

Excavations in the Cellar, Heyward-Washington House



Archaeological Contributions 54

The Charleston Museum

March 2024

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And

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Chapter I: Introduction and Background



Figure 1: Location of 87 Church Street.

The 1772 house at 87 Church Street is Charleston’s oldest house museum. The property features a three-story brick double house fronting directly on Church Street, the rear accessed by a drive along the south side of the building. Behind the main house is the work yard, featuring a single-story brick stable/carriage house on the south property line, a 2.5 story brick kitchen/laundry on the north property line and a brick privy behind the kitchen. The remainder of the long, narrow yard is filled with a formal garden, a 1930s recreation of 18th century landscaping. The narrow alley known as Ropemaker’s lane is accessed from the north rear corner of the garden.

The 1970s excavations at the Heyward Washington House, 87 Church Street, were extensive (Herold 1978). In addition to the privy, or Necessary, and the cellar of the Kitchen, Dr. Elaine Herold excavated contiguous units in the work yard

between the kitchen and stable buildings to the rear of the main house, the driveway along the south side of the main house, and the unpaved areas in front of the house. She also excavated five units in the cellar of the main house, at the rear entrance. The excavations in the work yard exposed many features of John Milner’s gunsmithing business (1730-1740), including forge, furnace, wells, and sheds (all located in A and B units). The excavations in the driveway and in the front of the house (D and E units) revealed the southern and eastern walls of the elder Milner’s house, and brick piers belonging to John Milner Jr.’s later brick single house. The units in the main house cellar (C units) revealed an additional barrel well containing cow horn cores. All of these features were destroyed in Charleston’s great fire of 1740.

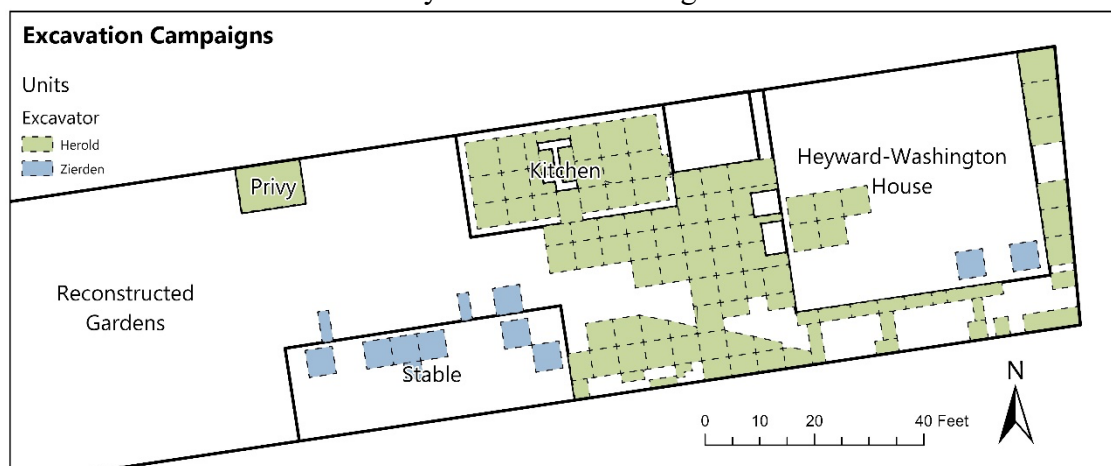


Figure 2: Units excavated at 87 Church.

Based on these discoveries, and the lack of field photos and maps for the features, the authors and other local archaeologists planned a small project to continue exploration of the cellar area. Of particular interest was the west and north walls of the Milner house, potentially located in the southeast quadrant of the cellar. Herold's field notes and preliminary report indicated the house stood on brick pillars, and that there was evidence of charred beams and ash associated with these features, noted in her units outside of the cellar. We hoped to encounter additional evidence of the Milner house.

The Heyward-Washington House was outfitted with a central HVAC system in 1995, and the main compressor unit was installed in the southeast quadrant of the cellar. Despite its imposing presence, there remained space for excavation in the areas covering the footprint of the Milner house. Museum archaeologist Martha Zierden and College of Charleston assistant professor Sarah Platt developed a plan for a short exploratory project, assisted by colleagues Jeff Sherard of Brockington and Jon Marcoux of Clemson and students from the College of Charleston. The crew worked for a week in May 2023, excavating two of three planned 5' units.

Occupation and Archaeology of 87 Church Street

The story of the archaeological site at 87 Church Street is full of numbers, representing the immense social and functional diversity of its occupations through time. The year 2022 was celebrated as the 250th anniversary of construction of Thomas Heyward's house and outbuildings at 87 Church Street. Interpreted as the home of Thomas Heyward, his family, and the people he enslaved, the 250-year-old houses was owned by wealthy planter/merchants for 46 of those years, and occupied by those families for only half that time. For the other 184 years the property served other functions, principally a combination of commercial and residential activities. The vacant house was rented to President George Washington for his 1791 Southern Tour. The property operated as a boarding house from 1819 until 1860, and likely as tenements from 1860 until 1883. It then functioned as a bakery for the next 46 years. Acquired by The Charleston Museum in 1929, for the past 100 years it has functioned as a house museum.

The property at 87 Church Street was occupied for nearly 330 years, much earlier than the current house; the 1772 building complex is at least the third on the property. Archaeology revealed two previous building episodes, beginning with the home and gunsmithing business of John Milner Sr. in the 1730s and a single house complex built by his son, John Milner Jr. in 1749. The levels of soil and artifacts suggest there is materials, but no firm evidence of buildings, for occupants prior to Milner, perhaps as early as 1694.

The extensive excavations by Dr. Elaine Herold are the first professional archaeological excavation in Charleston, conducted from 1973 until 1977. Her work is detailed in a 1978 preliminary report (Herold 1978) and in the dissertation by Sarah Platt (Platt 2022). Most of the available ground from the front of the house to the front of the stable building and the rear of the kitchen building was excavated in contiguous 5' squares. Much smaller projects were conducted by Zierden in 1991 and in 2002, inside and adjacent to the stable building. These are summarized in separate field reports (Zierden 1991, Zierden and Reitz 2007). While the 2007 document also

summarizes Herold’s work, Platt’s 2022 document is the most comprehensive and should serve as the guide. Because those documents are available, only a brief summary is presented here:



Figure 3: Features by date of deposition and occupational association.

The earliest known grantee for lot 72 was Joseph Ellicott in 1694, who left the property to his son and two daughters a year later. The date and manner of their disposal of the property is unknown (Bates and Leland 2007; Smith 1980:18). Nor is it known if the property was improved during this time, though artifacts from the deepest level of excavation suggest some onsite activity during the first two decades of the 18th century.

John Milner, a gunsmith, was in possession of the property by 1734, and operated a gunsmithing business onsite. He also served as a royal armorer from 1735 until his death in 1749 (Platt 2022; Salley 1947:49). Documents and archaeology reveal that Milner, his wife, and five children lived in a small (24’ by 18’) wooden house that fronted Church Street “at the sign of the Pine Tree” (SC Gazette, January 26, 1740). Behind the Milner house was a work yard filled with features associated with the gunsmithing business, including furnace, forge, wood-lined well, and other features, all enclosed in a frame structure supported by posts, open on the north side.

John Milner watched his house burn in the great fire of 1740 as he ferried the colony’s arms to a safe location in the council chamber (the present-day site of the Exchange building at Broad and East Bay). Milner and his son, John Milner Jr. continued his business after the fire, evidently rebuilding on the western portion of lot 72 that ran from Church to Meeting Street (Butler 2019).

John Milner owned 11 people at the time of his death and at least three were skilled craftsmen working the gunsmithing business. Prince worked as a gunsmith and was willed to son

John Milner Jr. The other two, Jack, a carpenter, and Prince, a blacksmith, were sold and the proceeds divided (Herold 1978:6; Platt 2022:146).

Platt details conflicting newspaper advertisements suggesting sale of the property, but she deduces that the sale in 1750 at the time of Milner Sr.'s death was for the western half of the lot, likely the location of Milner's rebuilding in 1740 (Platt 2022:117). Milner Jr. retained the Church Street half of the property and his father's government contracts, and constructed a brick single house fronting Church Street along the north property line. Herold found evidence of Milner Jr's house in the cellar of the Heyward-Washington house. The house was 18 feet wide and of an unknown length. Herold discovered an entrance stairway 4 feet wide, leading from the street into the cellar of the building, where Milner evidently had a workroom for gun repair. This house, and his father's, were 6' closer to Church Street, as the fronts of both were revealed in excavations of the E units in front of the Heyward-Washington house.



Figure 4: Kitchen foundation exposed during excavation sits on earlier brick feature.

An ad for sale of this property in 1770 describes an "old shop" where Milner conducted the gunsmith trade, a good two-story brick house with several useful outbuildings. In her 1978 report, Herold suggests that the existing kitchen and cellar were also constructed by Milner, jr., based on the date and style of patio paving between the house and kitchen, and this date of outbuilding construction was incorporated into site interpretation (Herold 1978). Zierden's excavations of the stable interior in 2002 tested this idea with excavation of the builder's trench for the stable and the brick well under the foundation. Both the builder's trench for the stable (features 112 and 114) and for the brick well (feature 107) contained artifact assemblages that supported a mid-18th century date of construction, and so interpretation of the buildings as Milner Jr's continued (Zierden and Reitz 2007). Architectural historian Ed Chappell conducted a detailed architectural study of the kitchen in 2018 and suggested that the kitchen, and presumably the stable, were

built at the same time as Heyward's double house (Chappell and Buck 2018). Photos recently discovered in the Museum archive show Herold's excavation of the kitchen foundation and associated well (feature 26). Careful inspection shows a well-made foundation on top of a much

poorer-quality one, suggested the current kitchen sits exactly on the footprint of an earlier building, presumably one of Milner Jr.'s outbuildings.

John Milner Jr. continued his father's gunsmithing business after his death in 1749, though he eventually found himself in financial and legal trouble (Platt 2022:119). As early as 1752 there are complaints about poor work. He retained the government contracts until the early 1760s. A lawsuit in 1768 results in the seizure of the Church Street property and sale at public auction in 1770.

Daniel Heyward purchased the property at auction from the Provost Marshall in 1768, and consigned the property to his son, Thomas Heyward, Esq. Heyward razed the single house and built the double house complex that stands today, including paving the work yard (excavated by Herold as Patio III). Thomas Heyward was imprisoned in St. Augustine during the American Revolution, leaving his wife and her sister in the house at 87 Church Street. Betsy Heyward died in childbirth in 1781, on her way to reunite with her husband in Philadelphia. Heyward returned to Charleston but did not live in the Charleston house. His aunt, Rebecca Jameison, operated a girls' school and rented the house to President George Washington for his 1791 tour (Lipscomb 1993; McCrady and Bragg 2020).

The property sold to the Grimke family in 1794 and was retained by them until 1824. The Grimkes lived in the house until 1803, and rented it thereafter. John Grimke married Mary Smith and together they had 12 children; six were born during their years at Church Street, including future abolitionist Sarah Grimke.

Margaret Munro operated the Church Street property as a boarding house in 1819, and purchased the property in 1825. During her tenure, a back porch was removed from the main house, eastern entry to the kitchen cellar was closed, and a cistern and storage sheds added between the kitchen and main house. A small entrance to the kitchen cellar was added to the south side, and a storm drain was installed from the stable, down the driveway, to the street (Herold 1978). As this report will demonstrate, the cellar of the main house was also used for storage during this time.



Figure 5: brass medallion engraved "JD" from Feature 45.

Margaret Munro owned the property for the remainder of her life, willing it to daughter Elizabeth Giles Hervey in 1847. But by 1830, Mrs. Jane Davis oversaw daily operations of the boarding house. Numerous advertisements taken by Mrs. Davis identify her with the property (then listed as 95 Church Street), where "she is prepared for the accommodation of boarders." (Charleston Daily Courier, Nov. 8, 1830). She and her boarders advertised various business enterprises and other events there, including the sale of wine and liquor, showcasing a billiard table, and a funeral for a theatre actress. There were lost and found pets, including a New Foundland dog, a greyhound, goats, and a parrot (Arendall 2022; Zierden et al.2019).

Recent research on Charleston boarding houses by Holly Adington suggests many specialized in offering daily meals, rather than

short- or long-term accommodations (Adington 2023). But advertisements placed by Mrs. Davis suggests she accommodated boarders. The house itself has 12 rooms total: two parlors and two bedrooms or back rooms on three floors. Some of the rooms, such as the dining room, would have been for common usage. An 1850 ad listed “two pleasant rooms for families and rooms for single people”. Another ad in 1830 from the Charleston Daily Courier detailed a “furnished Chamber and Parlour” (Arendall 2022).

Both Mrs. Munro and Mrs. Davis enslaved people. Jane Davis owned ten people, many of them likely working the boarding house operations. In addition, Mrs. Munro advertised for labor at 95 Church Street, including a “good cook” in 1829, a stable groom in 1831, a “smart active boy” in 1832, and a permanent Waiting man that same year.

The 1861 advertised closing of the boarding house and sale of furnishings at 95 Church Street by Margaret Munro’s granddaughter corresponds with the death of Jane Davis in 1860 (Arendall 2022). Mrs. Munro left the property in trust to her grandchildren, and by 1864 a single granddaughter, Elizabeth Jane Trott Cooke, owned the property. They retained the property until 1879. It is not clear who lived at Church Street or how the property functioned during this time, but Sanborn fire insurance maps suggest the property was tenements, or rental property. Two slave badges dating to the period of the Civil War suggest enslaved people were among the residents.



Figure 6: slave badges recovered from the Heyward-Washington kitchen, dated 1862 and 1863. Both issued for “mechanic”, it is possible the badges were assigned to the same person, likely living and working here during the Civil War years.

Elizabeth and Thompson Cooke sold the property to Elizabeth Wehrhan in 1879 and she sold the property to the baker Henry Fuseler in 1883. Fuseler’s Bakery operated until sale to The Charleston Museum in 1929. The Fuselers made many changes to the property to accommodate the bakery business. They radically altered the first-floor parlor to create a storefront for the bakery. They built bake ovens in the stable and behind the kitchen. The 1902 Sanborn map shows additional sheds between and behind the kitchen and stable, covering much of what is now the garden.

Figure 7: The Heyward-Washington House in the 1880s. Note fencing in front of the cellar windows.



Henry Fuseler died in 1925, during a period of economic stagnation in Charleston. A number of Charleston's buildings were in disrepair. While decay and neglect posed the greatest threat to Charleston's architecture, it was the sale and removal of interior woodwork that moved some of Charleston's citizens to action (Bland 1999; Weyeneth 2000). Fuseler left his widow and heirs power to sell his property. When it became known that a "purchaser of old woodwork" planned to buy the interior paneling, The Charleston Museum and the Society for the Preservation of Old Dwellings took an option on the property in 1929.



Figure 8: The Heyward-Washington house with the Fuseler bakery storefront and altered front entrance.



Figure 9: Emma Richardson's garden restoration in progress, 1934.

The house at 87 Church Street, the first to be opened to the public, received a great deal of attention. The Museum immediately removed the bakery storefront and restored the front parlor. In 1931, Emma Richardson initiated restoration of the rear yard as a period garden, removing the layer of concrete and broken brick (Richardson 1943).

Research and restoration of the house and outbuildings continued through the subsequent century. Beginning in 1973, archaeology and architectural history informed the evolution and

restoration projects and remains an important source of information (Chappell and Buck 2018; Herman 1999, 2005; Herold 1978; Platt 2022; Zierden and Reitz 2007). The present project is the latest such effort.

Chapter II: Fieldwork

Methods

The cellar of the Heyward Washington house is 6' high, and easily accessed by a brick staircase and full door at the rear of the building. The staircase itself has been reworked through the years, and these changes are discussed in detail in Herold 1978. While the cellar area appears spacious enough, it soon becomes crowded when field crew and equipment are added to the space. The HVAC unit is rectangular, and occupies about half of the southeastern quadrant. Chimney foundations fill additional spaces, as do pipes and other service lines. For this reason, excavation crew was limited to four to six persons at a time. Platt, Zierden, and Sherard worked the entire project. Four students from the College of Charleston worked on a rotation schedule, while colleagues from the Museum and from other institutions participated when opportunity arose.

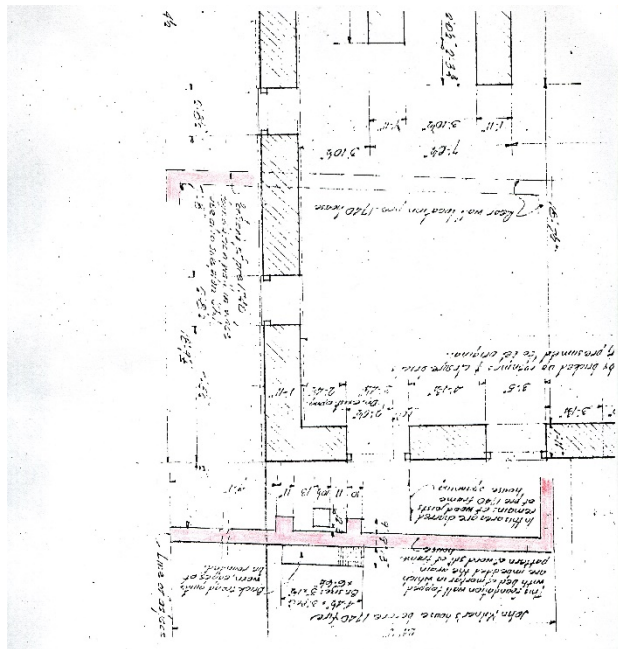


Figure 5. Detail of the front of the Milner house which burned in 1740. Drawing by Charles Bayless

Figure 10: Charles Bayless' map of the remains of the John Milner house, highlighted in red, relative to the HW cellar. Church Street is at the bottom of the illustration.

The portions of the east and south walls of the Milner house exposed in 1975 suggest the building was 18' north/south by 24' east/west. Portions possibly on the interior of the cellar would be contained in a space approximately 8' north/south by 16' east/west, conveniently the space available between the HVAC unit, the east and south walls of the house, and the chimney foundation to the west. Within this space, we triangulated three contiguous 5x5' squares, set 1' from the cellar walls to avoid disturbance to the foundation and 2.5 feet from the concrete pad for the HVAC unit.

Two of the three planned units were excavated during the present project. Following Elaine Herold's system for unit designation, these were labeled C5, C6, and C7 (Units C through C4 were excavated in 1975). Screening stations were located adjacent to the chimney foundation on the west side of the units and along the front wall north of the units. Units were excavated by hand, principally using scoops and trowels but occasionally excavating with flat shovels. The



Figure 11: Units C5 and C7, plus screening station, in the southeast quadrant of the cellar.

ground surface was cleaned of plastic (degraded moisture barrier) and assorted construction debris prior to establishing the units. All measurements were taken in English measure, feet and tenths of feet. Vertical control was maintained with a line level and elevation point established at the southeast corner of each unit. This was then measured in relation to the cellar wall and window openings.

It immediately became apparent that the interior floor level of the cellar was nearly 5' below the present ground level of the driveway. A look out of the southern window revealed the top of the driveway surface even with the bottom of the window. During her 1970s excavations, Herold noted that the windows of the cellar were originally deeper than the present configuration, the lower foot filled with brick likely during the bakery era. Herold suggested the original ground surface was likely one foot below the present level. Even allowing for accretion of the drive, and the addition of the shell fill, it was clear that most of the soils associated with pre-Heyward features were likely removed during construction of the house in 1772. Herold encountered evidence of the Milner house at 3 to 3.5' below surface. Still, the units near the rear entrance of the cellar yielded large early 18th century features, so the excavation continued in anticipation of other such finds.

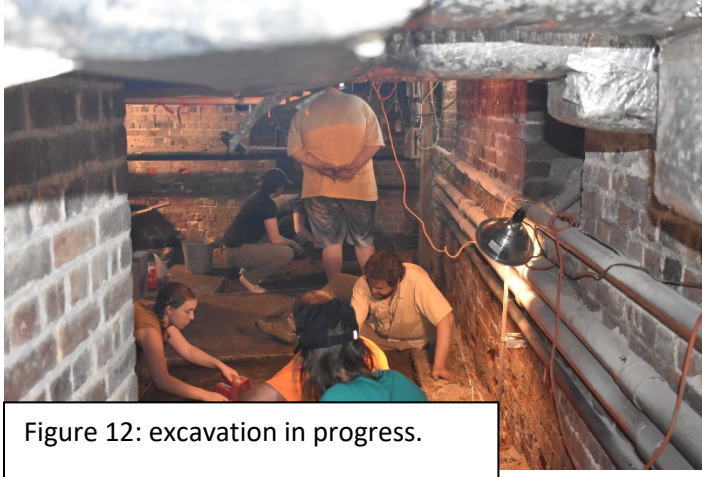


Figure 12: excavation in progress.

Units C5-C7, May 2023

Excavation began simultaneously in units C5 and C7, leaving the middle unit (C6) as a baulk. Sarah Platt supervised students and volunteers in unit C7, while Jeff Sherard directed work in C5. The dry top layer of soil in both units was excavated as Zone A, to a depth of .2 feet. Beneath was moist soil with good visibility.

In unit C5, the next deposit was designated Zone 1, a layer of crushed coal. This thin deposit was followed by a sandy layer. The deposit contained two 19th century pennies. The coal layer varied in thickness but averaged .3'. This was followed by a dark brown loamy sand (10yr3/2) with some pockets of tan sand; this was designated Zone 2. This deposit was excavated in two levels, gradually transitioning from a darker to a lighter (10yr4/3) soil. Beneath, in the center of the unit, was an irregular oval pit of mottled yellow and brown sand with coal inclusions. Defined as Feature 145, it proved to be a flat lens of soil and coal, with a yellow-tan sand (possibly subsoil) beneath it. Deposits of soil and coal continued around this area of yellow sand, and the residual coal was excavated as Zone 3 level 3. Some of the yellow sand mound was excavated as Area B, in order to restore a flat surface.

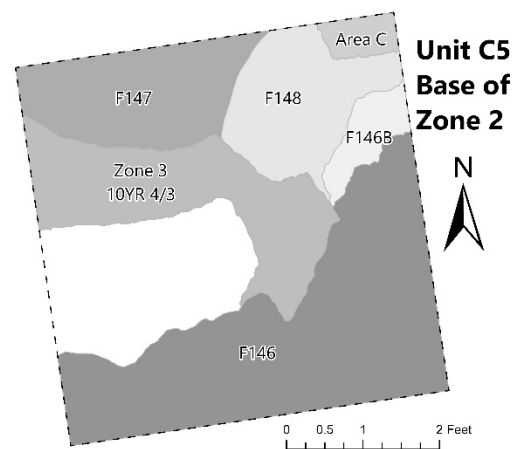


Figure 13a-b: Unit C5 at the base of Zone 2, with Features 146-148 visible.

At this point the unit became complex. Two large amorphous pits were present, along the south wall (Feature 146) and in the northwest corner (Feature 147). A pit of dark grey-brown soil

with coal (Feature 148) was located in the northeast corner, and it appears to underly Features 146 and 147. An underlying zone of lighter brown sand appears to be the next zone deposit (Zone 3) but it is badly truncated by the intrusive features.

Each feature was excavated separately. Feature 147 in the northwest corner was deep with straight sides. It contained two whole bricks that were small and hard-fired, but irregular in shape. A large paving stone protruded from the north profile. Excavation of the pit was suspended at .8' below the top, so that excavation of the remainder of the unit could proceed to this level.

Excavation then proceeded with Feature 146, mapped as covering the southern third of the unit. The fill contained brick and mortar rubble. The feature quickly resolved into a deep pit occupying the southeast corner of the unit. Brick and mortar rubble continued throughout, and a clay flower pot was recovered from the bottom of the feature.

Feature 148 initiated below Feature 147 and 146, and therefore was earlier. The fill contained earlier ceramics, but was also filled with coal. Bricks were discovered at the bottom of the feature. The pit had relatively steep sides and flat bottom.



Figure 14: Excavation of features 146 and 147.



Figure 15: Unit C5 at base of excavation.

At this point, all of the intrusive features were removed, with the exception of the second level of feature 147. This exposed a wide band of brown sand that was excavated as zone 3. Excavation of this soil, plus the bottoms of the deep features, suggest that the unit had reached sterile subsoil at a depth of .7' below surface. The remainder of Feature 147 was removed, and excavation of the unit was completed.

As is often the case on urban sites, unit C7, located five feet away, exhibited a different depositional sequence. After removal of a narrow layer of Zone A, Zone 1 was defined as a dark soil filled with brick and mortar rubble. Generally, the soil in both units was the same, but the content was different. Unit C5 was filled with coal, while C7 contained brick rubble. The soil beneath, defined as zone 2, was somewhat darker than the more westerly unit (10yr3/2).



Figure 16: Excavation of C7 in progress.

A concentration of window glass and a large paver were noted in the northeast corner of the unit. Though the deposit did not have clear edges, this was excavated separately as Area A. Beneath was the same dark brown sandy loam. This was excavated across the unit as Zone 2. Level 1 contained residual brick rubble; a second level largely devoid of rubble was excavated separately. Beneath Zone 2 was a level of lighter brown sand, designated zone 3. Two small features were present; Feature 149 was a small circular area in the northwest quadrant, while Feature 150 was an irregular pit in the southeast corner. Both features were relatively shallow, and appear to be residual deposits of zone 2. A small concentration of bottle glass, window glass, nails and bone was excavated as Area B.



Figure 17: Unit C7 at the base of Zone 2.

Zone 3 was deeper (.3'-.4') than the comparable deposit in unit C5, and was a mottled soil, the brown sand mixed with yellow subsoil. Two additional features were present at the base of zone 3. Feature 151, an irregular area along the south wall, was a pocket of dark soil. Feature 150, defined in the above zone, continued into sterile subsoil. This was excavated as Feature 150 level 2. Feature 150 was a mix of brown and grey sands, averaging at 10yr4/3.

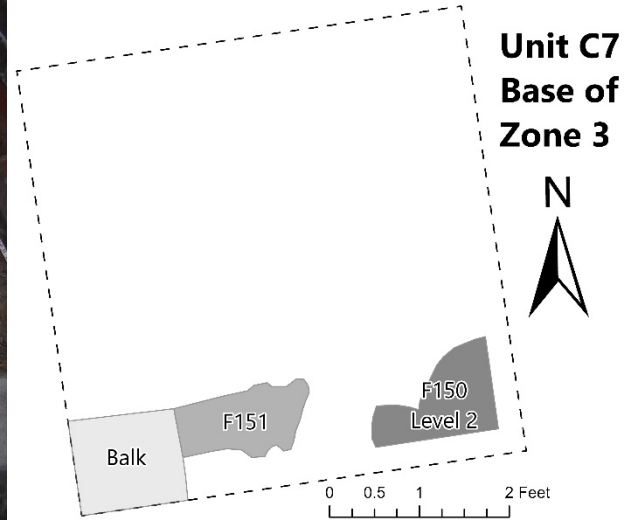


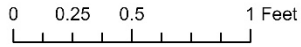
Figure 18a-b: Unit C7 at base of Zone 3.

It appeared that we had encountered sterile subsoil in both units. To ensure that this was not a cap of fill, a 1' shovel test pit was excavated in the center of unit C7 to a depth of one foot. The soil presented a sterile subsoil throughout. Profile maps of two walls in each unit were completed at this point. Both units were then covered with landscape fabric and backfilled.

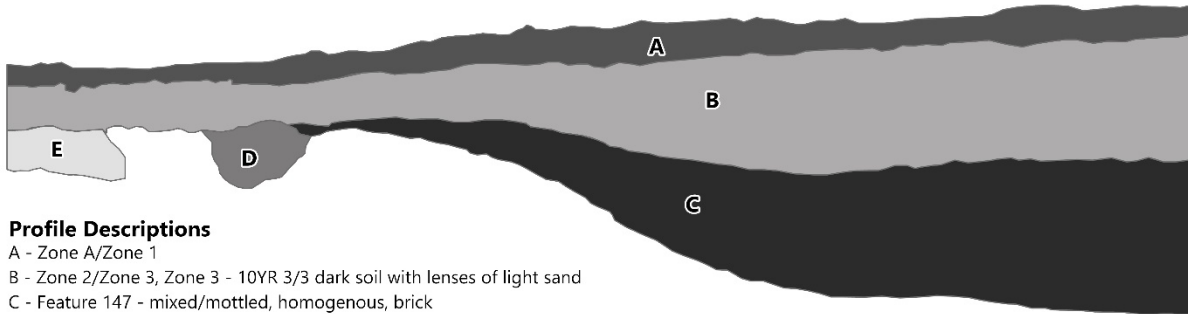
All of the proveniences encountered in units C5 and C7 dated to the 19th century, with the exception of the two small pits at the base of zone 3 in unit C7. The deposits contained a small, but varied assemblage of materials associated with the Boarding house years at the Heyward House.



Figures 19: artifacts from Unit C7, level A.

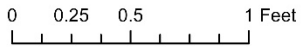


Unit C5 East Profile

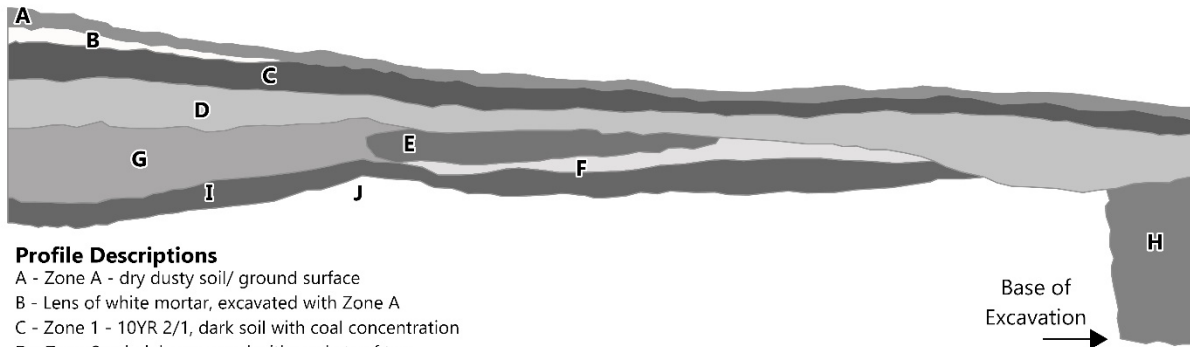


Profile Descriptions

- A - Zone A/Zone 1
- B - Zone 2/Zone 3, Zone 3 - 10YR 3/3 dark soil with lenses of light sand
- C - Feature 147 - mixed/mottled, homogenous, brick
- D - Feature 148
- E - Area C



Unit C5 West Profile



Profile Descriptions

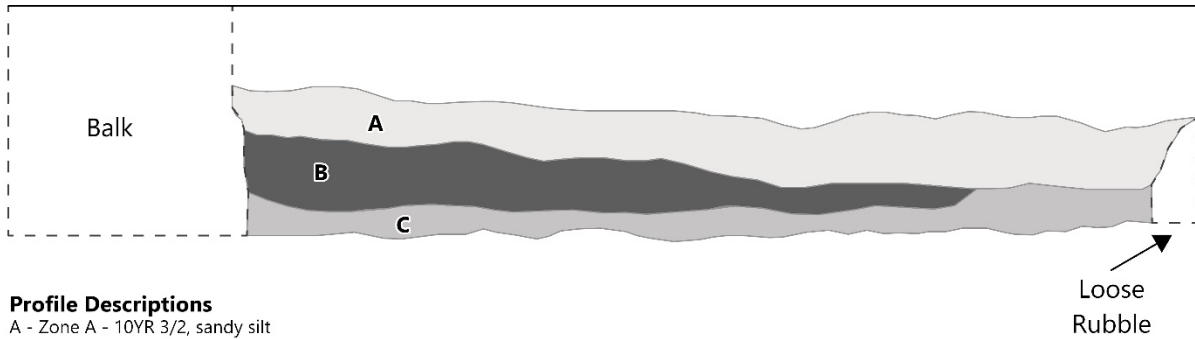
- A - Zone A - dry dusty soil/ ground surface
- B - Lens of white mortar, excavated with Zone A
- C - Zone 1 - 10YR 2/1, dark soil with coal concentration
- D - Zone 2 - dark loamy sand with pockets of tan
- E - Feature 145 - pile of crushed coal
- F - Lens or mound of hard-packed yellow sand, partly Zone 3
- G - Feature 146 - amorphous pit of dark soil and coal
- H - Feature 147 - deep straight-sided pit with coal and building rubble
- I - Zone 3 - brown mortar-flecked sand, 10YR 4/3
- J - Yellow sterile subsoil

Base of
Excavation
→

Figure 20: East and West profiles from units C5

0 0.25 0.5 1 Feet

Unit C7 West Profile

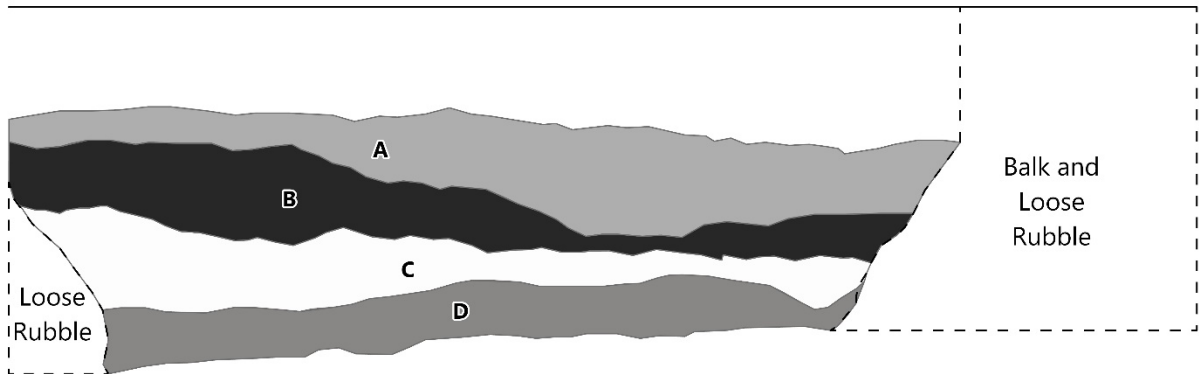


Profile Descriptions

- A - Zone A - 10YR 3/2, sandy silt
- B - Zone 2 - 7.5YR 4/6, silt with rubble
- C - Zone 3 - 10YR 4/2, sand

0 0.25 0.5 1 Feet

Unit C7 South Profile



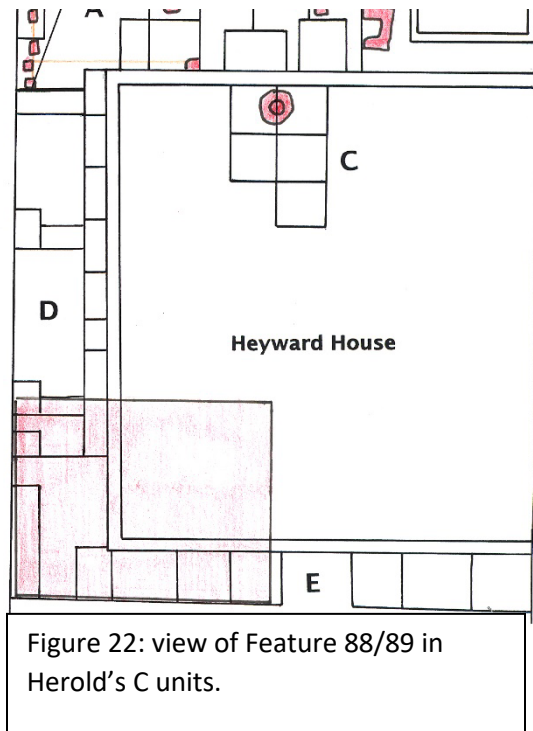
Profile Descriptions

- A - Zone A - 10YR 3/2, sandy silt
- B - Zone 2 - 7.5YR 4/6, silt with rubble
- C - Zone 2 Level 2 - 10YR 2/2, slightly silty sand
- D - Zone 3 - 10YR 4/2, sand

Figure 21: West and South profiles, Unit C7.

Units C through C4, November 1975-January 1976

This was also the case with the C units excavated in 1975. Though attention has focused on Feature 89, the large mid-18th century barrel well located there, the five units contained an overlying complex layering of 19th century deposits similar to those in the front of the cellar. Elaine Herold and a crew of four excavated five units at the rear entrance of the cellar in November 1975, designated C through C4. With editing by Sarah Platt, Herold's field records reveal the content and stratigraphy of these units, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of cellar excavations.



Excavation began with unit C at the entrance to the cellar. The lowest step of the concrete stairs was removed, and fill was excavated in two levels. The first level was .8' deep, and contained 19th century artifacts. This terminated on a layer of coal and dark soil. Beneath was a sandy grey-brown soil, excavated at level 2. This deposit terminated on what appeared to be subsoil.

A dark stain in the northeast corner, containing quantities of mortar, was defined as Feature 88. This was originally interpreted as a posthole, but later determined to be the shaft of a barrel-lined well.

Also noted at the base of level 2

was the corner of an early 18th century feature, characterized by water-washed sand. This was designated Feature 89. (Feature 88 intruded into Feature 89, eventually defined as well shaft and well construction pit.) Also intruding into this early deposit was Feature 87, which presented as a dark rut or worn area in the floor. Herold interpreted feature 87 as a single narrow rut produced by a wheelbarrow or some other means of transporting heavy goods into and out of the cellar.

Archaeologists then initiated C1 and C2 to follow feature 89. Level 1 was removed from both units. Here, level 1 contained ironstone, transferware, and three coins dating to the 1880s. A layer of disintegrating wood, followed by a layer of mortar and/or ash, was noted in C2.

The rut, feature 87, continued in C1. The team recovered a collapsed can, or lantern, in the rut. A second trench, or rut, was discovered in C2, north of feature 87. This rut contained broken bottle glass, seals for olive oil bottles, and a watch key. This second rut was designated

Feature 105. Excavators noted that it was parallel to feature 87, raising the possibility that the ruts reflect a two-wheeled vehicle rather than a single-wheeled wheelbarrow. C2 also contained an area of mottled soil, followed by a lens of grey clay, excavated as feature 106.

Excavation of unit C3 then proceeded with the removal of level 1. In level 1 was a large paving block, overlying a second slab at the bottom of level 2. Level 1 also yielded a unique artifact – a small lead seal with the initials “T H” in script, probably for Thomas Heyward.



Figure 23: Lead seal embazoned “T H” recovered from unit C3.

As excavation of the well (feature 88) and construction pit (feature 89) proceeded, unit C4 was excavated, principally to trace feature 106. Feature 105, the second rut, was excavated. Beneath it was a round area of dark fill, designated Feature 108 and excavated separately. The feature contained glass, coal and brick. Feature 109 was defined in unit C4. This was a shallow pit and a separate area of trench for the wall, designated feature 86. The wall trench was well-defined.

The focus of excavation in this five-unit block was the large, early features 88 and 89. These proved to be a barrel-lined well, filled with cow horns. Feature 88, the well fill, was capped with a deposit of shell lime mortar. Beneath this, excavation revealed three cow horns, an onion-style green glass bottle, and a fragment of delft. A dark area on the south side of C1 was designated as a separate feature, feature 107, and excavated separately. Artifacts contained in this unit indicate a mid-18th century date of deposition. Excavation of feature 88 exposed a pattern of barrel staves along the interface of 88 and 89. These were .3 to .34’ in width, narrow at the bottom. The largest was 1.1’ long, and Herold suggests the barrel was at least 1.7’ high. A pattern for 13 staves was detected in the portion of the well that had not been impacted by excavation.



Figure 24: Horn cores from Feature 88.

Fill inside feature 88 was wet and required water screening. There were few artifacts in the fill, but those recovered include two more cow horns, a peach pit, pipe stems, delft, and some shell and brick. Below the upper barrel was a second stacked barrel with fragments of staves in poor condition. The bottom of wood was 4.1’ below the top of the barrel. A wooden hoop was noted 3.1’ below the surface. The wooden staves were beveled at the bottom. There was a hoop

in place at the very bottom of the barrel and another about .6' above the bottom. A heavily corroded fragment of iron was present near the bottom, and may be part of an iron barrel hoop. The disparity in height between the bottom barrel (4.1') and top barrel (1.7') suggests that the top 2.5' of feature 88 was removed with construction of the Heyward-Washington house cellar. Archaeologists encountered the water table 4.1' below the ground surface of the cellar units.

Portions of feature 89, the well construction pit were excavated, revealing only a few artifacts. An additional feature was encountered in C4, but was not excavated. Mapping for the units was completed and they were backfilled on January 28.

Archaeological Sequence of the Cellar

The excavation units at the west entrance and those in the southeast corner exhibit a similar depositional sequence. Both areas exhibit an average of .8' of cultural soil, filled with coal, brick and mortar rubble, and artifacts that span the 19th century. Several features in the form of small pits initiated at the base of level or zone 1 and again at the base of level or zone 2. The 19th century deposits contained a few ceramic and bone fragments. Bottle glass varied in density depending on location, indicating deliberate discard or abandonment of bottles in the cellar. Some of the bottles were condiments, and the recovery of olive oil bottle seals from both areas was particularly noteworthy. The units also contained a number of marbles and coins, small finds easily lost in a dark space such as the cellar. The assemblage from the C units provides new information on use of the house during the 19th century.

Construction and excavation of the cellar space in 1772 removed most of the evidence for earlier occupations; the D and E units on the outside of the cellar contained extensive evidence for John Milner's house and activity areas. While the barrel-lined well discovered in C through C4 was easily recognized, there were two small features in C7 that also date to the mid-18th century. Feature 150 and 151 both contain early artifacts and, though irregular in definition, appear to be small post stains. They would be located on the interior of the Milner house, and may represent support posts. Dates of deposition and association are shown in Table 1, below.

Table 1: Provenience Guide, 2023 excavations

FS#	Provenience		TPQ	Date of Deposition
185	C5	Zone A	sprite green glass	20 th century
187	C7	Zone A	wire, hardware, blue glass	20 th century
186	C5	Zone 1	white porcelain	1890s
189	C7	Zone 1	gilt white porcelain	1890s
188	C5	Zone 2 level 1	ironstone/light blue glass	
190	C5	Zone 2 level 2	brown transferware	mid-19 th cent.
193	C5	Zone 2 level 3	gilt white porcelain	1890s
194	C7	Zone 2 level 1	gilt white porcelain	1890s
195	C7	Zone 2 level 2	later creamware	mid-19 th cent.
204	C5	Zone 3	creamware/flower pot	early 19 th cent.
202	C7	Zone 3	shell edge pearlware	early 19 th cent.
191	C5	Feature 145	creamware, black plastic	1890s
199	C5	Feature 146	gilt porcelain	1890s
198	C5	Feature 147	white porcelain	late 19 th
206	C5	Feature 147 lev 2	white porcelain	late 19 th
203	C5	Feature 148	transfer print pearlware	early 19 th cent.
200	C7	Feature 149	amber glass	early 19 th cent.
201	C7	Feature 150 lev 1	cut nail	early 19 th cent.
209	C7	Feature 150 lev 2	french gg cew	18 th cent.
210	Cy	Feature 151	North Devon ware	18 th cent.

Chapter III: Material Culture

Materials Excavated in 2023

As is expected in late 19th century assemblages, fragments of broken glass bottles dominated the assemblage, particularly from the upper levels of unit C7. Olive green glass and clear container glass were the most common, followed by fragments of brown and amber glass. All of these are commonly from alcoholic beverage bottles, with beers and whiskeys associated with the brown glass, wines from the green glass, and a variety of drinks from clear glass bottles. Aqua glass, associated with medicines and condiments, was also a common find. All of these likely represent discard, or refuse left in a forgotten corner. The most notable find were two green glass seals from olive oil bottles. Similar seals were recovered from the 1970s units, suggesting olive oil was stored here, or it was a commonly used condiment at the Boarding House.



Figure 25: Olive oil bottle and seal

A few fragments of decorative table glass came from the cellar, and some of these represent vessels from earlier eras. They include a hand-blown spherical knob and a stem formed from circular balusters. The latter may be from a jelly or syllabub glass.

Ceramic fragments included American white porcelains, developed after 1850 and gilt-decorated after 1890. Whitewares spanning the 19th century and pearlwares associated with the first quarter of that century are the most common. The units produced several fragments of blue transfer printed



Figure 26: Table glass from the cellar

pearlwares, suggesting parts of a set was stored or discarded here. Other 19th century wares included Rockingham, Yellow ware, and Luster ware.

The upper zones contained some remnant 18th century wares, including common types such as delft, white saltglazed stoneware, Chinese Export porcelain, and Staffordshire slipware. All of these may be redeposited from earlier proveniences on the site.

Architectural materials, including window glass and nails, were the dominant artifact types in the later features, and the majority of recovered materials from the early 19th century deposits. As is often the case on coastal sites, almost all of the nails were too corroded for positive identification. The upper zones produced some wire nails, commonly used in the late 19th century. The presence of glass and nails speaks to rebuilding and repairing onsite. The dominance of architectural materials in the early 19th century deposits reflects a relatively clean area, and a lack of other materials.

A small, but informative, number of small finds were recovered, and these provide clues to use of the cellar space in the 19th century. There were very few furniture items. A single chandelier prism matches those found in the earlier C units, indicating that this lamp was stored, or perhaps broken, in this space. A small brass finial may come from a clock. Only a few clothing items were recovered, and these were the prosser and shell buttons typical of the 19th century.



Figure 27: coins, shell button, jack, clay and glass marbles.

Buttons are commonly lost items, small things inadvertently dropped or swept away. The five coins were also probably lost. One Rosa Americana coin from 1722 obviously predates the cellar. Only one of the four pennies has a legible date of 1880, but all appear to be 19th century. It is tempting to suggest the surprisingly large number of toys were also lost, but it is more likely that children sought the solace and privacy of the cellar space for their games of marbles and jacks. The two excavation units produced seven marbles, a jack, and a doll's foot. Three of the marbles were latticino glass marbles from the late 19th century, while others were plain white clay or stone. There is a distinct opportunity presented by these marginal spaces to investigate childhood in antebellum Charleston, an understudied age class not just in the city but in wider

archaeologies of the modern world. The authors believe this is a research direction worth pursuing in future endeavors.

If the cellar was actively used for play on occasion, it appears to have been used primarily for storage. A large number of barrel strap fragments came from the upper zones and the large features, as well as the early 19th century deposits. While barrel straps are regularly recovered from archaeological sites, the cellar contained a relatively large number of these mundane objects.

Figure 28: Flower pot from HWN II level 6. Similar forms were recovered from the cellar.



Several fragments of red clay flower pots came from the cellar, as well. All were of a similar 19th century style, with rounded rim and one or two lines scribed in the side below the rim. Similar pots were recovered from other Boarding House contexts across the site, as shown in this example from the Necessary, level 6.

The small faunal assemblage includes a number of rat and mice remains, reflecting the space as dark, relatively quiet and undisturbed, used primarily for storage of foodstuffs and other supplies. The remains of mice and rats were particularly common in the stable, where animal feed and grains were particularly attractive to these commensals that coexisted with urban residents (Zierden and Reitz 2002, 2016)



Figure 29: faunal remains from C5 include fish, rat, sawed beef.

Table 2: Materials recovered from C5 and C7

	Zone A-2	Features	Zone 3	Features
White porcelain	32	3		
Gilt white porcelain	12			
Canton porcelain	4			
Chinese Export b/w	7	1		
Chinese Export o/g	3	1		
Bone/soft paste	1			
Nottingham stoneware	1			
White saltglazed stoneware	6			
Brown saltglazed stoneware	2			
19 th Cent. Stoneware	6	2		
Whiteware, undec	44	5		
Whiteware, transfer print	3	1		
Whiteware, annular	7	1		
Whiteware, shell edge	3			
Whiteware, stamped	7			
Pearlware, undec	36	3		
Pearlware, shell edged	1			
Pearlware, transfer printed	66	10		
Pearlware, hand painted	4			
Creamware	32		5	
Creamware, o/g decorated	3		1	
Whieldon ware			1	
Rockingham ware	1			
Yellow ware	1			
Luster ware	1			
Glazed redware	4			
Delft apothecary	2	1		
Delft, b/w	6	1		
Delft, undecorated	4			
Slipware, Comb and Trail	7	1		
Slipware, American				1
French gg coarse earthenware				1
Crown cap	1			
Glass stopper		2		

Olive oil seal		1		
Blue glass	6			
Olive green glass	828	86	15	2
Clear container glass	306	33	12	
Brown container glass	258		14	
Amber container glass	21	3	4	
Aqua container glass	412	8	2	
Pharmaceutical glass	2			
Table glass	6	6	2	
Milk glass	4			
Clear flat glass	53	2	30	
Aqua flat glass	54	112	94	4
Wire nail	4			3
Cut nail				
Wrought nail				
u.d. nail	148	26		2
nail fragment	63			
delft tile	1			
chandelier prism		1		
finial				
prosser button	3	1		
shell button	3			
pin				
sewing				
coin	5			
fan slat			1	
lead	1	1	1	
figurine	2			
pipestem	6	2	2	
flower pot	16	4	1	
barrel strap	103	26	4	
jack	1			
marble	7			
doll part		1		

Materials from Units C-C4

It is comforting that the list of materials recovered from units C through C4 in 1976 is similar to that from 2023. A major difference is also the caveat for this section – not all of the materials from the early C units are available for analysis. All of the ceramics and small finds have been tabulated, but only some of the glass and very little of the metal artifacts have been digitized. The list shown in Table 3 is largely missing these items, and so is not directly comparable to the present assemblage. Adding to the incomparability is the use of half-inch screen and excavation in arbitrary levels. In an effort to fully report on the cellar excavations, the artifacts are presented and discussed here to facilitate overall interpretation of the cellar space. Dr. Herold carefully described several features encountered in this space, and provided a solid interpretation of the findings.

Units C through C4 were excavated in two levels and the artifacts tabulated separately, and there was some temporal difference between the two. Level 1 contained the majority of the cultural materials, particularly those from the 19th century, while the 18th century ceramics recovered during the dig were principally from level 2. White porcelain and undecorated whiteware were the majority of the ceramics. Refined earthenwares, including creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares were present in relatively equal amounts. Glass tabulated to date included clear and olive green container glass, pharmaceutical bottle glass, and some table glass, particularly goblet stems.

Architectural items included wire, machine-cut, and wrought nails. Delft tile fragments were particularly numerous here, likely lost or scattered from the house, or from the previous two houses located in this footprint. In particular, there were several small fragments of polychrome painted tiles. Additional fragments of these polychrome tiles came from Unit C5.



Figure 30: example of polychrome painted delft tile from C units.

Like the 2023 units, numerous buttons were recovered. Coins and toys were not as numerous. Recovered buttons included prosser, shell, bone, brass, and iron, as is common in 19th century contexts. Other sewing items included a bone needle case and a brass thimble. There were also a range of personal items, including slate pencil fragments, bone toothbrushes and fan fragments, and a cane tip. A single coin was recovered here. Furniture items included a brass bedding hook and a curtain ring. As mentioned earlier, the most remarkable find was the lead seal embossed “T H” (figure 22).

The features encountered in these units all contained small artifact assemblages (Table 4). The exception, and largely the focus of discussion in other publications, was the barrel-lined well, features 88/89, associated with the John Milner Sr. occupation. Feature 89 contained a range of 18th century ceramics, particularly delft and lead-glazed earthenwares. Colonowares and a fragment of Native American pottery also came from the feature. Feature 88 contained few cultural items, and was instead dominated by faunal remains, particularly the *Bos taurus* horn cores.

Table 3: Units C-C4, combined

	Level 1	Level 2
<i>Kitchen</i>		
White porcelain	98	12
White porcelain, gilt	10	
Chinese Export Porcelain	15	27
Chinese Export Porcelain, overglaze	2	7
Worcester, European porcelain	4	
Delft, blue on white	2	10
Delft, undecorated	1	10
Buckley ware		1
Manganese Mottled ware	2	
Philadelphia slipware		5
Combed and trailed slipware		1
Lead glazed cew, misc colors	3	3
North Devon gravel tempered ware		4
Colono ware, River burnished		1
Grey saltglazed stoneware	2	4
White saltglazed stoneware		9
Unidentified stoneware	5	22
Albany slipped stoneware	1	
Ginger beer bottle	12	5
Black basalt ware		1
Elers ware	2	
Creamware, molded	32	97
Creamware, enameled	1	7
Creamware, overglaze transfer print		1
Whieldon ware	1	
Pearlware, annular banded	17	2
Pearlware, blue hand painted	3	2
Pearlware, blue transfer print	20	28
Pearlware, polychrome hand painted	7	4
Pearlware, shell edged	6	5
Pearlware, undecorated	11	24
Whiteware, flow blue	4	1
Whiteware, med. blue transfer print	35	24
Whiteware, purple transfer print	10	
Whiteware, brown transfer print	1	1
Whiteware, shell edged	2	11

Whiteware, undecorated	134	30
Yellow ware	6	11
Yellow ware, banded	22	
Amber glass		2
Clear container glass		6
Clear bottle stopper		1
Condiment bottle		1
Pharmaceutical glass		1
Goblet stems		
Olive green glass, neck		4
Utensils	1	1
Crown bottle caps	1	
<i>Arms</i>		
Brass cartridge shell	1	
<i>Activities</i>		
Brass wire	1	
Tool, unidentified		2
Barrel strap	2	
Flower pot		4
Toy, game piece	1	
<i>Architectural</i>		
Brass wire	1	
Screw	1	
Lock box	1	
Lock plate	1	
Nail, machine cut	4	
Nail, wire	3	
Nail, wrought	3	
Bolt		1
Delft tile	2	10
<i>Clothing</i>		
Glass bead, tube	4	
Glass bead, faceted	1	
Button, bone 4 hole	4	
Prosser button, 2 hole	1	1
Prosser button, 4 hole	11	

Shell button	8	1
Thimble	1	
Bone button back	3	3
Brass button	5	
Iron button	2	
Needle case	1	
<i>Personal</i>		
Slate pencil	2	1
Bale seal	1	
Cane tip		1
Comb fragment		1
Fan fragment	1	
Coin, US	1	
Tooth brush	1	1
<i>Furniture</i>		
Brass hook	1	
Curtain ring	1	
<i>Tobacco</i>		
Pipe bowl fragment	4	
Pipe stem, 5/64	1	2
Pipe stem, unmeasured	7	28
<i>Environmental</i>		
Faunal material		

Table 4: Artifacts from features, 1970s

Feature 77

Kitchen

Colonoware, Stobo	1
Colonoware, Lesesne	3
Colonoware, Yaughan	11
Aqua glass	28
Light aqua glass	2
Clear container glass, bases	2
Blue glass	1
Clear container glass	24
Olive green glass	65
Olive green glass, base	3
Olive green glass, neck	2
Pharmaceutical, base	2
Tin can fragments	1

Tobacco

Pipe bowl fragments	4
Pipe stem, unmeasured	39

Feature 86

Kitchen

Chinese Export Porcelain, blue on white	4
Delft, blue on white	3
Delft, undecorated	4
Lead glazed cew, brown manganese	2
Lead glazed cew, other	1
Combed and trailed slipware	4
Colonoware, Stobo	4
Colonoware, Lesesne	1
Colonoware, Yaughan	
Westerwald	3
White saltglazed stoneware	4
Creamware, undecorated	2

Tobacco

Pipe bowl fragments	3
Pipe stem, unmeasured	14

Environmental material

Faunal 1

Feature 87

Kitchen

White porcelain, gilt 4
Chinese Export Porcelain, blue on white 1
Delft, blue on white 1
Combed and trailed slipware 1
Brown saltglazed, British 5
Creamware, undecorated 3
Whieldonware 1
Pearlware, blue transfer print 2
Pearlware, shell edged 1
Pearlware, undecorated 4

Environmental material

Faunal 1

Feature 88

Kitchen

Delft, blue on white 1

Tobacco

Pipe stem, unmeasured 1

Environmental material

Faunal 16
Horn core, Bos taurus 1

Feature 89

Kitchen

Chinese Export Porcelain, blue on white 1
Delft, undecorated 12
Lead glazed cew, green 9
Lead glazed cew, brown 3
Lead glazed cew, orange-brown 1

Lead glazed cew, other	1
Combed and trailed slipware	4
North Devon Gravel Tempered	2
North Devon Sgraffito	1
Colonoware, Stobo	1
Colonoware, Lesesne	1
Colonoware, Yaughan	
Native American, shell tempered	1
White saltglazed stoneware	
Unidentified stoneware	1
Alkaline glazed	3
Creamware, molded	6
Creamware, enameled	1

Tobacco

Pipe bowl fragments	3
Pipe stem, unmeasured	10

Environmental material

Faunal	1
Teeth, mammal	1

Feature 90

Faunal	1
Pipe stem, unmeasured	3

Feature 105

Faunal	1
Pipe stem, unmeasured	1

Feature 106

Faunal	1
Pipe stem, unmeasured	4

Feature 107

Faunal	1
Teeth, Bos taurus	1
Pipe stem, unmeasured	1

Feature 109

Faunal	1
Pipe bowl fragmenets	2
Pipe stem, unmeasured	4

Chapter IV: Interpretations

The Archaeology of Cellars

The cellar of the Heyward-Washington house is one of five interior spaces investigated in Charleston. Each produced a slightly different signature, but all reflected use of the space. As the name “lowcountry” implies, the Charleston ground surface is less than 20 feet above sea level, often only 5’ or so. Archaeologists encounter groundwater only a few feet below surface, and often cannot complete excavation to sterile subsoil without the aid of pumps. Likewise, current residents of the city maintain sump pump systems in their cellars, to rid the space of excess rainwater as well as occasional saltwater intrusions. Most historic structures in the city were built with a semi-subterranean cellar space, raising the first living floor above ground level. Those investigated were 4-6 feet, deep enough to stand and work. Those investigated archaeologically were cellars of work buildings, likely used for storage, if not work space. They sometimes contain dense artifact deposits, often dating to the second half of the 19th century. These deposits have been interpreted as semi-abandonment of the space following emancipation and the loss of a large retinue of enslaved laborers working onsite.

The cellar space beneath the kitchen of the c. 1769 Miles Brewton House was tested in 1989 by the author and then completely excavated ten years later by restoration carpenters. Those soils were retained and screened by House Manager Linda Walraven. The controlled excavations revealed two feet of soil deposits in multiple strata, on top of a laid brick floor. Resting directly on top of the brick floor was an 1863 coin, providing a firm date for the filling of the cellar space. Based on these data, the author suggested that the cellar was actively used, probably for storage, until the late 19th century, when it was allowed to fill with soil and debris (Zierden 2001: 61-63).

Though a narrower area, the space beneath the wood floor of the Aiken-Rhett house laundry was also filled with artifacts and debris. These were excavated in 2015 by archaeologist Nicole Isenbarger as part of restoration of the space by Historic Charleston Foundation. She and the author worked together to produce a report. The artifact assemblage included a range of kitchen materials, as well as those likely associated with the laundry function, including buttons and coins. Whether this space was actively used, for storage or other activities, is unknown. Small finds such as the buttons and coins have often been interpreted as “lost” items that fell through cracks in floorboards, but such attribution is far from certain. The Aiken-Rhett laundry remained in active use through the late 19th century, so the agency of refuse deposition beneath the floor space is curious (Isenbarger and Zierden 2016).

The kitchen cellar of the Nathaniel Russell House has been explored three times, with evolving interpretation as the data get increasingly complex. The Nathaniel Russell complex was constructed in 1808 and remained in use through the 19th century. The kitchen space was renovated in the 1950s by Historic Charleston Foundation, sealing the original layout and finishes, recently revealed through architectural research. The cellar is accessible through a large

arched opening in the foundation. The floor of the first living level is 3 feet above the ground surface, but excavation suggests the space was once 5' deep. The excavation projects have encountered three feet of fill, with some temporal layering and artifacts that span the 19th century, suggesting some accretion occurred during periods of active use (Zierden and Walker 2021).

Fred Andrus first excavated a 5' unit here in 1990, when he monitored HVAC installation. Andrus noted a concentration of ceramics and other artifacts, as well as a concentration of coal, including some large blocks. Zierden excavated an adjoining unit, in front of the arched opening, in 1995. She encountered subtle layers of coal and coal dust, with bone and ceramics throughout. The ceramics suggest deposition began in the second quarter of the 19th century and continued through the postbellum period (Zierden 1996:81-82). While the artifacts suggest debris accumulated gradually throughout the use period of the kitchen, the presence of cow bones in those soils puzzled visitors and scholars alike – why would organic debris be deliberately deposited beneath an active work area?

A third unit excavated in 2021 revealed the same depositional sequence and content, except in much greater volume. This unit was packed with butchered cow bone and reconstructible ceramic vessels, reflecting deliberate deposition and primary refuse. Again, the reasons for such a concentration of animal remains is unclear. While it is possible that the refuse was placed there after active use of the kitchen above, there is no firm evidence for that. Rather, the ceramics span the 19th century, as did those from earlier units. While it is possible that fill was added to combat a moisture problem on this low-lying lot, the use of organic material is puzzling (Zierden and Walker 2022; see Butler 2020 for discussions of organic fill in Charleston).

The Heyward-Washington kitchen cellar was excavated by Elaine Herold in the 1970s and is the most thoroughly excavated cellar space (Herold 1978). The building has also been studied by a number of architectural historians, beginning with Paul Buchanan in the 1970s, followed by Gary Stanton and Bernie Herman (Herman 1999), and students from the Clemson Master's Program in Historic Preservation (see Adington 2023). While some scholars suggested that the current kitchen and stable were constructed by Milner Jr. in 1749, more recent architectural analysis suggests otherwise (Chappell and Buck 2018). Careful examination of a photograph from Herold's excavation suggests the current (c. 1772) kitchen rests directly on an earlier foundation, indicating Milner did have a kitchen in that location (see Figure 4). Some of the hardware inside the current kitchen may come from a 1740s building, as well. Milner Jr. also constructed a brick well adjacent to his kitchen, currently covered with a wooden platform at the kitchen door. It is likely that this well (feature 26) remained in use after construction of the Heyward-era kitchen.

In the kitchen cellar, Herold excavated 23 contiguous units in three levels. Beneath the zone deposits was a large pit, feature 7 that may reflect ongoing storm runoff from the work yard. The units were filled with 19th century materials, associated with the Boarding House and tenement periods, but Feature 7 also contained late 18th century materials that clearly match

those recovered from the Necessary, such as feather-edged creamware and bottle seals from George Abbott Hall.

Herold carefully analyzed the architectural evidence, and suggested the c. 1772 cellar was originally an actively-used storage space, easily accessed by a stair opening in the east side. When this was covered by the addition of a cistern and pantry in the early 19th century, the entrance was moved to the center of the south wall, accessed through the work yard (Herold 1978). It is likely, but uncertain, that the cellar remained in active use. The number of people and amount of kitchen activity necessary to sustain the boarding house likely required use of this space.

The cellar of the main house contains a range of 19th century artifacts similar to those recovered from the kitchen cellar, suggesting simultaneous use of the two spaces. The assemblage in the main house cellar was much less dense, suggesting less active use and deposition of debris here. The coal and bottle glass suggest storage of household essentials, while the toys and buttons may reflect occasional active use of the space by children. Further, Herold's identification and interpretation of small barrow ruts in the units at the cellar entrance provides remarkable support for use of the space for storage of household essentials.

Together, the five cellar excavations suggest these semi-subterranean spaces were actively used in a variety of ways by urban residents, ranging from casual storage to active use, prior to eventual abandonment. The timing and reasons for filling these spaces with debris and soil, whether deliberately or casually through abandonment, remains unclear and worthy of additional study. But the arrangement is not unlike current lowcountry houses, where the living floors are raised on pilings to levels required by current flood legislation. The supposed "clear" and uninsured spaces below are often used for storage of all types, including the family car, lawn equipment, sports equipment, toys, extra freezers and food storage.

Life in the Boarding House

The Heyward family's occupation of the lot at 87 Church Street was the focus of research by Elaine Herold in the 1970s (Herold 1978). Decades later, Sarah Platt focused on the archaeological evidence for the early 18th century Milner occupation (Platt 2022). Both scholars acknowledged that the material evidence for the 19th century occupation remains a major task for future scholars. Historian Judith Arendall brought focus to this period with her internship research that included a preliminary artifact study as well as documentary study (Arendall 2022).

Arendall expressed an interest in a combination of archaeology, documents, and interpretation, so we settled on the 1819-1861 period when the Heyward property was a boarding house operated by Mrs. Munro. The investigation of Mrs. Munro began with identifying the basics. Margaret Russell married John Munro in 1786. Margaret Munro purchased the home in 1825, but she had operated a boarding house there since 1819. Mrs. Munro later hired a Mrs. Davis to run the house. Newspaper ads suggest both women were well-known in town and had operated other establishments. She lists herself as Mrs. Davis in advertisements and, based on

City Directories, it appears that her full name was Jane Davis. Jane Davis passed away in 1860, which matches the closing of the boarding house by Mrs. Munro's granddaughter in 1861.

It is unclear why Mrs. Munro felt the need to turn over the place to Mrs. Davis, but it is evident that she trusted Mrs. Davis to do well. Both women have records that indicate the owning of enslaved people during their tenure in the house. Arendall discovered Mrs. Jane Davis owned up to ten individuals in 1850 and upwards of eleven in the year of her passing in 1860.

Boarders, including Mrs. Davis herself, operated tables of business out of the house, most commonly the sale of liqueurs. An ad for James M'Lean showcased his "Billard Table" at 95 Church Street in 1829, passed down from his brother Peter M'Lean.

Arendall examined the layout of the boarding house. The house itself has 12 rooms total: two parlors and two bedrooms or back rooms on three floors. An 1850 ad listing "two pleasant rooms for families and rooms for single people". Another ad in 1830 from the Charleston Daily Courier detailed a "furnished Chamber and Parlour." Some of the rooms, such as the dining room, would have been for common usage.

Of course, we'd like to know names of the tenants, and Arendall found a few clues. Mrs. H. Williams of New York, a famous local theater actress, stayed in the boarding home, and her funeral was held there in 1823. The animal life that passed through the Heyward-Washington House provided great interest. A "New Foundland" dog was lost in 1832, and Mrs. Davis found a Greyhound and kept it at her boarding house, awaiting the owner's retrieval in 1824. A parrot was sold nearby in 1853, on the corner of Market and Church Street.

Archaeology revealed a number of deposits from the Boarding House era. Levels 6-7 of the privy (HWN II) were filled with plates, cups, and sturdy drinking glasses used in the house (figure 31). A few toys, some flower pots, and sewing items came from this level. Women's items ranged from perfume bottles to nursing bottles. Level 6 contained blue transfer-print wares and a large assemblage of table glass. These were heavy paneled tumblers and occasional goblets, a style popular during this period. In addition to tablewares, the assemblage included portions of wash basins and pitchers (figure 34). Most intriguing are fragments of two glass nursing bottles (figure 33).

The kitchen cellar (HWK) was also densely filled with Boarding House artifacts, but ceramic and glass wares were more fragmentary, suggesting redeposition and/or heavy traffic in the area of deposition. There were numerous artifacts of personal hygiene that became popular in the 19th century. Bone tooth brushes were recovered in large numbers, including a couple scratched with names or initials, perhaps suggesting the communal nature of boarding house life. Other items include hard rubber hair combs. The kitchen assemblage included numerous small finds, those often attributed to loss, such as buttons and other personal and clothing items. Two slave badges, dated 1862/1863 attest to the presence of enslaved workers, including those hired out in the city (figure 6). Arendall's research suggests as many as ten enslaved persons may have lived and worked in the Boarding house. While three of the four recovered badges date after closing of the Boarding house, one badge for a Servant, dated 1825, was discarded when the boarding house was active. Newspapers suggest Mrs. Munro advertised for help regularly; this badge could

belong to someone owned by Mrs. Munro or Mrs. Davis and living on the property, or an enslaved worker owned by someone else, working short-term at 87 Church (then known as 95 Church). The engraved medallion recovered from feature 45 reflects the presence and affairs of house manager Jane Davis (figure 5).

Level 6 of the Necessary also produced the remains of two exotic pets, the parrot and guinea pig, both from South America (Zierden et al. 2019). These may have belonged to a boarder, or arrived in Charleston with a temporary resident. The 1853 advertisement for sale of a parrot on a nearby corner is intriguing.



Figure 31: Blue transfer ware plates and paneled drinking glasses from the Privy, HWN II, level 6. Numerous examples recovered suggest these wares served Boarding House guests.



Figure 32: Bone toothbrushes recovered from HWK, the kitchen cellar.



Figure 33: glass nursing bottles from the privy, HWN II level 6.

Conclusions

The excavation blocks from the area beneath the main house in 1975 and 2023 suggest the cellar contains intact archaeological deposits, capable of informing on the 19th century occupation of the property after the standing house was constructed. Where features are deep, there may also be additional evidence of the Milner occupations that pre-date the cellar and present built landscape. No exploration has occurred in the northwest quadrant of the cellar, the area where Herold identified a brick single house constructed by John Milner Jr. This could prove to be a particularly fruitful area of exploration.



Figure 34: Blue transfer printed whiteware wash basin from HWN II level 6.

Preliminary analysis of materials recovered from level 6 of the Necessary and from the Kitchen cellar, plus the present analysis of materials from the C units in the main house cellar suggest the property at 87 Church Street was a busy place in the 19th century, occupied by a large, diverse group of city residents, both long-term and transient. Despite various research projects, the 19th century use of the house and property as a boarding venue has not been fully explored. Completing analysis and data entry of the materials from 19th century proveniences, particularly the Kitchen cellar units is a necessary first step to exploring this portion of the site's history. The research projects by Arendall on this property and by Adington on boarding in Charleston lay a strong foundation for a synthetic study. We strongly encourage continued exploration of the Heyward-Washington House museum as a boarding house, and the place of this enterprise in antebellum Charleston.

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