PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE RESEARCH AT THE

HEYWARD–WASHINGTON HOUSE

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ABSTRACT

Historical, archaeological, anthropological and architectural research was conducted on the Heyward-Washington property at 87 Church Street from 1973 to 1977. As a result of this research, we have learned that there were two houses on the property before the present structures were built, and that the Milners, who owned the property before the Heywards, conducted their gunsmithing in the area behind their houses. It has also been established that the present house was built in 1772-3. The more than 88,000 artifacts recovered from the excavations make it possible to identify dishes, glassware and utensils with the various households residing there in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Analysis of the artifacts and information recovered from the site is not yet complete, and therefore the conclusions reached in this report must be regarded as preliminary findings.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research at the Heyward-Washington House is due in no small measure to the cooperation of a large number of people. The staff at the Museum and at the Heyward-Washington House were most cooperative throughout the project, and we appreciate all they did to facilitate the excavations and assist with the processing and cataloging of the artifacts.

We also had the assistance of a number of very dedicated volunteers who assisted with the work. Among them are Marian Hargest, Carolyn Yarborough, Audrey Brown, Mary Lou Wise, Katherine Parker, Kay Scruggs, Jean Clement, Eric Budd, Richard Tolles. There were a number of students from schools in the area who came to learn more about the methods of the archaeologists and spent hours assisting with the excavations.

We are also very grateful to Charles N. Bayless who made all of the drawings of the buildings on the Heyward-Washington property, recorded architectural features as we excavated them, did much of the black and white photography, and assisted with some of the archival research.

Thanks are due to others who worked in the laboratory, particularly Elsie Fullerton who put in months cataloging and sorting, and then undertook the preliminary analysis of the pipes; Rachel Butt, who still continues to work on the glass, patiently putting together pieces of bottles, goblets, etc., and many others whose efforts in behalf of this project are much appreciated. Without such a corps of dedicated people, the project would not have been successful.
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Figure 1. Map of the present-day Heyward-Washington property showing buildings and area excavated. Drawing by Charles Bayless.
NATURE OF THE PROJECT: Historical archaeological investigations at the Heyward-Washington House, 87 Church Street, were begun in August 1973, and were continued, with a brief hiatus during the summer of 1977, until December 1977.

The project was a multidisciplinary approach to an historic house involving archaeology, anthropology, history and architecture. The purpose was to learn more about the history of the property, the buildings on it, the people who lived there in the past, and the environment in which the house was situated.

Although some historical research on the house and the Heyward family had been conducted in the past by Emma Richardson and Helen McCormack, there was a gap in the chain of title, and information on the house and its dependencies was not complete. There was no primary documentation on the building date of the house, no family records nor diaries, nor any information on the kinds of personal and household equipment, such as dishes, glassware, silver, etc., utilized by the Heywards or any previous or subsequent owners of the property. Such information would expand and enrich the exhibits and information for visitors to the house. It would also give us material to compare life in Charleston with that of Boston, New York, Williamsburg, Fort Fredericka and other communities.

The actual historical research was begun some months preceding the beginning of the excavation in August, with a check of the existing records and an attempt to fill in the gap in the documentation. This study was continued after the actual excavation began.

During the period of excavation, Mr. Charles Bayless, AIA architect, drew plans of the buildings on the property recording not only the major features of the rooms, but also details of woodwork, moldings, and changes which could be detected in the structures. Over the years, Mr. Bayless' work, as well as the results of the information from the excavation, were checked on several occasions by Mr. Paul Buchanan, architectural historian of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, for his interpretation.

During the final year of the research a grant was obtained from the Department of Archives and History in Columbia, which was matched in kind by services of volunteers and contributions from the museum, which enabled the museum to engage Miss Sallie Doscher, B.A., to do additional historical research on the part of Church Street where the house is located, and on Thomas Heyward and his family. This resulted in the accumulation of considerable biographical data on Thomas Heyward, which is now being compiled by Miss Doscher. It also resulted in additional supporting documentation on the period of construction of the house, as well as clarification of some ambiguities in the chain of title.
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH: The archaeological research was begun with the excavation of the cellar under the kitchen building. This, according to an advertisement at the time Heyward sold the property (S.C. Gazette, May 16, 1792), had been a functioning cellar. In the intervening years it had been filled with refuse and dirt by the inhabitants so that it was no longer deep enough for an adult to stand in. Upon completion of the cellar, excavation work was extended to the yard area between the kitchen and the main house, to learn more about the construction of each and about the utilization of the property by previous owners. These excavations were extended, in time, to include most of the area between the east end of the carriage house and the main building, a trench down the driveway, an area in front of the house on either side of the front door when the brick planting boxes were removed, the necessary, and a small area inside the cellar door of the house at the foot of the cellar stairs (Figure 1).

The area was divided into five-foot squares and was excavated utilizing, whenever possible, the natural levels of deposition noted in the soil. Both trowel and shovel were used as necessary, and the soil from most of the area was screened using a half-inch wire mesh. Profiles and plans were drawn of the squares as excavation was completed. Depths were recorded and features drawn in detail. Photos were taken of most significant features as they were found.

The artifacts recovered were returned to the museum for washing and field cataloging. Some of the washing was done by museum staff, but much of it was done by volunteers. During inclement weather, the excavation crew utilized the time to wash and number specimens. Much of the pottery has been sorted and counted. A large part of the glass has been counted and recorded by a volunteer. The organizing of the pipe collection was the result of a long-term effort by another volunteer. Metal artifacts still remain to be identified, cleaned and sorted. The analysis and permanent cataloging of the artifacts is continuing at the present time.

RESULTS OF RESEARCH: As a result of the excavations and historical research at the Heyward-Washington House we have obtained more than 88,000 artifacts and a good deal of information about the property at 87 Church Street. This historical record shows that the outlines of the property have not changed since the 1730's, but as buildings have been replaced by subsequent structures there has been a build-up of layers of earth which can be compared to the build-up of levels in the fabled cities of Troy, Nineveh, and others in the Middle East. Before the days of mechanical earth-moving equipment, when a building was destroyed the area was often leveled and another structure built on top of the remains, and in that way, the archaeological record was pre-
served. At the Heyward-Washington yard, there is an accumula-
tion of three to three and one-half feet of soil and artifacts
since the earliest occupation there. The lowest two to two and
one-half feet were accumulated in the period before Heyward's
purchase of the property -- before 1770. The remainder dates
from after the construction of the present house. This accumu-
lation of soil was rich in artifacts and information.

The stratigraphy in the yard -- the superposition of layers
and pits and posts dug into those layers was often quite complex,
but three major zones were defined: the top foot of recent fill
--since 1773, the building of the house; the next foot -- the
fill accumulated since the 1740 fire burned the structures in
the area; and from two to three and a half feet -- the level be-
fore the 1740 fire (Figure 2).

The Heyward-Washington lot is one half of Lot No. 72 in
the Grand Model of Charlestown (Figure 3), which was granted to
Joseph Ellicott in 1694 (Smith, 1908, p. 18). Joseph Ellicott
owned other lots in the city, and when he died in 1694, left all
his property to his son and two daughters who were married (PC
Record of Wills, Vol. 56, pp. 533-38). Other lots were mentioned,
but not Lot 72, so we do not know what use, if any, the Ellicotts
made of the property, nor how the property left their hands.

THE MILNER OCCUPATION: The next owner of the property seems
to have been John Milner, gunsmith. Milner was living on the
property in the 1730's, although we still have found no record
of how he acquired it. References in the minutes of the House
of Assembly indicate that he was in Charleston by 1736 (Easterby,
1951a, p. 18). We know that he was on Church Street in 1737,
for advertisements in the December 8 and 18, 1737, South Carolina
Gazette record William Cathcart advertising that he is "next-
door to Mr. Miller's (sic) the gunsmith in Church Street". In
1740, advertisements describe Mr. Miller's (sic) as the "sign of
the Pine Tree" (S.C. Gazette, January 26, February 2, 1740).

The 1739 map of Charleston (Figure 4) shows a row of houses
extending from the corner of Church and Tradd Streets to the
Heyward-Washington property, indicating that the building at
this time was on the front edge of the property, against the
building to the south. This presumably is the building where
John Milner, his wife and five children were living on November
18, 1740, when a disastrous fire struck the city burning much of
the business area, including the west side of Church Street as
far as Brewton's house (1880 Yearbook of the City of Charleston,
p. 302). John Milner submitted a claim to the British House for
aid, reporting to the Assembly that he had lost much of his own
property while salvaging arms for the government (Easterby, 1951b,
pp. 479, 486). Milner had been engaged in repairing arms for
the government for several years. He was paid 154 Pounds as
partial reparations for the damage (Scott, 1963, pp. 203-211).
Figure 2. Profile of part of the area between the kitchen building and the Heyward-Washington house.
Figure 3. Map of the Grand Model of Charleston showing lot no. 72, the location of the Heyward-Washington property. McCrady Plat No. 29.
Figure 4. Portion of the 1739 map of Charleston showing the location of a house on what became the Heyward-Washington property. Presumably this is the frame house of John Milner, Sr.
The excavations uncovered the footings of the house which burned in 1740. It was located along the front of the property, butting against the property line on the south. The house was 24 feet long, along the street, and 18 feet deep. The footings for the walls were of brick. The entrance was in the center with a single brick front step, 4.7 feet wide, leading down to the street of crushed shell (Figure 5). The house probably resembled the Lining House in appearance, although it probably was not as tall (Figure 6). Some information about the house was destroyed in the late eighteenth century when the cellar for the present house was dug, and in the nineteenth century, when a storm drain was put down the driveway.

Behind the Milner's house was a well (Figure 7), located just inside the wall of the present Heyward-Washington House cellar at the foot of the stairs. The well was made by digging a pit and putting two small barrels, one on top of the other, in it for a casing. The upper part of the well was removed when the cellar was dug.

Utensils used by Mrs. Milner for her family (Figure 8) included yellow Staffordshire slipped posset pots, Delftware plates, bowls and cups, brown mugs, earthenware pans, dark green glass bottles with squat bodies (known as onion bottles), goblets and glassware. One object which can be identified with the family is a silver tablespoon marked with the initials MM, presumably for one of the Milners. The spoon is a 1730 style with a rat-tail spine on the back of the bowl. It was manufactured in Charles Town and marked with the touch mark of Lucas Stoutenburgh, Sr., a local silversmith (Burton, 1968, p. 178) (Figure 9).

John Milner was a man of moderate means. As early as 1736, he cleaned and repaired arms for the Assembly (Easterby, 1951a, p. 18). He was paid several hundred pounds each year by the Commons House of Assembly for the repair of public arms -- guns used in the Indian wars and at St. Augustine (Easterby, 1951a, p. 52; 1951b, p. 169, 438). In December 1736, the Assembly agreed that Major Robert Brewton should take steps to see that Milner's house was guarded during the Christmas holidays to protect the public arms stored there (Easterby, 1951a, p. 52).

John Milner, Sr. and later his son, John Jr., evidently carried on much of the business of repairing guns, locks, etc., in the area behind the house. One of the most interesting results of the research was the evidence of this business. The base of a brick structure which appears to have been some type of furnace, a forge, another well, and other architectural features were found. All of this was once covered by a frame structure supported by posts. Most of the tools and artifacts of iron from this part of the excavation still remain to be studied. Because of the high degree of corrosion, the iron needs special cleaning and treating. Gun parts and lock are included in the collection.
Figure 5. Detail of the front of the Milner house which burned in 1740. Drawing by Charles Bayless
Figure 6. The Lining House at the corner of Broad and King streets. The house of John Milner, Sr. on the Heyward-Washington property probably resembled this early eighteenth century frame house, set close to the original ground level.
Figure 7. Plan showing the location of the Milner house which burned in the 1740 fire and the wells, industrial features and dump area in back of the house.
Figure 8. Utensils used by John Milner, Sr.'s family. 
top - a green glazed chamber pot; 
lower left - two yellow Staffordshire posset pots; 
lower right - the top of a red ware jug.
Figure 9. Silver spoon marked on the back with the initials MM, manufactured in Charleston by Lucas Stoutenburgh, Sr.
During John Milner, Sr.'s tenure on the property, his neighbors included Abraham Knight, a tallow chandler who lived down the street toward Broad Street, and a Mr. Cathcart (S.C. Gazette, December 8 & 15, 1737) who sold soap, rum, sugar, lime juice, earthenware, and glass decanters. Others occupying property on that block of Church Street during this period included John Bee, a carpenter (S.C. Gazette, February 12 & 19, 1741), a clock and watch repairman (S.C. Gazette, December 8 & 15, 1737), an engraver from London (S.C. Gazette, May 7 & 14, 1741), a woman who made women's clothing, riding habits, etc. (S.C. Gazette, March 12 & 19, 1737), and another woman who taught and did needle work (S.C. Gazette, May 21 & 28, 1741). This section of Church Street, along with adjacent areas of Elliott and Tradd, was part of the commercial section of Charlestown.

When John Milner, Sr., died in the fall of 1749, he owned nine slaves. He left an estate appraised at £ 7647:9:6, and more than £ 5461:19:6 was due him in bonds and notes (PC Record of Wills, Volume 6, pp. 200-204; PC Inventories, Volume 77a, pp. 342-346). His sons, John, a gunsmith, and Solomon, a merchant, inherited much of his estate, although there were bequests for his wife and three daughters (PC Record of Wills, Volume 6, pp. 200-204).

John Milner, Jr., continued his father's business, advertising in the South Carolina Gazette on December 4 and 11, 1749, that he was in the business of repairing guns, doing blacksmithing, and making billiard sticks and bricks at the house where his father had lived (S.C. Gazette, December 4, 11, & 18, 1749). John Milner, Jr., was married about 1750, and he and his wife, Bathsheba Battoon, had eight children.

At the present state of our research, we believe that John Milner, Jr. built the brick single house on the lot which was sold in 1770. This house was described as "two stories high, with other convenient buildings" (S.C. Gazette, July 19, 1770). Footings for the brick single house were found during the excavation (Figure 10). It was eighteen feet wide and of unknown length as the foundation of the present house covers much of the area (Figure 11). It butted against the property line on the north, and the front wall was along the present edge of the sidewalk. There was an entrance stairway four feet wide leading from the street down into the cellar. Milner apparently had a shop or workroom and repaired guns in the cellar, for a number of gun parts were found there. At the time of the sale, the single house was surrounded on the back and south sides by a paved patio. Evidence from excavation indicates the present kitchen building was built at this time as well, as the patio extended up to the kitchen wall. The area between the house and the kitchen building, and along the south side of the kitchen, were paved with brick, for the imprint could be detected in the layer of shell mortar below.
Figure 10. Detail of the front of the brick single house probably built by John Milner, Jr. This was the house purchased and torn down by Heyward. Drawing by Charles Bayless.
Figure 11. Brick single house, kitchen building, forge and well built by John Milner, Jr. on the Heyward-Washington property.
John Milner, Jr., may also have been responsible for the well below the eastern entrance to the kitchen building (Figure 12). It predates the kitchen building, and the builder put an arch in the wall of the cellar of the kitchen to support the wall above the well (Figure 13). The well continued to be used when the building was complete. Buchanan suggests that there was a large wooden platform outside the door with a trap door in it, so they could raise it and obtain water for cooking, etc., an arrangement which would have been more convenient than a well farther away in the yard.

Milner must have moved part of his gunsmithing operation to another location before selling his house, for the patio covered his work area and the base of his forge, found just outside the back door of the present house. Many of the artifacts which may be attributed to the John Milner, Jr., household have yet to be specifically identified. We do know that the patterned white salt glaze plates probably were part of their tableware (Figure 14).

John Milner's business ventures apparently were not all successful. He was forced to sell the house in 1768 because he was in debt to John Hodsdon and Thomas Corker for several thousand pounds (RMCO Book B4, pp. 55-59).

THE HEYWARDS: Daniel Heyward purchased the property which included a lot of the present dimensions and a two-story brick house on August 1, 1770, from Robert Pinckney, the provost marshall, for £5500 (RMCO Book B4, pp. 55-59). The house had formerly belonged to John Milner, Jr. Daniel Heyward was fifty years old at the time, and married to his second wife, Jane Elizabeth Gigonilliat. He was the father of Thomas (age 24), Daniel (age 20), and William (age 17) -- the three sons of his first wife, and two small sons and a daughter by his second wife. Mrs. Heyward died twenty-eight days after the purchase of the property (Doscher notes on file at Charleston Museum).

In December 1770, Thomas Heyward returned to Charleston from London where he had studied law at the Middle Temple. He acquired the Church Street property from his father in March 1771 (Memorialist papers). The same year, he was admitted to the South Carolina Bar and the Court of the Chancery (Doscher notes).

Daniel Heyward married for a third time on September 21, 1771, taking Elizabeth Simons as his bride. In May 1772, he bought a house on Meeting Street (RMCO Book B4, pp. 59-61), south of the present location of the Hibernian Hall, for his family. This is probably the house he referred to in his will as being left to his son Thomas and brother-in-law James Gignilliat, in trust for his wife for the remainder of her life (PC Record of Wills, Volume 7, pp. 690-696), rather than 87 Church Street.
Fig. 12. Drawing of the end of the kitchen building showing the original entrance to the cellar, the well, and the window moved to accommodate the later storage sheds. Drawing by Charles Bayless.
Figure 13. Drawing showing the location of the well with the arch above it in relation to the door of the kitchen building. Drawing by Charles Bayless.
Figure 14. White salt glaze plates which may have been used by John Milner, Jr. Top left - bead and reel pattern; bottom left - dot, diaper and basket pattern; bottom right - barley pattern.
Construction of what is known today as the Heyward-Washington House on Church Street must have begun soon after the purchase of the property with the destruction of the Milner single house which was standing there. Our soil profile from excavations indicates that the area in front was leveled before the cellar for the new house was excavated. A decision had been made to build the house about six feet farther back from the street line than the previous building, allowing for central front entrance stairs to the first floor of the double house.

Actual construction probably began in 1772. Mr. James Taylor, a book binder who was situated across the street from the Heyward-Washington House, made no mention of a new building in his April advertisement -- perhaps because it was not apparent or he did not think it was necessary -- but his October and November 1772 advertisements (S.C. Gazette, October 15 & 22, and November 12, 1772) mentioned that he was across from Colonel Heyward's new building. This not only gives a date by which construction had begun, but also indicates that at this point Colonel Heyward, i.e., Daniel, was regarded by some as the builder rather than Thomas. A coin dated 1772 was found in the bottom layer of the cellar stair well, adding support to the historical date. This must be the house recorded on the 1788 map of Charleston (Figure 15).

An advertisement by Mr. Taylor in November 1773 (S.C. Gazette, November 1, 1773) identifies his location as across from Thomas Heyward's house. Thomas Heyward and Elizabeth Matthews were married on April 26, 1773, and presumably, by November were occupying the house on Church Street. It appears that they continued to live in the house when they were in town. Part of the time in 1776 and 1777, Heyward was in Philadelphia, and from the fall of 1780 until the summer of 1781, he was imprisoned at St. Augustine. In March 1780 there was a court meeting at the house, at which G.A. Hall, Mrs. Heyward's brother-in-law, presided (S.C. Gazette, March 14, 1780). Mrs. Heyward continued to live there with her sister, Mrs. G.A. Hall, and their children until Mrs. Hall died in May 1781. In August Mrs. Heyward, her son, and nieces and nephews went to Philadelphia where Heyward and Hall joined them. Mrs. Heyward died there in August 1782.

After the Revolution, Thomas Heyward returned to reside in Charleston. He was elected associate judge, and became an alderman in the recently organized city government (Doscher notes). Although he purchased the Veree house on Church Street in 1784, he apparently continued to use the Heyward-Washington House as his residence. An advertisement in the South Carolina Gazette dated March 28, 1786 offering the property next door for rent identified it as next to Judge Heyward. In May 1786, Thomas Heyward married Elizabeth Savage. In 1789 their first child, a son, Thomas, was born. That year Heyward resigned as judge. Presumably he and his family spent more time on the plantation. In 1790 his aunt, Mrs. Rebecca Jameson, was living in this house on Church Street. She operated a boarding school for girls, with
Figure 15. 1788 Phoenix map of Charleston showing location of the Heyward-Washington house.
twelve girls and seventeen slaves in residence (1790 U.S. Census). She continued to reside there when the house was selected to be the residence of President Washington during his visit to Charleston in May 1791.

In 1792, Heyward advertised the house for sale, describing it as having twelve rooms with a fireplace in each, a cellar and loft; a kitchen for cooking and washing, with a cellar below and five rooms for servants above; a carriage house and stables, all of brick surrounded by brick walls (S.C. Gazette, May 16, 1792). At that time the house was rented to Robert Smith (S.C. Gazette, May 16, 1792). In 1794 Heyward sold the property to John F. Grimke.

The Heyward-Washington House today looks much as it did when Thomas Heyward lived there. Excavation in the yard and the cellar of the kitchen building confirmed the fact that the cellar of the kitchen building originally had an entrance on the east side, leading up and out toward the house (Figure 12). The cellar had a dirt floor, and probably was used for storage of root crops, olive oil, and later some beverages. It may have ceased to be used because it flooded periodically. The entrance to it was destroyed when the cistern was dug -- this extends from the kitchen building to the cellar wall of the house. This was covered by the two storage sheds on the property (Figure 1).

Excavation revealed that the Heyward-Washington House had a much larger cellar entrance than the one in existence at the time the excavation began (Figure 16). The original cellar entrance had brick stairs with wooden nosings and extended out about twelve feet from the back wall of the house. This is longer than the usual eighteenth century entrances to cellars, and had been shortened three times to its final mid-twentieth century length.

Paul Buchanan, consultant from Colonial Williamsburg, evaluated our evidence and put together a reasonable explanation for the length of the staircase. He suggested that a porch extended across the back of the building, covering much of the staircase, protecting it from the rain, and providing a protected entry to the house as well. Strong supporting evidence for the presence of the porch includes: (Figure 17)

1. a line of brick which does not conform to the rest of the pattern of Flemish bond brick on the back of the house. This line runs from the north edge of the house, almost to the southern edge on a line about even with the center of the palladian window in the hall (Figure 18). This line of brick -- all stretchers today -- replaced the wooden plate to which the porch roof was once attached.

2. Old photographs from the 1930's show that the lower portion of the back wall of the house was whitewashed at one time, from what would be the level of the ceiling line of the porch down to the floor (Figure 19).
Figure 16. Plan of the area at the back of the Heyward-Washington House, showing the location of the porch, the large cellar entrance on the house, the entrance to the kitchen cellar, and the wooden platform entrance over the well on the kitchen building.
Figure 17. Drawing of the back of the Heyward-Washington house showing how it might have looked with the porch and warming room. Porch drawing by J. K. Jones added to drawing by Charles Bayless.
Figure 18. Photograph of the back of the Heyward-Washington house showing the line of brick across the palladian window which does not correspond to the Flemish bond pattern of the rest of the wall.
Figure 19. An early photograph of the back of the Heyward Washington house showing the area covered with whitewash.
3. The roof line on the wall at the north side of the property, which comes down from the level of the line across the back of the house and is obscured in part by the more recently added storage sheds, provides an indication of the width of the porch (Figure 20).

4. The plaster coating and the ghosting of shelves on the wall suggest that this end of the porch served as a pantry or warming room, for food on its way from the kitchen to the dining room. Buchanan has suggested that one of the windows in the adjacent room at the northwest corner of the house may have served as a door to that room, and that that room, which is paneled and has a fireplace, was probably the original dining room.

The fact that it seems strange to us today to cover part of a palladian window with a roof line, does not mean that it was not done in the past -- a similar porch is on the back of the Palmer House at Williamsburg. Eighteenth century builders occasionally did things which seem strange today, such as putting in false doors for balance, or putting a wall or stair across a window when the exterior plan did not quite coincide with the desired interior. The palladian window in the hall at the Heyward-Washington House is the only one with a stone sill, rather than one of wood, perhaps because the builder knew the roof line would cause water problems there.

The windows in the cellar of the Heyward-Washington House extended originally about one foot lower than at present. The ground level in the yard was raised by the digging for the cistern and by the drain line down the driveway. The street level has also been raised with subsequent paving, and the adjacent yards were filled to correspond.

Considerable numbers of artifacts were recovered which can be attributed to the period of occupation by the Heywards. Their table china was probably the creamware with molded feather edge (Figure 21) recovered from the yard and the necessary. Two sizes of plates, soup bowls, serving dishes and platters, and the tops of two covered dishes were found. They probably also used some of the good quality Chinese export ware found in the lower levels of the excavation and the necessary (Figures 22 and 23). A large bowl, as well as fragments of cups were found which date from the Heyward period. Tea and coffee cups and plates dating from 1745, and found in the privy, may have been used by Mrs. Milner, Jr., or by the Heywards.

Glassware utilized at this time included goblets of several sizes with air twist stems and a tea caddy with pewter top (Figure 24). There were a number of wine bottles and a snuff bottle or two. Most interesting were the wine bottles with the seals reading "G.A. Hall, 1768" (Figure 25). G.A. Hall was Heyward's brother-in-law, and his wife lived there with Mrs. Heyward during the Revolution.
The wall between the back of the Heyward-Washington house and the storage sheds, showing the old roof line at the top and the plaster and ghosting of shelves below.
Figure 21. Creamware dishes which may have been used by Mrs. Heyward. The set included a platter, a large covered dish, plates, soup plates, and a gravy boat in the feather-edge pattern.
Figure 23. A large blue and white Chinese export ware bowl which may have been used by Mrs. Heyward. It was found in the necessary.
Figure 22. top - Chinese export ware cups and plates dating about 1745 which may have been used by Mrs. John Milner, Jr. or Mrs. Thomas Heyward.
bottom - Chinese export ware dishes dating about 1770 which may have been used by Mrs. Heyward.
Figure 24. Glass from the Heyward period of the Heyward-Washington House. Left: four stemmed glasses, two with air twist stems and two with faceted stems. Center: a tea caddy with Steigel-type decoration; the original pewter screw-on cap is now missing. Right rear: a flip glass with wheel-engraved decoration, probably Bohemian. Right front: an English candlestick base; one of two found.
Figure 25. A dark green bottle from the Heyward-Washington necessary. On the seal is the name G. A. Hall and the date 1768.
Kitchenware included iron kettles, a Spanish olive jar, yellow Staffordshire slipped ware bowls and plates, some heavy red and brown earthenware utensils which may be English or American in origin (Figure 26), and plain, low-fired dark brown unglazed earthenware bowls and plates known as Colono-Indian ware today, which may have been made by Indians for trade or perhaps by black servants. All of the collection has not been analyzed and studied in detail, so these lists are by no means complete. We do know one object which can definitely be identified with Heyward -- a small lead seal recovered from the cellar of his house marked with his initials "TH" (Figure 28).

A picture of the neighborhood at the time that the Heywards occupied the house on Church Street can be obtained from a survey of the newspaper advertisements and city directory information. Taylor, the book binder and stationer, was across the street in the early 1770's (S.C. Gazette, October and November 1772; November 1773). A short distance to the north was Mr. Pike's Assembly room where dancing and fencing classes were held (S.C. Gazette, March 26, April 3, 1772). Later that property was acquired by Jacob Valk (S.C. Gazette, July 10, 1774), and the St. Cecelia Society met there (S.C. Gazette, October 24, 1774). Real estate, slaves, and furniture were auctioned and sold from there (S.C. Gazette, September 26, 1774; June 13, 1774; April 13, 1777; September 19, 1774; July 4, 1774), and wines were sold below the assembly room (S.C. Gazette, February 21, 1774). In 1774 there was a new theatre on the corner of St. Michael's Alley (S.C. Gazette, March 28, 1774). John Smith, the tallow chandler, was opposite Elliott Street (S.C. Gazette, March 27, 1775); Parker & Hutchins store on the corner of Church and Elliott Streets sold a variety of useful objects, including draperies, jugs, seeds, and fire grates and fenders (S.C. Gazette, April 10, 1775). There was a milliner (S.C. Gazette, May 19 & 26, 1775) and a doctor at the corner of Tradd and Church (S.C. Gazette, October 1, 1778), and a confectioner, who made fancy cakes and decorations for dessert tables, across from Thomas Bee (S.C. Gazette, December 14, 1777), as well as the houses of a number of individuals. The area was still part of the business area of Charleston.

THE GRIMKE PERIOD: In 1794 John F. Grimke bought the house from Thomas Heyward (RMCO Book K6, pp. 347-348). John Grimke, born in Charleston, December 16, 1752, had studied law in England and returned to Charleston in 1775. He served with the Revolutionary forces, and for eight years afterward was in the South Carolina State House of Representatives. In 1784 he had married Mary (Polly) Smith, daughter of Thomas Smith, a merchant on Broad Street (Lerner, 1967, pp. 13-14). By 1794, they had six children (Grimke family Bible). They lived in the Church Street house until 1803 (S.C. Historical Society, Grimke papers). During that time, six more children were born, one of whom died shortly after birth. Two girls were christened there in 1796, one of whom -- Sarah -- was to become one of the two famous Grimke
Figure 26. Utilitarian vessels from the Heyward period at the Heyward-Washington house. Left - a yellow Staffordshire slipped posset pot; center - a Staffordshire slipped ware plate; right - a red earthenware bowl.
Figure 27. Chamber pots from the Heyward period of the Heyward-Washington house. The one in the center is French delft, the other two are creamware.
Figure 28. A lead seal with Thomas Heyward's initials on it which was found in the cellar of the Heyward Washington house. Scale in centimeters.
Figure 29. An early nineteenth century blue and white transfer printed pearl ware wash basin from the Heyward-Washington house necessary. This may have been used in Mrs. Munro's boarding house.
Figure 30. Four white clay pipes found in the excavations at the Heyward-Washington house. All are later than the Heyward occupation of the property. Scale in centimeters.
Figure 31. An old photograph of the Heyward-Washington house before it was remodeled for the bakery.
Fig. 32. Portion of the 1902 Sanborn map of Church Street showing the buildings on the Heyward-Washington property at that time.
Figure 33. A photograph of the Heyward-Washington house in the 1920s showing how it looked with the bakery window and the lowered floor level.
Figure 34. The Heyward-Washington house as it looks today with the bakery window removed, the floor raised to the original level, the door in the center and the cellar windows replaced. The sills of the cellar windows are higher than originally as the ground level in the street and yard has been raised over the years.
had been used to restore the front wall (Laura Bragg, personal communication). Other early twentieth century changes included the installation of sewer, water and power lines, and the installation of plumbing fixtures, plus further modification of the cellar stairs.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS: As a result of the research and excavations at the Heyward-Washington House, our knowledge of the history of the property from the 1730's until it was acquired by the Museum, has been greatly augmented and clarified. Particular attention was paid to the eighteenth century occupation -- when the property was acquired by John Milner, Sr., gunsmith, who with his family suffered through the ordeal of the 1740 fire; John Milner, Jr., who followed in his father's trade, but unfortunately suffered financially and was forced to sell the property in 1770; and finally the Heyward family who lived there during the Revolution.

The research has established the building date of 1772-3 for the Heyward-Washington House itself and has removed any doubt about the identity of the family responsible for it. The fact that the building appears to have been regarded by some people of the time as having been built by Colonel Heyward, even though Thomas owned the land, lends support to the family story that Daniel built the house for his son Thomas. The fact that Daniel bought another house in town in 1772, apparently for his own use, lends further credence to that conclusion.

In the course of the excavations we have uncovered architectural evidence of two earlier houses, one frame, the other brick. We also excavated three wells -- each one constructed differently. The earliest had a casing made of barrels, the next had a square wooden box framing with a barrel casing inside, and the third was the more familiar brick well. We also recovered information on the forge and furnace of the gunsmith, and evidence of another frame structure on the site.

As a result of the excavations we have obtained more than 88,000 artifacts, including glass, ceramics, iron and metal tools and utensils, personal objects like hooks and eyes from clothing, pieces of jewelry, wig curlers, tooth brushes, marbles and fragments of toys, clay pipes, tiles from fireplaces and floors, a large quantity of animal bone, and even a few textile fragments. The analysis of all of this material is not yet complete. The collections represent the first well-documented sampling of the range of artifacts utilized by eighteenth century Charlestonians. From them we have some idea of the taste of a craftsman's family in the early part of the century, and the more prosperous planter's family of the Revolutionary period.

Some of the artifacts will be utilized in exhibits in the new museum and at the house. All will be useful for study col-
lections for students here and elsewhere, providing data for students interested in studying the preferences of families of different socio-economic groups within Charleston, as well as those wishing to compare Charleston to other early communities along the eastern seaboard. The collections will give us information on the scope of trade between Charleston and England, Europe and the Orient, and other cities in this hemisphere.

The depth of soil build-up on this site and the richness of it in terms of the amount of artifacts and information recovered give us some idea of what a wealth of information on early Charleston is preserved in the undisturbed sections of the yards in the historic section of the city. As long as these areas remain undisturbed, the archaeological record is preserved. Some day, from these areas, future archaeologists will learn more about a variety of eighteenth century craftsmen and mechanics who were important to the Charleston economy and more about the preferences of people who were lawyers, doctors, tavern keepers, merchants, etc. In this way we will come to understand more about the history of Charleston and more about the early history of South Carolina. We will come to know more details about a city which was planned as a city, and had a reputation for being a city of wealth, affluence and sophistication.
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