Copying/Mimeographing Machines and Supplies - wholesale			1	1		1
504412	Cash registers & supplies - wholesale		1	1	1		
504416	Duplicating Machines & Supplies - wholesale				1		
504428	Credit Card/Credit Plans Equipment/Supplies - wholesale						1
504430	Office machines/supplies				1	1	
504498	Office Equipment - wholesale			4	12	2	
504604	Restaurant Equipment & Supplies - wholesale						1
504607	Scales - wholesale	2	2				
504610	Store fixtures - wholesale	1	1	1	1		
504712	Hospital equipment & supplies - wholesale						1
504719	Dental equipment & supplies - wholesale	1		1			
504802	Optical equipment machinery/supplies - wholesale				2		
504904	Engineering equipment/supplies - wholesale				1	2	
505109	Iron (wholesale)		3				
505201	Coal & coke - wholesale		2				
506330	Electrical equipment & supplies - wholesale	2		1		1	
506333	Electric motors dealers/repairers - wholesale				1		
506343	Christmas Lights & Decorations - wholesale						1
506345	Battery repairing & rebuilding - wholesale		1	1			

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
506404	Appliances - household - major - wholesale				4		
506414	Refrigerators/freezers - supplies/parts - wholesale				1		
506506	Television & radio supplies/parts - wholesale				3		
506507	Sound Systems & Equipment - wholesale			1		1	
506519	Electronic Equipment & Supplies - wholesale						1
507202	Builders' hardware - wholesale		4	4	1		
507207	Hardware dealers - wholesale	4	2	3	3		
507406	Plumbing fixtures & supplies - wholesale		2	5	1		
507408	Oil burners - wholesale			8	1		
507420	Boilers - new & used - wholesale	2	4				
507433	Stoves - wood, coal etc. - distributors	1					
507506	Electric Heating Equipment & Systems - wholesale			1			
507507	Furnaces - heating - wholesale			2	1		
507508	Heaters - unit dealers			1			
507510	Heating Equipment - wholesale			2	1		
508209	Mason contractors equipment & supplies - wholesale		1				
508303	Poultry equipment & supplies - wholesale		1				
508304	Tractor dealers - wholesale		4	1	1		
508310	Farm equipment - wholesale		1				
508331	Agricultural implements & supplies wholesale	6	5				
508404	Baker's equipment - wholesale		1				

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
508427	Machinery (new) - wholesale	4	7				
508444	Pumps - wholesale			3			
508507	Rope - retail	3		1			
508509	Sheet metal working equipment & supplies - wholesale	2					
508514	Twines & Cordage - wholesale			1			
508520	Hydraulic equipment and supplies - wholesale					1	
508522	Industrial equipment						1
508540	Textile mill supplies - wholesale	3	2	4	3	1	
508548	Rubber Products - wholesale						1
508705	Barber's equipment & supplies - wholesale		2	1	1	1	
508725	Motel & hotel equipment & supplies - wholesale				2	1	
508727	Leather findings - wholesale	3					
508803	Ship brokers			1	1		
508805	Ship chandlers/marine supplies & equipment	1	2	2	7	1	
508813	Nautical instruments - wholesale				1		
509223	Wholesalers			1		1	
509306	Waste - cotton, wool, synthetic etc. - wholesale		2				
509313	Brokers - scrap metal					1	1
509326	Bottles (used) - wholesale	1		1			
509406	Jewelers - wholesale		1				1
509410	Beads (wholesale)						1
509901	Exporters		1				
509905	Importers		1		1	4	
509908	Manufacturers - agents & representatives		3	4	1	1	
511101	Paper products - wholesale				2	1	1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
511207	Business Forms & Systems - wholesale						1
511214	Stationery - wholesale		3	4			
511306	Shipping Room Supplies - wholesale			1			
512203	Pharmaceutical products - wholesale	3	5	2			
513113	Cotton Goods - wholesale		7				
513117	Dry goods - wholesale	7	7	2	5	1	
513120	Notions - wholesale			1	2		
513601	Hats - wholesale	3					
513628	Clothing - wholesale	4	3	2	1	2	
513715	Hosiery - wholesale				1	1	
513902	Boots and Shoes - Wholesale	6	4	1	2	3	
514101	Food products - wholesale				1		
514102	Food brokers				5	2	
514105	Grocers - wholesale	20	16	8	4		
514201	Frozen foods - wholesale				1		
514402	Poultry Services - wholesale			1			
514404	Poultry - wholesale		2	2			
514501	Candy & confectionery - wholesale		2	3	2		
514601	Seafood - wholesale				1		
514704	Meat - wholesale		2				
514801	Produce/fruit dealers - wholesale	8	11	12	6	1	1
514804	Fruits & vegetables - brokers		1				
514805	Fruits & Vegetables - growers & shippers			1			
514901	Molasses - wholesale		1				
514902	Bakers - wholesale	2	2		1		
514905	Coffee - wholesale	1	1	2			
514907	Commission merchants	29	2				
514913	Flour - wholesale		1				
514917	Yeast - wholesale	8					

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
514921	Rice - wholesale	8	3	3			
514924	Soft drinks - wholesale			2			
514927	Sugar brokers & wholesalers		1				
514937	Beverages - soft drink/mixers - distributor/bottlers		1	6			
514959	Cookies & Crackers - wholesale		2				
515301	Grain & field beans - wholesale		1				1
515403	Livestock Dealers - wholesale			3			
515901	Peanuts - wholesale			1	2		
515907	Horse dealers	4	1				
516916	Brokers - chemical		5				1
516999	Chemicals & allied products (NEC) - wholesale		1				
517210	Gasoline - wholesale		1	2	2		
518101	Beer & ale - wholesale	4		5	5	1	
518201	Liquors - wholesale		2	4			
519105	Seeds & bulbs - wholesale			1			
519112	Feed dealers - wholesale		3	2			
519114	Fertilizers - wholesale	3	13	7	1		
519115	Hay - wholesale	3	5				
519129	Straw goods - wholesale	1					
519201	Magazines - distributors			1			
519202	Book dealers - wholesale	1					
519203	Newspaper distributors			1			
519402	Cigar, cigarette & tobacco dealers - wholesale	3	5	4	3		
519803	Paint - wholesale	3	1	7			
519909	Blacksmith shop supplies - wholesale	2					
519910	Giftware - wholesale					2	
519912	Ice - wholesale	1					
519915	Leather goods - wholesale				1		
519935	Pictures - wholesale						1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
519950	Bags - Burlap, canvas and cotton - wholesale			1			
519959	Buttons - advertising (wholesale)						1
Retail							
521110	Plumbing fixtures & supplies - new- retail			4		1	
521114	Roofing materials		7	5	2		
521131	Sash and Door Dealers			1			1
521135	Electrical equipment & supplies - retail						1
521142	Lumber - retail			2	1	1	
523106	Wallpapers & wall coverings - retail			4			
523107	Paint, varnish, glass & wallpaper dealers	9	11	12	7	2	1
523110	Glass - Auto, Plate & Window etc.		2	3			
525104	Hardware dealers - retail	4	5	7	1	1	3
526129	Seeds & bulbs - retail	3	3	4	5		
526137	Engines - gasoline					1	
531102	Department stores		8	8	9	6	6
532411	Aircraft dealers						1
533101	Dept. Store - 5c - \$1.00/Variety Stores		4	4	5	2	1
539901	General merchandise - retail			2	1	1	2
541101	Food markets			1			
541103	Convenience stores					2	2
541105	Grocers - retail	69	43	43	24	8	3
542101	Seafood - retail	3	5	5	4		
542107	Meats - retail	31	7	13	1	1	1
543101	Fruit & vegetable dealers - retail	41	22	17	3	1	
544101	Candy & Confectionery - retail		16	5	6	2	4

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
544102	Nuts - edible				1		1
544103	Popcorn & popcorn supplies						1
545101	Dairy products - retail		1	2	1	1	2
546102	Bakers - retail	17	10	7	2	3	3
546105	Doughnuts			1			1
546107	Cookies and Crackers						1
549901	Health foods - retail					1	1
549915	Coffee & tea	2	2				9
549920	Gourmet shops						4
549999	Misc. Food stores						2
551102	Automobile Dealers - new cars		27	16	8		
551103	Automobile dealers - used cars			1	4		
551105	Truck - dealers		3	1	1		
553111	Automobile Parts & Supplies - retail (new)		1		1	1	1
553116	Batteries - storage - retail		5				
553123	Tire Dealers - retail		9	4	7		
553129	Automobile accessories		4	18	2		
554101	Service stations - gasoline & oil		1	18	13	4	2
554107	Oils - Lubricating - retail			6		1	
555101	Engines - marine		1				
555103	Boat equipment & supplies		1				
555104	Boat dealers				1		
557106	Motorcycles & motor scooters - dealers			1			1
559908	Aircraft equipment parts & supplies					1	
561101	Clothing - men's	8	15	18	18	0	13
561104	Army & Navy goods		2				
562101	Clothing - women's		13	17	19	0	32
562104	Bridal shops						1
562105	Maternity apparel						2
563202	Fur business - retail	1	3	2		1	

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
563204	Corsets, girdles & brassieres		1				
563206	Hosiery - retail		2	3			
563208	Knit goods - retail	1					
563209	Millinery retail	11	15	13	3	1	
563210	Lingerie						1
563211	Women's specialty shops						2
564103	Clothing - children & infants		1	3	4		4
565101	Clothing - retail	20	26	10	1	41	7
566101	Boots and Shoes - Retail	21	13	9	20	8	6
569906	Dressmakers	12	9	11	3		
569909	Wigs & toupees					2	
569911	Riding apparel & equipment			1			
569913	Sportswear - retail						2
569915	Swimwear & accessories						1
569917	T-shirts - Retail					1	4
569919	Tailors/ merchant tailors	9	8	2		1	
569922	Uniforms			1	2		
569927	Hats - retail	10	13	3	3		
569928	Hair goods	4	2				
569932	Alterations - clothing			2		1	6
571201	Furniture - outdoor						1
571202	Furniture - children's				1		
571209	Beds - retail			1			
571211	Kitchen cabinets & equipment - household			1			
571216	Furniture dealers - retail	10	16	17	19	15	7
571217	Furniture designers & custom builders						1
571219	House furnishing goods – retail	8	10	7	4	5	4
571220	Mattresses			4			
571221	Hammocks						1
571301	Linoleum dealers		1	2	1		
571304	Carpet and rug dealers - Oriental				1		
571305	Carpet & rug dealers - new	6	10	3	3	1	2

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
571308	Floor covering - dealers			10	1		1
571404	Quilting						1
571407	Draperies & Curtains - retail/custom			2	1		1
571908	Stoves - heating			1			
571916	Window shades /venetian blinds			2	1		
571921	Chinaware & glassware - retail	5	2	4	5	3	
571925	Linens - retail			2	1	2	2
571926	Lighting Fixtures - retail			2		1	
571927	Lamps & Lamp Shades - retail			2			
571928	Kitchen accessories					2	
571929	Housewares - retail						1
571933	Fireplace equipment - retail	5		1			
571937	Brass - decorative accessories				1		
571952	Tin ware		2				
571979	Lighting	1	2				
572202	Appliances - major household - dealers			11	10	1	
572213	Washing Machines/Dryers/Ironers - dealers			1	1		
572216	Vacuum Cleaners - household - dealers			4	1		
572218	Sewing machines - household	3	2	2	2		
572219	Refrigerators & freezers - Dealers		2	9	1		
573103	Television & radio dealers			12	6		
573105	Stereophonic & high fidelity equipment dealers				1		
573112	Video games						1
573401	Computer software						3
573407	Computers						1
573501	Records, Tapes and CD's - Retail				2	2	5

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
573602	Pianos	1	3	1	5		
573608	Musical instruments - dealers	2	1	2	3	1	
581203	Ice cream & frozen desserts – retail			3	1	1	3
581208	Restaurants	32	36	61	42	56	125
581209	Delicatessens		6		2	1	4
581212	Caterers						3
581214	Cook shop	3					
581218	Soda fountain shops			1			
581219	Sandwiches				1	2	
581220	Restaurant management						2
581222	Pizza						5
581225	Beverages - non-alcoholic – retail		2	3			
581228	Coffee shops			4		2	6
581236	Tea rooms			1			
581301	Beer parlor/bars/drinking places			14	27	5	4
581303	Cocktail lounges					6	1
581304	Night clubs			1	4	2	3
591205	Pharmacies/drug stores	18	13	17	11	3	2
592102	Liquors/wines - retail	5	2	14	16	4	4
593201	Book dealers - used & rare						2
593202	Antiques - dealers	0	4	12	11	33	37
593205	Clothing - used			2	1		1
593209	Antiques - reproductions					1	2
593215	Junk - dealers	1	3			1	
593217	Furniture - used	1			1		
593229	Pawnbrokers	3	3	1			
594113	Sporting goods - retail	3	5	3	1	2	3
594116	Skateboards & equipment						2
594120	Saddlery & harness	3	2			1	
594129	Guns & gunsmiths	4	3	5			
594131	Fishing tackle - dealers			1			1
594141	Bicycles - dealers	8	4	4	1	3	2
594145	Ammunition			1			

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
594201	Book dealers - retail	10	8	3	1	5	8
594302	Filing equipment systems & supplies			3			1
594305	Stationers - retail			5		1	2
594308	Maps - dealers						1
594311	School Supplies - retail			1			
594401	Silverware			3	2		
594403	Watches - dealers				2		
594404	Diamonds		1	1	4		
594407	Clocks - dealers					1	
594409	Jewelers - retail	10	13	13	14	10	24
594411	Gold, silver & platinum dealers				1		
594501	Craft supplies					2	1
594508	Hobby shops				1	2	
594515	Baskets	1				1	
594517	Toys - retail	5	4	1	1	1	3
594601	Photographic equipment & supplies - retail	2	3	3	2	3	
594706	Bridal registries						1
594707	Novelties - retail		1	1		1	
594710	Greetings cards - retail				1		
594712	Gift shops			4	7	20	48
594715	Souvenirs - retail			1			
594716	Party supplies						1
594801	Luggage - retail			4			
594803	Leather goods - dealers			1		2	2
594806	Trunks - dealers		10				
594902	Fabric shops						2
594903	Notions - retail			2			
594904	Needlework & needlework materials - retail				1	1	2
594909	Dry goods - retail	36	20	8	1		
594911	Yarn - retail				1		
596201	Vending machines				1	1	
596398	Direct selling establishment						1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
598303	Oils - petroleum - retail				1		
598902	Coal & coke - retail	4	1	3	1		
598903	Firewood	4	6				
599201	Florists - retail	3	3	8	2	5	6
599202	Plants - retail		2				
599301	Cigar, cigarette & tobacco dealers - retail	23	26	10	1	2	3
599302	Pipes & smokers' articles – dealers		1			1	
599401	News dealers	3	7	7	6		
599502	Optical goods - retail			3			1
599504	Opticians	2	8	6	5	3	1
599505	Sunglasses & sun goggles						3
599903	Safes & vaults dealers	2	3				
599908	Typewriters		5	4	3		
599913	Surgical appliances & supplies					1	
599922	Artificial limbs						1
599927	Picture frames - dealers		4	1	1	6	1
599931	Factory outlets						2
599933	Orthopedic appliances				1	2	
599935	Wood carving			1			
599947	Fraternal regalia & supplies						1
599949	Coin & stamp dealers/supplies			1		2	1
599951	Christmas lights & decorations					1	2
599953	Candles						1
599955	Birds	3	1	1			
599961	Awnings & canopies			1			
599965	Artists' materials & supplies	7	1	1	4		
599968	Artificial breasts						1
599969	Art galleries & dealers	1	4	2	1	9	48
599979	Hearing aids				2	2	
599988	Craft galleries & dealers	1	3				
599990	Wood products						1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
599992	Cosmetics & perfumes - retail					1	3
599999	Misc. Retail stores						3
Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate							
602101	Banks	18	17	9	11	16	17
602102	Trust companies			1			
603501	Savings & loan associations			1	2	3	2
603698	Federal savings institution						3
606101	Credit unions					2	2
606102	Federal credit unions						1
609904	Money brokers	2					
614101	Loans		1	8	39	3	10
614102	Finance companies			6		8	1
614103	Financing - automobile			1			
615302	Credit card & other credit plans			1	5		
615303	Misc. Business credit institution			8			2
615901	Loans - farm				1		
616201	Loans - mortgage			2		4	5
616203	Brokers - mortgage						1
621101	Brokers - stocks & bonds/brokerage companies	13	15	7	2	4	17
621105	Investment securities						6
621109	Investment bankers			1		1	
621110	Securities		1	8	6	3	
621111	Investments		5	11	5	2	4
622102	Cotton brokers		1				
622104	Commodity brokers						2
623102	Security commodities exchange						2
628203	Financial advisory services					1	5
628204	Financing consultants						2
628205	Financial planning consultants						3

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
631103	Insurance - Chartered - life - underwriters		1			2	
635101	Bonds - bail				1	1	
635102	Bonds - surety & fidelity		1	1			
636101	Insurance - title					1	1
637102	Pension & profit sharing plans						1
641102	Insurance - adjusters & investigators			2	14	4	1
641104	Insurance consultants						3
641110	Insurance - claims processing services				1	1	
641112	Insurance agents	38	61	27	64	35	19
641121	Insurance managers				1		
641125	Insurance investigators			1	1		
641198	Insurance Agents Brokers & service						1
641999	Insurance companies	76	21	31	48	18	3
651201	Shopping centers					1	
651202	Office buildings						5
651298	Non-residential building operators		1				1
651301	Condominiums					1	1
651302	Boarding houses	37	22	11	1		
651303	Apartments - furnished and unfurnished		5	17	4		3
653102	Office & desk space rental				1		
653104	Real estate investments					1	3
653108	Real estate management				9	6	3
653111	Apartment finding & rental service						1
653113	Listing service/rental vacancy					1	
653116	Appraisers - real estate				1	2	3
653117	Real estate consultants/multiple listing service						3
653118	Real estate	26	47	55	83	64	68

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
653120	Condominium management						1
653127	Rental agencies			2		3	
653135	Real estate support services						1
654102	Title companies					3	3
655201	Land companies		10	2			
655202	Real estate developers		6	2	3		11
655302	Cemeteries			1			
671201	Holding companies (bank)						4
673303	Trustees			1			
673305	Estate consultants				1		
Services							
701101	Hotels & motels	5	9	8	8	7	18
701107	Bed & breakfast accommodations						11
721101	Laundries	11	10	7	5		1
721201	Clothes cleaners, pressers & dry cleaners	3	11	13	15	1	1
721301	Towel supply service		1	2			
721302	Linen supply service			1			
721601	Dyers	3	3	1			
721702	Carpet & rug repairing				1		
721704	Carpet & rug cleaners			5		1	
721908	Tailors - alteration & repairing	5	20	12	4	1	1
721919	Sewing shops - custom			1			
722101	Photographers	5	8	6	3	5	6
723101	Skin treatments						2
723102	Manicurists		3				2
723105	Beauty schools			1			
723106	Beauty salons		5	22	11	9	17
724101	Barbers	32	40	25	17	6	5
725101	Hats - cleaners & renovators		4	3	2		
725102	Shoe repairing			7	7	3	2
725103	Shoe shining		6	3	2		

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
726103	Funeral directors	10	8	5	3	2	1
726104	Embalmers	7	3				
729101	Tax return preparation			1		2	
729908	Formal wear - rentals			1	1		
729917	Massage therapists		1	1			2
729918	Mail receiving service						1
729932	Wedding consultants						1
729935	Wedding chapels						1
729943	Tattooing				3		
729944	Tanning salons						1
729951	Coats of arms				1		
729980	Jewelry engravers	2	3	2	1	1	
729983	Appraisers			2	1		
729999	Personal services						1
731101	Advertising agencies & counselors		1	3	5	3	7
731103	Advertising - directory & guide						1
731106	Advertising - newspaper			1			
731901	Display consultants			1			
731911	Advertising - indoor						1
731912	Show cards			2			
731922	Discount cards, coupons & stamp companies		1		2		
732201	Collection agencies	1	1	2	2	1	
732301	Credit reporting agencies/mercantile agencies	2	2	3	3	2	2
732303	Credit investigators			2			
733101	Mailing services			2	1		
733108	Letter Shop service				1		
733401	Blueprinting		1	1	2	3	
733403	Copying & duplicating service		2	4	1		
733501	Photographers - commercial			1	2		2
733603	Graphic designers						4
733604	Artists - commercial			3		2	3

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
733606	Charts				1		
733801	Court reporters						1
733803	Resume service						1
733804	Stenographers - public	2	7	3			
733805	Secretarial court reporting						1
733806	Typing service			1			
734201	Pest control			3		1	
734902	Janitor service				1		
734904	Window cleaning		2				
734911	Building market maintenance services						1
735398	Heavy construction equipment rental				1		
735910	Rentals - equipment			1		1	
735935	Office furniture & equipment renting				1		
736103	Employment agencies				4		1
736107	Stevedoring contractors & stevedores	1		1	1	1	2
736110	Outplacement consultants						1
736303	Employment service - employee leasing						2
737103	Computers - system designers/consultants						5
737415	Internet service						1
737804	Computer wiring						1
738104	Detective agencies/private detectives					2	3
738202	Burglar Alarm Systems - retail		1	1			
738301	News service						1
738401	Photographic developing & printing			3		1	5
738901	Auctioneers	18	14	5	1		2
738902	Decorators - interior			2	1	6	10
738903	Telephone answering service				3	1	1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
738905	Sign painters		1	3	1		
738907	Arbitration service/negotiation			1			3
738912	Telemarketing services						1
738914	Artists' agents						1
738922	Business brokers						3
738931	Convention services & facilities						1
738937	Signs - erectors & hangers	1				1	
738942	Embroidery						1
738944	Special events						1
738947	Recording studios - audio & visual					1	
738955	Engravers - general	1	1				
738958	Liquidators			1			
738961	Conference & seminar coordinators						1
738969	Medical records service						1
738970	Messenger service		2	2			
738979	Notaries public		1	15	2		
738988	Packaging service						1
738994	Process servers						2
738995	Merchandise brokers	18	28	13		1	
738996	Inspection service				1		
738999	Business services						6
751401	Automobile renting & leasing				3	1	4
752102	Parking stations & garages			3			1
753201	Automobile body - repairing & painting		2		9	1	
753206	Truck - painting & lettering			1			
753207	Automobile seat covers/tops & upholstery		3		1		
753301	Mufflers & Exhaust systems - engine				1		
753401	Tire - retreading & repairing			2			
753801	Automobile repairing &		20	39	14	2	

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
	service						
753901	Automobile radiator repairing		2				
753903	Wheel alignment - frame & axel service - auto				2		
753911	Automobile electric service				2		
754901	Wrecker service				1		
754902	Automobile Undercoating & rustproofing				1		
762202	Television & radio - service repair			11	6		
762214	Aircraft Radio communication				1		
762398	Refrigeration & air conditioning service & repair			4			
762903	Electric equipment - service & repair		1				
762922	Ranges & stoves - service & repair			1			
763101	Jewelry - repairing				1		
763102	Watchmakers & repairers	11	8	3	10		1
763103	Clocks -repairing						1
764101	Caning		1	1			
764105	Furniture - repairing & refinishing	2	1		1	1	
764106	Office furniture & equipment - repair & refinishing				1		
764109	Upholsterers	2	3	7	1	1	
764112	Antiques - repairing & restoring				1		1
769203	Welding		4	4	2		
769402	Armatures - repairing & rewinding			1			
769906	Blacksmiths	15	9	1			
769912	Organs - tuning & repairing				1		
769913	Pianos - tuning & repairing	3		1	1		
769923	Scales - repairing	2		1			

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
769925	Sewing machines - repairing			1			
769937	Mattresses - renovating			1			
769938	Tools - repairing & parts			1			
769940	Typewriters - repairing			1			
769944	Repair services						1
769962	Locks & locksmiths	4	3	6	2	2	1
769968	Oil burners servicing			2			
769969	Musical instrument repairing				1		
769972	Historical preservation - restoration service						2
769981	Dolls - repairing					1	
781205	Motion picture video productions						3
781998	Motion picture services						1
783201	Movie theater			5	4		1
784102	Video tapes & disks - renting & leasing						1
791101	Dancing instruction			4	3	1	1
792207	Theatres - live			1	2		9
792211	Theatrical managers & producers						1
792901	Orchestras & bands		1	1	1		1
793301	Bowling centers		1				
799101	Health clubs					1	2
799708	Baseball clubs						1
799713	Gun clubs		2	1		1	
799912	Billiard parlors		12	2	1		
799913	Boats - rental & charter			1			
799919	Fairs & festivals			1			
799921	Concessionaires				1		
799940	Historical places						3
799963	Sightseeing tours/guides/tourist agents		1	3	4	3	2
799967	Swimming instruction						1
799969	Swimming Pools - public				1		
799973	Ticket sales	1				1	

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
799999	Amusement & recreation (NEC)		1	4	2	1	2
Professional services							
801101	Physicians & surgeons	19	28	23	6	2	11
801104	Clinics	2				1	
802101	Dentists	16	20	22	9	1	6
804101	Chiropractors DC			4	1		2
804201	Optometrists OD			6	6	3	4
804301	Podiatrists		2	3	1		
804904	Midwives	4					
804908	Nurses and Nurses' Registries/Midwives		10	15	4		1
804922	Psychologists						3
804924	Psychotherapists						2
804999	Offices health practitioners						1
805101	Nursing homes				1		
805906	Homes & institutions	1					
806203	Ici passenger transit						1
807108	Drug detection service & equipment						1
807201	Laboratories - dental			1			
808201	Home health service						2
809904	Health maintenance organizations						2
809913	Medical & surgical svc organizations						1
809948	CPR - classes & training						1
811103	Attorneys	70	55	66	117	36	222
811104	Immigration and Naturalization Consultants						2
811198	Legal services				20	138	1
821103	Schools					1	5
822201	Business colleges		2	4	1		
823106	Libraries - public			1	1		3
824301	Computer training						1

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
824402	Schools - business & secretarial		6	1			
824922	Navigation schools				1		
829909	Tutoring				1		
829915	Music Instruments - vocal						1
829918	Music instruction - instrumental	3	8	17	6	2	
829919	Art Instruction and Schools	1					
829999	Schools educational services						1
832201	Counseling services			1			
832206	Senior citizens service						1
832215	Marriage & family counselors				1		6
832218	Social service organizations						6
832256	Probation services						1
833105	Job training						2
833108	Government - job training/vocational rehab. services						1
835101	Day care centers					4	3
835102	Schools - Nursery & Kindergarten - academic						1
839902	Alcoholism information & treatment center						2
839907	Fund raising counselors & organizations						1
839998	Non-profit organizations						2
841201	Museums						9
841202	Arts organizations & information						5
Organizations							
861102	Associations						3
864101	Fraternal organizations						1
864105	Environmental conservation/ecological org.						2

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
864106	Educational associations					1	
864108	Clubs						3
866109	Convents & monasteries				1		
Professional Services (cont.)							
869919	Pilots			3			
871105	Contractors - engineering general		8				
871106	Engineers			1			
871110	Engineers – civil	4	8	3	1	2	1
871111	Engineers - consulting				2	2	3
871112	Engineers - construction				1		
871125	Engineers - mechanical		2				1
871137	Engineers - structural						1
871147	Engineers - automation						1
871198	Engineering services						1
871202	Architects	2	5	5	4	10	23
871301	Surveyors – land		2	2	1	2	1
871302	Surveys – aerial			1			
872101	Accountants	1	3	8	21	15	25
872102	Accounting & bookkeeping general services		1	1			
873111	Environmental & ecological services						1
873204	Market research & analysis				1		
873298	Commercial nonphysical research.						5
873303	Foundations - educational philanthropic research						2
873402	Laboratories – testing	1					1
874103	Hotel & motel management		1	2	1		
874104	Construction management						2
874201	Business management consultants				1	2	25
874203	Personnel consultants						2

SIC Code	Business Type	1899	1919	1938	1958	1979	1999
874216	Employee Benefit consultants						1
874221	Historical restoration consultants						1
874302	Public relations counselors						3
874304	Political consultants						1
874810	Sales promotion service			1			
874878	Trade consultants – international					1	
874899	Consultants (NEC)				1	1	1
899903	Writers			2			
899906	Technical manual preparation					1	
899907	Sculptors					1	
899908	Art repair/restoration			1		1	1
899912	Artists - fine arts	1	2	5	3		1
899914	Chemists - analytical & consulting	3	3	1	1	1	
899915	Geologists					1	
899920	Information bureaus					4	
899977	Service bureaus						2
Unclassified							
999999	Unclassified		10	4	5	12	23

Appendix II

Table A2
Accommodations in the TBD Area 1899-1999

	Hotels	Motels	Residential	Inns	Suites	B&Bs	Total
1899-1919							
1899	4	0	1	0	0	0	5
1904	7	0	1	0	0	0	8
1909	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
1914	5	0	1	0	0	0	6
1919	8	0	1	0	0	0	9
1924-1938							
1924	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
1929	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1934	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1938	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1944-1958							
1944	6	0	1	0	0	0	7
1948	6	0	0	0	0	0	6
1955	7	0	0	0	0	0	7
1958	7	0	0	1	0	0	8
1964-1979							
1964	4	3	0	1	0	0	8
1969	3	4	0	1	0	0	8
1974	2	3	1	2	0	0	8
1979	2	3	0	2	0	0	7
1984-1999							
1984	2	3	0	5	0	1	11
1989	3	3	0	9	0	4	19
1994	3	2	0	10	1	6	22
1999	3	3	0	10	2	11	29

Appendix III

Table A3
Total Restaurants, Antique Dealers and Gift Shops in the TBD 1899-1999

Year	Restaurants	Antique Dealers	Gift Shops
1899	32	0	0
1904	27	0	0
1909	29	1	0
1913	45	2	0
1919	35	4	0
1924	27	5	0
1929	58	17	11
1934	52	21	14
1938	61	10	4
1944	71	12	7
1948	70	14	12
1955	51	17	7
1958	42	11	4
1964	34	9	14
1969	29	15	6
1974	20	22	11
1979	56	32	21
1984	53	25	26
1989	79	34	40
1994	89	40	36
1999	125	37	48

Appendix IV

Table A4
Tourist Visitation Rates 1926-1999 (Sources of Data)

Year	Number of Visitors	Source	Year	Number of Visitors	Source
1926	32,000	(Frank, 1972, p. 35)	1976	2,257,360	(Lane, 1977)
1929	47,000	(Edgar, 1998, p. 493)	1977	2,700,000	(Burch, Area Tourism Doubled Since 1974, 1978)
1936	150,000	(Frank, 1972, p. 35)	1978	2,800,000	(Adams J. , 1979b)
1939	212,500	(Tourists Spend Much Money Chamber Report Discloses, 1940)	1980	2,200,000	(Bartelme, T & Behre, R., 1991)
1948	475,000	(Fraser, 1989, p. 400)	1982	2,369,805	(Charleston, 1983)
1962	1,700,000	(Fraser, 1989, p. 413)	1984	2,500,000	(Fraser, 1989)
1970	1,300,000	(Feaster, 1972)	1986	3,000,000	(Fennell E. , 1987)
1972	1,385,000	(Lane, 1977)	1987	4,500,000	(Francis, 1989)
1973	1,469,500	(Lane, 1977)	1990	4,700,000	(Bartelme, T & Behre, R., 1991)
1974	1,396,025	(Lane, 1977)	1993	5,000,000	(Williams C. , Charleston tourism doing good business, 1994)
			1997	7,400,000	(Williams C. d., 1991)
1975	1,612,400	(Lane, 1977)			

Appendix V

**Table A5
Tourist Expenditures 1929-1997**

Year	Actual Dollars Spent	Spending adjusted to 1999 dollars	Source
1929	\$4,000,000	\$38,339,200	(Edgar, 1998, p. 493)
1931	\$2,500,000	\$25,450,300	(Frank, 1972, p. 34)
1932	2,500,000	\$39,291,100	(Tourist Business Biggest Cash Provider of the City, 1933)
1933	3,500,000	\$43,790,100	(Charleston Tourist Center In All Seasons of Year, 1940)
1939	1,700,000	\$19,902,100	(Tourists Spend Much Money Chamber Report Discloses, 1940)
1940	2,000,000	\$23,414,300	(Charleston Tourist Business Wrecked By War, Boom Seen After Unconditional Surrender, 1943)
1948	5,800,000	\$40,624,800	(Cothran, 1948)
1951	10,000,000	\$65,560,000	(Bradham, 1952)
1952	12,000,000	\$74,218,900	(Tourists Spent \$12 Million Here Last Year Chamber Officials Say, 1953)8
1953	15,000,000	\$92,078,700	(Chamber Sets \$25 Million As Shareof Tourist Trade, 1957)
1956	20,000,000	\$122,313,400	(Chamber Sets \$25 Million As Shareof Tourist Trade, 1957)
1962	25,000,000	\$136,583,300	(Fraser, 1989, p. 413)
1963	29,600,000	\$159,586,800	(Tourists Here Spend Almost \$30 Million , 1964)
1970	54,000,000	\$234,763,900	(Feaster, 1972)
1973	75,000,000	\$289,235,300	(Gas Shortage May Cut Tourism In Charleston, 1973)
1974	73,300,000	\$260,040,500	(Local Tourism Off To A Good Start in 1975, 1975)
1975	115,000,000	\$363,169,600	(Flagler, Charleston Enjoying Banner Tourist Year, 1976)
1976	141,600,000	\$418,166,500	(Reaves, New Program's Goal: Lure Tourists, 1976a)
1977	264,000,000	\$743,464,000	(Burch, Area Tourism Doubled Since 1974, 1978)

Year	Actual Dollars Spent	Spending adjusted to 1999 dollars	Source
1978	264,000,000	\$696,773,000	(Adams J. , New Panel On Tourism Discussed, 1979b)
1980	216,075,000	\$461,730,000	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1981	276,985,000	\$526,046,800	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1982	275,714,000	\$480,739,600	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1983	248,688,000	\$417,622,600	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1984	360,839,000	\$583,825,400	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1985	416,759,000	\$648,687,600	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1986	535,340,000	\$802,765,100	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1987	622,817,000	\$923,798,200	(Francis, Tourist Money said to roll over 7 times, 1989)
1988	786,227,000	\$116,660,400	(Francis, Management of 'industry' key concern for city, 1989a)
1989	784,000,000	\$1,066,370,100	(Williams C. d., Tourism count down at area attractions, 1991)
1993	800,000,000	\$924,031,000	(Williams C. , Charleston tourism doing good business, 1994)
1994	1,500,000,000	\$1,686,214,000	(Williams C. , Tourism contributed \$1.5 buillion, 1995)
1997	2,300,000,000	\$2,376,860,000	(Williams C. d., Tourism may spring to record year, 1997)

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