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# RECONSTRUCTING THE LIFEWAYS OF
# DANIEL HEYWARD FROM THE
# 1965 CHARLESTON MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS



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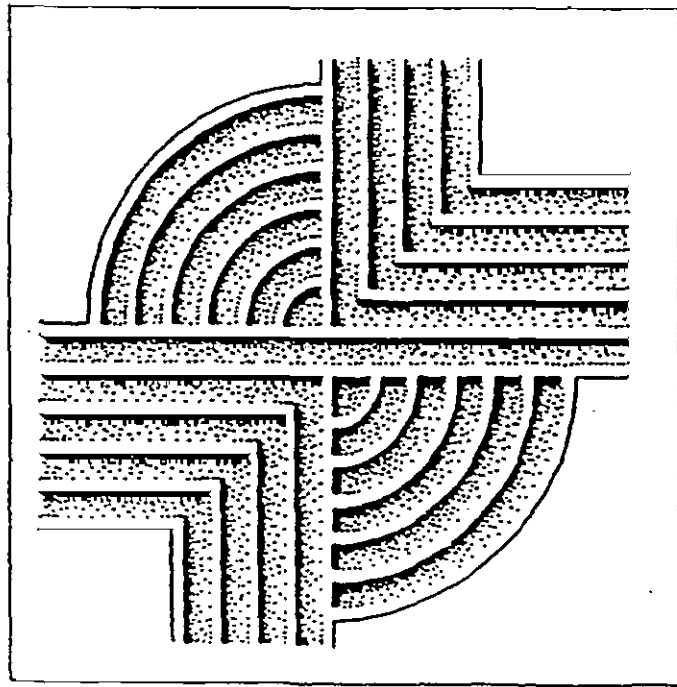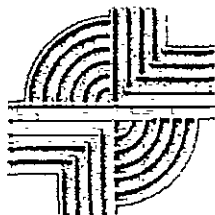
# EXPLORING OLD HOUSE: RECONSTRUCTING THE LIFEWAYS OF DANIEL HEYWARD FROM THE 1965 CHARLESTON MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS

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# ABSTRACT

In 1996 Chicora Foundation conducted testing at the site of Old House, 38JA72, the plantation home of Daniel Heyward. Heyward, in addition to being the father of Thomas Heyward, Jr., one of South Carolina's signers of the Declaration of Independence, was also an extraordinary planter. The historic record, while clouded by time and an absence of sources, seems to be intimately involved in not only planting rice, but also milling it. He is also associated with a cottage industry of woolen textile manufacturing. The historical record suggests that Daniel Heyward was far more interested in his plantation — and its daily operation — then in politics. In fact, it is easy enough to come away with a view of Heyward as a rather crusty farmer, who forsake the planter elite. But is this an accurate view?

During these earlier investigations, more information came to light on the "lost" excavations at Heyward's plantation house by The Charleston Museum in 1965. Some notes were identified, and the collections were eventually found. While there was neither the time nor funding to examine this earlier collection, its importance was recognized.

Subsequently, through the auspices of both the Heyward Foundation and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, we were provided with the opportunity to examine the 1965 collection and use it as a basis for better understanding Heyward, his house, and his life. This study reports on the findings of a re-analysis of these 1985 collections and their implications.

We found the collection somewhat worse for the wear of nearly 40 years of benign neglect. Some materials were missing, apparently conveyed to the project sponsor or others. Much of the metal was horribly corroded and offered only minimal information. Many notes of the excavation were lost or had never been prepared. Photographs, if they ever existed, were reduced to two faded Polaroid snap shots.

Through careful analysis, however, we were able to piece together a map of the site and reconstruct the levels used in the excavations. The notes were wrung of every bit of useful information they might provide about the excavations, and the field observations. And finally, the artifacts themselves were re-examined.

The story these remains tell — ignoring the obvious commentary on how archaeological methods have changed — suggest that Heyward may not have been as much of a recluse as we imagined. There is evidence that Heyward possessed expensive China tea wares and participated in the English tea ceremony, that he set his table with cut crystal and stocked a wine cellar, and that he sought to display his wealth at his home, making extensive use of imported marble pavers and details. Reconstructing this home reveals that while it may have started as a modest farmhouse, it was relatively quickly expanded into an impressive low country gentleman's seat.

While the information we can reconstruct is far from complete — and could certainly be improved upon by additional archaeological study — we have a new vision of Daniel Heyward that establishes him firmly in the planter elite.

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# INTRODUCTION

Fred Powledge, an author and freelance writer, has commented that:

> The Southern coast is different: a land of incalculable biological energy, of incomparable beauty, of romance and love and nature's violence; of mysterious lush islands and serpentine salt marshes (Binswanger and Charlton 1994:110).

The Southern historian Peter Coclanis was perhaps more succinct, describing the area as "this strange and eerie land of silent, still rivers and dark, funereal swamps" (Coclanis 1993:ix).

Old House, the seat of Daniel Heyward during the eighteenth century, is one of the most significant historical sites in Jasper County. It is certainly one of the few publicly accessible sites in an area which seems overrun with developments and private hunting preserves. Yet, in spite of its easy access off SC 462, one of the main tourist links from I-95 to Hilton Head Island, it is largely forgotten. The dirt road and oak allée are rarely visited and the site is marked by only a faded South Carolina Highway Historical Marker. And even this sign is to Old House's most noted son, Thomas Heyward, Jr., signer of the Declaration of Independence, and does not even mention Daniel Heyward, or his plantation. Standing on the roadside on a busy summer weekend, one can see a near steady stream of cars, almost all with their windows rolled up and their air conditioners on full power, passing by Old House with only an occasional effort to slow down enough to glimpse the sign. This effort is usually rewarded with a blaring horn and angry stare at the offending party as others rush on to enjoy South Carolina's sun, fun, and sand.

This, of course, was not always the case. There was a time when the traffic on SC 462 — previously known as SC 170 — was far lighter and access far more difficult.

Even as late as the 1920s, Old House was most easily reached from Charleston by taking the Atlantic Coast Railroad to Ridgeland, a trip of slightly over two hours, with the rail line paralleling US 17 — the Charleston-Savannah Highway — almost the entire distance. Once in Ridgeland it would be necessary for you to find a local individual with an automobile willing to drive you the rest of the way — west on SC 128 across the railroad tracks, through the small, historic community of Grahamville, and through tall pine woods, with the Good Hope Hunting Club on your right, about mid-way to Old House. Although the names are largely forgotten today, at least among the newer residents and visitors, your journey would take you through or near tracts with names like Springfield, Sams, Clapboard Hill, and Old Store. The Seaboard Air Line, taking primarily freight, ran parallel to the Atlantic Coast Line, about six miles to the east. It passed through such forgotten stations as Knowles, Neadun, and Boyd, before crossing what is today Euhaw Creek, but which has often been called Hazard Back Creek. The intersection of SC 128 and 170 was much as it is today, but not as modern. There was a store, several houses, two artesian wells, and to the south, the "Negro" Heyward Church. Visitors during this time talk of two oak avenues — one running off SC 170 to the southeast, and another coming in from west.[1]

But even this seems simple, compared to the ordeal of arriving at Old House a hundred years earlier. Not only did Jasper County not exist, but neither did any rail connections. The journey from Charleston would typically require two or three days, depending on the route, local conditions, and one's speed. Crossing

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[1] *General Highway and Transportation Map of Jasper County*, South Carolina State Highway Department, 1937; *Map of the Good Hope Club Lands*, Beaufort County RMC, Plat Book 2, page 16, 1910.
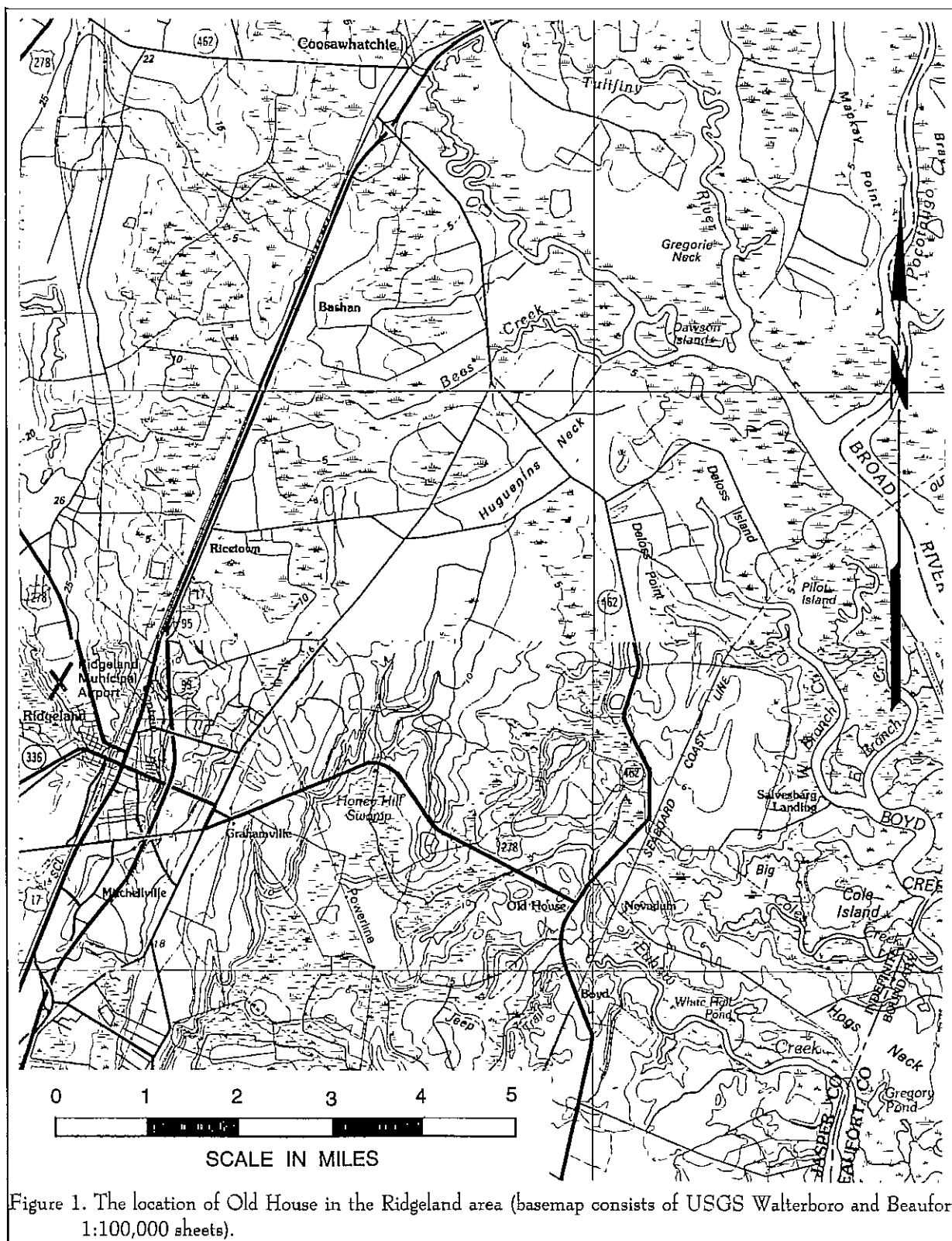
Figure 1. The location of Old House in the Ridgeland area (basemap consists of USGS Walterboro and Beaufort 1:100,000 sheets).

Bees Creek, you might travel southwest, arriving in Grahamville, or take the more southerly route leading to Old House, just before Heyward's Bridge over Hazard Back Creek. On this route you'd pass the Euhaw Church on your right as you traveled south across Huguenin's Neck, Deloss Point, and Boyd's Neck.[2]



Figure 2. Oak allée at Old House from SC 462 looking south toward Euhaw Creek.

Then, as today, you'd notice the vast marshes that laid open before you. The difference is that then these marshes would be resplendent in rice, a golden harvest that not only encouraged, but seemed to demand, African-American slave labor. Today the rice field dikes have either been breached and the land has returned to marsh or the acreage has been converted to wetlands to promote a habitat conducive to waterfowl.

You'd also notice forests of pines, primarily on the drier, sandier soil, avenues and stands of live oaks, usually draped with Spanish moss, and areas of low, wet woods, where gum and bay trees dominate. Understory trees would include dogwoods, wax myrtle, and yaupon holly. More so in the past than today, occasional grassed savannahs might be encountered — evidence of a previous fire or cultivated field. Much of the diversity of the area is today lost to planted pines — a staple crop throughout the low country.

The topography of the area would seem flat, especially to anyone from Piedmont. This flatness, however, is deceptive since those living in the low

country can see "hills" where the elevation may be five or more feet different from the surrounding terrain. There is also a rolling effect, as the land is broken by fingers of marsh creating inland peninsulas or "necks." The area also seems to consist of small "islands" of high ground separated by low swamps, many of which still bear evidence of their previous use as rice fields. Although in an area of salt water, planters were able to dam up inlets and create fresh water impoundments — allowing them to reclaim inland swamps and create fields along rivers. Old House is situated at the eastern edge of one such "island," confined by the Euhaw Creek to the north, south, and east. There are remnant rice fields shown on the modern topographic map of the area to the northwest of Old House, between it and Good Hope Plantation. Additional fields are shown to the southwest of Old House, in the vicinity of old Preference Plantation. And more are shown to the south.

Rice eventually passed — the victim of storms and economic pressures. Of course scholars such as Coclanis remind us that the demise of the low country was brought on by inherent structural problems so severe that the resulting economic stagnation, seen as early as the late antebellum, likely accounts for much of

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[2] *Beaufort District, Mills' Atlas*, 1825.

the low country remaining languid even today (Coclanis 1989:111).

Helping the failure of rice along, at least in some small sense, was nature herself. Data from nineteenth and twentieth century sources reveal a fluctuating, but steady, rise in sea level. Kurtz and Wagner (1957:8) report a 0.8 foot rise in Charleston, South Carolina sea levels from 1833 to 1903. Between 1940 and 1950 a sea level rise of 0.34 foot was again recorded in Charleston. Hicks (1973), using continuous recording tide gauges, illustrates a net rise of nearly 0.5 foot since the 1920s. While these data do not distinguish between sea level rise and land surface submergence, there is nevertheless good evidence that the marsh at Old House was likely drier in the eighteenth century than it is today.

The tidal range, especially in an area like Old House, also has an effect on drinking water. The availability of groundwater was of primary importance to historic settlement and Mathews et al. state that, "groundwater may well be the most important material economic resource of the Sea Island Coastal Region" (Mathews et al. 1980:31). The principal deep water artesian aquifer is the limestone of Eocene age known as the Santee Formation. Based on 1880 data this head was so great that wells in the Beaufort County area were free flowing at the surface. The two flowing artesian wells in the immediate area were certainly an inducement to Heyward's settlement. By 1971, however, this aquifer was so depleted that no surface flowing water was known (Mathews et al. 1980:31-32).

The Southern climate is viewed by many as a significant ingredient in not only its mystique, but its very soul. The West Indian novelist V.S. Naipaul wondered if the summer heat "was a factor in the still visible degeneracy," and Fred Hobson, an author and English professor at the University of North Carolina, has wondered if the advent of the air conditioner brought on "the decline of the creative fury of the Southern writer" (Binswanger and Charlton 1994:115-116). Certainly we have to wonder what motivated Daniel Heyward's great grandfather to leave England in the 1680s for Carolina — at a time when a popular English proverb warned, "They who want to die quickly, go to Carolina," and a German visitor told his readers

that "Carolina is in the spring a paradise, in the summer a hell, and in the autumn a hospital" (quoted in Merrens and Terry 1984:549).

While it may be meteorologically correct to assert that the major climatic controls of the area are the latitude, elevation, distance from the ocean, and location with respect to the average tracks of migratory cyclones (i.e.,hurricanes), this does little to help explain the oppressive heat and humidity of the summer, nor the cold, damp winters. Nevertheless, the generally mild climate and long growing season (over 240 days usually), is largely responsible for the presence of many southern crops, such as rice, and later, cotton. It was also responsible for the production of oranges, lemons, limes, and even bananas on the nearby Sea Island during the eighteenth century (see Hammond 1884:19; Kemble 1984:113-114; Rosengarten 1987). By the nineteenth century the climate was changing and it was apparent to many planters that subtropical plants, such as oranges, could no longer be grown easily. This climatological shift even pushed the date for safe cotton planting from late March into mid-April.

It is against this backdrop of the Southern coast and environment that we conducted our first examination of Heyward's Old House Plantation in 1996 — examining the site, conducting a very brief archaeological survey, and preparing a National Register nomination for the site. Also involved in this work was a brief encounter with the 1965 excavations at Old House conducted by The Charleston Museum, a venerable, old organization that sought to explore a wide range of archaeological questions across the South Carolina coast from the 1920s through the late 1960s.

Graciously sponsored by the Heyward Foundation this initial effort left unanswered a number of curious questions, many surrounding the life and times of the site's primary occupant, Daniel Heyward. Among them: What evidence is there for when the site was first settled? Is there any evidence of an earlier house that Heyward might have lived in, while his mansion was being built? When did the house burn — during the American Revolution, during the Civil War, or during some later time? Did Heyward live like an aristocratic planter, or like a simple country farmer? Did Old House's location on the low country frontier

temper the lifestyle of the rich and famous? And, what could The Charleston Museum excavations tell us about Heyward? This last question was perhaps the most curious — if only because it could be so easily answered, and yet had never been addressed. For years the collections from the Museum's excavations had languished, first in the Ridgeland area and then in Columbia.

Recognizing the potential, the Heyward Foundation agreed to a second round of study — this time focused on what the 1965 collections could tell us about Old House and Daniel Heyward. The National Trust for Historic Preservation also became convinced that this was a worthwhile project and helped with additional funding.

This report, then, looks at these "lost" collections and begins to address some of these unanswered questions. But a word about methodology may be in order. It was author Richard Weaver who observed that:

> The Southern mind is not by habit
> analytical . . . . There seems to exist
> a feeling that you do not get at the
> truth of a thing — or that you do
> not get at a truth worth having — by
> breaking the thing in pieces . . . .
> The Southern mind . . . seeks out
> wholes, representations, symbols
> (Binswanger and Charlton 1994:40).

While perhaps something of an overstatement, it does help explain how we went about getting at the truth of Old House. Although we did use an analytical approach — we counted artifacts, we derived mean dates, we explored the pattern of the collections — we also sought to look at the whole. While we hope that this study will be of interest to our colleagues in history and archaeology, we hope mostly that it will be of interest to the Heyward descendants and the general public.

Like any research, it leaves some issues unresolved. As troubling as this is, it seems to be the essence of good scholarship. Trying to resolve all issues too often results not in history, but in myth. So, we have been able to flesh out Daniel Heyward and shed a

little more light on his plantation, but the quest must go on.

# A HISTORIC SYNOPSIS

There are a variety of sources exploring the history of the Heyward family in South Carolina. Many focus on genealogical questions and also incorporate a rather large quantity of folklore and oral tradition. The most commonly cited source is undoubtedly *Heyward*, written by James Barnwell Heyward between about 1925 and 1931, and privately printed about 1968 (cited here as Heyward n.d. a). Portions of this were published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (Heyward 1958), making it somewhat more widely available. This same document may be found in some archives as "The Heyward Family of South Carolina" (South Carolina Historical Society, Heyward File, 30-4). Another predominately genealogical source is "The Heyward Family of South Carolina" compiled by Heyward Peck (1952). Two accounts which focus on Thomas Heyward, Jr. are Grimball (n.d.) and McTeer (1978). However, the most scholarly account is probably that compiled by Sallie Doscher while working at the South Carolina Historical Society. Her unpublished, and untitled, manuscript has found its way, water stained and largely forgotten, to The Charleston Museum's archival collections (Doscher n.d.). Another extensive overview of the Heyward family is held by the Heyward Foundation. It, too, is unpublished and untitled (Ellen n.d.).

This current study attempts to synthesize appropriate sections of these previous studies, reconciling differences where possible, and pointing out areas where additional research is necessary. Throughout we have focused on Daniel Heyward, father to Thomas Heyward, Jr.[1], who developed Old House

Plantation as his seat in remote Granville County.

## Daniel Heyward's Early Life on James Island

Daniel's father was Thomas Heyward who was born in Charleston in December 1699, the only child of Thomas and Margaret Heyward. Peck suggests that he cultivated the family plantation on James Island, in St. Andrews Parish (Peck 1952:n.p.). While this plantation was likely on the harbor side of the island, the Heywards are also known to have had lands on the Stono River.

In 1715 Thomas Heyward was drafted for service in the Yemassee War, although Peck reports that his mother petitioned for his release from service since he was "an only child and not yet 16 years old" (Peck 1952: n.p.). At some point, however, he did serve since the records reveal he applied, as a member of the volunteer crew of the *Revenge*, for the prize money due from the capture of the pirate Richard Wosley. He later became a member of James Island militia and was appointed captain of the company in 1725. Peck reports that he served as commander of Fort Johnson and in 1724 he was elected to the Assembly. His service at Fort Johnson, however, is another family legend. Heyward reports that while Thomas is referred to in a receipt as the Captain of Fort Johnson, there is absolutely no other evidence that he ever served at Fort Johnson, much less was in command of the fort (Heyward 1907:20).

On March 16, 1732 South Carolina Council heard the petition for a 500 acre grant in Granville County by Captain Thomas Heyward (S.C. Department of Archives and History, South Carolina Council Journal, vol. 5, part 1, p. 291-292). Heyward's grant was one of a number reviewed at that time for Granville, Colleton, Craven, and Berkeley counties. Some were to

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[1] Thomas Heyward, Jr. was the eldest son of Daniel Heyward and his first wife, Mary Miles (1727-1761). Thomas was born July 28, 1746. He was known as "jr." or occasionally as "the Younger," to distinguish himself from his uncle, Thomas Heyward (1723-1795). This Thomas was Daniel's younger brother and moved to Granville County where he developed his own plantations on the Pocotaligo and

Tulifinny rivers (Doscher n.d.:n1; Heyward 1958:149-152).

individuals with military rank, but more were to gentlemen and ordinary citizens. The original grant makes no reference to its purpose. That same day he was granted:

> All that parcel or Tract of Land Containing Five hundred acres Situate lying and being in Granville County in the Province aforesaid and being in part of a Warrant of Seven hundred and fifty Acres on the head of Small Creek Butting and Bounding to the Northward part on Felamon Palmeter and part on land not yet laid out to the East on the said creek to the south on Coll: Hall (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Royal Grants, vol. 1, p. 21).

The plat for this tract reveals that it was surveyed December 11, 1731, in response to a warrant for 750 acres dated November 20, 1731 (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Colonial Plats, vol. 1, p. 7).[2] The plat itself, typical of the period, is rather uninformative, showing only a creek along the eastern and southeastern edge, with the bulk of the tract extending to the west.

Peck reports that this grant was in reward or exchange for his earlier military service and formed the nucleus of the Old House Plantation established by Thomas' son, Daniel Heyward. While there is little doubt, based even on the limited description and plat, that the parcel is Old House, there is greater doubt concerning why it was issued. Ackerman notes that the most common reason for granting land during this period was the headright of 50 acres per settler. Grantees claimed rights on the basis of the size of their families, counting both slaves and children. While land was also granted for services rendered, the most common service was the importation of settlers and

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[2] This took place shortly after Governor Johnson's reopening of the land office and the prohibition against surveys without a warrant. It appears that Heyward was one of the first to file for land under the new system.

Ackerman makes no mention of military service being adequate cause for land grants (Ackerman 1977:95-97). Todd and Hutson also comment for adjacent Prince Williams Parish that, "The instances of men being given free grants for military service, or special patriotism, are in some cases true, but they were few" (Todd and Hutson 1935:25). It seems likely, therefore, that Thomas Heyward, in the early 1730s, was in the process of expanding his holdings. Ackerman notes that:

> Owing to the combination of a growing population and an increasing amount of cultivated land, South Carolina emerged from the chaos of the 1720s to the developing prosperity of the mid-eighteenth century (Ackerman 1977:100).

Heyward also disputes this long-standing family legend, noting:

> Now then, nothing that the public records show of the life of Capt. Thomas Heyward confirms either that he ever did much service as an Indian fighter, or, indeed, that there was much Indian fighting going on during his life (Heyward 1907:20).

He suggests that the land had nothing to do with military service, but was simply a grant.

Regardless of the reason, this area of South Carolina was isolated and still a frontier. In 1720 there were only 30 white inhabitants and 42 slaves in St. Helena Parish, consisting of the islands comprising Granville County (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, BPRO Transcripts, vol. 9, p. 23; Stauffer 1994:6-7).

Relatively little else is known about Thomas Heyward, although we can obtain some idea concerning his activities based on ads he placed in the *South Carolina Gazette*. Twice he advertised for runaway slaves. (*South Carolina Gazette*, April 1, 1732, p. 3; November 8, 1735, p. 3), as well as the sale or rent of several pieces of property (*South Carolina Gazette*, January 1,

1733, p. 3; April 14, 1733, p. 4). These ads suggest that Thomas Heyward engaged in Charleston's speculative real estate market, apparently supplementing his planting activities. This, in turn, further supports his acquisition of land in Granville County under the headright system, suggesting that he was acquiring sufficient lands to ensure that his male children had land. At the time of his will, Thomas had six male children, (Heyward 1958:147), care for which would have required a substantial estate.

Captain Thomas Heyward died at his James Island plantation on March 11, 1736 and was buried in the graveyard of the St. Andrews Church.[3] Peck reports that his tombstone was in existence as late as 1860, which suggests that by 1952 when he wrote that it could no longer be found.[4]

In spite of his military career and activities as a planter, Thomas describes himself as a hatmaker.[5] Dated March 7, 1736/7, only four days before his death, his will wasn't proved[6] for an additional seven years, until January 7, 1743/4. Peck notes that after providing for his wife, Hester Heyward, Thomas instructed that the remainder of his estate should be equally divided among his wife and six sons, Daniel, Thomas, John, James, Nathaniel, and Samuel, all of whom were minors at the time. Peck reports that while

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[3] St. Andrews Episcopal Church is situated about 4 miles northwest of Charleston, west of the Ashley River on SC 61. It was originally constructed in 1706, rebuilt in 1735, and burned in 1760. It was immediately rebuilt, restored in 1858 and again in 1958.

[4] The Church suffered a fire in the 1940s which destroyed all of their early records and there is no inventory of stones for the churchyard. Consequently, the only way to determine whether or not Thomas Heyward's resting place is still marked would be a careful search of the actual graveyard.

[5] In this he appears to have followed family tradition. His grandfather, Daniel, from Little Eaton, England listed his occupation as "Hatter" (Grimball n.d.:1).

[6] "Proving" a will at this time typically meant establishing its validity and entering into probate. Why there was such a long interval between death and probate is not known.

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Daniel eventually developed Old House, John developed Tichton Plantation, and James settled Sandy Hill. Doscher also notes that Daniel received from his father slaves, his watch[7], sword, pistols, and "my other Accoutrements" (Doscher n.d.:1).

## Establishing Old House

The same year the will was proved, 1743, Daniel Heyward probably left James Island to settle his father's grant in Granville County (Ellen n.d.:51). Numerous family accounts repeat the same general observation, that Daniel "made the trip in an open boat with a few Negro slaves, taking an inland route for some seventy-five miles to the southwest" (Ellen n.d.:51).

The same year Daniel moved to Granville he also married Mary Miles, daughter of William Miles, a St. Andrews Parish planter who was also active in the affairs of the parish, serving as the church warden (Doscher n.d.:1). The wedding apparently took place at St. Andrews, with the Reverend Mr. William Guy, rector of the church, officiating.

While relatively little is known of the decision to leave James Island or the move itself, at least one researcher notes that Daniel was hardly alone in this new setting. Across the Euhaw was Hazzard Hall. To the east was Hogg's Neck. And across the Broad River was Barnwell Island. Doscher also notes that Granville County was the home to a number of Indian traders, including Stephen Bull and Thomas Nairne. There were also a number of planters who had moved from Purrysburg — Huguenin, Strobhar, Robert, Lucas, and Izard. In 1757 Daniel Heyward received a memorial for six tracts of land in Granville County, including Old

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[7] It would be this watch which provided the basis for Thomas Heyward's claim on his father's behalf to a coat-of-Arms. Thomas explained to the College of Heraldry in London that the origin of their coat-of-Arms was lost as a result of the "incidents of Time and distance from the Mother Country" (Heyward n.d.:26). Their right to the coat-of-Arms was approved.

The presence of a watch, however, tells us something of the wealth and prosperity of Thomas Heyward — as well as his entry into the gentility.

Figure 3. Thomas Heyward's plat for 500 acres at what would become Old House Plantation (SCDAH, Colonial Plats, vol. 1, p.7).

House, totaling 2,115 acres (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Memorials, vol. 7, p. 159). It is difficult without additional research to determine why Daniel obtained a warrant for lands already in his possession. Certainly the most common reason for such a step was that the individual was anxious to confirm a questionable title (see Ackerman 1977:99).

It seems that Daniel scorned political life — he twice declined to serve in the Commons House of Assembly after being elected by his fellow parishioners, first in 1765 (representing St. Peters Parish) and again in 1768 (representing St. Lukes Parish). Yet his reluctance to serve appears to be more out of concern for his absence from his plantation than out of distaste for political office.[8] While declining service which would take him away from Old House, he did serve as justice of the peace in 1756, as well as a member of the Granville County Regiment. He was also a church warden and member of the vestry in 1765 and was a member of the Anglican Board of Church Commissioners in 1774.

Daniel has also been characterized as a "textile pioneer" with mention made of his 1777 letter to his son, Thomas, in which he notes, "my manufactory goes on bravely, but fear the want of cards[9] will put a stop to it, as they are not to be got; if they were, there is not

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[8] In 1777 Daniel wrote his son, Nathaniel Heyward, Jr., "I deal not in Politics tho always Anxious to hear what is doing in this new World" (Heyward n.d.:25). This reflects both his earlier disinterest in political office and his later reluctance to endorse the American Revolution.

[9] Heyward was speaking of hand carders — small tools with handles, covered on one side with card clothing, a flexible fabric densely packed with small wire hooks. Cotton fiber (like wool) is pulled apart a little by hand and is then placed between two hand carders. Pulling the carders in opposite directions combs or scarifies the cotton, with the small wire hooks teasing it apart. Next the cotton is collected on one carder and the process is repeated, usually about five times. The cotton is considered properly carded when all of the fibers are separated from each other. Following the carding, cotton is combed, making its fibers parallel, ready for spinning. Once spun it is strong enough for weaving (Seymour 1984:175).

the least doubt but that we could make six thousand yards of good cloth in the year from the time we began" (quoted in Doscher n.d.:3). That same year the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* noted that:

> a planter to the Southward, who three months ago had not a Negro that could either spin or weave, has now thirty hands constantly employed, from who he gets one hundred-twenty yards of good wearable Stuff made of Woollen and Cotton every Week. He had only one white Woman to instruct in Weaving. He expects to have it in his Power not only to Clothe his own Negroes, but soon to supply his neighbors. The following so laudable an Example will be the most effectual Method of lessening the present exorbitant Price of Cloth" (*South Carolina and American General Gazette*, January 30, 1777, quoted in Doscher n.d.:3).

While both this article and Doscher suggest that it was the non-importation agreement of December 1, 1774[10] which spurred Daniel's interest in cloth-making, his clear loyalist (or at best apolitical) leanings suggests otherwise. In fact, a letter several years earlier in 1774 from Ralph Izard notes that "Mr. Heyward has as many

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[10] The first non-importation agreement was that of 1768 when Boston urged other colonies to refuse imported goods from Great Britain. This opened a rift between the public, which at first supported the idea, and the merchants, who had the most to lose. Eventually even the public largely ignored the agreement and by the end of 1770 the non-importation agreement was terminated. While support was modest, at best, Britain in 1770 repealed all duties except that on tea. Even this duty, however, was made so low that tea was cheaper in the Colonies than it was at home in England (Wallace 1951:242).

Non-importation was again used in 1774, when the First Continental Congress adopted an Association pledging non-commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies (Wallace 1951:254-255).

people as any gentleman in the State and makes cotton enough to clothe them all" (quoted in Doscher n.d.:3). It seems most likely that Daniel Heyward, as a good businessman, saw an opportunity to reduce the cost of clothing his slaves and began manufacturing cotton and woollen goods. His market, however, dramatically increased with the non-importation acts.

In addition to his textile interests, secondary sources often cite Daniel Heyward's efforts to produce a tidal rice mill. Duncan Clinch Heyward, in his *Seed from Madagascar*, argues that the existence of a raceway and mill stones on the Old House site in the 1930s provides proof that the mill predates Jonathan Lucas' tidal rice mill of 1787 (Heyward 1937:22-23). Doscher tempers this assertion by pointing out that the "mill remains . . . could have been constructed by one of Daniel's children" (Doscher n.d.:4). There seems, however, to be little indication that any of Daniel's children had either his interest or ability in plantation affairs. Nevertheless we can't discount the possibility that others may have added the rice mill at a later time.

This illustrates perhaps one of the greatest frustrations associated with Daniel Heyward. In spite of his obvious success and wealth, there are very few historical accounts or records to detail his efforts. For example, for the period from 1743 when Daniel established Old House through 1768, the most recent date for which the *South Carolina Gazette* is indexed, Heyward appears only a handful of times. In 1750 he is listed as the individual "in Indian-Land" to which Granville County residents could pay their tax for the establishment of a pilot boat service in Port Royal harbor (*South Carolina Gazette*, October 1, 1750, p. 4). This suggests that he was considered trustworthy enough to collect and account for public funds. Later, in 1751, he is listed as an executor for Joseph Sealy (*South Carolina Gazette*, December 6, 1751, p. 3).[11]

He advertised for run away slaves on several

occasions (*South Carolina Gazette*, January 29, 1754, January 27, 1757, and June 9, 1757), as well as once for a run away horse (*South Carolina Gazette*, December 31, 1764). He advertised rice for sale only once (*South Carolina Gazette*, August 28, 1755) and property also only once (*South Carolina Gazette*, June 14, 1767).

While most of these references place him in "Indian Lands," some refer to his residence being "near" Port Royal, or in Granville County, or once, at "Eubaw," almost certainly a typographical error of Euhaw.

Daniel had six children by his first wife, Mary Miles. Thomas, born in 1746 (died in 1809), was the eldest. Three died young — Nathaniel, born in 1748 died in 1753; Maria, born in 1749 also died young, but at an unknown date; Hester, born in 1751, died in 1753. Surviving siblings of Thomas were Daniel, born in 1750 (died in 1778) and William, born in 1753 (died in 1786). Mary died in May 1761, leaving her husband to care for three children — Thomas who was 15, Daniel who was 11, and William who was eight. Within two years the 43 year old Daniel Heyward married again, taking the 18 year old daughter of John and Mary Gignilliat, Jane Elizabeth, as his wife (Doscher n.d.:4; Heyward 1958:149). Gignilliat was the son of a French Huguenot and a planter in St. John Berkeley Parish (Heyward n.d. a:18; Bailey and Cooper 1981:262). By her he had another son, James, who was born in 1764 — about a year after their wedding. Nathaniel was born in 1766 (died in 1851) and Maria was born in 1767 (died in 1837).

Jane Elizabeth died in 1771 and almost exactly a year later in 1772 Daniel married the 24 year old Elizabeth Simons, daughter of Benjamin Simons of Charleston.[12] By her Daniel had two children, Elizabeth in 1773 (died 1780) and Benjamin, whose birth date is not known, but who died in 1796 (Heyward n.d. a:19; Heyward 1958:149). Elizabeth Heyward did not die

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[11] This was perhaps the father of a Joseph Sealy who, in 1754, received a memorial for 500 acres in Granville County on Euhaw Creek (S.C. Department of Archives and History, Auditor General Memorials, Series 2, volume 7, page 58).

[12] The *South Carolina Gazette* on September 12, 1771 announced that "Last Thursday Night, Col. Daniel Hayward, the greatest planter in this province, was married to Miss Elizabeth Simons, a daughter of Benj. Simons, Esq., late Commissary General."

until 1788.

Daniel Heyward was apparently an astute businessman and planter. By 1757 he had acquired a town lot in Beaufort and 2,115 acres in Granville County (Rowland 1971:32). In 1770 he also purchased a two-story house and lot at 87 Church Street in Charleston belonging to John Milner, a gunsmith. He apparently had the existing house demolished and built the current three-story structure and at least some of the present dependencies. This later became the residence of his son, Thomas Heyward, Jr. (Anonymous 1949:6).[13]

By the time of his death in 1777 Daniel Heyward had managed to acquire 15,654 acres of land (Rowland 1971:32). Doscher reports that he acquired 16,078 acres of land, a Beaufort house, three Beaufort lots, stores and a lot at Cook's Landing on Okatie Creek, a house and lot in Charleston, and nearly a thousand slaves (Doscher n.d.: 2).

Daniel's will is described by Heyward (n.d. a:21) as "apparently lucid," but "abstruse" and this does seem to be a fair description of the seven page typescript document (Charleston County WPA Will Transcripts, vol. 17 (1774-1779), pp. 690-696; also reprinted in Heyward n.d. a:19-21). Besides the oblique remainder clauses, Daniel also did a relatively poor job of describing the various plantations. Nowhere, for example, does the will specifically mention "Old House" and he seems to have used the phrase, "my plantation" to describe several different properties (rather than exclusively using it for his primary seat). To confuse the matter more, the Heyward (n.d. a) transcription drops several key phrases and lines.

Nevertheless, a careful reading of the WPA transcript reveals that Daniel was diligent in ensuring

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[13] This structure is today known as the Heyward Washington House and is operated by The Charleston Museum. While the "Heyward" portion of the title denotes the house's ownership by Daniel and later Thomas, Washington was added to name to commemorate the residence of George Washington in 1791 during his trip through South Carolina (Anonymous 1949:9).

that the property remain in the family, providing trusts for minor children, requiring that they inherit the property only if they achieved 21 and/or had heirs. He was successful at providing substantial estates to all of his male and female children, establishing a codicil in July 1777 to provide for his youngest son, Benjamin. He also distributed his five carpenter slaves to various children, seemingly ensuring that their special skills would be available to as wide a range of heirs as possible.

Thomas, as several researchers have pointed out, received only a single slave, Carpenter Squire, from his father's estate since Daniel had already deeded land to his grown sons, Thomas, Jr., Daniel, Jr., and William.

It appears that Old House, which was referred to only as "that Tract of land and House where I now live" was devised to William along with its furniture, tools, utensils, stock, slaves, and other items, although in actuality William only had a life interest in the property. At his death, the land was to be divided between his lawful male heirs and the slaves and stock to be divided between his lawful male and female heirs. In case he should produce no heirs, the property would be divided between sons Thomas and Daniel.

In addition, although Daniel specified that his wife Elizabeth was to have a life trust in his Charleston house, as well as his 764½ acre plantation originally granted to Broughton, he also specified that she was to have use of Old House for "as long as my son Thomas may think the present Commotions make it necessary for her to live in the Country."[14] This suggests that Old House was either far more comfortable than the Broughton tract — a reasonable supposition considering that it was the family seat — or that it was further removed from the hostilities of the American Revolution.

William was also to receive seven different tracts totaling 2,510⅓ acres in the Purrysburg

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[14] Since Elizabeth Heyward was buried in Charleston's St. Philip's Churchyard (Heyward 1958:150), it appears that she left Old House at least by the end of the Revolution.

Township, a 529 acre island tract, a quarter of the stores and lot at Cook's Landing on the Okatie, and seven named slaves.

While there is no appraisement for Daniel's estate, his son Daniel Heyward, Jr. died only a year after his father and an inventory and appraisement is available for his estate. Even after three years of warfare, Daniel's estate was valued at £21,820 currency,[15] of which £18,200 (83%) was invested in 40 African-American slaves (Rowland 1971:32). Clearly Daniel Heyward's wealth would have been many times that of his son.

This wealth was an indication of the well-being of the Beaufort area. As Rowland observes:

> the Port Royal area was experiencing the greatest prosperity and the greatest security it had ever known. The fortunes of the area were closely allied with those of the Georgia colony whose government may have been the most successful royal government in North America in the 1760's and 1770's. In addition, the most important members of the most influential family of the southern district were loyal servants of the royal government of South Carolina throughout the colonial period. Furthermore, the most important merchants of Beaufort were recently arrived Scots and well-known Tory sympathizers (Rowland 1971:66).

## Old House During the American Revolution

As previously mentioned, Daniel Heyward was alive for the first three years of the American Revolution. Heyward notes that Daniel:

> was not in sympathy . . . with the revolt by the Province of South Carolina against the English

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[15] This equates to about $362,000 in 1992 dollars.

Government. Proud of what his father and he himself had accomplished in the American wilderness and without any Puritanical animosity to a monarchical form of government but attached by reason of his Cavalier tradition to the person of the King; he would have much preferred to see both business and politics righted without a complete severance from the Mother country (Heyward n.d. a:24).

In fact, even McCrady in his *History of South Carolina* reports that Daniel Heyward was a Tory (Heyward n.d. b: 17). While this certainly presents an interesting contrast to his son Thomas's fiery patriotism, it seems overstated. Rowland observes that it wasn't so much that the residents in the Beaufort - Port Royal area were Tories as it was that they simply weren't very committed to either side. He notes, "Their only real interest was the protection of their families and property from the depredations of war regardless of which army was operating in the district" (Rowland 1971:77).

There is also at least some circumstantial evidence that Daniel either aided, or at least tolerated, the Rebel cause. In the Accounts Audited of Claims Growing Out of the American Revolution, the Daniel Heyward estate produced bills and receipts in the amount of £ 110.9.7 sterling for provisions, including cattle, clean rice, and rough rice sold to local troops (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Accounts Audited, File 3567). Another claim was submitted by Daniel's widow, Elizabeth, for £54.0.4 sterling, also for provisions sold to local troops (South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Accounts Audited, File 3568).

In February 1779 the British launched a brief attack on Port Royal while later that Spring, Prevost made a brief foray against Charleston. Retreating along the coastal islands back to Beaufort, he established his command in the Beaufort and Port Royal Island area (Rowland 1971:76). The effect of these actions on the plantations in the vicinity is not
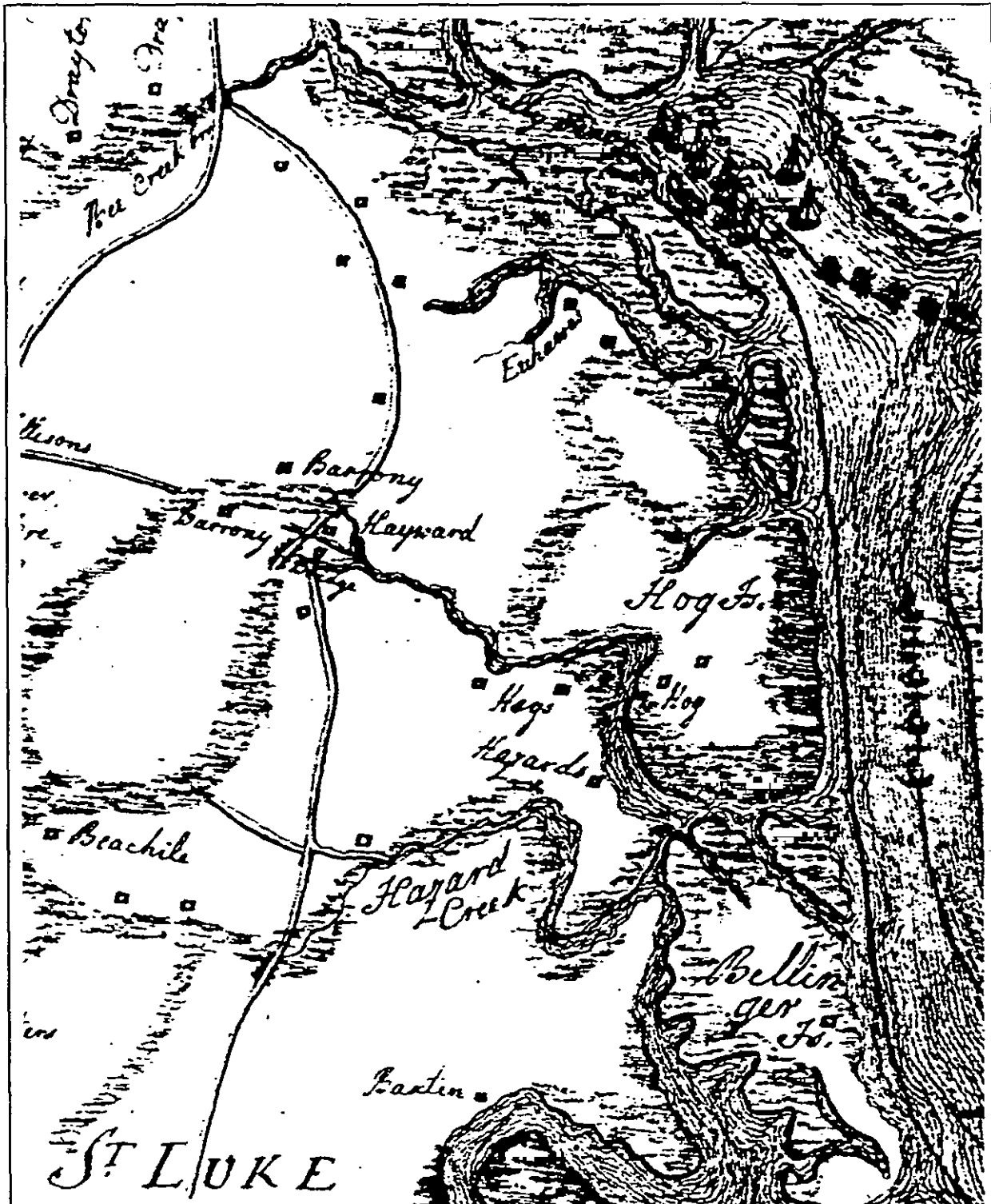
Figure 4. *Plan of the Operations of the Detachment which Sailed on the 22nd of August from Charlestown to the Southward, showing the Heyward plantation at Old House in 1782 (Dartmouth College Library, Scavenius Collection).*

well documented. A short account from Lewis' *Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*[16] suggests that at least several plantations were raided:

> The vessels proceeding up Broad River anchored opposite the elegant house of General Bull on the island of Port Royal. Captain Murray was detached with his company up a navigable creek on the South side with orders to burn the plantations whose masters were absent. They landed at a plantation where the master was gone, and with much regret burnt the house of Colonel Heyward who with his sons appeared on horseback at the edge of the woods, when Captain Murray advanced and called on them to come forward and save the building. In answer to this, they fired at him and galloped off. Captain Murray notwithstanding ordered all the furniture to be taken out, and took upon himself, to preserve the Overseer's house on account of the Ladies of the Family. Lieutenant Barron Breitenbacj went to an opposite plantation, whose master, having gout, the house was saved and nothing taken away. Two armed negroes of Colonel Heyward's came under the bank of the Creek skulking for a shot, but were hemmed in by Sergeant Birnie and two of the men to whom they surrendered. Tierce of indigo was brought off, but no plunder allowed from the house (Lewis 1913:311-313).[17]

[16] Originally known as either the Royal Americans or the 60th Foot, these troops took the name King's Royal Rifle Corps in the nineteenth century.

[17] Some aspects of this story are repeated by Heyward, who reports:

Todd and Hutson (1935:77) reveal that Prevost's army during the April-May 1779 move against Charleston included 200 Royal Americans[18], so it is possible that the account is from this movement, rather than the earlier attack on Port Royal. It appears, however, that at least Prince William Parish, immediately east of St. Luke's where Old House is situated, was largely spared. The only major loss appears to be Sheldon Church (Todd and Hutson 1935:77). The observation that "Colonel Heyward's house" was burned must be viewed cautiously. There were a number of Heywards in the area and this may be a reference to any number of different tracts. It almost certainly was neither Old House nor White Hall.

One of the few maps from this period is in the Scavenius Collection at the Dartmouth College Library. It shows the Heyward property and the adjacent road network, but otherwise provides few details concerning the plantation or its organization.

After the Revolution — and Daniel Heyward's death — attention seems to turn to Thomas Heyward, Jr. and activities at White Hall Plantation.[19] Thomas

> Also a story is told that during the Revolution when some British soldiers began raiding his corn fields he and two of his overseers took their guns and fired upon the soldiers, who retired. Later the soldiers returned with a full company and Daniel Heyward and his overseers beat a retreat. Apparently this was the end of the affair (Heyward n.d. a:18).

[18] Also present were between 1,300 and 1,500 Royal Scotch Highlanders, 500 to 700 Hessians, 200 troops in LeLancey's 1st and 16th, 900 troops from St. Augustine, 400 Light Horse, 120 Indians, and an unknown number of York volunteers.

[19] White Hall is situated about a mile to the east of Old House, adjacent to his father's Old House Plantation. Based on period maps, the surrounding historical events, and the remnant architecture, it is likely that White Hall was constructed by either Daniel Heyward or his son, Daniel Heyward, Jr. in the first half of the 1770s. Daniel Heyward, Jr. lived there until his death in 1778. The inventory of his estate in 1782 lists his property at both White Hall and also

retired to White Hall around 1782 and it seems that he spent little time away from the area. Even as George Washington spent seven nights in Thomas' Charleston home, Heyward remained at White Hall and waited for Washington to arrive for a night's lodging on May 11 (Lipscomb 1993:54).

Thomas' retirement, however, was marred by a series of ugly inter-family disputes arising from Thomas' management of his father's trusts for the various children. This period in Thomas' life is handled in different ways by his various biographers. One, for example, notes:

> In Daniel's will, Thomas was trustee for the younger children. According to a descendant, he "managed the estate as if it had been his individual property, keeping few if any accounts." He was a good guardian in other ways, seeing to the education of the children and, it seems likely, being generous and loving to them. As each attained his majority he was faithfully given his bequest of land and slaves. But having kept no records, Thomas could give no account of the income from the various trusts, and the result was a series of lawsuits brought against him.

> Thomas's half-brother Nathaniel did not join the other wards in blaming him. Nathaniel said that the will was vague and, anyway, Thomas just wasn't much of a businessman (Ellen n.d.: 78).

Doscher (n.d.) provides a detailed explanation of the various cases which appear to revolve around William Brailsford, who married Maria Heyward, demanding that he was entitled to her share of the Heyward wealth, including all profits which might have accrued from her share of the estate. He also charged that other members of the Heyward family were unfairly given proceeds which should have been given to Maria. The case, which began in late 1797 extended to November 1804.

Thomas Heyward, Jr. died on April 17, 1809 "at his residence at White Hall." He was described simply as "the last survivor of the Delegates of this State, who signed the Declaration of Independence" (*South Carolina Gazette*, April 22, 1809).[20] He was buried next to his father, Daniel, in the Old House cemetery.

## Old House in the Nineteenth Century

Just as there is little documentary evidence concerning activities on Old House after Daniel's death (and relatively few even before) the first half of the nineteenth century is nearly a void. Daniel Heyward's will specifies that William Heyward was to receive Old House and at least one source claims that William lived at the plantation (Ellen n.d.: 112). Heyward (1958:154-155) reports only that William married Hannah Shubrick on January 1, 1778, only a few months after inheriting Old House. Hannah was the daughter of Thomas Shubrick and Sarah Motte.

Shubrick began as a ship captain, entering into a mercantile business by 1739. By the 1750s he had become a "wealthy and eminent merchant" dealing primarily in agricultural and forest products (Edgar and Bailey 1977:609). He owned several plantations on the Cooper River, but settled at a plantation in St. Philip Parish. Shubrick was also active in local politics, as well as serving in the Royal Assembly and eventually the Provincial Congress and First General Assembly. Hannah was his youngest daughter and it seems likely

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Springfield. Thomas Heyward, Jr. returned to South Carolina from exile in Philadelphia shortly thereafter and took up residence at White Hall (Fick 1997). Today only tabby foundation ruins remain. The site has been determined eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places although it is not listed.

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[20] Edgar and Bailey (1977:324) report that Thomas died on April 22, but this seems to be in error, since the newspaper of that date reports he died five days earlier. It seems likely that the news would take about that long to reach Charleston from Beaufort.

that she and William met through the political and business connections of the Heywards and Shubricks, possibly in the Jacksonboro area.

William had five children, four of which lived to maturity. His eldest son was William, born in 1779, almost exactly a year after the marriage of William and Hannah. His only other son was James, about whom little is known (Heyward 1958:155).[21]

Reference back to Daniel Heyward's will reminds us that Old House was left to William as a life trust, to be passed on to his male heirs at William's death. William Heyward died in 1786 and was buried at Old House. His son, William, Jr. was only seven years old at his father's death and Heyward (1958:155) reports that Hannah retired to Charleston where she built "a handsome residence on Legare Street."[22]

Although young William appears to have strong connections with New York, marrying Sarah Cruger there in 1804, he was clearly living at Old House in the 1820s when the area was visited by the outspoken Mrs. Basil Hall. Mrs. Hall had visited the Nathaniel Heyward Plantation on March 8 and two days later arrived at Old House, described as being 10½ miles from Coosawhatchie. She reported:

> On leaving Mr. Nathaniel Hayward's this morning, he gave us a letter for his relation, Mr. William Hayward, whose house, he said, was a good distance for a day's journey, and that the owner would be most happy to receive us. Accordingly, on we came, altho' at Coosawhatchie we were told that Mr. Hayward was from home. However, by the time we reached his gate it was half past five o'clock and there was no place where we could put up, short of nine miles further

on, which would have obliged us to travel in the dark, so we boldly drove up to the door. The servant told us that his master was from home but that he could with ease accommodate us for the night. This was too hospitable to be rejected, so we had our things taken out of the carriage, walked in, had fires lighted in the sitting room and two bedrooms, and in half an hour were as much at home as if we had lived all our lives in South Carolina. . . . But only imagine our luck and our delight in finding ourselves in full possession of a gentleman's establishment without the *gêne* of the company of the gentleman himself! . . . Dick, the head servant, had given us tea and is to give us breakfast tomorrow before we start for Savannah. . . . We left Mr. William Hayward's after an excellent breakfast on the morning of the twelfth. We found our rooms most comfortable and the servants as attentive as if their master had been at home (Pope-Hennessy 1931:223-225).

Clearly William Heyward, Jr. was the resident, and probably owner, of Old House in the 1820s. In 1830 William Heyward apparently donated the land in Grahamville[23] on which the Episcopal church, Holy Trinity, was built (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville File, 30-8-162). His younger brother, James, was buried at Old House in 1805 and in 1845 William, too, was laid to rest in the family graveyard. It is about this time, however, that the connection between Old House and the Heyward family begins to dim.

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[21] Family history places William's death in 1799 and has his burial at Old House in an unmarked plot.

[22] This is the Hannah Heyward House at 81 Legare Street (Poston 1997:249).

[23] Grahamville was a summer village for the rice planters in the Euhaws section of St. Luke's Parish which began at least by the early antebellum. Today Grahamville and Ridgeland "are physically separated . . . by only a fraction of a mile, by a small stream harnessed into culverts, and by a negro section, 'Liberia'" (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville file, 30-8-162).

While addi-
tional research
will certainly
help us
understand this
period better,
the loss of
Beaufort
County rec-
ords confuses
the history of
Old House.

One
possible
explanation is
that the
Heywards sim-
ply "drifted
away" from Old
House. Al-
though the
plantation is
not shown on
Mills' 1825
Atlas, the
nearby bridge
over the
headwaters of
Hazards Back
Creek is called
"Hayward's
Bridge," and
White Hall



Figure 5. *Reconnaissance of Upper Part of Broad River*, 1864-1865 showing White Hall and the vicinity of Old House (National Archives RG 77, Map I-50).

Plantation is shown nearby. While this may suggest the gradual decline in Old House's prominence, it is important to remember that only subscribers are shown on Mills' atlas.

By at least 1860, around 15 years after the death of William Heyward, Jr., the plantation was owned by James Bolan, a wealthy Beaufort area planter about whom very little is known. He appears in the federal census records for Beaufort County from 1820 through 1850. He also purchased a house and lot on King Street in Charleston from George Cox in 1828 (Charleston County RMC, DB W9, p. 217). Earlier, in 1817, he had purchased Parkers Ferry from Adam

Tunno (Charleston County RMC, DB U8, p. 353). In 1855 Bolan apparently donated the funds to allow the Episcopal chapel in Grahamville to expand (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville File, 30-8-162).

The 1850 Agricultural Schedule for St. Luke's Parish reveals that he owned 11,000 acres valued at $55,000, of which 3,000 was improved. His plantations had $2,500 in machinery and $7,000 in livestock, including 20 horses, 18 mules, 200 milch cows, 46 oxen, 310 cattle, 145 sheep, and 100 swine. His St. Luke's plantations produced 2,400 bushels of corn, 1,000 bushels of oaks, 276,000 pounds of rice,

19
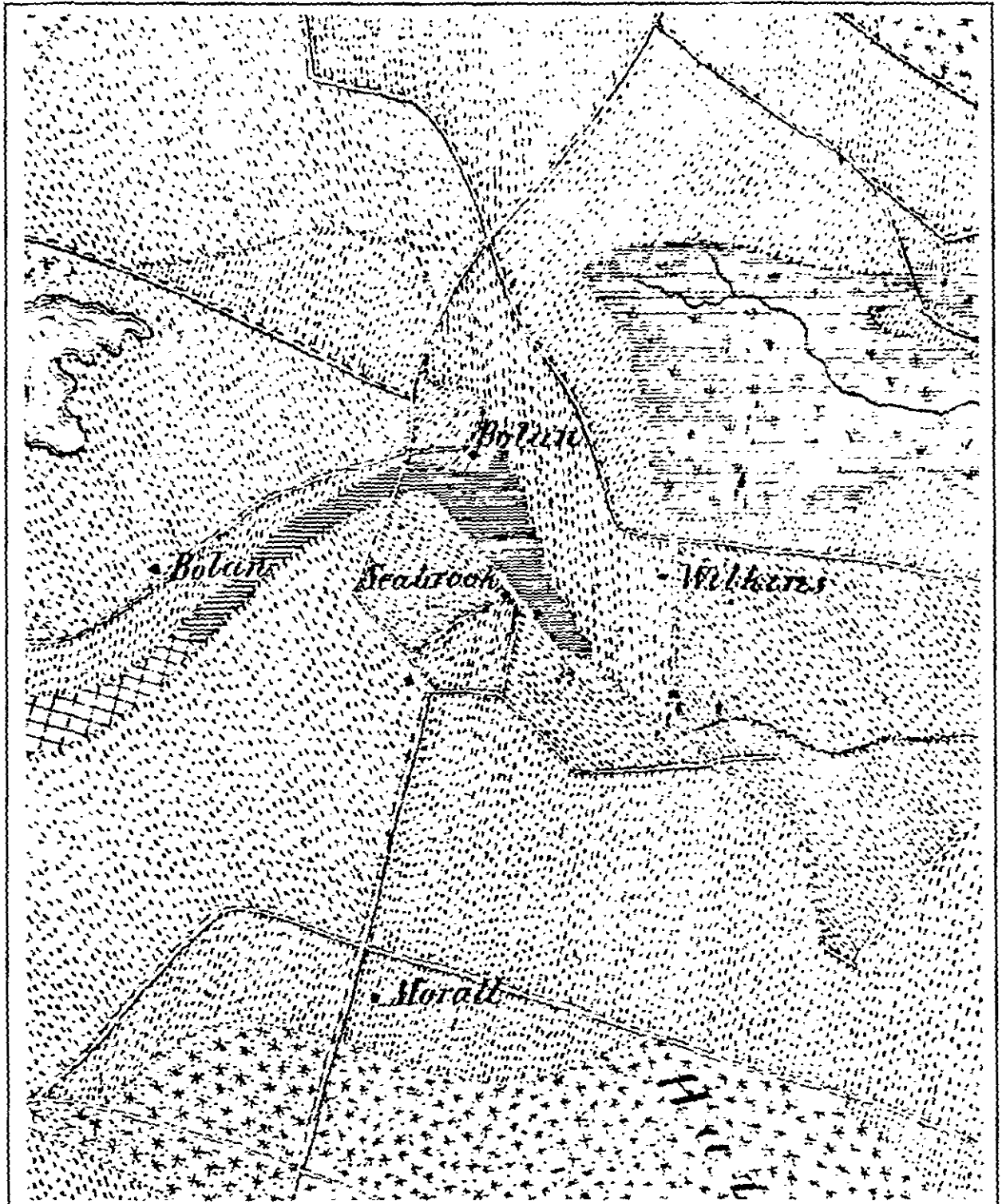
Figure 6. *Map of the Rebel Lines of the Pocotaligo, Combahee & Ashepoo, South Carolina* showing the Bolan ownership of Old House (National Archives RG 77, Map 53-1.

100 bales of cotton, 300 pounds of wool, 1,000 bushels of peas and beans, 1,200 bushels of sweet potatoes, 400 pounds of butter, and 30 gallons of molasses. This listing of agricultural products places him among the more wealthy Beaufort area planters.

Several maps reveal Bolan's settlement was at Old House. The earliest identified is the "Map of the Rebel Lines of the Pocotaligo, Combahee and Ashepoo, South Carolina" prepared in 1865. As late as 1873 Bolan is still shown on a map of Beaufort County. On the other hand a very detailed map of the "Upper Part of Broad River" made by Union forces in December 1864 and January 1865 fails to show Old House, although White Hall and another plantation to the east are clearly shown. The Old House area is shown blank. We believe this means that while Bolan owned the property, and there may have been some very small settlement there, Old House was no longer recognizable as a significant plantation worthy of note.

Bolan died in 1865 and while his will apparently does not survive, at least some administrative papers are extant (Beaufort County Probate Court, Admin B-4).[24] Three executors were named — one died before Bolan and one was disqualified, leaving Thomas S. Behn as the sole executor. Records reveal that Bolan's plantations included at least Old House, Bellfield, Preference, and Good Hope. Behn, in March 1871, paid O.P. Law for a survey of these tracts, although the resulting plat has not been located.

Although Behn attempted to settle the estate, it eventually had to be partitioned by an auction ordered

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[24] Bolan is reported to have died and been buried in Barnwell, South Carolina (South Carolina Historical Society, Grahamville file, 30-8-162). It may be that his will and other administrative documents are present in that county's records. Wofford Malphrus (personal communication 1996) reports that James Bolan's tombstone is at the Bolan Grave Yard at Bolan Hall, only a few miles south of Old House. Also present in the grave yard are the stones for James's two wives, mother and father, and several children. Careful inspection, however, reveals that the Bolan stone is modern and that in it's lower corner it notes that the stone was "Erected 1975." Whether Bolan is buried at Bolan Hall or in Barnwell is uncertain.

by the Court of Common Pleas in 1873. He rented Old House to a variety of individuals. The few remaining records reveal that in 1868 it was rented, along with Preference, to J.M. Farris for $76. In 1871 it was rented to Joseph Roctiussid, again with Preference, for $130. By 1873 Old House and Preference were renting for only $58, suggesting that the property was deteriorating.

On January 5, 1874 Charles J.C. Hutson, Referee, sold Old House and Preference to Thomas E. Miller. The recital reveals that the property was:

> bounded north by lands of the estate of James Bolan west by the same South by the same and by Hazzards Back Creek and east by the Honey Hill Road, containing 895 acres and commonly known as "Old House" and "Preference" (Beaufort County RMC, DB 8, p. 285).

The deed also references a plat "hereto annexed and made by Oliver P. Law on the 3rd May of February 1871" — the same one paid for by Behn which is today missing.

In 1895 Miller sold a 35 acre tract called "Old House" to William Jenkins for $335. Curiously, the deed specifically withheld rights to the cemetery, with Miller noting, "I do not convey the Heyward Grave Yard by these presents" (Beaufort County RMC, DB 21, p. 34).

## Twentieth Century Developments

Jenkins held the tract until 1902, when he sold the 35 acres, "commonly known as Old House," to Camilia L. Beck for $800. The recitals trace the tract back to the sale by Hutson to Miller. The tract is described as:

> bounded to the north and east by Old Store Plantation, on the southeast and south by Strawberry Hill Plantation belonging to Benjamin W. Seabrook and the west by Eusaw Road; excepting from the

conveyance the Heyward Grave Yard (Beaufort County RMC, DB 24, p. 449).

It was during this time that the next map of Old House is available. "A Map of the Good Hope Club Lands," totaling 13,404 acres, was prepared in 1910 for W.R. Mew (Beaufort County PB 2, p. 16). While Old House is not part of the Good Hope holdings, its location between the two branches of Hazard Back Creek is clearly shown. In this location is shown the avenue leading from the main road, as well as a "landing" on the bluff edge. To the southeast is the location of Preference, which by this time the plat notes was "Sold to Darkies."

In 1914 Old House was again sold, this time by the heirs of Camilia Beck (Mrs. J. Williman of Charleston and Arthur R. Beck and Joe Beck of Georgia) to Tyler L. Smith for $300, representing a rather substantial loss (Charleston County DB D-1, p. 461). Curiously, there is no longer any mention of the Heyward Grave Yard in the deed.

By 1921 Tyler Smith had died and Old House along with his other lands were devised to his wife, Anna A. Smith (Jasper County Probate Court, Will Book 1, pp. 131-132). Within a year and a half, on May 26, 1922, Anna Smith sold the 35 acre Old House tract, along with 6 acres in Coosawhatchie Township to Augustus Bartow Cannon for $3,600 (Jasper County RMC, DB 5, p. 242).

Cannon, of Lacoochee, Florida, sold Old House to Harry B. Cooler, Sr. in 1930 for $3,500 (Jasper County RMC, DB 10, p. 274). The only map dating from this period is the 1937 "General Highway and Transportation Map for Jasper County". This map suggests that no buildings or other structures were present in the Old House area, confirming the earlier 1910 plat. The Heyward influence, however, is still present in the African-American "Heyward Church" located on the west side of S.C. 170 not far from Old House.

Cooler died on October 19, 1968 (Jasper County Probate Court, Will Book 2, pp. 21-22). A plat, dividing Cooler's 50.3 acres into four separate

tracts had been prepared in 1963 and was attached to the will (Jasper County RMC, PB 12, p. 490). Cooler's will devised the Old House site, identified as Tract 2, to his son, Harry B. Cooler, Jr. Tracts 1 and 4 (which included the Cooler Store) were devised to Edward Thomas Cooler, while Tract 3 was passed to James Everett Cooler.

In 1973 Harry Cooler, Jr. gave The Heyward Foundation an option to purchase Tract 2 of his father's will in February 1973 (Jasper County RMC, DB 70, p. 173). This option was exercised on December 20, 1973 and the deed was re-recorded on January 11, 1974 (Jasper County RMC, DB 71, p. 359a, 398). In 1980 The Heyward Foundation sold the 3.4 acres of high ground and 10 acres of marsh to Jasper County (Jasper County RMC, DB 81, p. 1282). The deed rather ambiguously specifies that the county:

> shall have full right to manage and develop the property hereby conveyed in such manner as said County may deem best suited, or most likely, to preserve same as a memorial to said Thomas Heyward, Jr. and, as such, for the benefit of the public in general and particularly the people of his native State; provided, however, the family grave plot on said property in which Thomas Heyward, Jr., his father and others are buried, shall be forever preserved and maintained (Jasper County RMC, DB 81, p. 1283).

## Summary

This historical account suggests that Old House was built about 1743 — the year that Daniel Heyward married Mary Miles and that his father's will was proved. It seems unlikely that Heyward would have taken his young bride into the Indian Lands, as they were then known with no house waiting, so we suspect that the house had been built a year or so earlier. We'll suggest ca. 1740.

Heyward's first wife died in 1761 and he married again in 1762. It may be about this time, if not

earlier, that the plantation was expanded. Daniel Heyward had extensive operations at his plantation from ca. 1740 until his death in 1777.

From about 1777 through 1845 the plantation was operated by William Heyward and his heir, William, Jr. The plantation appears to have continued to prosper, although it seems unlikely that William, or his son, were as careful, or as interested, as Daniel Heyward, Sr. had been.

After William Heyward, Jr.'s death in 1845 there is good reason to believe that the tract began to decline in importance. Owned by an absentee planter, the residence at Old House may have disappeared — or at least become inhabitable — by about 1865. There is no doubt that by 1924 when the site was visited by R.C. Ballard Thurston (apparently at the behest of Miss Webber, a noted genealogist of the period), virtually nothing except the cemetery remained:

> went out about seven miles nearly east of Ridgeland to site of the "Old House" (I could not learn who built it nor when it was built). Apparently it had little or no cellar but did have a brick foundation. Nothing but the site and floating brick left (R.C. Ballard Thurston, South Carolina Historical Society, File 30-4 Heyward).

Consequently, the mansion had a period of occupation from about 1740 through about 1845 — a period of 105 years. If the house was still standing after this, it was not likely occupied and probably saw few, if any, repairs. The mean historic occupation date, therefore, is about 1792.5.

# THE CHARLESTON MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS

## The History

In early 1965 Harry B. Cooler, Sr. selected what seemed to be an ideal spot for his new house — on a little rise and close to the marsh so that there was not only a beautiful view, but a good breeze. As he began to clear the lot, bulldozing off vegetation and attempting to level the ground, he encountered what must have been dense brick, chunks of stone, and a number of relatively large sherds of ceramics and glass. The site he chose was virtually the same identical spot that Daniel Heyward had chosen for his house over 220 years earlier, probably with very similar reasoning.

Rather than continue on, he stopped his work and contacted Mrs. Pauline Webel, the area's most knowledgeable historical advocate. She, in turn, contacted the director of The Charleston Museum, Mr. Milby Burton. While we no longer have any record of that initial correspondence, it must have been compelling since Mr. Burton assigned a new Museum employee, Mr. John Miller, an archaeologist, to look over the site.

In one of the first extant letters concerning the project Burton comments that:

> Mrs. Webb and Mr. Miller have been going over the sherds with great interest. Strange as it may appear they are of the 1800-1840 period which greatly puzzles us because it seems that they should be of an earlier period. If my memory is correct you said that these pieces were skimmed over by the bulldozer and in all probabilities we will find a different type of material at a greater depth (letter from E. Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated March 11, 1965).

Although we have relatively little correspondence from or to the Museum, there are several letters from J.L. Brantley, the overseer of Good Hope Plantation, to Webel, the dig's sponsor and also his employer. On June 1 he wrote:

> Thought you would like to know that the young man, John Miller, from the Museum in Charleston came down last Wednesday, working Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. He is to be back tomorrow and will work three days this week. . . . Mr. Farr with Melvin and one other have been helping him. He did not know how long it was going to take him, but they are getting the foundation where they can see it very good. He is also finding some interesting things (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated June 1, 1965).

Just a week later Brantley reported:

> Mr. John Miller, the young man, from the Charleston Museum has been here off and on for the past six weeks. He finished last Thursday with the excavating of the foundations, taking all the measurements and pictures. Looks like it was a large house. I think he has found several pieces of interest to the Museum (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated June 6, 1965).

On June 21, however, Milby Burton with The Charleston Museum wrote to Webel that:

> As you know Miller has been doing

quite a lot of work on the house. It appears that it is not only older but larger than originally thought. Enclosed are two photographs taken by Miller. Apparently these are the only ones that he has in color, therefore, he has asked that you return them.[1] He plans to continue the work tomorrow and he tells me that it will take an additional week or ten days of digging. He tells me that he is getting quite a bit of material from the "occupation level" but as you know it is going to take a long time sorting it out (letter from Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated June 21, 1965).

By July 20, Burton was writing Webel thanking her for the "more than generous check" and reporting that when Miller returned from vacation he would return to Old House to spend "a day . . . taking levels" before he started on his drawings. Going on, he once again mentions the age of the house:

What he has apparently found is of great interest and is probably older than first thought. He mentioned he thought the first house would date 1730-40. It is going to take a lot of time sorting and dating the material he has brought back. I noticed some good grade pottery in it (letter from Milby Burton to Mrs. Fredric Pratt [-Webel], dated July 20, 1965).

That same day, Brantley wrote Webel:

John Miller worked here on the excavation, I think, 27 days. This

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[1] These photographs were apparently returned since several color photographs were identified in The Charleston Museum's collections from the site. Unfortunately, they were early Polaroid photographs and the dyes were so unstable that today the images are just barely visible. Absolutely no detail or other useful information can be obtained from these images.

was not all at one time but at different times when he would come on the weekend and work on Sunday. Most of the time he had two boys and Mr. Farr to help him. He found a knob off of a dresser drawer showing that someone was occupying the house. He found a steel wedge that was in good shape, the lock in the front door, hinges and hand wrought nails and pieces of china and bottles (letter from J.L. Brantley to Mrs. F.R. Pratt [-Webel], dated July 20, 1965).

In late 1965 The Charleston Museum public relations department (which apparently consisted of a single individual, Mrs. Mary Armstrong) began to generate media attention in the site. On November 11, 1965 the *News and Courier* produced a short, one column article. Miller indicates that the work began that spring and would continue "later this fall" (which they apparently did not). He went on to explain:

"Discovery of the foundation was made by the owner of the property, Harry Cooler of Ridgeland when he selected that exact site for his new house. The site is on a knoll with marsh behind it and a mill pond nearby. The miller could have owned the house, so until we uncover more, we cannot say that it definitely belonged to Heyward," Miller explained. What has been determined thus far, the archaeologist said, is that the house was approximately 50 by 60 feet with a basement level of brick and two additional levels or floors of frame construction. This is evident from the thickness of the remaining walls and the shutter tie-backs and nails unearthed. . . . "The house apparently was burned during the Civil War and underwent extensive remodeling sometime around the turn of the century. Original construction occurred in or

around 1760," he said ("18th Century House Being Excavated," Charleston [S.C.] *News and Courier*, November 11, 1965).

This was followed by a much longer article, complete with three photographs, in early December. This second article, however, adds relatively little to our understanding of the work or the discoveries. It is again mentioned that the recovered items don't seem to pre-date about 1760, leaving about a 10 to 20 year gap between Daniel Heyward's arrival and the house construction. The article notes that, "Miller and Burton theorize that Daniel Heyward first may have built a small house adjacent to the big house, in which he lived until the big house was completed," although no such structure had yet been found. Three photographs were published and there are at least three others taken, but not used. These show the remains of a rice mill in the marsh, the Heyward grave yard, and the Museum's excavations which had apparently been left open since late July.[2]

In April 1966 Cooler released ownership of the collection, apparently to Webel (letter from Harry B. Cooler, Jr. to Mrs. F.R. Pratt[-Webel], dated April 4, 1966). Meanwhile, The Charleston Museum had produced a catalog of the excavations, distinguishing three zones — an uppermost "surface or disturbed level," an intermediate "ash level," and the lower-most "occupation level." At some point these artifacts were returned by The Charleston Museum to Mrs. Webel, further re-enforcing that she claimed ownership of the

materials.[3] The July 1967 *Heyward Family Bulletin* announced the work that had been done two years earlier and noted that many artifacts had been recovered:

> These items have been catalogued and many drawings have been made. We hope that all of these records will be published when funds become available (*Heyward Family Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 1, July 1967).

Like far too many archaeological projects, both then and today, no report was ever produced and it seems that most of the people involved forgot about the work. Certainly Miller went on to excavate other sites (none of which were ever published) and Webel apparently became interested in other historical topics. It appears that it was after the initial visit by archaeologist Ken Lewis in 1980 that she gave the collection to the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.[4] The collection remains at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and has recently been cataloged.

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[2] An effort has been made to locate the negatives for these photographs, however the photo librarian for the *News and Courier* indicates that there is no record of the photographs. She suggests that since they were taken by the reporter, Roy Attaway, he probably retained the negatives when he left the paper (Mary Crocket, personal communication 1996).The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, however does have an original 8x10 print of one photograph, which shows what appears to be a chimney footing. Although difficult to interpret, the photograph suggests that the excavations were not deeper than about a foot.

[3] While it may be that The Charleston Museum retained a few objects they have no accession records for any materials from Old House Plantation (Martha Zierden, personal communication 1996).

[4] There is some confusion regarding this collection. The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology can locate no paper work indicating when or why they obtained the materials. Likewise, our careful search of the Webel collection at the Ridgeland library failed to identify any record of the collection's transfer. In fact, the local legend had been that the materials were at the Jasper Museum. We discovered that the Museum does have a few items from the site, while the library has what might be described as a "type collection" of materials excavated from the site. These items are designated 1 through 50 on a list with the hand written heading "From Charleston Museum — List — Mr. Miller — Old House — Heyward." Of these items all but three are still present. Those missing include a glass bead (to the side of which is the notation, "Miller," suggesting that he had borrowed the item); a bottle fragment, with the notation, "missing"; and what is described as "hat insignia or coat of arms hat ornament (c. Mexican War)."

## Old House As Revealed by the Excavations

The field notes which have survived from the excavations may, charitably, be described as abbreviated. We learn from them that Miller excavated the site in three zones: the surface or disturbed zone, overlying the ash or burn zone, overlying the occupation zone. These levels were apparently defined both on the basis of soil and depth.

The uppermost disturbed zone consisted of the artifacts which were strewn about the site by the initial bulldozer passes. It appears that this initial zone was not screened, but rather consisted of materials picked up by unit and perhaps collected as the loose fill was shoveled out.

Below this was the "ash zone," easily distinguished on the basis of the charcoal, ash, burned plaster, nails, and architectural debris, with Miller's accounts clearly suggesting that he excavated through the intact deposits of the Heyward mansion collapsing inward on itself. This deposit varied from about 2-inches to almost 6-inches in depth. This level produced almost exclusively architectural remains, strongly suggesting that the house burned empty, but still in good shape (that is it had not been stripped prior to burning, suggesting that it was still being cared for). This would seem to support the contention that it was burned toward the end of the Civil War.

The occupation zone (sometimes describe in the notes as the OP level) below this was apparently removed in something approaching 3-inch levels. It appears that the excavations did not extend more than a foot below the ground surface, terminating on top of architectural remains such as brick floors and foundations. This zone exhibited a wide range of artifacts — ceramics, tobacco pipe stems, tableware, kitchenware, architectural remains, and tools, although missing or exceedingly rare are smaller artifacts, such as buttons, thimbles, needles. The collection suggests that Miller collected materials from this zone by hand sorting, perhaps by troweling, but may not have screened the excavated fill. Alternatively, he may have used a ½-mesh.

The excavation units were 5 by 10 foot rectangles, designated 1 through 17 and then often sub-designated A and B (although not all units were sub-designated or had both an A and B designation). A map was located in the Charleston Museum files revealing the location of many squares. The remaining squares were eventually identified based on references in the field notes (Figure 7). As can be seen, these units are in no logical order and without the identification of this map and field notes it would be impossible to ever reconstruct the excavations.

Although Miller established a datum (an iron pipe) at the northwest corner of the cemetery wall (this pipe is still in existence), we can find no evidence that he used it for vertical control. Its only function seems to have been to provide horizontal control for the creation of an overall site map.

In Miller's field notes there is a tantalizing one page listing of artifacts recovered from "kit" which is apparently a second explored building thought to be a kitchen. No units are identified and only two "levels" are reported — "surface" and "op. level 3 inches - 9 inches." This suggests that the "disturbed level was the upper 3-inches of the kitchen area, with one additional level excavated to a depth of just under a foot. Combined, these likely account for the A soil horizon of brown sandy loam overlying the yellow sand subsoil at the site. Although these artifacts were not incorporated into the Museum's catalog, they are present in the collections.

Although it is extraordinarily difficult to interpret Miller's very incomplete notes and drawings over 30 years after the fact, they do provide a tantalizing view of the Heyward mansion. Ignoring the comments made to the media and looking exclusively at the evidence provided in the drawing we can see two probable structures.

Likely the "front" or main, formal entrance to the mansion faced south, toward the water. There the flared stair supports were found, revealing stairs leading from the ground up to a piazza or porch which extended across the front and along much of the sides of the first floor, above the basement. Below, or under, the piazza were brick floors. At the "rear" of the house, which faced north toward the southern oak allée, was a small, less formal, porch measuring about 5 by 12 feet, with
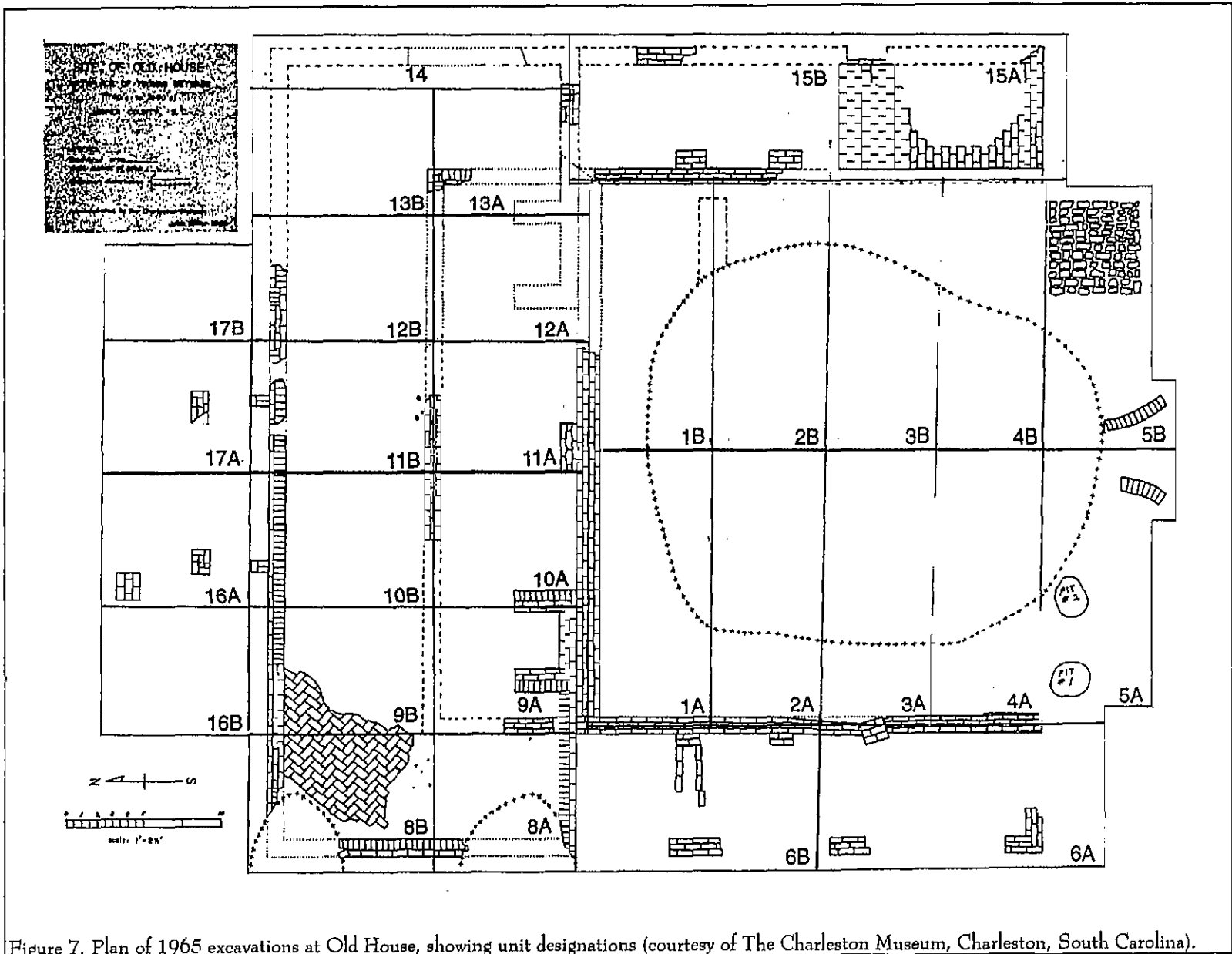
Figure 7. Plan of 1965 excavations at Old House, showing unit designations (courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).
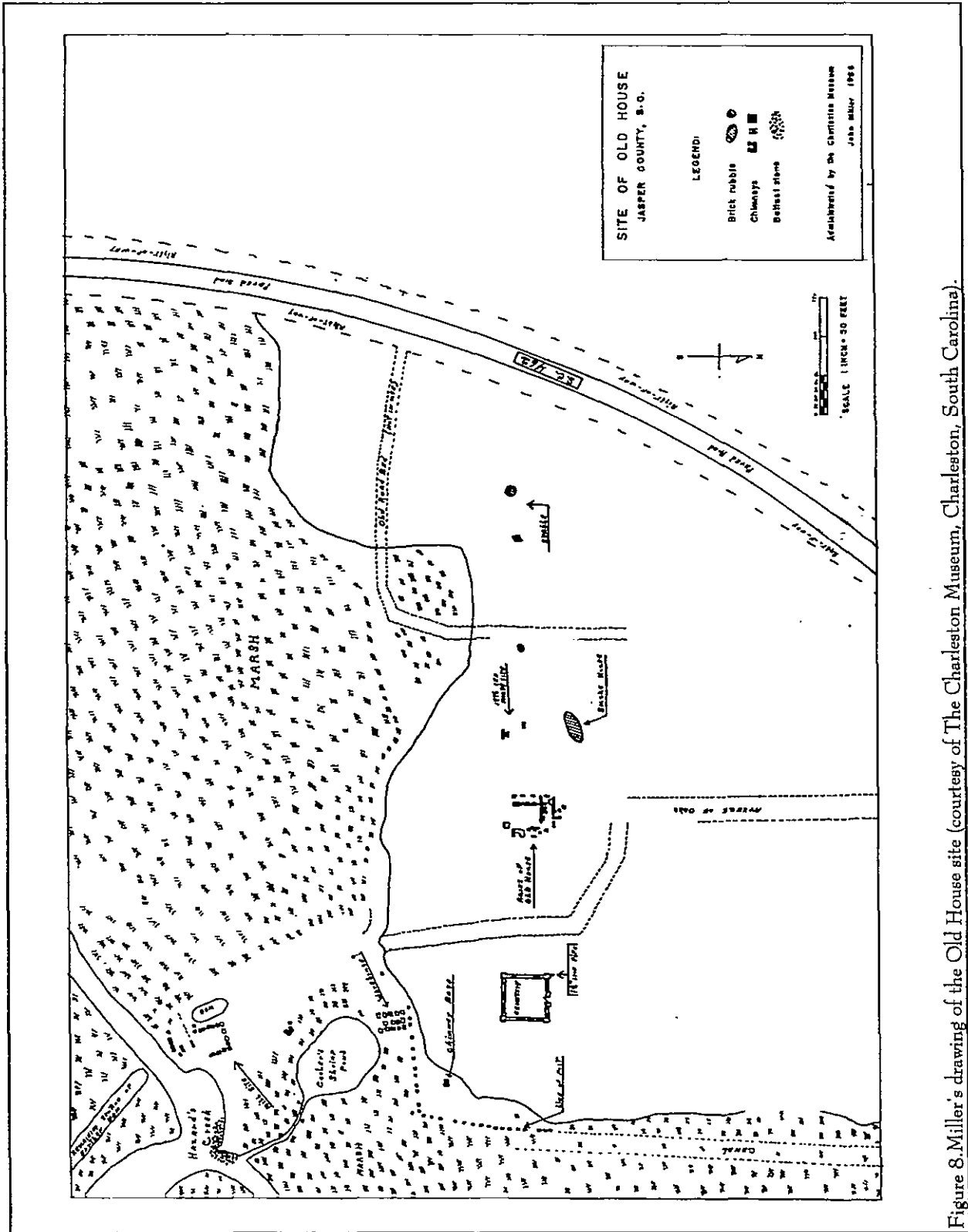
Figure 8. Miller's drawing of the Old House site (courtesy of The Charleston Museum, Charleston, South Carolina).

ascending stairs. The house itself appears to have measured about 50 feet in length and about 37 feet in width. Most of the basement had only an earthen floor, although the rear portion had a very well laid brick floor.

Miller also left a site map providing additional clues and hints (Figure 8). It is important since it locates features that are no longer present. He shows the oak allée running south from SC 462 essentially terminating at the front of the house. He notes that an "old road bed" begins west of the house, extends south into the marsh, then turns west and extends to SC 462. This was the second avenue which has been mentioned in the historic texts and which is shown on at least one map of the site.

The main allée is still present (Figure 8) and consists of trees ranging from only 28-inches in diameter breast height (dbh) to 79-inches. According to P.O. Mead, III of Mead's Tree Service, Inc. the age class of 50- to 60-inches dbh is 180 to 220 years, while the age class of those trees from 61- to 85-inches dbh is 220 to 260 years. This suggests that while we are seeing some trees which have reseeded from the original plantings, the original trees in the allée were planted perhaps as early as 1735 (P.O. Mead, III, personal communication 1995). This seems consistent with the idea that Daniel Heyward probably began his plantation shortly after his father's death in 1736/7 and before his marriage in 1743.

Careful examination of the placement of these trees suggests that the allée may have come to the main house and then split off to the southwest, perhaps tying into Miller's old roadbed. This would explain the occasional historic accounts which mention that Old House had two avenues of oaks.

About 100 feet to the west of the main house Miller identified a "19th cen. house site" which consisted of what he identified as a chimney and several wall sections.[5] About 70 feet to the north of this were the ruins of what he called the "smoke house," while

100 feet further west was a brick rubble pile he thought represented another building.[6] About 300 feet west of the main house was what he thought might be the stable, consisting of a brick rubble pile and another chimney base.[7]

About 180 feet to the east of the main house is the cemetery and at the northwest corner Miller shows his "1½" iron pipe" datum.

From this map we get an exceptional view of the plantation landscape. Structures appear to have been oriented almost due north-south and were placed in an east-west alignment across the sandy rise: cemetery, main house, flanker (what Miller called his nineteenth century house), smoke house, and stable. Although we should be skeptical about all of his functional designations, the picture provides us of the Old House landscape is very important.

But the map provides yet additional information, revealing the location of ballast stone in Hazard Creek, a remnant dam, a mill site, a possible warehouse, a remnant canal, two "chimney bases"[8] and additional lines of posts. In other words, Miller gives up a very clear picture of exceptional activities *in the marsh south of Old House.* The plantation, its landscape, and its work areas are not constrained by high ground, but extend out into the wetlands. Previous investigations at Old House have documented these additional features and found that most remain in excellent condition. The 1996 investigations identified the old landing road, at

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[5] This structure was reidentified during Chicora's 1996 investigations just north of 180R100. It appears to be a flanker to the main house (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:84).

[6] This smokehouse appears to also be what Miller described as a kitchen. It is still extant, but is situated off the property owned by Jasper County. The other structure has also been identified, although it, too, is off the County property (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:86).

[7] Both the stable and chimney base are today thought to be in the rear yard of a house on SC 462. They have not been further investigated (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:86).

[8] Previous investigations have revealed these to be small foundations, measuring 5.8 feet square and 5.2 by 5.4 feet (Trinkley and Hacker 1996:88). Their function has not been determined.

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Figure 9. Topographic map of Old House showing the features identified during the 1996 Chicora investigations.

least four distinct plank roads in the marsh, the two previously mentioned small brick buildings, a 34 by 20 foot structure in the marsh placed on pilings, a 45 by 33 foot structure in the marsh thought to represent the tidal rice mill, red sandstone gate supports, and a buried wood trunk (Trinkley and Hacker 1996: 86-91). Also present are several remnant dikes and channels, as well as additional evidence of marsh structures.

In spite of the importance of Miller's finds, Old House and his excavations were nearly forgotten, being kept alive by a small group of Heyward descendants and local historians.

# THE ARTIFACTS AND WHAT THEY MEAN

## Introduction

What we find at plantation sites like Old House usually falls into three groups — those things that were thrown away (perhaps because they were broken or no longer needed), those things that were accidentally lost, and those items which enter the archaeological record through some sort of disaster, such as a fire. For example, a plate is broken and it is taken out to the marsh edge and slung into the muck, or it might be taken to a privy and tossed in. Either way, the goal is to dispose of an object that is broken, worn out, or no longer needed. In contrast, a button pops off a shirt and rolls on the floor until it finds a crack in the floor boards and drops into the soil below the house, or a nail is dropped on the ground in the course of a repair and isn't picked up. In these examples, the artifact enters the archaeological record more or less unintentionally. And finally, a house burns down and whatever is in it is suddenly sealed, creating a type of time capsule.

Old House includes examples of all three types of artifacts. For example, those recovered by Miller from his occupation level may include small items that simply dropped from view. And it almost certainly includes a wide variety of ceramics that were broken and just got kicked underfoot. When Old House burned it created the third type of deposit — a "time capsule" of what was in the house at that particular moment. While some items might have been salvaged later, we can view this zone or deposit a little differently.

Although the public often perceives of archaeologists as having an inordinate interest in other people's trash, this focuses on the object, on the thing. In reality archaeologists are concerned with what this thing — this piece of broken porcelain, for example — can tell us about how people lived. So while the object is studied, the goal of that study is far more exciting: taking those bits and pieces of the past and creating out of them something approaching the reality of everyday life.

To accomplish this goal of bringing the past to life, archaeologists use a variety of analytical methods. One of the first concerns, of course, is to identify all of the various bits and pieces of rubbish. To this end a variety of books on everything from ceramics to period lighting to farm implements are necessary to help us understand the whole object when we have only a small fragment.

Next, these objects must somehow be grouped, or arranged, in a manner that both makes sense and also helps us organize our thoughts about what they mean. One of the most common approaches has been to use the various functional groups of Kitchen, Architecture, Furniture, Personal, Clothing, Arms, Tobacco, and Activities developed by Stanley South (1977). These serve to subdivide historic assemblages into groups which could reflect behavioral categories. In other words, Kitchen Group artifacts include things that might be found in, or used in, a kitchen — ceramics, table glass, serving pieces, and bottles. Architectural artifacts are those associated with buildings — nails, hinges, door locks, and even plaster remains. Initially developed for eighteenth-century British colonial assemblages, this approach is an excellent choice for Old House, which is also thought to contain a major eighteenth century component.

But South's artifact groups are useful for more than simply arranging lists of artifacts. When collections from different sites — and different kinds of sites — are compared we can often see differences in the proportions of the different types of artifacts that the occupants possessed. For example, wealthy planters tended to possess more personal artifacts (pocket knives, watches, writing instruments, and jewelry than did slaves. Archaeologists through time have developed a series of "patterns" for different types of sites and their occupants. Table 1 compares the artifact patterns of four different site types. The Revised Carolina Artifact

Pattern is often seen at eighteenth and early nineteenth century low country plantations. The Town House Pattern was developed from excavations at the Charleston town houses of wealthy planters and, while similar to the Carolina Artifact Pattern, tends to represent even more wealth and conspicuous consumption.

At the opposite end of the spectrum is the Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern, which represents the collections typically found at eighteenth century slave sites. The Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern represents nineteenth century slave sites. One of the biggest differences between these last two is the varying proportion of kitchen and architectural items. At eighteenth century slave sites the architecture was very ephemeral and relatively few nails or hinges were present. By the nineteenth century there were different, some say less African inspired, housing forms and the proportion of architectural items, especially nails, increased dramatically.

at Old House compare to the manner planters were living in Charleston? How much better was his lifestyle than that of typical slaves?

Another useful approach for the archaeologist trying to understand how individuals lived is to examine the ceramics they had. We know that many ceramics during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries went through periods where they were available to only the wealthiest, then prices drop and the wares are more widely available, and then, gradually, they fall out of favor.

Some ceramics, however, are of special interest. In particular, porcelains seem to have been a clear status indicator. At Charleston plantations of reduced wealth, such as Elfe (Trinkley 1985:27), Magnolia (Wayne and Dickinson 1990:11-10), and Green Grove (Carrillo 1980:Table 2), porcelains range from about 6% to 9%. At the early nineteenth century Oatland Plantation on the Waccamaw Neck, this drops as low as about 4% (Trinkley 1993a:43). At Drayton Hall, certainly one of the wealthier plantations along the South Carolina low country, porcelains are reported to account for only 9.7% of the European ceramic collection (Lewis 1978:199). At the nearby Archdale Hall Plantation, Zierden et al. (1985:103) report the porcelains account for about 13% of the ceramic collection. And at Broom Hall Plantation, porcelains account for nearly 20% of the ceramics being used.

| | Table 1. Previously Published Artifact Patterns (numbers in percents) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern[a] | Charleston Townhouse Profile[b] | Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern[c] | Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern[d] |
| Kitchen | 51.8-65.0 | 58.4 | 70.9-84.2 | 20.0-25.8 |
| Architecture | 25.2-31.4 | 36.0 | 11.8-24.8 | 67.9-73.2 |
| Furniture | 0.2-0.6 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.0-0.1 |
| Arms | 0.1-0.3 | 0.3 | 0.1-0.3 | 0.0-0.2 |
| Tobacco | 1.9-13.9 | 2.8 | 2.4-5.4 | 0.3-9.7 |
| Clothing | 0.6-5.4 | 0.9 | 0.3-0.8 | 0.3-1.7 |
| Personal | 0.2-0.5 | 0.2 | 0.1 | 0.1-0.2 |
| Activities | 0.9-1.7 | 1.1 | 0.2-0.9 | 0.2-0.4 |

[a]Garrow 1982
[b]Zierden and Grimes 1989
[c]Garrow 1982
[d]Singleton 1980

By comparing the collection of artifacts from Old House to these previously established patterns we can obtain a better idea of how Daniel Heyward organized his household. Did he live a life, even on his rural plantation, of lavish display or did he live a more secluded life that focused on the management and success of his planting interests? How does his life style

In Charleston's townhouses — the social refuge of the wealth planters away from their plantations during the sickly season — Zierden and Grimes (1989:97) observe that porcelains and transfer printed CC wares *combined* account for about 22% of the

ceramics. They observe that the quantity of John Rutledge house porcelain, which accounts for 27.6% of the ceramic assemblage, is high even for wealthy households (Zierden and Grimes 1989:95). The Gibbes House, characterizing "Georgian opulence," evidenced an assemblage consisting of 10.6% porcelain (Zierden et al. 1987:76).But why were porcelains so important?

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were times of dramatic social change. And these social changes were intertwined with changes in the way material objects were perceived, and used. A range of events — lowering prices, greater prosperity, increased marketing — all came together at once and spurred the public to spend more lavishly. Material objects — luxuries — that at one time had been available only to the wealthiest and most elite, were suddenly being used by the middle class. Items that had at one time been symbols of the ruling class' power and wealth became more widely available. The result was a race for new symbols. As one author explains, "the elite raced off for new social symbols; the middling ranks galloped after them; even the poorer sorts jogged along, at least to the degree that their economic abilities enabled them" (Martin 1994:171).

Archaeologist James Deetz (1977:60-61) observes that at least by 1780 the porcelain found in colonial inventories "is largely limited to "tea sets, and probably demonstrates the adoption of the full-blown English tea ceremony for the first time. This custom can be considered a good indicator of the re-Anglicization process that was at work at the time." Henry Hobhouse (1987) describes this ritual, as well as the ceramics associated with it, "The eighteenth century Europeans, like the Japanese but unlike the Chinese or the Russians, regarded tea making as a ceremony. There was the boiling water, not boiled for too long. There was the specially warmed pot. There was the infusion time. There was the pouring, a little bit of a ceremony all on its own" (Hobhouse 1987:111). This ceremony, and its representations in English art, has been described in detail by Rodris Roth (1961).

In one view, as the middle class became more able to afford (and be willing to pay for) porcelains, the elite "raised the bar." As Martin explained the new rules, "not only must one now own a proper set of accoutrements for smart living, but know a complex set of rules on how to use them" (Martin 1994:171). The eighteenth century ushered in the age of gentility and the English gentry, even those transplanted to Carolina, began to spend inordinate amounts of money to ensure that sons were educated in England and they acquired the finest of the most current tastes.

To this interpretation Richard Waterhouse (1989) adds the structure of values in Carolina society, noting that "the behavior patterns of the wealthy eighteenth-century Carolinians were based on luxurious living and imitation of upper-class English taste and manners" (Waterhouse 1989:103). He suggests the reasons for this "exaggerated imitation of the . . . English gentry" (including the adaption of the tea ceremony) were complex, but seem to involve the high mortality of the new colony, the long-established links between Carolina's elite and the English gentry, the close trading (and economic) ties between the two groups, and the desire for the Carolina elite to establish itself as a ruling class which was rigidly hierarchical and mobility was severely limited. In sum, they sought to protect their status from the rapidly rising middle class.

Waterhouse also contends that the "black majority" of Carolina "deepened the psychological need for South Carolinians to adhere to the normative values of English culture" (Waterhouse 1989:108). The tea ritual, and the associated very expensive imported porcelains were one aspect of this overall process.

So at sites such as Old House we can explore the proportion of porcelains, looking at the forms and types present and try to reconstruct the mind set of Daniel Heyward. Did he, like his son's colleague, George Washington, insist on having only the newest and finest patterns?

But there are additional ways in which archaeologists can look critically at collections. For example, flatwares (plates) will predominate high status tableware collections, especially compared to lower status sites, where "one-pot meals" dominated cooking and there were more hollowware (bowl) forms. Even the decoration of vessels can be used to explore the owner's wealth. Research suggests that wares with transfer printing and hand painting tended, through time, to be

more expensive, than those with more simple decoration such as annular and edged wares (see Otto 1984:61-65; see also Miller 1980, 1991 for discussions of pricing). Zierden and her colleagues have noted that in the urban setting table glass (expressed as a percent of the Kitchen Group artifacts) is a status indicator. Late eighteenth century townhouse settings may have ranges around 1% to 2.3%, while more middling status sites have ranges under 1%. Although the differences are not as dramatic, this distinction seems to be found on rural plantations as well.

### A Few Words of Warning

No archaeological collection is perfect. Not all things that an individual has are thrown away. Not all things that are thrown away are preserved. Not all things that are preserved are recovered. And not all things that are recovered are correctly interpreted. At Old House these problems are even more troubling since we know so little about how the archaeological excavations were conducted. Was the soil screened? Was everything observed collected? Have all of those materials found their way to us? In most cases we simply don't know. We could make judgements, based on experience at other sites, but might these judgements, themselves, contain biases?

In addition, at Old House the collections were originally analyzed in a most unusual manner. All of the ceramics of a similar type were physically lumped together. That is, they were taken out of their provenience bags and thrown in a big pile. This has resulted in many artifacts losing their provenience. We no longer know exactly what unit this particular piece of ceramic came from — and while the catalog may indicate that there were "three fragments of blue china," we now longer can be certain exactly what this description means.

And finally, not all of the materials which were originally reported are still in the collection. There are notes that some objects — probably representative, or "nice" examples were retained by "Mrs. P," the

| Table 2. Artifacts Missing from Provenienced Bags | |
| --- | --- |
| Ceramics | 451 |
| Glass | 5 |
| Architectural | 8 |
| Tobacco | 12 |
| Arms | 3 |
| Flower pot frags. | 3 |
| Curtain ring | 1 |
| Button | 1 |
| Toothbrush | 1 |
| Brass pin | 1 |
| Total | 486 |

excavation's sponsor. Some of these undoubtedly wound up in the Pratt-Webel Collection at the Ridgeland Library. Others, however, can no longer be found.

Table 2 details the items which, according to the original catalog, should be in provenienced bags, but which aren't. The ceramics were the most commonly items shifted around and combined, but there are other items missing as well. In particular, it seems likely that the button, toothbrush, and brass pin may have been given away.

As a result, it has been necessary to handle the collection a little differently. In many cases we have simply lumped materials, since it didn't seem possible to achieve a more sophisticated analysis. In other cases we made assumptions about what an item might have been, or have tried to match an original catalog description with a floating object that had lost its provenience.

None of these are the best practices, but they are what you do when dealing with an old collection. We have tried to avoid making our assumptions too broad, or our interpretations too specific. Nevertheless, the reader should be aware that sometimes the collection just won't allow us to address some research goal that seems obvious, perhaps even essential.

In spite of these limitations we believe that the 4325 artifacts from Daniel Heyward's Old House provide an exceptional view of this life. The number of items increases to 6720 if we add those items which no longer retain their provenience, but which are almost certainly from the main house (as opposed to the kitchen, which was also explored). Add to this the specimens which are today missing, and the number climbs to 8030.

### The Kitchen Assemblage at Old House

The Old House collection (including both provenienced and unprovenienced materials, as well as materials missing but identifiable) included 1232

ceramics, representing nearly a quarter of the kitchen assemblage.

| Table 3. Major Types of Datable Pottery | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Porcelain | | 99 | 8.0% |
| Stoneware | | 25 | 2.0% |
| Brown | 2 | | |
| Blue/Gray | 4 | | |
| White | 18 | | |
| Other | 1 | | |
| Earthenware | | 1108 | 90.0% |
| Slipware | 249 | | |
| Refined | 10 | | |
| Coarse | 1 | | |
| Delft | 67 | | |
| Creamware | 349 | | |
| Pearlware | 287 | | |
| Whiteware | 125 | | |
| Yellowware | 20 | | |

The major types of ceramics are shown in Table 3, revealing that tablewares, such as the porcelains, white salt glazed stonewares, delft, creamwares, and pearlwares, account for over 99% of the ceramics. Utilitarian wares,[1] such as the brown stonewares and Buckley wares, account for less than 1% of the collection.

The most common eighteenth century pottery is the lead glazed slipware, accounting for 249 examples. Slipware was a traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream-colored slip is trailed over an buff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip is then applied before firing. Examples of pink and buff fired-clay bodies were encountered. Peter Walton describes these wares as "Country pottery," emphasizing their modest and unpretentious background. Often the wares are

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[1] Utilitarian wares are those used in food preparation and storage. They typically include stonewares and coarse earthenwares, but exclude Colono ware, because of the possible ethnic differences in food preparation and consumption practices.

discussed according to the methods of decoration, with Wrotham used to describe applied pads of clay and trailed slip on a red body, North Staffordshire used to distinguish trailed red and brown slip on a white slip ground, and West Country to indicate a kind of sgraffito design done wet or dry on the pottery (Walton 1976:8). Ivor Noël Hume notes that these wares are usually found as dishes and single-handed mugs with bulbous bodies and straight collar necks (Noël Hume 1969a:104).

Delft accounts for 67 specimens at Old House, making it the third most common eighteenth century ware. This pottery, sometimes known as tin enamel, has a pale yellow or pink body coated with a lead glaze containing tin oxides which turn white in firing. The wares could be painted, most often with a cobalt blue, although a variety of other colors are also known, before firing. By the late seventeenth century delftware potters were creating mugs, jugs, candlesticks, vases, chamber pots, washbasins, drug pots, and plates. Pseudo-Chinese motifs, human figures, and birds are among the more common design elements that continue into the eighteenth century.

As Noël Hume observes, these delftwares attempted to compete with Chinese porcelains and so Chinese designs begin to dominate the collections by the early eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969a:110-111). While cups quickly lost favor with the public, plates, serving vessels, and punch bowls tended to remain popular into the first few years of the nineteenth century. In general, however, the delfts at Old House are typical of those being produced in the mid-eighteenth century.

The next most common ware is Chinese porcelain. Of the 99 fragments identified, 73 are still present in the collection as either provenienced or unprovenienced materials. The materials present include 13 examples of English porcelain and 86 specimens of imported Chinese porcelains.

While the first Chinese porcelain to reach America came during the sixteenth century, political upheavals in China eliminated the trade between 1657 and 1683 (Palmer 1976:10). The English were the first to re-open trading offices in China, in the first two

Figure 10. Ceramics used by Daniel Heyward in the eighteenth century. A-D, lead glazed slipware; E-H, blue hand painted delft; I-J, *famille rose* enameled overglaze Chinese porcelain; K-L, enameled overglazed Chinese porcelain; M-N, blue on white Chinese porcelain cup with brown rim; O-P, blue on white Chinese porcelain; Q, probable English porcelain.
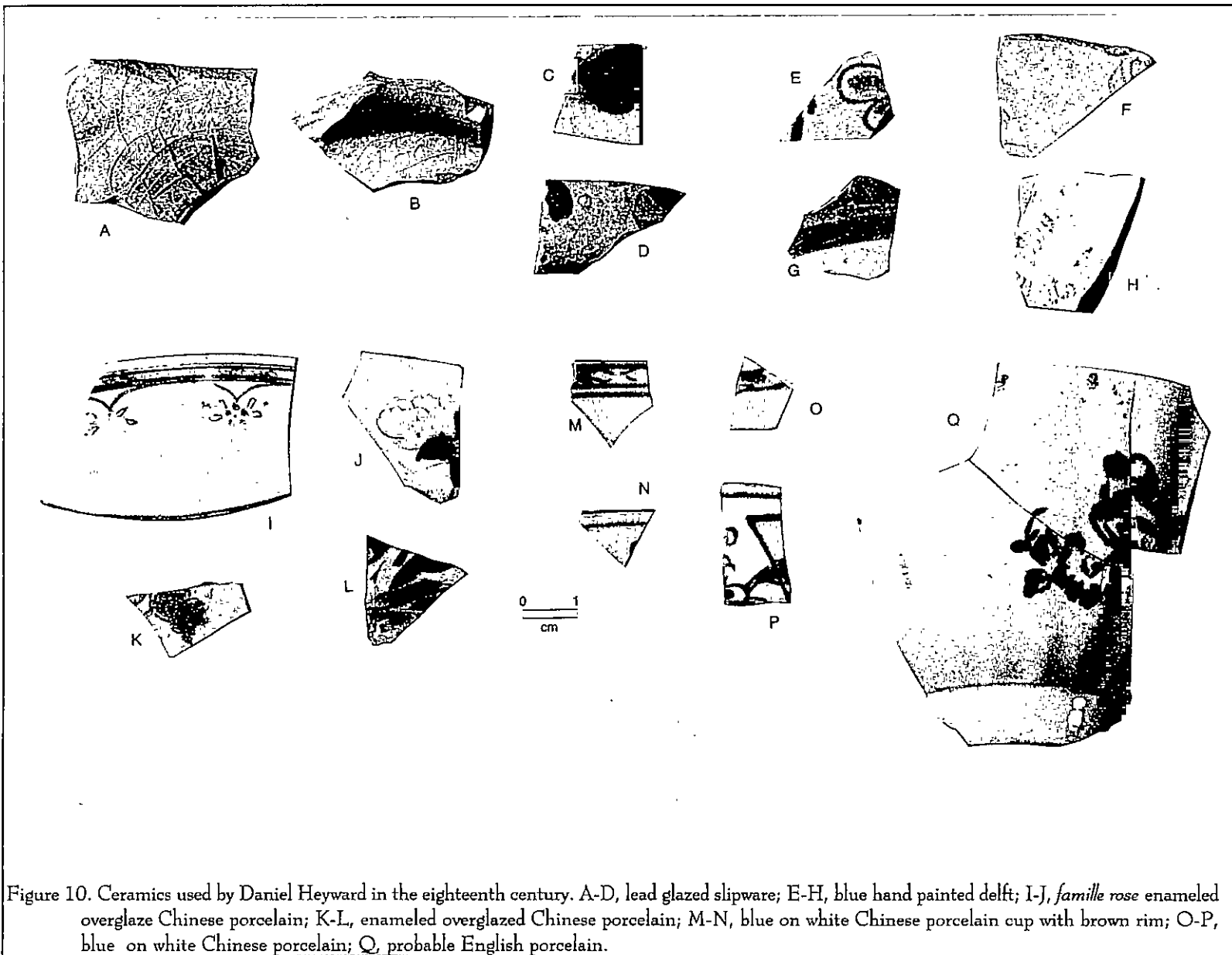
decades of the eighteenth century (Vainker 1991:153). During this early period the British traded ginseng for porcelain — in and of itself an interesting story of mercantile greed. American ginseng was gathered by Native Americans for sale to the Dutch Vereenigde Oestindische Compagnie (VOC), which in turn was sold to the British East India Company at a 500% profit. The ginseng was then transported to China where it was held in very high regard to relieve fatigue and infirmities of old age. So greatly was the plant esteemed in China that the native species could be gathered only under the privilege of the Emperor. The American ginseng offered an alternative, although it was prone to gluts and was always seen as inferior to the Chinese species (Millspaugh 1974:277; Schiffer et al. 1980:15).

Through time the trading mainstays turned to silver (never thought of as a particularly good bargain for porcelain) and furs (which lost their appeal by the first quarter of the nineteenth century). Eventually the English traders discovered the substantial demand for opium (Howard 1984:41). By the first quarter of the nineteenth century the opium trade was firmly established, with the British East India Company purchasing about three-quarters of all Chinese exports. Vessels purchased opium in India, sailing on to Canton, where they would weigh anchor just outside the port and trade the opium to smugglers for silver. Only then would the British ships sale into the harbor, claiming they legitimately sought to exchange silver for porcelain (Schiffer et al. 1980:16). During this same period, England imposed a 100% duty on imported porcelain in order to protect their own fledgling porcelain industry. Consequently, most of the Chinese porcelains began shipping directly to the United States, joining America's own Chinese fleet sailing from New York, Baltimore, Salem, Philadelphia, Providence, and Boston. Just as the British East India Company traded opium for porcelain, so too did the Americans, although typical cargoes also included tar, turpentine, rosin, varnish, tobacco, snuff, and furs (Howard 1984:41-46; Palmer 1976:25).

The bulk of the export wares for European trade were the common blue and white porcelains, produced by decorating the bisque porcelain with cobalt prior to firing. While the beginning date for this ware

can be quite early, what is seen at most American archaeological sites probably does not predate the English re-opening of the China trade, about 1715. Godden suggests that this style is relatively rare from the 1740s through the 1770s, when overglazed forms were more popular. However, by the 1770s they begin to dominate the collections, remaining popular to at least 1795 (Godden 1979:148). Godden also observes that while production continued well into the nineteenth century, relatively few blue and white dinner services were sent to England after 1800, since British potters had largely captured the market and were beginning to do the same in the United States (Godden 1979:144). In the Old House collection there are 19 examples of this type, as well as an additional 21 specimens which probably represented undecorated portions of this same ware. A decoration added by the Chinese, and very popular prior to about 1750, was a thin brown band or line edge at the rim. This can be seen on bowls, cups, and plates (Godden 1979:138) and is present on one additional Old House specimen.

About 1720 an opaque rose-colored enamel was introduced into the pallet of overglaze colors. As time passed, the enamel became more stable, the wares better fired, and this new style allowed meticulous treatment of detail, delicate shading of tones, and a wide range of color combinations. On plates the decoration typically appeared only on the inside. Bird and flower subjects, along with figural themes are most common, often surrounded with a diaper pattern (Medley 1976:247, 263). But this pink, allowing tones from the palest blush of pink to deep ruby red was only one aspect of this the *famille rose* wares. Added to it, and some claim to be even more important, was a lead-arsenic, opaque white pigment. Using this base, the artist could add other pigments and achieve a wide color palate. By 1730 the *famille rose* style became the dominant decorative motif in overglaze enameled wares (Valenstein 1989:247). At Old House the *famille rose* wares account for 16 specimens.

There are also three specimens in the collection which exhibit the overglazed hand painting on blue and white porcelain. Collectors (and some archaeologists) have long called this style "Canton," apparently because much (though not all) of the ware had overglaze decoration added at the port city of

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Canton (Noël Hume 1978:262). It seems equally likely, however, that much of this decoration was done at the point of initial manufacture, probably Jingdezhen.

English porcelain (typically known among collectors as "soft paste" porcelain) was first made about 1745 at Edward Heylin's glassworks at Bow, Middlesex. Beginning about 1749 the addition of bone ash produced a whiter, more satisfactory paste. It wasn't, however, until the late 1750s or early 1760s that the English potters were able to make a white porcelain that could resist heat changes and allowed their production for tea and coffee. Nevertheless, the English porcelains remained very expensive compared to Chinese wares and wasn't until the nineteenth century that European wares really became a commercially viable product, as opposed to an item of extraordinary luxury (Medley 1976:261).

Present in the Old House collection are a few examples of English porcelain: one undecorated, three with a gilt band, one hand painted overglaze, one blue hand painted with a hand painted overglaze, and seven blue hand painted.

White salt glazed stoneware accounts for only 14 fragments in the Old House collection. These wares were more durable than the earlier style delft, which they replaced, and the development of block molds allowed the creation of such intricate relief patterns as "dot, diaper and basket" and "barley." While Noël Hume explains that the evolution of this ware included two earlier versions, Old House has thus far revealed only the more lightly glazed wares typical of the mid-century. These white stonewares were developed in order to produce wares thinner than the delft which might compete with the Chinese porcelains. Although the English potters were successful in accomplishing this goal, they were never very successful in their efforts to embellish the pottery with polychrome *chinoiserie*. As a result, the public grew tired of the ware's stark whiteness (Noël Hume 1970:408). While the scratch blue motif (four specimens of which are found in the Old House collection) helped soften the ware, it required skilled

labor which was always in short supply.[2]

Archaeologists typically comment that delft lead to white salt-glazed stoneware, which in turn lead to creamware. In part this is correct, although as Noël Hume (1970) reveals, the evolution is far from simple. And while we often note that creamware was developed in the 1750s by Josiah Wedgewood, it seems likely that it was well on its way at least a decade earlier (Noël Hume 1970:409). In fact, it appears that this earliest creamware had the same body composition as white salt-glazed stoneware, but was fired at a lower temperature and coated with the lead glaze that became yellowish when fired.

Nevertheless, this cream colored earthenware was considered a revolution in ceramic production. It provided a fine glazed ware at a relatively inexpensive cost, and came in sets with a wide variety of vessel forms and styles. It was adopted by most of the famous English potters of the period. Noël Hume comments that;

> it is safe to assume that whereas creamware straddled the period of the American Revolution, plain white salt-glaze ceased to be imported when the war began, and pearlware started to arrive soon after it ended (Noël Hume 1970:411).

Consequently, creamware is typically given a date range of about 1762 through 1820 (South 1977).

While creamware began, primarily, as plain cream-colored plates, often with a featheredged, royal, or bead-and-reel patterns, other decorative styles did occur. Walton (1976:73) lists four: colored glazes, enamel painting, transfer printing, and slip decoration.

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[2] Scratch blue is white salt glazed stoneware which was incised and filled with cobalt prior to firing, resulting in a white body with thin blue lines. Those found at Old House are typical of early (i.e., prior to ca. 1760) examples where the lines ornament cups, saucers, and bowls. Later the style expanded onto chamber pots and mugs, in a effort by the English potters to take the market held by German utilitarian wares.

Figure 11. Creamware from Old House. A, colander or strainer; B, handle from tureen; C, plate fragment with plain rim; D, plate fragment with featheredge rim molding; E, bowl rim; F, rim of pitcher.
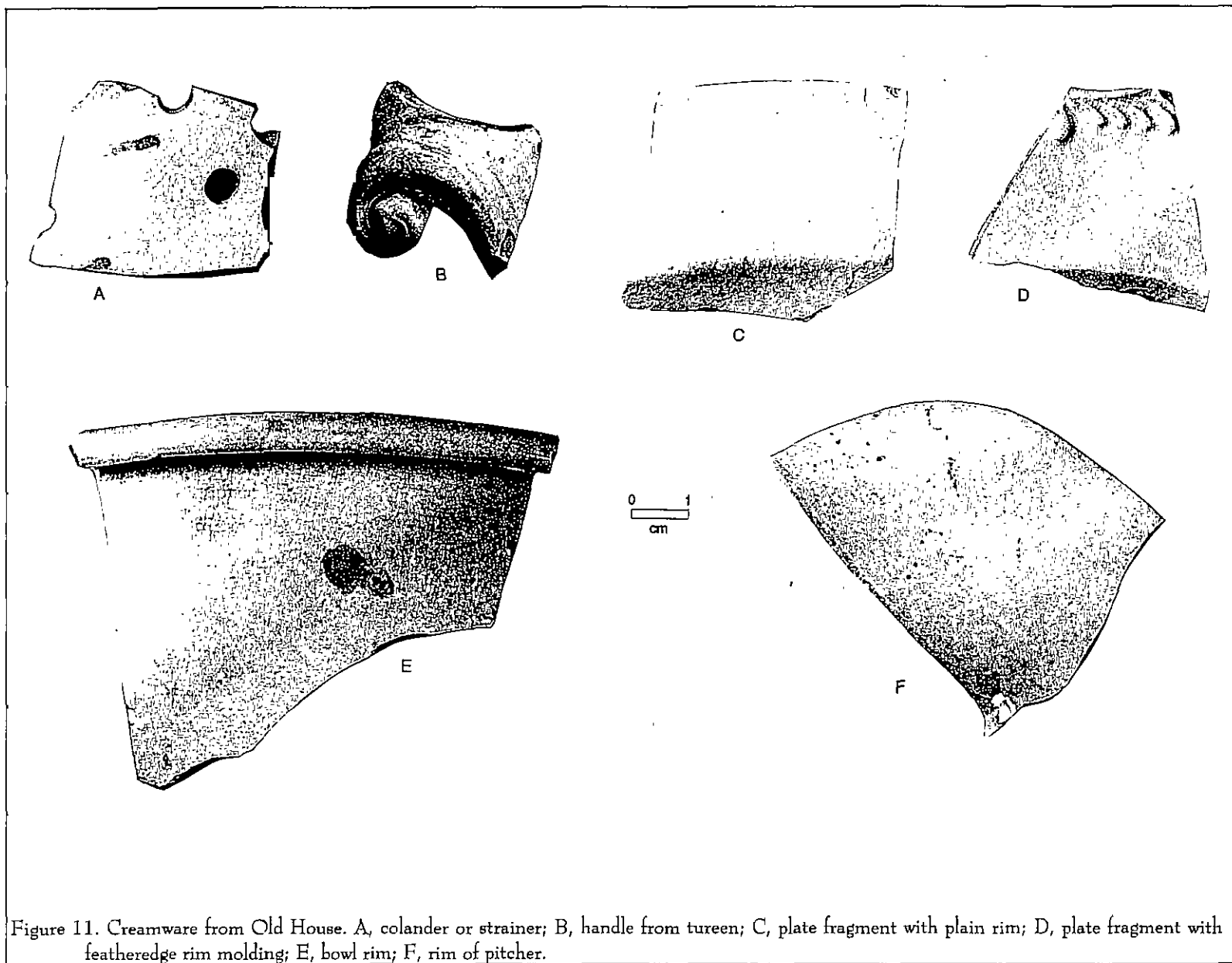
Often the pottery would be produced at one location and then shipped elsewhere for its final decoration or embellishment. Of these only two examples are found in the Old House collection. One is a piece of annular creamware and the other is a blue hand-painted example. The annularware is found as hollow ware forms — typically mugs and bowls. The multi-colored strips were painted by relatively unskilled artisans who needed only to apply their brush to the pottery surface and spin the item on a table. The hand-painted wares, while stenciled in charcoal on the biscuit, required more skill. The designs were most frequently simple Chinese house patterns borrowed from porcelains (Noël Hume 1969a:129).

While comprising a small percent of the ceramics present, there are a few other eighteenth century wares, including black basalt, Nottingham stoneware, Westerwald, and clouded wares. Although only one specimen of black basalt was found in the Charleston Museum's Old House collection, this ware is indicative of very expensive teaware and was usually in the form of a teapot. Even when similar unglazed red teaware lost fashion, the black basalts remained in vogue, at least partially according to Noël Hume (1969a:122) because they were used in mourning. Daniel Heyward's second wife, Jane Elizabeth, died in 1772 — about the time when this pottery was increasingly used as part of the mourning custom.

The clouded wares, represented by two specimens, consist of a creamware body with a dip glaze in the colors of purple, blue, brown, yellow, green, and gray. They began to be seen in teawares about 1750 (Noël Hume 1969a:123), although they were produced from about 1740 to 1760.

The pearlwares, often considered the intermediate step between creamwares and whitewares, might also be called a whitened creamware, whose glaze contained a small quantity of cobalt, creating the slightly bluish cast or tint which Noël Hume (1969b:390) notes "characterized much of the China Trade porcelain of the period." It originator, Josiah Wedgwood observed that he characterized it as "*change* rather than an *improvement*" intended to help meet the public's increasing boredom with creamware (quoted in Noël Hume 1969b:390).

The Old House collection included 287 specimens of this pottery, typically dated between about 1780 and 1830 or 1840 (South 1977). The most common are the undecorated pearlwares, which like the creamwares might include plates, cups, bowls, chamber pots, and other forms. There were, however, other forms: blue hand painted, blue transfer printed, edged, and annular.

While there were some blue decorations on the earlier creamwares, they were uncommon. As Noël Hume observed:

> for the earthenware pottery who was striving to complete with porcelain, blue on yellow [the base color of creamware] fell far short of the goal, while the man who made creamware for creamware's sake had only to turn to the wares of Thomas Whieldon and Josiah Wedgwood to see that other colors looked better on it (Noël Hume 1969b:392).

Blue on the new pearlware, however, had a completely different look, far more closely approaching the idealized Chinese wares. At first blue was the only color used. The hand painted motifs were typically limited to a pseudo-Chinese design consisting of house, a fence, and a tree or two. Sometimes some mountains would be added, or some additional arboreal features, but the motifs were limited.

Far more common, at least initially, were the pearlware plates decorated with blue (or sometimes green) around their shell edges. Appearing about 1779 or 1780, these edged wares had an extraordinarily long life, lasting a half-decade. Initially these plates were favored by the wealthy and they were carefully decorated, with the brush strokes being carried toward the center of the plate, so that a truly "feathery" effect was achieved. Through time the plates fell from grace and the careful application of the paint was modified to a mere strip around the edge.

Although transfer printing began with creamware (or perhaps even earlier), it was far more common on the new pearlwares. A copper plate was

### Table 4.
### Vessel Forms Recovered at Old House

| Ware and decoration | Cup | Bowl | Saucer | Plate | Ch. Pt. | Pitcher | St. Jr. | Pestle | Tureen | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Daniel Heyward (ca. 1743 - 1777) | | | | | | | | | | |
| White SGSW | | 1 | | 6 | | | | | | 7 |
| Ch Porc, undec. | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Ch Porc, blue hp | 3 | 4 | | 1 | | | | | | 8 |
| Ch Porc, HPOG | | 5 | | | | | | | | 5 |
| Ch Porc, hp/HPOG | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Eng Porc, undec | | | | | | | | 1 | | 1 |
| Eng Porc, gilt | | | 1 | | | | | | | 1 |
| Eng Porc, blue hp | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Subtotal | 5 | 10 | 1 | 8 | - | - | - | 1 | - | 25 |
| William Heyward (ca. 1777 - 1786) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Creamware, undec. | 2 | 5 | | 2 | | 3 | | | | 12 |
| Creamware, edged | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 |
| Creamware, annular | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Subtotal | 2 | 6 | - | 3 | - | 3 | - | - | - | 14 |
| William Heyward, Jr. (ca. 1805 - 1845) | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pearlware, undec. | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 3 |
| Pearlware, blue hp | 29 | | | | | | | | 1 | 30 |
| Pearlware, blue tp | 1 | 3 | | | | | | | | 4 |
| Pearlware, cable | | 1 | | | | | | | | 1 |
| Whiteware, undec. | 2 | 3 | | 9 | 1 | | | | | 15 |
| Whiteware, blue tp | 1 | | | 3 | | | | | | 4 |
| Subtotal | 33 | 8 | - | 13 | 2 | - | - | - | 1 | 57 |
| Total | 40 | 24 | 1 | 24 | 2 | 3 | -* | 1 | 1 | 96 |

SGSW = salt-glazed stoneware, Ch Porc = Chinese porcelain, hp = hand painted, HPOG = hand painted over glazed, Eng Porc = English porcelain, tp = transfer printed, Ch. Pt. = chamber pot, St. Jr. = storage jar

* the only storage jar is coarse red earthenware, which cannot be placed within an ownership period. Consequently it is not included in the totals.

engraved with the screen, inked, and then a paper was applied to the copper plate to pick up the ink. This paper was, in turn, applied to the bisque to transfer the ink to the pearlware. In well executed examples the fine dots of the copper plate engraving can still be plainly seen. Afterwards the plate was glazed, and fired. The production of transfer printed wares took considerable skill and, as a result, the transfer printed designs were among the most expensive of the pearlwares (Miller 1980, 1991).

Pearlware gradually evolved into whiteware between about 1820 and 1830. The paste continues to become harder, although it is again the glaze which is most distinct. The blue tint of pearlware is lost and whitewares have a clear glaze, often deeper than

Figure 12. Pearlware from Old House. A, blue transfer printed pig handle from tureen; B-C, blue transfer printed bowl forms; D-F, shell edged plate rims; G, annular ware with cable decoration; H, annular ware.
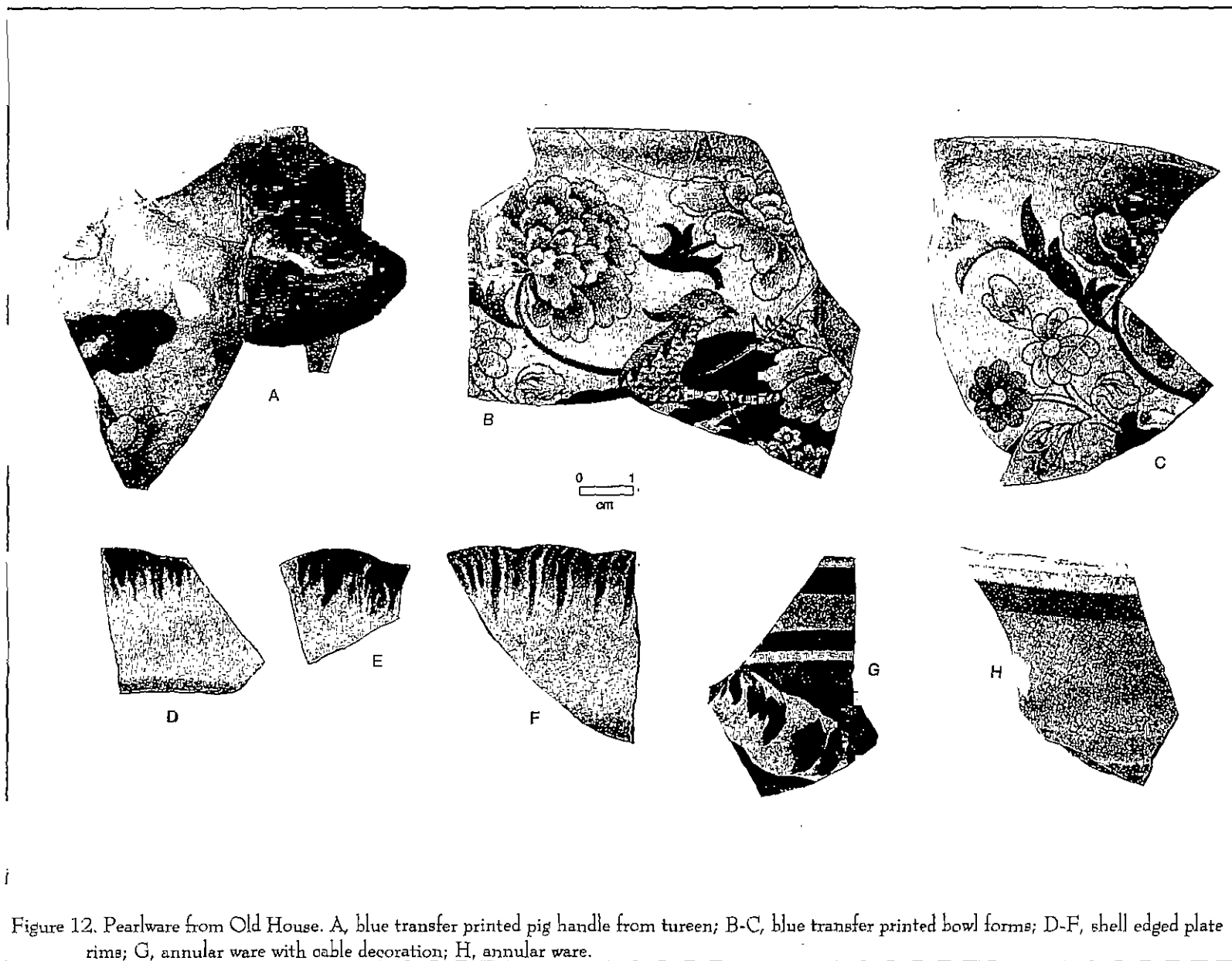
pearlware. Curiously, however, Wedgwood's factory was still making pearlware in 1865, at which time Llewellynn Jewitt remarked that it was "not 'a pearl of great price,' but one for ordinary use and of moderate cost" (quoted in Noël Hume 1969b:396). Nevertheless, by about 1830 pearlware had become almost entirely replaced by whiteware in America and it was likely being acquired by William Heyward, Jr., just as the pearlware had likely been purchased by his father, William Heyward, before him.

The whitewares account for only 125 specimens, most of those being undecorated. The next most common whiteware was blue transfer printed — still indicative of considerable wealth. The relatively low status annular whitewares account for only 7% of the collection.

Roughly coeval with the whitewares are the yellowwares, which range in date from about 1830 to 1880. This ware is made from a buff clay covered with a yellowish transparent glaze. With few exceptions this pottery was utilitarian in form and included milk pans, pie plates, and bowls (Foshee 1984). The 20 examples from Old House are likely specimens which made their way from the kitchen to the table.

Table 4 itemizes the vessel forms of the pottery identified at Old House by ware and decoration. It is also generally divided by probable owner at the time the wares were acquired.

Although Daniel Heyward's assemblage is dominated by a hollowware (cups and bowls): flatware (plates and saucers) ratio of nearly 2:1, this is perhaps deceiving since the bulk of his cups and bowls were very expensive Chinese and English porcelains used in the tea ceremony. While not included, in this list would be the fragments of such items as the black basalt and Nottingham stonewares, likely also used in the tea ceremony. In fact, Daniel Heyward's collection evidences no utilitarian bowls, suggesting that he was setting his table with fairly expensive wares. The collection also includes a porcelain mortar, suggesting that Daniel may have prepared his own medicines or conducted similar activities.

William Heyward's ceramics are likely no less fancy. Even though we see no porcelain, the quantity of undecorated creamware suggests that he acquired new wares upon taking over the plantation. The hollowware:flatware ratio is still about 2:1, suggesting that the tea ceremony continued to be an important social observation at Old House.

By the time of William Heyward, Jr. the hollowware:flatware ratio had risen to 2.5:1, yet we.are still not prepared to suggest that this is an indication of either poverty or a change in dietary habits. When the decoration of the hollowwares is examined, we see that the majority, 34 of the 46 vessels or nearly three-quarters, are either hand painted or transfer printed. Both were fairly expensive and relatively high status motifs. The collection contains only one cable decorated vessel, generally considered a lower status motif.

At least at this level, therefore, we see no clear indication of increasing or decreasing wealth at Old House. It appears that each successive generation used ceramics that were, at that particular time, generally considered to be high status wares.

There is over twice as much glassware in the Old House collection as ceramics. The 3302 specimens include a range of colors and forms, although 1960 specimens (nearly 60%) are "black" glass, which is actually dark green in transmitted light. These represent "wine" bottles commonly used in Europe and North America. Olive Jones (1986) has conducted extensive research on this bottle style, discovering that the cylindrical "wine" bottle represents four distinct styles — two for wine and two for beer — linked to their size and intended contents. These four styles, however, were not just used for wines and beers. Other products, such as cider, distilled liquors, vinegar, and mineral waters might also have been sold in these bottle styles. In addition, they would have been used by private individuals as containers for decanting, storing, and serving beverages either bought in barrels or made at home.

Of the assemblage at Old House only one fragmentary example is clearly of the globular-body style often called an "onion-bottle." These are typical of the first half of the eighteenth century (Noël Hume 1969a:62). Also common during the first half of the

Figure 13. Ceramics and container glass from Old House. A-B, examples of marker's marks on whiteware plates; C, undecorated whiteware; D, blue transfer printed whiteware plate; E, aqua panel bottle fragment; F-G, examples of "wine" bottle necks; H, container neck in brown glass.
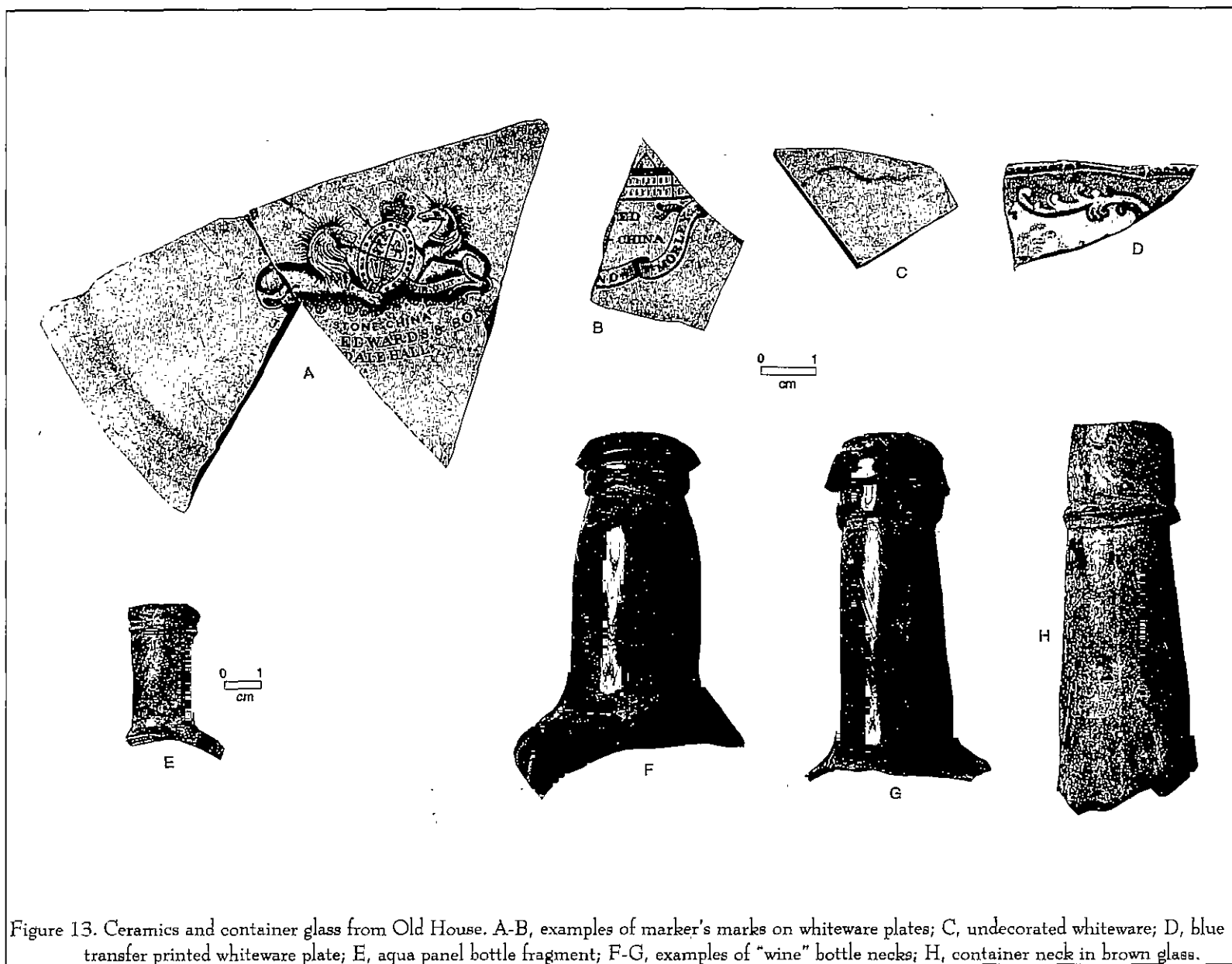
eighteenth century are bottles blown into a square-sided mold with nearly flat bases. These are frequently called "Dutch gin bottles," although they are not exclusively Dutch in origin nor were they limited to the transport of gin. Only one example of this square bodied bottle has been found at Old House. The rarity of these early styles at Old House may suggest that either bottles were carefully retained and, when broken, were disposed of elsewhere, or it may be an indication that Daniel Heyward rarely used alcohol. Regardless, the bulk of the collection exhibits basal diameters between about 77 and 109 mm. Two size classes, according to Olive Jones (1986), might have been in use during Daniel's tenure and include what are called undersized beer and wine style bottles. The former date from 1750 through 1810, while the latter date from 1760 through 1800. Regardless, most common are bottles dating from 1790 through 1850 — the tenure not of Daniel Heyward, but of his son and grandson.

One of the specimens missing from the collection was a "black" glass bottle base reported to contain lead shot. Shot was frequently used to "scour" clean bottles before they were reused and it appears that least occasionally the bottles were refilled with some of the lead shot still inside. The acid wine of course would dissolve the shot, adding dramatic quantities of lead to the wine — and to the tissues of those who drank the wine. By the nineteenth century this was clearly recognized:

> Lead shot is commonly employed for cleaning them [bottles to be re-used]; but it is desirable that great care should be employed that none are left in the bottles, as sometimes happens; one or two grains of shot not unfrequently remain in the bottle jammed in the angle, and if these should be dissolved by the acid of the wine they will communicate to it a poisonous quality (quoted in Jones 1986:21-22).

Jones also comments that it isn't uncommon to find bottles from archaeological contexts with shot lodged between the body and the kick-up (Jones 1986:22).

The next most common color of glass at Old House was clear or "colorless." The production of colorless glass was a goal among manufacturers, but it required a sand with little iron and a flux free of impurities. As a result, it tended to be expensive. The quantity of clear glass at Old House seems to largely be from the nineteenth century and likely relates to the very late occupations at the settlement. At least some of these fragments are of panel bottles, which likely contained medicines.

The quantity of light yellow and light green bottle glass at Old House represents the results of sand with iron impurities. Items include several unidentifiable containers, perhaps representing medicine vials.

Not surprisingly, nearly a fifth of the collection represents melted glass — virtually all of which were recovered from the ash zone and represent items in and around the house at the time it burned. Although many (perhaps even most) of these may represent window glass, all of the items included in the kitchen group were so distorted and/or liquidified that it was impossible to determine their original function.[3]

The Old House collection also contained 10 tableware items, including six tumbler fragments, two goblet feet, and two bowl fragments. The tumblers include both plain and fluted varieties. The plain tumblers were common during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although they were not necessarily "cheap," since glass was often sold by the weight and tumblers, especially the leaded glass common at Old House, tended to be very heavy (McNally 1982:63). Perhaps more curious is the predominance of tumblers over stemmed ware, again suggesting that Daniel Heyward may have not favored wine as much as his descendants.

The bowl fragments, of a blue color, seem to represent what might be called a finger bowl, wine glass

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[3] In retrospect, the absence of burned earthenwares suggests that the bulk of this glass does, in fact, represent melted window glass. Nevertheless, we have left these unidentifiable specimens in the kitchen group.
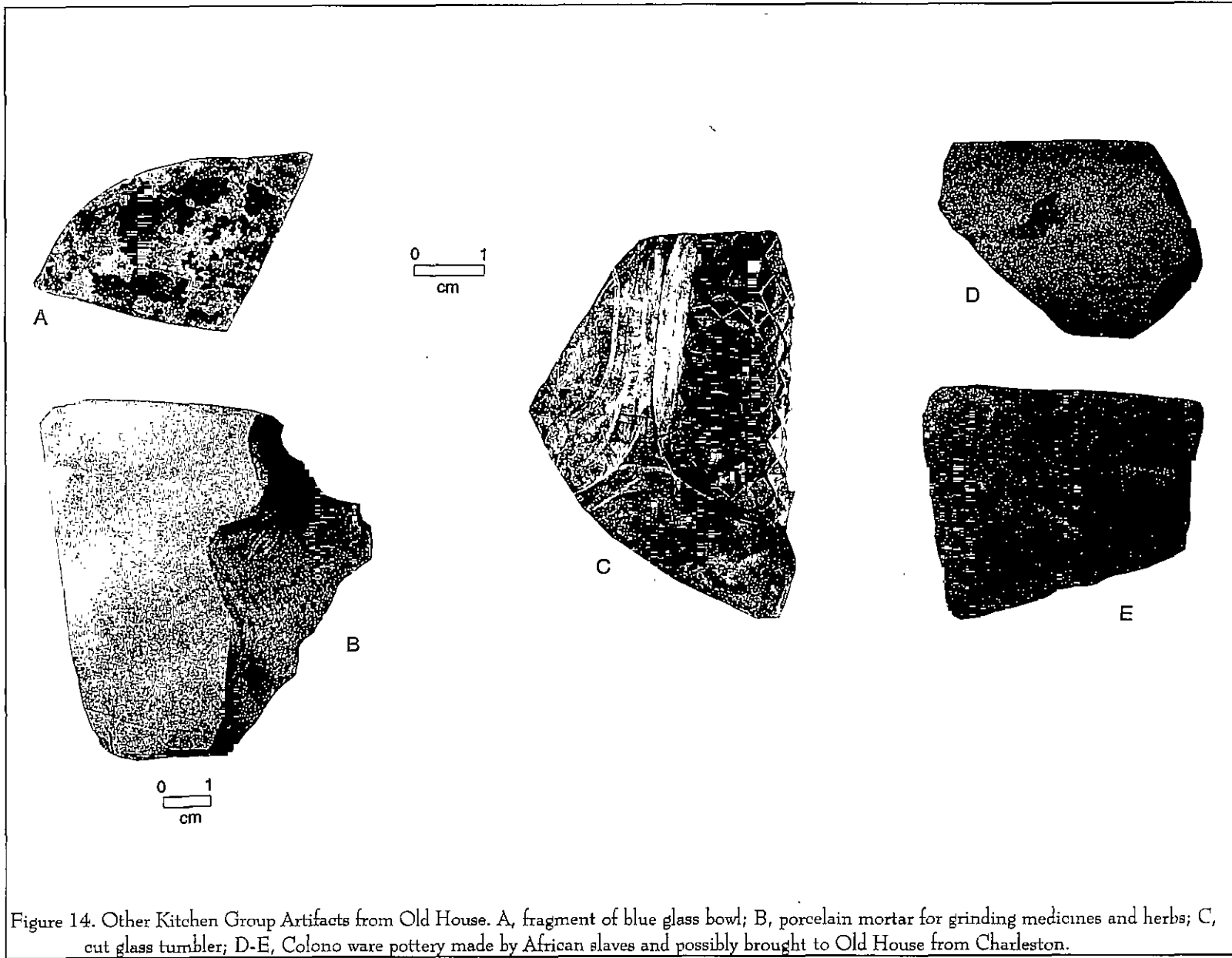
Figure 14. Other Kitchen Group Artifacts from Old House. A, fragment of blue glass bowl; B, porcelain mortar for grinding medicines and herbs; C, cut glass tumbler; D-E, Colono ware pottery made by African slaves and possibly brought to Old House from Charleston.

cooler, or wine glass rinser — all common forms at eighteenth and early nineteenth century high status sites.

Phelps Warren notes that these vessels are thought to have been used for:

> (1), rinsing the mouth after eating; (2), rinsing the fingers after eating; (3), cooling wine glasses in chilled water at the table; (4), rinsing wine glasses at the table. It has been called a finger basin, a water glass and a wine cooler.

> It is entirely possible that the bowl in question served all the purposes mentioned, with the period of one use overlapping the period of another. Also, one stratum of society might have adopted a secondary use earlier than another, or the changes may have been adopted in one locale sooner than in another (Warren 1970:137).

He goes on to cite several period accounts of using these bowls, typically in the mid- to late-eighteenth century. While he dismisses the possible use for cooling, claiming that use would imply the improbable dearth of glasses, this ignores the cost of ice and the Southern climate. It may be that chilling glasses was more economical of scarce resources than chilling bottles. Further, Jones and Sullivan (1985:132) observe that eighteenth century paintings of dining frequently show stemware upended in similar bowls. Roberts (1976:65 [1827]) suggests that the use of "cooler or finger glasses" was reserved for the most formal of diner parties.

The three kitchenware items all represent fragments of iron kettles. Although these are far more at home in the kitchen, they were occasionally brought out into yard areas where they were used for cleaning clothes, preparing soap, and doing a number of tasks. Some of the smaller kettles might also have been brought from the kitchen to the house and kept warm there for serving.

The final item found in the kitchen group is the Colono ware pottery. The 29 specimens account for less than 1% of the kitchen group, a typically low proportion for many Beaufort area plantations. The Colono ware pottery was made by either African American slaves or Native Americans and tends to be found in assemblages from the eighteenth century. It's likely that by the death of Daniel Heyward relatively little, if any, Colono ware was being used at Old House. The wares present may even have been brought with Daniel during his move from Charleston, where Colono wares are far more common.

The bulk of Colono ware was in hollow ware forms, typically bowls, although the specimens from Old House are too small to allow any detailed analysis. Nevertheless, no clearly European forms were identified.

## The Architectural Assemblage at Old House

A total of 2890 architectural remains (excluding brick and slate, but including marble fragments) was recovered from Old House, representing about 36% of the total artifact assemblage.

The single largest category is that of nails, with the 2278 specimens accounting for nearly 79% of the collection. Of these 600, over a quarter, can be discounted since they could not be either measured or identified as to type. Two hundred forty two nails (representing just 14.6% of the identifiable nails) were hand wrought, meaning they were individually forged by blacksmiths, either in America or England.[4] The wrought nail shank can be distinguished from machine cut nails (introduced about 1780) by their taper on all four sides, instead of only two (see Howard 1989:54; Nelson 1968). These nails, while largely replaced by machine cut nails at the beginning of the nineteenth century, continued in specialized use far longer. Two head styles are present in the collection. Rose heads have a distinctive head created by four strikes of a hammer, giving it the form of a four-leaf clover. Carl

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[4] Lounsbury (1994:239) notes that while nails were certainly manufactured locally in the South, "a sizable proportion of the nails used in buildings through the late 18th century were imported from England."
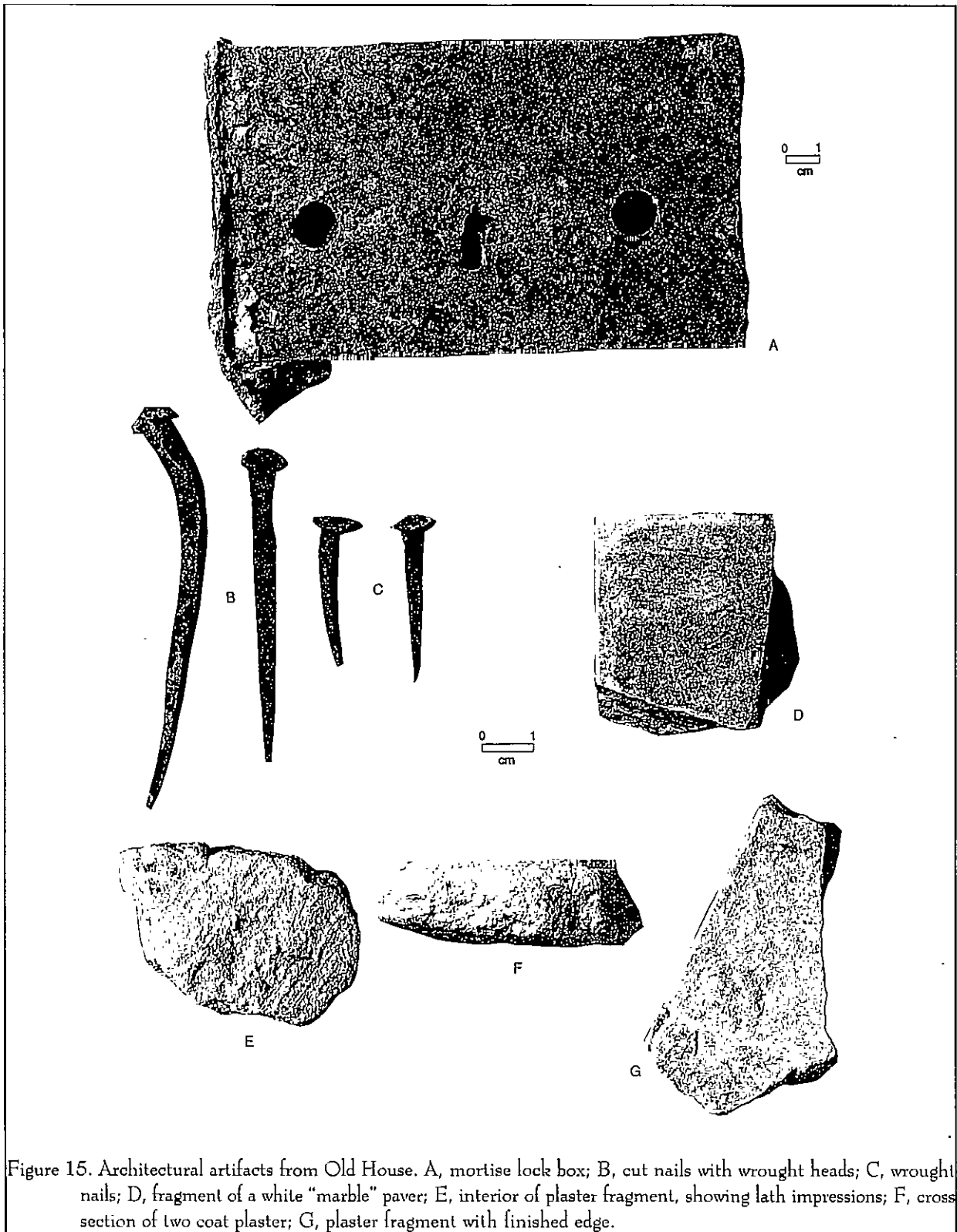
Figure 15. Architectural artifacts from Old House. A, mortise lock box; B, cut nails with wrought heads; C, wrought nails; D, fragment of a white "marble" paver; E, interior of plaster fragment, showing lath impressions; F, cross section of two coat plaster; G, plaster fragment with finished edge.

Lounsbury (1994:412) notes that this style was most commonly used in rough framing and attaching exterior cladding, primarily since it was impossible to "hide" the head. Moreover, the broad head had greater holding power needed in these applications. The other style present at Old House is a clasp head (sometimes called a "T-head"). This style was produced like the rose head, but was struck two additional times on either side of the head, to form the characteristic T-shape. These nails were usually used in trim work where the holding power of the larger head was not needed and the head would distract from the appearance (Lounsbury 1994:412).

Two hundred seventy nine examples of brads were also recovered. These are thin, flattish nails with a projecting lip rather than a defined head. Tom Wells explains that the head is sheared with the shaft and the item takes on a "T" shape (Wells1998:96). Lounsbury (1994:45) notes that they were manufactured in a variety of sizes and were used for a number of different purposes, "especially for finish work such as flooring, wainscotting, and trim." The lack of a head allowed the nail to be driven below the surface and the hole filled with putty to hide the location. Brads were used throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although all of the ones identified at Old House post-date 1810 (Nelson 1968:6). This is the largest assemblage of this style which we have encountered at any low country plantation.

Finally, the Charleston Museum collection also yielded 1142 cut nails, representing over two-thirds of the identifiable nails. These were produced by a machine that cut each shaft from a sheet of iron, tapering the nail along its length on only two, instead of all four, sides. Although this machinery was invented in the 1780s, nails produced by machine were slow to reach the South, not becoming widely available until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Lounsbury (1994:107) suggests that the most widely available variety from the 1790s through the early 1820s were those whose heads were still hand forged (that is, a machine cut nail with a hand forged head). After about 1815 machines capable of both cutting and heading the nails were introduced and hand forged heads gradually declined in significance. Of the machine cut collection, only a quarter have forged heads, suggesting their use during this earlier period. The remaining three-quarters

of the cut nails exhibit cut heads, suggestive of a post-1820 date.

Because different size nails served different self-limited functions, it is possible to use the relative frequencies of nail sizes[5] to indicate building construction details. Table 5 lists nails by both penny weight sizes and the Standard Average European (SAE) size, as well as the function of various nail sizes.

The table reveals that wrought nails are exceedingly rare. Machine cut nails with wrought heads are more common, while the cut nails with cut heads are still more common. The brads occur in about the same number as the cut nails with wrought heads. Taken together this assemblage is suggestive of considerable reworking. Wrought nails may be uncommon because the original Daniel Heyward house was not only simple, lacking extensive detailing, but also because much of it was constructed using craft techniques that focused on the use of treenails or peg construction. Lounsbury observes that the practice continued at least as late as the 1770s in some areas; it doesn't seem unlikely that a ca. 1740 house on the frontier would have exhibited few nails. What is more curious is that it is larger of the wrought nails, which seem to be unlikely candidates for trim work, that have T-heads.

Nevertheless, by the turn of the century there appear to be a number of nails being used — either as repairs or as part of the house's expansion. Not surprisingly, large nails, characteristic of large framing, remain scarce. It seems likely that while craft traditions were dying out in many areas, large framing timbers continued to be pegged, minimizing the need for large nails. Framing nails, however, were present and were probably used in light applications, such as the framing

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[5] Nails were not only sold by shape, but also by size, the lengths being designated by *d* (pence). This nomenclature developed from the medieval English practice of describing the size according to the price per thousand (Lounsbury 1994:239). Nelson (1968:2) provides the same interpretation, although the price was per hundred. Common sizes include 2d - 6d, 8d, 10d, 12d, 20d, 30d, and 40d. It was not, however, until the late nineteenth century that penny weights were standardized.

of windows and doors, as well as setting up individual walls.

Far more common were nails sized for sheathing and siding — clearly revealing that not only was Old House of frame construction, but that it was clad in weatherboard. Almost as common were the smallest nails, typically used to install plaster lath and roofing.

It might be curious to some that no roofing materials were encountered in the Charleston Museum excavations. The very few small slate fragments found in the collections are almost certainly writing or counting slates, not slate roofing. Shelley Smith comments that "plantation houses, even the grandest of them, seem to have been roofed with wood shingles" during the colonial period (Smith 1999:210). Apparently the use of wood shingling continued well into the mid-nineteenth century at Old House.

### Table 5. Nails Recovered from Old House

| Penny Wt. | SAE | Wrought Rose | T | Machine Cut Hand | Machine | Flooring | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2d | 1" | 1 | - | 1 | - | 5 | |
| 3d | 1¼" | 7 | - | 22 | 98 | 23 | |
| 4d | 1½" | - | - | 34 | 78 | 4 | |
| 5d | 1¾" | - | - | 2 | 31 | 14 | |
| Small timber, shingles | | 8 | - | 59 | 207 | 46 | 320 |
| % | | 100 | - | 22.2 | 77.8 | - | 26.5 |
| Combined % | | | 2.5 | | 83.1 | 14.4 | |
| 6d | 2" | - | - | - | 362 | 13 | |
| 7d | 2¼" | - | - | - | 30 | 23 | |
| 8d | 2½" | - | - | 3 | 16 | 13 | |
| Sheathing and siding | | - | - | 3 | 408 | 49 | 460 |
| % | | - | - | 0.7 | 99.3 | - | 38.1 |
| Combined % | | | - | | 89.3 | 10.7 | |
| 9d | 2¾" | - | - | 2 | - | 87 | |
| 10d | 3" | 3 | - | 20 | 24 | 76 | |
| 12d | 3¼" | - | - | 39 | 22 | 19 | |
| Framing | | 3 | - | 59 | 46 | 185 | 293 |
| % | | 100 | - | 56.2 | 43.8 | - | 24.2 |
| Combined % | | | 1.0 | | 35.8 | 63.1 | |
| 16d | 3½" | - | - | 88 | 30 | 2 | |
| 20d | 4" | - | 2 | 12 | 2 | - | |
| 30d | 4½" | - | - | - | - | - | |
| Heavy framing | | - | 2 | 100 | 32 | 2 | 136 |
| % | | - | 100 | 75.8 | 24.2 | - | 11.2 |
| Combined % | | | - | | 97.0 | 1.5 | |

The next most common Architecture Group artifact is that of flat glass (all of which appears to represent window glass), accounting for 17.5% of the group (n=506). Until the modern period window glass was either crown or cylinder, with crown glass dominating the eighteenth and early nineteenth century market. Regardless, it is usually difficult to distinguish the two unless certain, usually large, parts of the glass are present (Jones and Sullivan 1985:171). At Old House all of the fragments are small, suggesting considerable fragmentation of the panes prior to their disposal. All of the glass, however, had a greenish tint, common to eighteenth century specimens (Noël Hume 1978:233).

The collection includes six door lock parts. These include three lock boxes, one keyhole surround, one door latch plate or keep, and one item no longer found in the collection listed only as a "door lock" (possibly a fourth lock box).

All three of the lock boxes extant in the collection are examples of mortise locks, intended to set into the wood door. This style gradually came to replace the old style rim lock and was introduced in the second half of the eighteenth century (Lounsbury 1994:236). These specimens, however, are manufactured from rolled metal, rather than hammered iron, and this is suggestive of a nineteenth century date. They were likely used either as replacements at Old House or perhaps in that section of the house which was added later. The locks include a latch bolt and dead bolt. That rim locks were present is indicated by the existence of the one lock keep, although even this example probably dates from the late eighteenth century.

The construction hardware from Old House

includes 34 items: two slide bolt plate fragments, four strap hinge fragments, one pintle, six butt hinges, one shutter hinge, two shutter dogs, two UID hinge fragment, 12 delft tile fragments, one UID hook, and one UID bracket. In addition, the collection included 66 marble fragments representing tile and other decorative elements.

The slide bolts identified from the collection were likely used to close shutters over windows. Associated with this process were also two shutter dogs, used to retain the shutters in an open position, as well as one probable shutter hinge. The one drive pintle present was also probably used as a shutter hinge. The strap hinges include at least one HL hinge and these specimens may represent some of the earliest hardware, likely used on doors, present from Old House. These would have been replaced by the cast iron butt hinges, although Lounsbury observes that they were not common until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Consequently, they may have been additions by William Heyward, Jr.

The unidentifiable items are all items which have been removed from the collection. Unfortunately we can only guess at their original design and function.

The excavations found a number of delft tile fragments, although unfortunately most are no longer present in the collections. The tile fragments remaining were all too small to provide information on the scene portrayed. They range in thickness from just under ¼-inch to almost exactly 5/16-inch. Noël Hume (1978:285) notes that tiles of this thickness were almost exclusively used for fireplace and wall skirtings (as opposed to flooring tiles which were substantially thicker). Lounsbury (1994:374) notes that "Dutch tiles" were most commonly applied to the jambs of fireplace openings, resulting in them also being called "chimney tiles." He places their peak in popularity around mid-eighteenth century — suggesting that they were almost certainly installed by Daniel Heyward as part of the original house construction. Smith notes that not only were such tiles advertised regularly in the *South Carolina Gazette*, but Dutch "chimney tiles" graced such well known plantation houses as Archdale Hall, Drayton Hall, Yeamans Hall, and Crowfield (Smith 1999:219-220).

The marble found in the excavations is badly fragmented, but appears to include two types. One type *superficially* appears to Purbeck "marble." The stone, once "black," has weathered, taking of a rough gray appearance. Larson (1990:190) notes that Purbeck marble, as it weathers and loses its polish, can almost appear to be like concrete. Upon closer examination, however, the stone lacks the characteristic small fossilized gastropods which characterize the Purbeck beds (see Dimes 1990:113-114 for a description of this stone). It is possible, however, that architects were not as geologically inclined and that Purbeck marble was taken to be any marble-like stone in black or gray. Lounsbury, for example, notes only when discussing English marble that, "much of this material was the dark gray *Purbeck marble* quarried in the south of England" (Lounsbury 1994:224). The stones from Old House are moderately polished (suggesting heavy wear)and have a grayish black color (Munsell Rock Color Chart N2). Smith (1999:199) notes that contrasting light and dark stone was frequently used to pave the porticos of the low country's colonial plantation houses.

In addition, there are also white marbles. These are examples that are usually called English marble, which is actually a relatively soft limestone which can be easily polished. It was often used for flooring, tombstones, fonts, and chimney pieces (Lounsbury 1944:224).

·The examples from Old House include fragments which are thick enough (1½ to 1¾ inches) to have served as flooring. These include both light and dark specimens, suggesting that they were laid in a checkerboard pattern. Several exhibit remnant bedding mortar adhering on their unfinished surfaces. In addition there are thinner fragments (¾ inch), all white, which were more likely used as fronts or incorporated into fireplace surrounds. Finally, there are several fragments which are far thicker, upwards of perhaps 2-inches, which appear to have been steps.

The range of stone material recovered from Old House suggests that considerable expense was taken to import the stone and incorporate it in the settlement. Similar examples have been documented from the eighteenth century Broom Hall mansion in Goose

Creek (Trinkley et al. 1995) and from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century Shoolbred mansion on Kiawah Island (Trinkley 1993b). Although Shoolbred's house is far later than either Broom Hall or Old House, it was erected by a Englishman who appears to have set out to create a country seat. What seems to connect these sites is not necessarily the time period of construction, but rather the wealth of the individuals involved and their efforts to create very elaborate architectural statements.

While not included in the count, the collection includes a small number of plaster samples. Several reveal that a two coat system was used: a coarse undercoat followed by a fine finish coat consisting primarily of lime. One of these fragments suggests that the plaster terminated on some sort of molding, perhaps a chair rail or wainscot. Several others exhibit remnant paint which today has taken on a dark, almost muddy blue color. All of them seem to suggest that the plaster was applied to well formed, *sawn* lath. The presence of saw marks has sometimes been taken as evidence precluding eighteenth century construction, yet Smith clearly noted that sawn lath was used as early as the first decade of the eighteenth century, while riven lath continued to be used into the 1760s (Smith 1999:205).

## Furniture Group Artifacts

The Old House collection contained 56 fragments of lamp glass, one brass window shade hanger, and two brass curtain rings. Both of the curtain rings are missing, so we can say little about them. Cloth was expensive so the mere presence of curtains, however, is indicative of considerable wealth. Roller blinds were introduced in the 1760, suggesting that the Heywards sought to keep up with the newest fashions.

The lamp chimney glass is from a vertical wick lamp, the earliest of which was the Argand lamp patented in 1784. This lamp was intended to burn whale oil and was used by only those in coastal communities where whale oil was readily available or by the very affluent. It wasn't until the 1840s that lamps were readily available which used alternative fuels, such as lard. Kerosene wasn't used until the 1850s (Moss

1988; Woodhead et al. 1984:38). It is likely that the remains found at Old House are from an Argand-burner lamp, perhaps dating from the first quarter of the nineteenth century — probably about the time William Heyward, Jr. was occupying the mansion.

## Arms Group Artifacts

In spite of its early period of construction and the frontier nature of the area at the time, only two arms related artifacts were recovered from the main house. Unfortunately, neither are still in the collection and they were described only as a piece of lead shot and a gun flint. The lead shot was described as "buckshot," suggesting that it was intended to take down large game. The gun flint of course reminds us that the site occupants were using muskets. They account for about 0.02% of the total assemblage from Old House.

## Tobacco Related Artifacts

The excavations at Old House produced 28 pipe stem fragments, two pipe bowl fragments, and one probable Colono pipe bowl. Accounting for only 0.39% of the total assemblage this is a very small collection and it suggests that relatively little tobacco smoking was taking place around the main house.

One explanation for this may be that Heyward chose to take snuff rather than smoke his tobacco. By the eighteenth century "snuffing" was a conspicuous form of consumption as filled with ritual as the taking of tea. While introduced by the French, it was quickly taken up by the upper classes of Britain and the high society of the colonies quickly followed, "adopting this flamboyant excuse for graceful finger movements, ostentatious snuff-boxes, and the flourishing of silken handkerchiefs" (Heimann 1960:64). Since snuff was perfumed, its use had several advantages; not only was it a way of introducing soothing scents into the nose, but it also helped reduce the strength of other, less agreeable, strong odors.

The few tobacco pipe stems present are all manufactured of white clay and represent sections of the brittle stem accidentally broken during use or storage. The small size of the bowls and the length of the stems were both a function of the tobacco being used. The

dark air cured tobacco of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "was a powerful shag, best smoked in small doses" (Heimann 1960:63). The long stem also allowed the smoke to cool somewhat before reaching the mouth.[6]

Perhaps the most unusual item in the collection is what may be a Colono ware pipe bowl. Perhaps this item was used by one of Heyward's house servants, since it is unlikely that a planter would have used such a bowl, especially when more commonly accepted white clay bowls were readily available. Alternatively, this may represent a fragment of a Native American pipebowl, although no other Indian remains were encountered in the collection.

### Clothing Group Artifacts



Figure 16. Colono or Native American pipe bowl and iron belt or tack buckle.

Only five items of clothing were recovered during the Charleston Museum excavations. Two of the items were buttons (one bone and one brass), no longer found in the collection. Also missing is a brass pin. The brass button might have been used on a coat, while the bone buttons were more often used on shirts or undergarments. Both are typical of the eighteenth century. The remaining two items include an iron buckle, measuring about 1 by 1½ inches, too small to be a shoe buckle, although it might have been from a belt or might even have been tack hardware.

Also present is a sad iron — a small, solid iron used for pressing cloths. It would have been heated on coals, used a few minutes and replaced to again warm. This gives us a view of the household drudgery necessary to allow individuals such as the Heywards to appear fashionable.

### Personal Group Artifacts

The single item from this category is no longer in the collection, but it was apparently a bone toothbrush. Barbara Mattick has produced one of the few archaeological studies of toothbrushes commonly available. She notes that while toothbrushes were introduced into Europe in the mid-fifteenth century, the bone handled brush was not invented until 1780 (Mattick 1993:162). Consequently, this item was likely used by one of Daniel's descendants, very likely William Heyward, Jr.

### Activities Group Artifacts

This final artifact group includes a total of 54 specimens (or 0.67%of the site's total assemblage). The category is broken down into a variety of classes — construction tools, farm tools, toys, fishing gear, storage items, stable and barn items, miscellaneous hardware, and a rather general class called simply, "other" (South 1977:96).

At Old House we have identified three items classified as tools, including one hoe, one axe, and one chisel. All are today missing from the Old House collection.

There are 19 items classified as "storage items," including 18 fragments of iron strap ranging

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[6] Some suggest that it was the harshness of commonly available tobacco which encouraged the use of snuff among the upper classes.

from 1 to 3 inches in width. These would have been found as strapping on barrels, which would likely have been common at Old House. The final item is a lead strap about 1 inch wide which may have been part of a seal.

The two stable and barn items include a harness buckle with attached ring and a fragmentary horseshoe.

Miscellaneous hardware includes one washer, one nut, and 14 screw fragments. The washer and nut are perhaps modern, while the screw fragments were likely associated with the butt hinges or other architectural items found on the site.

The final category of "other" includes eight clay flowerpot fragments, one fragment of brass pipe, one brass cap with lip, one fragmentary iron handle, and one fragment of lead scrap.

## Dating the Site

Throughout these discussions we have remarked that certain artifacts might have been used by one or another Heyward. Perhaps the best, overall, means of dating the site is to examine the ceramics. Table 6 provides a mean ceramic date for the collection, revealing a date of 1782.2.[7] This is just over a decade earlier than the projected mean historic date. Typically archaeologists note that because ceramics are durable objects, often used for a number of years before being discarded or broken, ceramic dates tend to be later

| Table 6. Mean Ceramic Date for Old House | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ceramic | Date Range | Mean Date $(x_i)$ | # $(f_i)$ | $f_i \times x_i$ |
| Overglaze enameled porcelain | 1660-1800 | 1730 | 19 | 32,870 |
| Underglazed blue porcelain | 1660-1800 | 1730 | 80 | 138,400 |
| Nottingham stoneware | 1700-1810 | 1755 | 2 | 3,510 |
| Westerwald | 1700-1775 | 1738 | 4 | 6,952 |
| White SGSW | 1740-1775 | 1758 | 14 | 24,612 |
| White SGSW, scratch blue | 1744-1775 | 1760 | 4 | 7,040 |
| Black Basalt | 1750-1820 | 1785 | 1 | 1,785 |
| Lead glazed slipware | 1670-1795 | 1733 | 249 | 431,517 |
| Clouded wares | 1740-1770 | 1755 | 2 | 3,510 |
| Luster wares | 1790-1840 | 1815 | 8 | 14,520 |
| Decorated delft | 1600-1802 | 1750 | 47 | 82,250 |
| Plain delft | 1640-1800 | 1720 | 20 | 34,400 |
| Buckley ware | 1720-1775 | 1748 | 1 | 1,748 |
| Creamware, annular | 1780-1815 | 1798 | 1 | 1,798 |
| hand painted | 1790-1820 | 1805 | 1 | 1,805 |
| undecorated | 1762-1820 | 1791 | 347 | 621,477 |
| Pearlware, blue hand painted | 1780-1820 | 1800 | 37 | 66,600 |
| blue transfer printed | 1795-1840 | 1818 | 28 | 50,904 |
| edged | 1780-1830 | 1805 | 10 | 18,050 |
| annular/cable | 1790-1820 | 1805 | 13 | 23,465 |
| undecorated | 1780-1830 | 1805 | 199 | 359,195 |
| Whiteware, blue trans print | 1831-1865 | 1848 | 32 | 59,136 |
| annular | 1831-1900 | 1866 | 9 | 16,794 |
| undecorated | 1820→ | 1860 | 84 | 156,240 |
| Yellowware | 1826-1880 | 1853 | 20 | 37,060 |
| | | | 1232 | 2,195,638 |

$$2,195,638 \div 1232 = 1782.2$$

than historic dates. The reversal of this trend at Old House may indicate that we have pushed the terminal date of occupation too far into the nineteenth century.

Although it seems unlikely that William Heyward, Jr. moved out of Old House before his death, it is possible that the last five to ten years of his life resulted in few, if any, major changes to or improvements in the mansion. Old House may, in other words, have entered a period of stagnation by perhaps 1835.

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[7] Even if we discount the ceramic identifications for those items no longer in the collection, and use only the items present in either provenienced or unprovenienced bags, the mean ceramic date would change by only months, to 1782.0.

If nothing else, the 1782 mean ceramic date suggests that much of the refuse at Old House was deposited during or shortly after the life of Daniel Heyward. This likely means that while others continued living in the house and operating the plantation, the level of activity declined after Daniel's death in 1777.

We must not, however, be lured into believing that once William Heyward, Jr. died the site went vacant and quickly fell into disrepair. Although we haven't yet been able to determine how the property passed from Heyward hands to James Bolan by 1860, the ceramics tell us a little bit about the late antebellum activities on the site. In particular there is a maker's mark on the back of a whiteware ceramic recovered from the house ruins which tells us an intriguing story. The mark is from James Edwards & Son, used between 1851 and 1882 (Godden 1964:230). Someone acquired some additional whiteware for use at Old House after William Heyward's death in 1845. Perhaps it was Bolan, perhaps it was another Heyward who lived at Old House for only a few years — at this point we can't be certain. But the single piece of pottery does suggest that the site remained occupied, at least occasionally, and at least for five or so years after William's death.

### Looking at the Artifact Pattern

Early in our discussions we mentioned that South's artifact groups could be examined to help us better understand the differences in the proportions of the different types of artifacts present at sites.

Table 7 illustrates the artifact pattern identified from Old House, based on the Charleston Museum excavations. This pattern closely resembles what has been identified for British domestic sites during the eighteenth century and isn't too far removed from the townhouse profile, characteristic of relatively high status planters' residences developed from downtown Charleston, South Carolina. Not surprisingly the pattern bears virtually no resemblance to either of the slave patterns.

| Table 7. The Artifact Pattern at Old House | |
|---|---|
| Group | % |
| Kitchen | 62.12 |
| Architecture | 36.00 |
| Furniture | 0.73 |
| Arms | 0.02 |
| Tobacco | 0.39 |
| Clothing | 0.06 |
| Personal | 0.01 |
| Activities | 0.67 |

Nevertheless, there are some disagreements. For example, the architectural remains are slightly high. Why? Perhaps they reflect the expansion of Old House in the nineteenth century. The early pegged construction would have contributed a much lower percentage of architectural remains, but the expansion and/or repair of the house increased the quantity of remains, especially nails, to the point where this artifact group is somewhat swollen.

As a result, the remaining categories of furniture, arms, tobacco, clothing, personal, and even activities are somewhat proportionally lower than they might be otherwise. We also can't rule out that some of these remains, generally small and difficult to collect, might have been overlooked during the excavations in the 1960s. We have also offered some explanations for the low numbers found in some categories — for example the use of snuff rather than smoking tobacco with the reduction in pipe stems and bowls

At Old House the porcelains account for about 6% of the ceramics, clearly less than we see at eighteenth century plantations being operated as country seats, but perhaps a little more than we might expect at a plantation of a small owner. And when the porcelains are combined with the transfer printed wares they still account for just under 10% of the ceramics — still far less than would be expected at an urban town house of a wealthy planter.

In spite of this the ceramics aren't those of a lowly farmer. Once we make an allowance for the teawares, flatwares dominate the collection. Transfer prints and hand painted wares are far more prevalent than less expensive annular, cable, and edged wares.

Just as we see relatively few porcelains, we also see little tableglass (as a percent of the Kitchen Group). While present, it was not available in lavish quantities. Moreover, we see very little tableglass intended for use with wines and other alcohols.

# RECONSTRUCTING OLD HOUSE

## Reconstructing Heyward's Life

The picture that emerges from the previous discussion is one that suggests Daniel Heyward not only understood, but appreciated the "finer" things in life. He participated in the tea ceremony and set his table with some of the finest hand painted overglazed porcelains available. He understood fine dining and purchased leaded crystal tumblers. Although he may have been a teetotaler, he had stemmed ware and at least a rudimentary wine cellar. His table included serving platters, pitchers, and finger bowls. Yet at the same time his everyday wares were utilitarian slipware.

He appears not to have smoked tobacco, although he might have use snuff. If so, he was participating in a ritualized event as complex as the tea ceremony. And yet we see no evidence for any special clothing or accoutrements. Nor does the archaeological record reveal any evidence of high status personal goods.

In other words, there seem to be a number of contradictions — ease with wealth, quickness to accept current fashions, but yet no real evidence of ostentatious display or conspicuous consumption. While this may reflect Heyward's character, we must remember that we are seeing only one, limited aspect of his life. What we see in the archaeological record may also reflect his view of the plantation. Everything suggests that Old House was first, and perhaps foremost, a working plantation. He seems to have foregone politics not because it was dishonorable or because he was uninterested, but because it would take him away from his plantation (he took political positions when they allowed him to remain close to home and tend his rice and slaves).

In other words, Daniel Heyward seems to have created the world around him to suit his needs. He integrated the bits of gentility and social status which were possible without too greatly altering or adjusting his focus on the efficiency and productivity of his plantation. Where convenient he added comforts, but where they might distract from his goal, or might overextend his reach or require him to do less at his plantation, he seems to have resisted.

Whether Daniel Heyward was an uncommon man can't be speculated on using only the archaeological evidence, although he does seem to be unusual in comparison with other planters who seem either to have easily enjoyed their wealth or to have had little wealth to enjoy.

There seems little doubt that Heyward passed on to his son William at least his appreciation for the finer things. The archaeological record reveals no indication of any decline in the wealth or prosperity during William tenure following Daniel. What can't be determined is whether William's operation continued to generate income or whether his status was largely dependent on the accrued wealth of his father's estate. Because we see no clear indication of economic decline even during the tenure of William Heyward's son, William, Jr., we can assume that the plantation continued to be operated profitably. What is troubling, of course, is why the plantation left the family shortly after the death of William Heyward, Jr. It is likely that the lands were beginning to wear out, and the mansion almost certainly needed repair, but would these events have been adequate to encourage William's descendants to sell the family seat?

## Reconstructing Heyward's Mansion

Old House was likely built ca. 1740, shortly before Heyward brought his new wife to live on what was South Carolina's frontier at the time. Moreover, this construction phase was on the heals of South Carolina's economic boom and immediately before an economic slow-down in the 1740s. Shelley Smith observes that the second quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of great construction as planters sought not only to display their wealth, but also their new, but as she

Figure 17. Growth of the Heyward mansion at Old House from ca. 1740 to ca. 1810.

(Smith 1999:380).

These investigations continue to suggest that Old House saw at least two building periods — with the initial ca. 1740 small core being expanded and enlarged sometime around the turn of the century. This pattern is a very common feature along the Carolina low country. As planters became more successful they expanded their mansions, conspicuously displaying their wealth and success. At Daniel Heyward's plantation it seems the original mansion was modest, being the rear block measuring about 53 by 20 feet. The basement of this original house was paved in brick and was perhaps used as a warming kitchen or for storage, while above were perhaps two stories. The first floor would have been used for the little formal entertaining and dining undertaken by Daniel Heyward, while above would have been the bed chambers.

Although this house seems modest, it contained delft tiles and was likely well appointed for its time. Based on the archaeological evidence it must have been almost entirely of pegged construction.

When the mansion was expanded, perhaps ca. 1810, the house was extended to the south, with the original core becoming the back of the house. The rectangular shape was modified to produce a "T" plan with perhaps a through hall with rooms off either side (Figure 17). It was perhaps during this addition when a large quantity of nineteenth century architectural hardware was added: brads and cut nails, plaster, marble tile, mortise locks, and butt hinges.

The resulting house would have been far larger and almost certainly more impressive, but it would likely remind most of us today of a farm house (Figure 18). The floor plan does not suggest to us a particularly palatial house and it bore no resemblance to "Tara." Yet the Heyward Old House was likely a very classic low country plantation.

observes, well-defined, sense of identity (Smith 1999:107). She argues that plantation houses built during this early period follow four general patterns: compactness of plan and massing, expansion in size, greater acceptance of wood as the primary cladding material, and the first evidence for formal sites.

The Heyward house seems to generally fulfill these expectations. In fact, it is perhaps only the limited evidence of any formal garden or landscape which deviates from this scenario. Even here, however, there seems to be evidence that the Heyward estate was established along fairly rigid, symmetrical lines. The house, flanked by cemetery and a flanker, and the kitchen at the far side. The orientation seems linear and intentional. As Smith observes, this fascination with geometrical arrangements continued long after English tastes moved to a more natural landscape. Perhaps it was critical for the Southern gentry to maintain more control over the landscape. It is Smith that suggests:

> Roger Kennedy has advanced a brilliant (if impossible to prove) thesis that the emphasis on order, harmony, decorum and openness in plantation society architecture and landscape was an attempt to disguise the pervasive insecurity, anxiety and dread of slavery and insurrection

## Summary

This provides a brief overview of the Charleston Museum's excavations at Daniel Heyward's
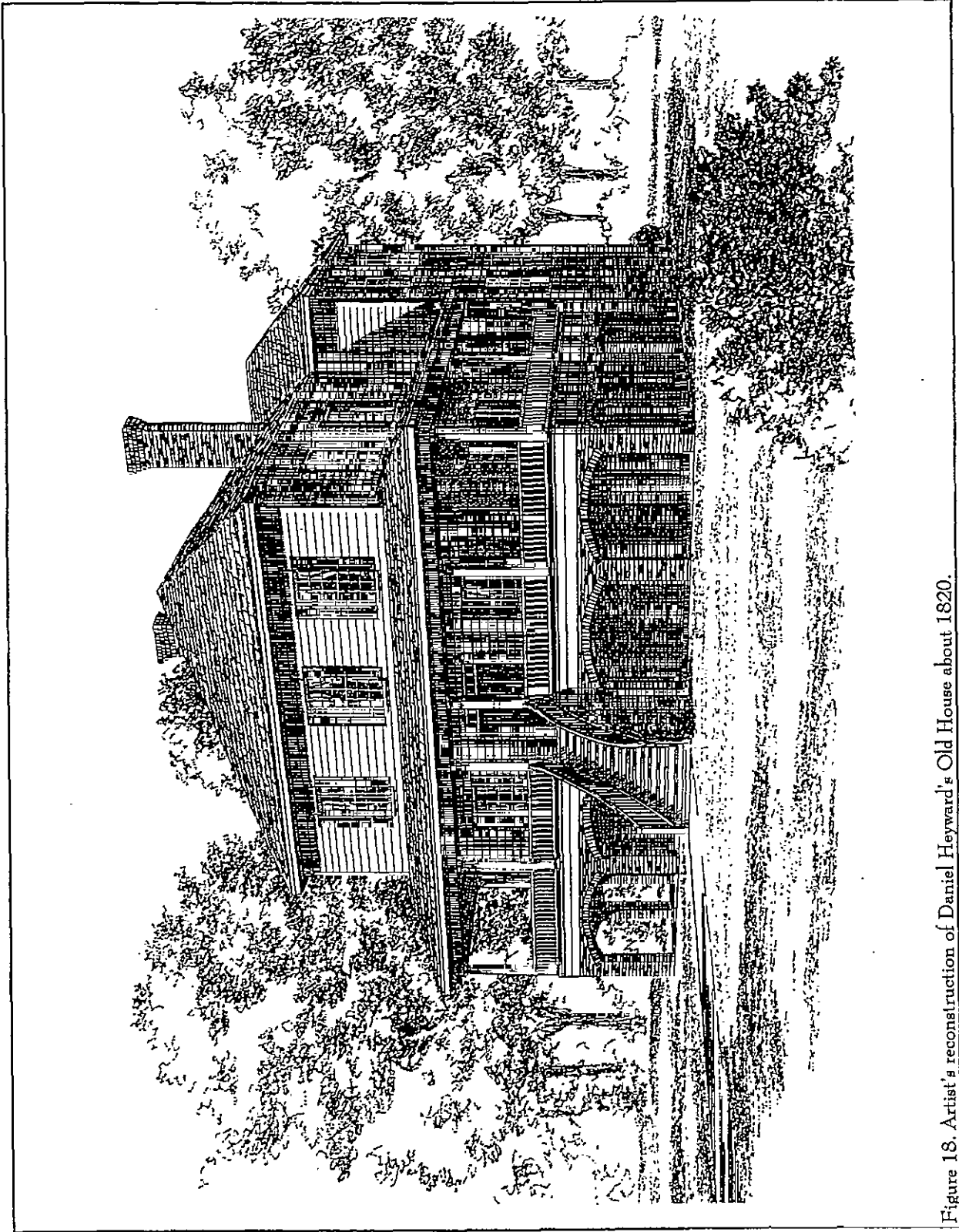
Figure 18. Artist's reconstruction of Daniel Heyward's Old House about 1820.

Old House. Although much of their speculation has proven to be wrong, they must be forgiven — their work was on the cutting edge of plantation archaeology, conducted before Noël Hume began writing about Colonial artifacts or Charles Fairbanks began to turn his attention toward historic sites.

While we lack detailed notes, have no photographs, and have discovered that some collections can no longer be found, the materials which remain provide — as this study attests — an insightful view into a unique low country plantation. Had it not been for Pauline Pratt-Webel, Milby Burton, John Miller, and Harry Cooler there is no question but that Old House would have been lost entirely. Instead, at least a small portion remains today. A few secrets have been wrestled from it, and the earlier excavations, but many more remain. It is a site of spectacular complexity which has the potential to teach us much about not only the Heywards, but also about the operation of early rice plantations in the Carolina low country.

What we have learned of Heyward's success, however, should not be allowed to overshadow what Peter Coclanis has termed "the shadow of a dream." He warns:

> Just as the market was largely responsible for the low country's rise, it was largely responsible for the area's later decline as well. . . . It is possible, of course, that in the low country, a fragile ecological area with limited economic possibilities, development was doomed from the start. But by establishing an economy whose health was dependent almost entirely upon the vagaries of international demand for commodities, the hegemonists, in effect, sealed the low country's fate (Coclanis 1989:157).

Nor should what we have learned thus far be allowed to overshadow what still remains to be learned. Heyward's Old House contained, besides the mansion, a kitchen and host of additional buildings, each with its own story to tell. At the kitchen we might learn the

foods that were prepared, looking at the discarded animal bones, as well as the pollen and phytoliths left in the soil. At the flanker we might learn more about the operation of the plantation. For example, is there evidence that William Heyward or his son, William, Jr. retained an overseer to manage the property? Even at the stable we might learn more about the activities of the African American's who tended the horses and possibly lived in the main compound.

Beyond the area in near proximity would be the slave settlement. Perhaps this is located on the avenue leading to Old House, but there has never been enough investigation to determine, with certainty, where Heyward's slaves lived. This leaves untold their story in the success of Old House.

Expanding our attention even further, White Hall has never received any archaeological attention. What might the artifacts at this plantation tell us about the lifeways of Daniel Heyward, Jr. or Thomas Heyward, Jr.? How might they compare with what we have found at Old House? Archaeological investigation at the ruins of White Hall might even help to date the house's initial construction and latter additions.

So while the story at Old House begins to unfold, there remain many more opportunities to expand our understanding of this unique family and their contributions to South Carolina history.

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        The     Charleston     Museum,

Charleston, South Carolina.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | 44 | hand wrought nails, roseheads, 18 @ 1", 26 @ 1-1/4" |
| 1 | | 30 | hand wrought nails, T heads, 2 @ 2", 1 @ 2-1/4", 7 @ 2-1/2", 17 @ 3", 3 @ 3-1/2" |
| 1 | 38JA72 | 1 | marble step frag, 1-3/4" t - photo |
| 1 | | 8 | marble frags, 1- 1-/12" thick - photo |
| 1 | 38JA72 | 5 | cut marble frags, pavers or tiles |
| 1 | | 1 | cut marble, gray, paver 1" t |
| 1 | 38JA72- Old House- WSGS, Mrs. P took 1 piece | 8 | white salt-glazed stoneware (1 bowl) |
| 1 | 38JA72- slipware, Mrs. P took 4 pieces | 122 | lead glazed slipware frags (some are dot-decorated) - photo |
| 1 | | 1 | glass soda bottle frag (clear with white paint) (modern) |
| 1 | 38JA72-Old House- Edged ware, banded ware | 2 | pearlware, green edged - photo |
| 1 | | 1 | whiteware, annular |
| 1 | | 1 | pearlware, cable dec (bowl) - photo |
| 1 | | 8 | pearlware, blue edged - photo |
| 1 | 38JA72-Old House Porcelain, Mrs. P. took 5 pieces | 20 | Chinese porcelain, undec (1 rim, cup) |
| 1 | | 1 | Chinese porcelain, undec, brn rim |
| 1 | | 19 | Chinese porcelain, blue hp (3 cup- 1 w/brn band, 1 plate - 1 w/brn band, 4 bowl) - photo |
| 1 | | 15 | Chinese porcelain, HPOG (5 bowl rims) - photo |
| 1 | | 3 | Chinese porcelain, HPOG & blue HP (1 plate) |
| 1 | | 3 | white porcelain, gilt band @ rim (mend) (1 saucer) |
| 1 | | 7 | porcelain, cream colored, blue HP (6 mend, tea cup) - photo |
| 1 | 38JA72- Old House delft, Mrs. P took 4 with design | 12 | delft, blue HP - photo |
| 1 | | 1 | delft, polychrome HP |
| 1 | | 12 | delft, plain |
| 1 | | 6 | delft, glaze missing |
| 1 | 38JA72- Banded, Mrs. P took 9 | 10 | pearlware, annular |
| 1 | | 8 | whiteware, annular |
| 1 | | 1 | portobelloware |
| 1 | | 1 | burnt earthenware |
| 1 | 38JA72- Old House- White lead glazed earthenware | 1 | whiteware, blue TP |
| 1 | | 35 | whiteware, undec (1 chamber pot, 2 bowls, 2 cups, 8 plates) |
| 1 | | 14 | pearlware, undec (1 plate, 1 bowl) |
| 1 | | 2 | whiteware, undec, mend, maker's mark, EDWARDS & SONS/ DALEHALL |
| 1 | | 2 | whiteware, undec, marker's mark |
| 1 | | 4 | creamware, undec |
| 1 | | 1 | white SGSW (plate) |
| 1 | | 1 | white SGSW, scratch blue |
| 1 | | - | multiple frags of PW, undec, chamber pot (shattered in bag because of salts) |
| 1 | | 2 | burnt refined earthenware |
| 1 | 38JA72- Old House Creamware | 1 | creamware, edged |
| 1 | | 1 | creamware, black line at shoulder (plate) |
| 1 | | 1 | creamware, beaded at rim - photo |
| 1 | | 1 | creamware, undec |
| 1 | | 6 | pearlware, undec |
| 1 | | 116 | creamware, undec (3 pitcher, 5 bowl, 2 cup, 1 plate) |
| 1 | 38JA72- Old House Transfer Print | 1 | creamware, poly HPOG |
| 1 | | 3 | pearlware, flow blue |
| 1 | | 9 | pearlware, blue HP (2 cups) |

# 38JA72- OLD HOUSE
## Artifact Catalogue

| | Provenience | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | 27 | pearlware, tureen body w/ pigs head handle, hand-painted blue (match & mend), UID marker's mark - photo |
| 1 | | 23 | pearlware, blue TP (1 cup, 3 bowls) - photo |
| 1 | | 2 | burnt refined earthenware |
| 1 | | 9 | whiteware, blue TP (3 plates, 1 cup) |
| 1 | 38JA72 | 1 | black lead glazed coarse red earthenware |
| 1 | | 1 | chert biface |
| 1 | | 7 | lead glazed slipware |
| 1 | | 1 | astbury ware |
| 1 | | 1 | creamware, edged (1 plate) |
| 1 | | 2 | whiteware, undec (1 plate, 1 bowl) |
| 1 | | 1 | pearlware, cable dec |
| 1 | | 1 | clear bottle glass (modern) |
| 1 | | 1 | black bottle glass |
| 1 | 38JA72-Old House Stoneware | 10 | brown lead glazed coarse red earthenware |
| 1 | | 4 | gray salt-glazed stoneware |
| 1 | | 1 | Buckley |
| 1 | | 1 | black lead glazed coarse red earthenware |
| 1 | | 2 | brown salt-glazed stoneware |
| 1 | | 2 | Nottingham |
| 1 | | 1 | coarse red earthenware w/white interior, brown ext. |
| 1 | | 2 | flowerpot frags |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface | 1 | burnt refined earthenware |
| 2 | | 1 | buff-bodied stoneware |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface, Old House, Top, creamware, 19th cen. Mrs. P took 4 | 1 | creamware, edged |
| 2 | | 143 | creamware, undec - photo |
| 2 | | 5 | pearlware, undec |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface, White lead-glazed, Mrs. P took 3 frags | 81 | pearlware, undec |
| 2 | | 22 | creamware, undec |
| 2 | | 88 | whiteware, undec |
| 2 | | 1 | white salt-glazed stoneware |
| 2 | | 1 | kaolin pipe bowl frag |
| 2 | | 31 | creamware |
| 2 | | 1 | clam shell fragment |
| 2 | | 2 | delft |
| 2 | 31JA72 - Surface, window glass | 41 | window glass |
| 2 | | 1 | aqua panel bottle glass |
| 2 | | 7 | melted glass |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface | 7 | aqua panel glass frags |
| 2 | | 3 | aqua panel bottle base (5"d, 1 1/4"k) |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface | 3 | UID nail frags |
| 2 | | 5 | black bottle base frags (3 1/2"d) |
| 2 | | 20 | black bottle frags |
| 2 | 38JA72- Bottle fragments, Surface | 6 | black bottle base frags (4"d, 4"d, 3 1/4"d) |
| 2 | | 3 | black bottle neck frags |
| 2 | | 5 | black bottle frags (1 base frag, 1 onion bottle frag) |
| 2 | 38JA72- Surface Wine bottle frags | 197 | black bottle frags |
| 2 | 38JA72- Dist. Level | 32 | window glass |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | 4 | blue bottle glass |
| 2 | | 4 | clear bottle glass |
| 2 | | 1 | molded (cross pattern) clear bottle glass - photo |
| 2 | | 1 | marble frag |
| 2 | | 1 | plaster frag - photo |
| 2 | | 3 | Colonoware frags |
| 2 | Surface and Disturbed level | 4 | UID nail frags |
| 2 | | 1 | door latch plate |
| 2 | | 2 | kettle frags |
| 2 | | 1 | UID iron frag |
| 2 | | 1 | bag misc. corrosion |
| 2 | | 1 | brass pipe- 3 1/2" long |
| 2 | | 1 | brass cap with lip, 2"d |
| 2 | | 1 | horseshoe frag |
| 2 | | 3 | iron butt hinges, 1 @ 2-1/2" h, 1" w; 2 @ 5" h, 2" w - photo |
| 2 | | 1 | shutter hinge |
| 2 | | 3 | mortar frags |
| 2 | Nails- Surface and Dist. Levels | 10 | strap iron- 1" wide |
| 2 | | 18 | UID iron |
| 2 | | 82 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 59 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 30 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 1 | cut spike (not confirmed) |
| 2 | Old House Surface- Marble, Granite, Stone | 4 | brick frags |
| 2 | | 2 | quartzite frags |
| 2 | | 1 | white marble frag, cut |
| 2 | | 2 | plaster frag - photo |
| 2 | | 44 | gray banded marble, worked (2 @ 1" thick; many large chunks) - photo |
| 2 | Surface and Disturbed level | 3 | screws |
| 2 | | 1 | lead strap, 1" wide |
| 2 | | 4 | UID nail frags (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 8 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 4 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 2 | | 7 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 2 | Metal- surface and dist. level | 1 | handle |
| 2 | | 3 | large cut nails |
| 2 | | 1 | screw frag |
| 2 | | 1 | butt hinge frag |
| 2 | | 149 | corroded nail frags |
| 2 | China and Glass- Surf. & Dist. | 23 | melted glass |
| 2 | | 3 | black bottle glass bases |
| 2 | | 59 | black bottle glass frags |
| 2 | | 19 | window glass |
| 2 | | 3 | clear bottle glass |
| 2 | | 8 | clear bottle glass, thin |
| 2 | | 2 | Colonoware frags |
| 2 | Surface and Disturbed level | 2 | black bottle glass bases |

| | | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | 1 | black bottle glass necks |
| 2 | | 133 | black bottle glass frags |
| 2 | | 10 | melted glass |
| 2 | | 4 | clear bottle glass |
| 2 | | 1 | burnt EW |
| 2 | | 1 | butt hinge, 4" h, 1/4" w |
| 2 | | 3 | machine cut spikes, 1 @ 5", 2 @ 6" |
| 2 | | 1 | screw frag |
| 2 | | 149 | UID nails |
| 2 | | 1 | shutter dog - photo |
| 2 | [Sq. 10A] | [1] | [hoe] |
| 2 | [Sq. 17A] | [1] | [Axe head, 18 cen.] |
| 2 | [Sq. 7A- first level, inside fireplace] | [53] | [flat glass] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag of black and yellow slip ware, bowl 18th cen] |
| 2 | | [57] | [frag wine bottle] |
| 2 | [Sq. 7A- second level, inside fireplace] | [1] | [frag English porcelain, 18th cen] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag Chinese porcelain, 18th cen] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag white salt-glaze bowl, mid 18th cen] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag cream ware] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag delft] |
| 2 | | [16] | [frag yellow and brown slip ware bowl, mid 18th cen] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag buff colored earthenware bowl, clear glaze inside] |
| 2 | | [1] | [pipe stem, 1710-1750] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag wine bottle] |
| 2 | | [34] | [frag wine bottle] |
| 2 | | [1] | [hand made nail] |
| 2 | | [1] | [L-head nail, machine made] |
| 2 | | [2] | [lathe nails] |
| 2 | | [8] | [flat glass] |
| 2 | | [1] | [sherd Indian pottery, burnished] |
| 2 | [Surface] | [4] | [frag cream ware] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag white lead glazed earthenware] |
| 2 | | [5] | [frag blue and white transfer print] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag porcelain] |
| 2 | | [23] | [frag bottle] |
| 2 | | [2] | [cut nails] |
| 2 | | [1] | [brass button] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag hand painted earthenware ware] |
| 2 | [Sq. 12A] | [6] | [frag delft fireplace tile] |
| 2 | [Sq. 4A- 6-12"] | [3] | [frag ironstone, Edwards & Son, Dale Hall] |
| 2 | [Sq. 4B- 6-12"] | [4] | [frag blue and gray saltglazed stoneware, chamber pot] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag yellow slipware bowl with brown spots, mid 18 cen.] |
| 2 | [Sq. 7A] | [1] | [frag transfer print ware, blue and white] |
| 2 | [Surface] | [2] | [frag cream ware] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag window glass] |
| 2 | [Sq. # (surface)- (number missing from bag)] | [71] | [frag stoneware jug, light green and brown] |
| 2 | | [2] | [frag transfer print, blue and white] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | [1] | [frag jasper ware, Wedgwood] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag white saltglaze stoneware, dot and basket weave pat.] |
| 2 | | [2] | [frag delft ware] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag porcelain blue on white, underglaze] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag porcelain overglaze] |
| 2 | | [8] | [frag porcelain tea cup, blue on white] |
| 2 | | [15] | [frag creamware] |
| 2 | | [3] | [frag white lead glazed earthenware] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag transfer print, blue and white] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag hand painted earthenware ware] |
| 2 | | [2] | [frag brown glaze stoneware] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag grey saltglaze stoneware] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag clear glaze on red earthen ware] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag clear glaze on red earthenware, contains fine oyster shell] |
| 2 | | [1] | [pipe stem, 4/64"] |
| 2 | | [5] | [pipe stem, 5/64"] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag pipe bowl] |
| 2 | | [1] | [brass curtain ring, 19 cen] |
| 2 | | [3] | [frag Indian pottery, burnished] |
| 2 | | [5] | [frag clear glass] |
| 2 | | [34] | [L-head nail, machine made] |
| 2 | | [34] | [T-head nails] |
| 2 | | [17] | [lathe nails] |
| 2 | | [69] | [cut nails] |
| 2 | | [4] | [6 inch spikes] |
| 2 | | [1] | [wood screws] |
| 2 | | [13] | [hand made nails] |
| 2 | | [7] | [hand made nails with heads] |
| 2 | | [13] | [lath nails, hand made] |
| 2 | | [1] | [metal strap containing 3 rivets] |
| 2 | | [1] | [cast steel hinge] |
| 2 | | [1] | [shudder tie back- type nailed to wood] |
| 2 | | [1] | [chisel, heavy made] |
| 2 | | [143] | [wine bottle frag] |
| 2 | | [1] | [base of wine bottle containing lead shot for shot gun] |
| 2 | | [30] | [frag window glass] |
| 2 | | [14] | [frag melted glass] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag blue glass, vase or bowl?] |
| 2 | | [2] | [frag plaster] |
| 2 | [Sq. # (surface)- (number missing from bag)] | [3] | [frag yellow slipware bowl with brown spots, mid 18 cen.] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag delft ware] |
| 2 | | [2] | [frag porcelain underglaze blue and white] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag porcelain overglaze, red] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag blue and gray salt glazed stoneware, 18 cen] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag black glaze on red earthenware] |
| 2 | | [3] | [frag creamware] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag white lead glazed earthenware] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | | [1] | [frag Indian pottery] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag window glass] |
| 2 | | [4] | [frag wine bottle] |
| 2 | | [1] | [frag clear glaze on red earthenware] |
| 2 | | [3] | [hand made nails] |
| 2 | | [2] | [hand made nails, no heads] |
| 2 | | [12] | [T-head nails] |
| 2 | | [13] | [L-head nail, machine made] |
| 2 | | [6] | [cut nails] |
| 2 | | [3] | [wood screws] |
| 2 | | [1] | [scrap of lead] |
| 3 | Sq. 1A- Surf/Dist level, 6-12" | 17 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 1 | blue bottle glass |
| 3 | | 2 | window glass |
| 3 | | 2 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 3 | flat iron strapping, 1" width |
| 3 | | 1 | iron harness buckle and ring, 2.5" ring, 2.5"buckle - photo |
| 3 | | 1 | iron washer, 1 1/2" |
| 3 | | 1 | iron buckle, 1" x 1 1/2" - photo |
| 3 | | 5 | hand wrought nails |
| 3 | | 13 | cut nails |
| 3 | | 7 | L-head nails, machine cut |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag delft tile] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag delft ware] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag blue and copper luster ware] |
| 3 | | [1] | [hand made hook] |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag glazed earthenware] |
| 3 | Sq. 1A- Op. Level | 6 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 2 | plaster frags |
| 3 | | [1] | [neck of wine bottle] |
| 3 | | [17] | [frag creamware- tankard?] |
| 3 | Sq. 1A- Op level/ Remodeling level | 1 | blue hand-painted delft |
| 3 | | 18 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 3 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 1 | iron key hole surround, 3/4" long - photo |
| 3 | | 1 | screw |
| 3 | | 11 | machine cut nails, 3 @ 1-1/2", 1 @ 1-3/4", 4 @ 2", 2 @ 3", 1 @ 4" |
| 3 | | 2 | plaster frags |
| 3 | | [3] | [frag creamware] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag cream color inside, green outside] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag delft fireplace tile] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag Ironstone Made by Knight, Elkin & Co, England 1826-47] |
| 3 | Sq. 1A- Op level below remodel level | 1 | burnt pottery fragment |
| 3 | | 2 | window glass |
| 3 | | 5 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 9 | UID nails |
| 3 | | 1 | charcoal frag |

| Lot | Provenience | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | 3 | bone frags |
| 3 | | 3 | chert flakes |
| 3 | | [3] | [frag yellow slipware] |
| 3 | Sq. 1B- Ash level inside NE corner | 1 | black bottle glass base (3 1/4"d.) |
| 3 | | 81 | black bottle glass frags |
| 3 | | 5 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 2 | window glass |
| 3 | | 1 | screw, L=>3" |
| 3 | | 3 | flooring nails, 2 @ 3", 1 @ 3-1/4" |
| 3 | | 9 | hand wrought nails, rose head, 7 @ 1-1/4", 2 @ 3" |
| 3 | | 1 | UID nail |
| 3 | | 2 | mortar frag |
| 3 | | [13] | [frag Chinese porcelain bowl w/lake scene, 18 cen.] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag transfer printed ware] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag gray salt glaze stoneware, jug] |
| 3 | Sq. 1B- Op. Level | 1 | window glass |
| 3 | | 1 | clear bottle glass |
| 3 | | 176 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 1 | flooring nail, 1 @ 2-3/4" |
| 3 | | 2 | hand wrought nails, T-head, 2 @ 3-3/4" |
| 3 | | 2 | machine cut nails, 2 @ 2" |
| 3 | | 3 | UID nails |
| 3 | | 2 | bone frags |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag porcelain] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag creamware] |
| 3 | Sq. 2A and 2B- 0-6" | 1 | tumbler base |
| 3 | | 1 | black bottle glass neck frags |
| 3 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frag |
| 3 | | 10 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 1 | machine cut nail, wrought T-head, 1 @ 1-3/4" |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag delft fireplace tile] |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag gray salt glaze stoneware, jug] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag ironstone] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag transfer print blue and white] |
| 3 | Sq. 2A- Surface/Dist. Level | [3] | [frag blue and gray saltglaze stoneware] |
| 3 | Sq. 2A- Remod. & Op. Level | 3 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 1 | clear bottle glass |
| 3 | | 6 | UID nails |
| 3 | | [4] | [frag of white china cup] |
| 3 | Sq. 2B- 0-12" bag 1 of 2 | 7 | window glass |
| 3 | | 5 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 7 | flooring nails, 1 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2", 4 @ 3" |
| 3 | | 9 | machine cut nails, wrought head, 5 @ 1-1/4", 3 @ 3-1/2" |
| 3 | | 7 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 1-3/4", 1 @ 2-1/2" 4 @ 3-1/4", 1 @ 3-/12" |
| 3 | | 4 | UID nails |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag marble from fire place] |
| 3 | Sq. 2B- 0-12" bag 2 of 2 | 1 | melted glass |

| 3 | | 10 | black bottle glass base (3 1/4"d; 3 1/4"d;3 3/4"d; 3 3/4"d) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | 198 | black bottle glass | |
| 3 | | 3 | black bottle glass neck frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | iron lock box 6" x 3 1/2", thickness = 7/16" - photo | |
| 3 | | 1 | mortar frag | |
| 3 | | [4] | [frag porcelain, blue and white underglaze, lake scene] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, blue on white underglaze] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain overglaze] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, 19 cen] | |
| 3 | | [3] | [frag yellow slipware with brown spots] | |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag transfer print, blue and white | |
| 3 | | [22] | [frag transfer print , blue and white, ironstone- soup tureen] | |
| 3 | Sq. 2B- Op. Level | 1 | black bottle glass | |
| 3 | | 1 | melted glass | |
| 3 | | 2 | bone frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | plaster frag | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag English delft] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag creamware] | |
| 3 | Sq. 2 & 3B mixed surface/dist. | 3 | window glass | |
| 3 | | 3 | melted glass | |
| 3 | | 2 | flat metal sheeting | |
| 3 | | 7 | black bottle glass base frags (3 1/2"d) | |
| 3 | | 6 | black bottle glass neck frags | |
| 3 | | 254 | black bottle glass | |
| 3 | | [6] | [frag creamware] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [ironstone] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag hand painted earthenware- 19th cen] | |
| 3 | | [3] | [frag flower pot] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [base of poured drinking glass] | |
| 3 | Sq. 3A- 6-12" surface/dist. Level | 1 | clear glass tumbler rim | |
| 3 | | 8 | melted glass | |
| 3 | | 29 | black bottle glass frags | |
| 3 | | 2 | black bottle glass base frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | flooring nail, 1 @ 2-3/4" | |
| 3 | | 13 | machine cut nails, cut heads, 6 @ 1-1/4", 3 @ 2", 4 @ 3" | |
| 3 | | 2 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 3-1/4", 1 @ 3-1/2" | |
| 3 | | 4 | brick frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | marble frags | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag cream edged ware] | |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag clear drinking glass] | |
| 3 | Sq. 3A- Ash and Op. Level | 3 | melted glass | |
| 3 | | 2 | aqua bottle glass | |
| 3 | | 12 | black bottle glass base frags (4"d; 3 1/2"d; 3 1/2"d) | |
| 3 | | 9 | black bottle glass neck frags | |
| 3 | | 320 | black bottle glass frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | bone frags | |
| 3 | | 1 | shell frag, oyster | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | 1 | marble frags |
| 3 | | 2 | mortar frag |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, underglaze 18th cen] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, underglaze 19th cen] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, overglaze] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag slip yellow and light brown] |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag pierced cream ware] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag hand painted- 19th cen] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag white china] |
| 3 | | [4] | [frag ironstone china] |
| 3 | Sq. 3A-PHOTO | 2 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frag (3 1/4"d) |
| 3 | | 47 | black bottle glass frags |
| 3 | | 1 | hand wrought nails |
| 3 | Sq. 3B- 0-12" surface/disturbed | 8 | melted glass |
| 3 | | 1 | window glass |
| 3 | | 1 | black bottle glass neck frags |
| 3 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frag |
| 3 | | 9 | black bottle glass |
| 3 | | 2 | iron strapping frags (mend) |
| 3 | | 2 | machine cut spikes, 2 @ 6" |
| 3 | | 1 | UID nail |
| 3 | | 9 | UID iron chunks |
| 3 | | 6 | flooring nails, 4 @ 2-3/4", 2 @ 3" |
| 3 | | 24 | machine cut nails, machine heads, 5 @ 1-1/4", 18 @ 2", 1 @ 3-3/4" |
| 3 | | 18 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 15 @ 3-1/2", 3 @ 3-3/4" |
| 3 | | 1 | mortar frag |
| 3 | | 1 | kettle leg |
| 3 | | [3] | [frag creamware] |
| 3 | | [2] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue] |
| 3 | | [1] | [frag blue glass, bowl or vase] |
| 3 | Sq. 3B | 2 | black bottle glass base frags (1 @ 4-1/4"; 1 @ 4") |
| 3 | | 2 | black bottle glass frags |
| 3 | | 2 | UID iron |
| 3 | | 10 | bone frags |
| 3 | | 1 | brick frag |
| 3 | Sq. 2 & 3, OP Lv. 1 | 3 | nails |
| 3 | | 1 | animal bone |
| 3 | | 1 | mortar fragment |
| 3 | | 1 | charcoal fragment |
| 3 | | 1 | clear table glass fragment |
| 3 | | 1 | window glass |
| 3 | | 213 | black bottle glass frags |
| 4 | Sq. 4A- 0-6" surface/disturbed | 1 | black bottle neck frags |
| 4 | | 13 | black bottle frags |
| 4 | | 1 | window glass |
| 4 | | 1 | clear bottle glass |

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|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | | 3 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 1 | iron hinge frag |
| 4 | | 1 | flooring nail |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nail |
| 4 | | 4 | UID nails |
| 4 | | 2 | plaster frag |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag porcelain , 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag yellow slipware with brown spots] |
| 4 | Sq. 4A- 6-12" surface/disturbed | 20 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 17 | black bottle glass frags |
| 4 | | 8 | light yellow bottle glass |
| 4 | | 2 | clear bottle glass |
| 4 | | 10 | window glass |
| 4 | | 1 | square nut, iron, 1 1/2" |
| 4 | | 1 | iron strap (prob repair strap), L=5-1/2", W=1/2", 4 holes, rounded ends |
| 4 | | 3 | machine cut nails, machine heads, 1 @ 1-1/2", 2 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 3 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 3 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/2" |
| 4 | | 1 | UID nail |
| 4 | | [8] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag porcelain, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag stoneware light green glaze] |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe stem 4/64 dia.] |
| 4 | Sq. 5A- 0-6" surface/disturbed | 4 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 8 | light yellow bottle glass |
| 4 | | 29 | window glass |
| 4 | | 5 | aqua bottle glass |
| 4 | | 2 | clear bottle glass |
| 4 | | 27 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frag (3 3/4"d) |
| 4 | | 3 | black bottle glass neck frags |
| 4 | | 3 | machine cut nails, cut heads, 1 @ 1-1/2" 2 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 1 | mortar fragment |
| 4 | | 2 | worked marble (mend, recent break) t=1-3/4" |
| 4 | | 3 | Native American pottery sherds (1 w/cord impression) |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag combed slipware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag gray salt glaze, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [7] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag shell-edged creamware] |
| 4 | | [6] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [9] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue |
| 4 | | [5] | [frag porcelain, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag copper luster ware, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag of handle burned in fire] |
| 4 | | [1] | [gun flint] |
| 4 | | [1] | [buck shot] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | | [1] | [curtain ring, 18th cen] |
| 4 | Sq. 5A- Ash and Op. Level | 24 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 6 | window glass |
| 4 | | 1 | aqua bottle glass |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle base frag |
| 4 | | 5 | black bottle neck frags |
| 4 | | 5 | black bottle glass frags |
| 4 | | 1 | screw frag |
| 4 | | 17 | machine cut nails, cut heads, 8@1-1/4", 5@2", 4@ 2-1/2", 1@3", 1@3-1/4" |
| 4 | | 2 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 2 @ 3-1/4" |
| 4 | | 10 | flooring nails, 1 @ 2-1/4", 9@ 3" |
| 4 | | 8 | UID nails |
| 4 | | 1 | Colonoware rim |
| 4 | Sq. 5A- Oc. Level (8-12"?) | 1 | Elers ware |
| 4 | | 1 | black basalt |
| 4 | | 1 | blue transfer printed pearlware frag |
| 4 | | 3 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 25 | window glass |
| 4 | | 5 | green bottle glass |
| 4 | | 10 | clear bottle glass |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nail, cut head, 1 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nail, wrought head, 1 @ 2-3/4" |
| 4 | | 1 | UID nail |
| 4 | | 5 | animal bone frags |
| 4 | | 1 | white hard plastic frag (bucket?) |
| 4 | | 9 | Colonoware sherds |
| 4 | | 2 | Native American sherds |
| 4 | | 1 | UID red clay pipe bowl frag - photo |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag Chinese porcelain plate] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag overglaze porcelain] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag underglaze porcelain] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag porcelain, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag delft, 18th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag combed slipware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag yellow slipware bowl] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | | [9] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag shell-edged ware] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag copper luster ware, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [1/2 bone button, 1 hole in center] |
| 4 | | [1] | [hand made bone tooth brush?] |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe stem 4/64 dia.] |
| 4 | Sq. 5A- pit #1 SE corner | 6 | window glass |
| 4 | | 4 | clear bottle glass |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag white salt glaze bowl?] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag delft, 18th cen] |

| 4 | | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain plate, Chinese, rim sherd] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, over and under glaze] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, under glaze with iron oxide wash on rim] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag yellow and brown slip glaze] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag cream inside, pineapple outside] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag white china] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag shell-edged ware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag copper luster ware, 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe stem 5/64 dia.] |
| 4 | Sq. 5A- pit #2 | 3 | window glass |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 14 | UID nails |
| 4 | | 10 | bone fragments |
| 4 | | 3 | oyster shell frags |
| 4 | | 2 | mortar |
| 4 | | 2 | water-worn pebbles |
| 4 | | 3 | Colonoware sherds |
| 4 | | 1 | brick fragment |
| 4 | | 1 | Native American pottery sherd |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag Chinese porcelain] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag Mocha ware] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag brown stoneware, jug or bowl] |
| 4 | Sq. 6A- 4-10", surface/ dist. | 2 | black bottle glass neck frags |
| 4 | | 5 | black bottle glass frags |
| 4 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 55 | lamp glass frags - photo |
| 4 | | 2 | window glass |
| 4 | | 1 | aqua bottle glass, neck frag |
| 4 | | 1 | window shade hanger, brass - photo |
| 4 | | 6 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 1-1/4", 1 @ 1-1/2", 4 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 2 | UID nails |
| 4 | | 4 | charred wood (pine) frags |
| 4 | | 1 | Chinese porcelain, HPOG |
| 4 | Sq. 6B- 4-10", surface/ dist. | 1 | goblet foot, clear |
| 4 | | 2 | flooring nails, 1 @ 1-3/4", 1 @ 2-3/4" |
| 4 | | 5 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 2 @ 1-1/4", 3 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nails, wrought head, 1 @ 3-1/2" |
| 4 | | 1 | Colonoware sherds |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag white saltglaze stoneware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain under and overglaze] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag white lead glazed earthenware] |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag banded ware, black and light brown bands on white] |

| 4 | | [1] | [frag light green stone ware with brown specks, jug] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag gray saltglaze stoneware, jug] | |
| 4 | Sq. 6B- 6-12", op. Level | 13 | window glass | |
| 4 | | 2 | black bottle glass base frags (4"d; 3 1/2"d) | |
| 4 | | 29 | black bottle glass | |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nail, machine cut head, 1 @ 2" | |
| 4 | | 1 | animal bone | |
| 4 | | 1 | Colonoware sherds | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag delft] | |
| 4 | | [4] | [frag yellow and brown slip ware bowl] | |
| 4 | | [5] | [frag creamware] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag transfer-printed ware, blue | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag ironstone] | |
| 4 | Sq. 7A- surface/disturbed | 1 | window glass | |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass neck frags | |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frags | |
| 4 | | 3 | black bottle glass | |
| 4 | | 1 | machine cut nail, hand wrought head, 1 @ 3-1/4" | |
| 4 | | 1 | flooring nail, 1 @ 3" | |
| 4 | | 2 | iron straps, 1" wide | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag clear glaze over red earthenware] | |
| 4 | Sq. 7A- Ash level | 75 | melted glass | |
| 4 | | 4 | flooring nails, 1 @ 1", 1 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2" | |
| 4 | | 16 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 3 @ 1-1/4", 5 @ 1-1/2", 3 @ 2", 1 @ 3", 4 @ 3-1/2" | |
| 4 | | 5 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 5 @ 3-1/2" | |
| 4 | | 2 | plaster frags | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag melted earthenware] | |
| 4 | Sq. 7A- Op. Level | 5 | window glass | |
| 4 | | 1 | light green glass | |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass, base frags | |
| 4 | | 34 | black bottle glass | |
| 4 | | 2 | mortar frags | |
| 4 | | [21] | [frag Chinese porcelain bowl with lake scene] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag creamware] | |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag transfer-printed ware] | |
| 4 | Sq. 8-Op level, between topsoil & clay | 2 | black bottle glass, base frags | |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass frags | |
| 4 | | 1 | flooring nail, 1 @ 1-1/2" | |
| 4 | | 1 | animal bone | |
| 4 | | [2] | [pipe stems 5/64] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe bowl 5/64  I  C  I on bowl] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag blue and white delft ware] | |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag square Gin bottle] | |
| 4 | Sq. 9- Op. Level, bag 1 | 2 | black bottle glass frag | |
| 4 | | 1 | window glass | |
| 4 | | 12 | UID nails | |
| 4 | | 11 | bone fragments | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag yellow dip glaze, Posset cup or bowl, mid 18th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | Sq. 9- Op. Level, bag 2 | 1 | black bottle glass frags |
| 4 | | 3 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 2", 1 @ 3-1/2", 1 @ 4-1/2" |
| 4 | | 1 | flat iron frag |
| 4 | | 6 | bone fragments |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag yellow and brown slip ware bowl] |
| 4 | Sq. 9-Op. Level between topsoil & clay | 1 | UID iron mass |
| 4 | | 1 | black bottle glass frag |
| 4 | | 1 | sulfur frag - photo |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag English porcelain] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag delft ware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag bottle neck, late 18th early 19th cen] |
| 4 | | [1] | [twisted head brass pin] |
| 4 | Sq. 10- Op. Level | 26 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 43 | window glass |
| 4 | | 53 | corrosion frags |
| 4 | | 4 | strap hinge frags, iron |
| 4 | | 1 | flat iron frag |
| 4 | | 12 | UID nail frags |
| 4 | | 2 | flooring nails, 1 @ 2", 1 @ 3-1/4" |
| 4 | | 9 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 8 @ 1-1/2", 1 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 2 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 1-3/4", 1 @ 3-1/4" |
| 4 | | 96 | bone fragments |
| 4 | | 2 | shell frags |
| 4 | | 9 | plaster frags, 4 w/ painted surfaces - photo |
| 4 | | 2 | Colonoware sherds |
| 4 | | 6 | UID stone frags |
| 4 | | 1 | UID iron |
| 4 | | [4] | [pipe stems 4/64] |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe stem 5/64] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag white salt glaze] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag delft ware] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag porcelain] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | | [3] | [frag transfer printed ware] |
| 4 | | [63] | [frag yellow glazed slipware] |
| 4 | Sq. 10- Ash layer inside #2&#3wall | 16 | flooring nails, 1 @ 1-1/2", 4 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2", 9 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 57 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 26 @ 1-1/4", 2 @ 1-1/2", 21 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2", 4 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/2" |
| 4 | | 9 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 6 @ 3-1/2", 3 @ 3-3/4" |
| 4 | | 14 | UID nails |
| 4 | Sq. 10- From 2" of ash on brick floor | 1 | blue transfer printed pearlware |
| 4 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 3 | finishing nails, 1 @ 1-3/4", 1 @ 2-1/4", 1 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 13 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 4 @ 1-1/2", 9 @ 2" |
| 4 | | 4 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/2", 1 @ 4" |

| 4 | Location | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Sq.10B-Op. Level on top of mortar | 5 | animal bone frags |
| 4 | | [10] | [frag yellow slip ware bowl with brown spots, mid 18th cen] |
| 4 | Sq. 11-From ash on top of floor | 8 | flooring nails, 7 @ 2-3/4", 1 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 37 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 8 @ 1-1/4", 15 @ 1-1/2", 13 @ 2", 1 @ 3-1/2" |
| 4 | | 5 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 4 @ 3-1/2", 1 @ 3-3/4" |
| 4 | | 4 | UID nail frags |
| 4 | Sq. 11A- ash level | 3 | melted glass |
| 4 | | 1 | iron butt hinge with 10 screws, ht=5", w=2" |
| 4 | | 1 | iron box bracket with 2 screws |
| 4 | | 1 | hand wrought nail, T-head, 1 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 83 | finishing nails, 2 @ 1", 20 @ 1-1/4", 7 @ 1-3/4", 1 @ 2", 8 @ 2-1/4", 39 @ 2-3/4", 6 @ 3" |
| 4 | | 138 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 29 @ 1-1/4", 18 @ 1-3/4", 67 @ 2", 4 @ 3-1/4" |
| 4 | | 42 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 2-3/4", 15 @ 3-1/4", 26 @ 3-1/2" |
| 4 | | 67 | UID nails |
| 4 | Sq. 11A-ash to baked earth | 1 | porcelain rim frag |
| 4 | | 1 | misc. iron |
| 4 | | 19 | UID nails |
| 4 | | 1 | hand wrought nails (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 38 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 36 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 45 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 4 | brick frags |
| 4 | | [1] | [lock, 19 cen.] |
| 4 | Sq. 11B-surface/disturbed | 1 | burnt refined earthenware |
| 4 | | 30 | window glass |
| 4 | | 13 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 1 | lamp glass frag |
| 4 | | 22 | UID nail frags |
| 4 | | 14 | charcoal |
| 4 | | 3 | bone fragments |
| 4 | | 14 | plaster frags |
| 4 | | 2 | Native American pottery sherds |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag black and yellow slipware bowl] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag slipware, yellow] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag delft, 1 blue and white; 1 yellow black and gray] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag brown lead glaze on red earthenware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, blue on white underglaze] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag porcelain] |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag creamware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag orange lead glazed earthenware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag banded ware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag hand painted] |
| 4 | | [1] | [frag ironstone] |
| 4 | | [1] | [pipe stem, burnt, 4/64 dia] |
| 4 | Sq. 11B- ash level | 23 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 22 | cut nails |
| 4 | | 40 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |

| | Provenience | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | | 13 | UID nails (not confirmed) |
| 4 | Sq. 11B- Op. Level | 1 | window glass |
| 4 | | 4 | black bottle glass |
| 4 | | 2 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 4 | | 9 | mortar frags |
| 4 | | 21 | wood frags |
| 4 | | [2] | [frag mixing bowl, buff colored earthenware] |
| 4 | | [1] | [chip of porcelain] |
| 5 | Sq. 12- Ash level | 10 | UID nails |
| 5 | | 4 | finishing nails, 1 @ 2-1/4", 2 @ 2-3/4", 2 @ 3" |
| 6 | | 23 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 7 @ 1-1/2", 1 @ 1-3/4", 12 @ 2", 1 @ 3-1/4", 2 @ 3-1/2" |
| 6 | | 2 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 2 @ 3" |
| 5 | Sq. 12A- Ash level | 2 | iron lock boxes |
| 5 | | 19 | finishing nails, 2 @ 1", 2 @ 1-1/4", 1 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2", 6 @ 2-3/4", 2 @ 3", 4 @ 3-1/4" |
| 5 | | 39 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 3 @ 1-1/4", 13 @ 1-1/2", 23 @ 2-1/4" |
| 5 | | 16 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 3", 1 @ 3-1/4", 12 @ 3-1/2", 2 @ 3-3/4" |
| 5 | | 5 | UID nails |
| 5 | | 31 | mortar frags |
| 5 | | 1 | oyster shell fragment |
| 5 | Sq. 12A- Op. Level | 1 | Colonoware |
| 5 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 4 | clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 3 | black bottle glass |
| 5 | | 1 | flat iron frag |
| 5 | | 2 | finishing nails, 1 @ 2-3/4", 1 @ 3-1/4" |
| 5 | | 4 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 2 @ 1-1/2", 1 @ 2-1/2", 1 @ 3-3/4" |
| 5 | | 1 | UID nail frag |
| 5 | | 1 | wrought spike frag >4-1/2" |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag Chinese porcelain cup] |
| 5 | | [2] | [frag yellow and brown slip ware bowl, mid-18th cen] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag delft ware] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag hand painted earthen ware, 19th cen] |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- Ash level, bag 1 | 1 | burnt earthenware (~ pearlware) |
| 5 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 2 | screws |
| 5 | | 6 | finishing nails, 2 @ 2-1/2", 4 @ 3" |
| 5 | | 19 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 2 @ 1-3/4", 17 @ 2" |
| 5 | | 6 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 1", 3 @ 1-1/4", 1 @ 3-1/4", 1 @ 3-1/2" |
| 5 | | 33 | UID nails |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- Ash level, bag 2 | 20 | flooring nails, 1 @ 1-1/4", 2 @ 2-1/4", 3 @ 2-1/2", 4 @ 2-3/4", 8 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/2" |
| 5 | | 32 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 6 @ 1-1/4", 3 @ 1-1/2", 3 @ 1-3/4", 18 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2" |
| 5 | | 22 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 5 @ 1-1/4", 6 @ 3", 10 @ 3-1/2", 1 @ 4" |
| 5 | | 17 | UID nails |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- Ash level behind N. wall | 153 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 1 | clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 2 | brass tube, dia. ~ 1" |
| 5 | | 79 | flooring nails, 2 @ 1-1/2", 5 @ 1-3/4", 4 @ 2", 10 @ 2-1/4", 21 @ 2-3/4", 25 @ 3", 12 @ 3-1/4" |

| | | Count | Description |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | | 138 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 4 @ 1-1/2", 5 @ 1-3/4", 87 @ 2", 6 @ 2-1/2", 8 @ 3", 10 @ 3-1/4", 18 @ 3-1/2" |
| 5 | | 66 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 9 @ 1-1/4", 32 @ 1-1/2", 2 @ 2-1/2", 7 @ 3", 16 @ 3-1/4" |
| 5 | | 18 | UID nails |
| 5 | | 31 | mortar frags |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- Op. Level, bag 1 | 2 | black bottle glass, neck frags |
| 5 | | 15 | black bottle frags |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- Op. Level, bag 2 | 2 | black bottle glass frags, bases |
| 5 | | 39 | black bottle frags (very small fragments) |
| 5 | | 3 | window glass |
| 5 | | 1 | clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 4 | flat iron frag |
| 5 | | 16 | UID nails |
| 5 | | 7 | charcoal |
| 5 | | 18 | bone fragments |
| 5 | | 1 | mortar frags |
| 5 | | 3 | Colonoware |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag delft ware] |
| 5 | | [2] | [frag creamware] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag ironstone] |
| 5 | Sq. 12B- pit | 2 | black bottle glass frags |
| 5 | | 2 | cut nails |
| 5 | | 2 | UID nails |
| 5 | | 1 | shell frag |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag transfer printed ware] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag white china] |
| 5 | Sq. 13A- Op. Level (bag is written "13B") | 1 | Chinese porcelain, undec. |
| 5 | | 8 | window glass |
| 5 | | 3 | clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 6 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 1 | black bottle glass base frags (3 1/2"d) |
| 5 | | 24 | black bottle glass frags |
| 5 | | 3 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 10 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 2 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 8 | UID nails (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 5 | plaster frags |
| 5 | | 3 | white plastic frags (bucket?) |
| 5 | | 1 | incised Native American pottery frag |
| 5 | | [9] | [frag delft ware] |
| 5 | | [6] | [frag creamware] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag luster stoneware, copper color, 19 cen] |
| 5 | | [1] | [handle frag salt glaze] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag transfer printed ware] |
| 5 | Sq. 13B- Ash level, bag 1 | 24 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 1 | bolt lock plate |
| 5 | | 21 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 24 | cut nails (not confirmed) |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | | 48 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 7 | UID nails (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 29 | mortar frags |
| 5 | Sq. 13B- Ash level, bag 2 | 17 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 1 | spike frag |
| 5 | | 41 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 21 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 12 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 45 | UID nails (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 1 | mortar frags |
| 5 | Sq. 13B- Op. Level, bag 1 (bag is written "13B found below ash lv. - burnt end up) | 1 | hand-painted overglaze porcelain base frag with foot rim |
| 5 | | 1 | lt green glass bowl frag |
| 5 | | 1 | brass hinge, 4-1/2" x 1-1/2" |
| 5 | | 49 | charred wood frags |
| 5 | Sq. 13B- Op. Level, bag 2 | 1 | bag of misc. iron corrosion |
| 5 | | 1 | flattening iron base, 5 1/4" x 3 3/4" |
| 5 | | 1 | iron curved rest, 3 1/4" x 2 1/2" |
| 5 | | 1 | large mortar fragment |
| 5 | Sq. 13 B- Op. Level, bag 3 | 180 | burnt wood frags |
| 5 | | | twill string |
| 5 | | 53 | mortar frags |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag English white salt-glazed tankard, 1740-60] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag English salt-glaze, scratch blue, before 1740] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag salt-glaze] |
| 5 | | [5] | [frag porcelain, over and under glaze] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag porcelain, over glaze] |
| 5 | | [5] | [frag porcelain] |
| 5 | | [2] | [frag yellow slip glaze bowl, mid 18th cen] |
| 5 | Sq. 14B- Op. Level | 1 | clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 13 | black bottle glass base frags (4"d, ; 3"d, 1"k) |
| 5 | | 182 | black bottle glass frags |
| 5 | | 2 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 5 | | 1 | bone fragments |
| 5 | | 2 | mortar frags |
| 5 | | 2 | Native American pottery sherds |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag creamware] |
| 5 | | [2] | [frag yellow ware, 19th cen] |
| 5 | | [2] | [frag delft ware] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag porcelain] |
| 5 | | [1] | [frag handle of brown stoneware jug] |
| 5 | Sq. 15A- Surface/Disturbed | 15 | window glass |
| 5 | | 1 | black bottle glass |
| 5 | | 1 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 9 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 2 @ 1-1/4", 7 @ 2-1/4" |
| 5 | | 1 | machine cut nail, wrought head, 1 @ 3-1/4" |
| 5 | | 2 | UID nails |
| 5 | | [3] | [frag creamware] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 5 | | [2] | [frag white lead glazed earthen ware] |
| 5 | Sq. 15A- Ash level (bag is written "15B) | 1 | black bottle glass frags |
| 5 | | 81 | window glass |
| 5 | | 5 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 1-1/4", 2 @ 2", 1 @ 2-1/2", 1 @ 3" |
| 5 | Sq. 15B- Ash level from house | 18 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 7 | thin clear bottle glass |
| 5 | | 1 | iron pintle for hinge |
| 5 | | 63 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 11 @ 1-1/2", 47 @ 2", 2 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/4", 1 @ 3-1/2" |
| 5 | | 1 | hand-wrought nails, rose head, 1 @ 3/4" |
| 5 | | 5 | UID nail frags |
| 5 | | 2 | bone fragments |
| 5 | | 22 | charcoal |
| 5 | | 2 | plaster frags |
| 5 | Sq. 15B- Fill and Op. Level | 1 | clear bottle base |
| 5 | | 2 | melted glass |
| 5 | | 1 | window glass |
| 5 | | 2 | UID nail frags |
| 6 | K.T. Surface level, kitchen 0-3" | 33 | whiteware, undec (2 cup, 1 bowl, 3 plate) |
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, blue tp |
| 6 | | 2 | whiteware, polychrome hp |
| 6 | | 7 | whiteware, blue-edged (6 plate) (2 mend) |
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, flow blue (plate rim) |
| 6 | | 3 | whiteware, annular |
| 6 | | 2 | whiteware, cable (1 bowl rim) |
| 6 | | 8 | pearlware, undec |
| 6 | | 1 | pearlware, annular |
| 6 | | 7 | pearlware, blue tp (1 plate) (7 match/mend) |
| 6 | | 2 | pearlware, blue edged (2 plates) |
| 6 | | 28 | creamware, undec |
| 6 | | 6 | creamware, brown HPOG (3 plates) |
| 6 | | 1 | creamware, edged (1 plate) |
| 6 | | 2 | Chinese porcelain, blue HP |
| 6 | | 1 | Chinese porcelain, HPOG (1 cup rim) |
| 6 | | 2 | porcelain, white (1 plate, 1 bowl) |
| 6 | | 1 | porcelain, white, blue HP |
| 6 | | 1 | clear lead glaze coarse red EW |
| 6 | | 1 | brn salt-glazed stoneware |
| 6 | | 1 | alkaline glazed stoneware |
| 6 | | 31 | black bottle glass |
| 6 | | 2 | black bottle glass base frags (3 1/4"d) |
| 6 | | 5 | aqua bottle glass |
| 6 | | 1 | aqua panel bottle base 3" x 1 1/4"; Lippitt & Brown, Savannah |
| 6 | | 6 | clear bottle glass |
| 6 | | 1 | pink glass |
| 6 | | 1 | aqua panel bottle neck |
| 6 | | 30 | window glass |
| 6 | | 4 | melted glass |

## Artifact Catalogue

| | | | Count | Description | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | | | 1 | clear leaded glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | blue bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | amber bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | key hole surround, 1-1/4"d | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | screw frag | | |
| 6 | | | 11 | machine cut nail frags | | |
| 6 | | | 12 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 2 @ 1-1/4", 1 @ 2-1/2", 5 @ 3", 2 @ 3-1/2", 1 @ 4" | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | machine cut nails, wrought heads, 1 @ 1-1/4" | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | flooring nails, 1 @ 3" | | |
| 6 | | | 12 | UID nails | | |
| 6 | | | 18 | bone fragments | | |
| 6 | | | 2 | pipe stem frags, 2 @ 5/64" | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | child's toy kettle, lead, crushed (1" x 1 1/4") | | |
| 6 | | | 2 | Colonoware | | |
| 6 | Kitchen Op. Level- 3-9" | | 7 | pearlware, undec | | |
| 6 | | | 12 | creamware, undec | | |
| 6 | | | 2 | creamware, edged (2 plates) | | |
| 6 | | | 10 | pearlware, blue edged (7 plates) | | |
| 6 | | | 3 | creamware, brown HPOG (1 small plate, 1 plate from bag 1) | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | pearlware, blue lp | | |
| 6 | | | 15 | whiteware, undec (1 cup, 1 bowl, 2 plates) | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | lead glazed slipware | | |
| 6 | | | 3 | porcelain, white, undec | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | porcelain, white, gilded rim (overglaze) (1 plate) | | |
| 6 | | | 3 | Chinese porcelain, blue HP (1 plate, 1 bowl) | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | brown salt-glazed stoneware | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | brown lead-glazed coarse red earthenware, int only glazed | | |
| 6 | | | 18 | window glass | | |
| 6 | | | 12 | black bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | clear bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 4 | aqua bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | aqua panel bottle glass, base frag | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | blue bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | brown bottle glass | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | leaded goblet foot frag | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | H-hinge frag | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | UID metal frag | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | caliper or protractor arm | | |
| 6 | | | 6 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 1-1/4", 3 @ 2", 2 @ 2-1/2" | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | machine cut nail, wrought head, 1 @ 3-3/4" | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | machine cut nail frag | | |
| 6 | | | 8 | UID nails | | |
| 6 | | | 14 | bone fragments | | |
| 6 | | | 1 | brick frag | | |
| 6 | | | 2 | kaolin pipe stems, 2 @ 5/64" | | |
| 6 | | | 2 | chert frags | | |
| 6 | Kitchen Op. Level- 9-11" | | 1 | burnt refined EW | | |

# 38JA72- OLD HOUSE
## Artifact Catalogue

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, molded (jar) |
| 6 | | 1 | creamware, brown HPOG ( plate) |
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, blue lp |
| 6 | | 3 | creamware, undec |
| 6 | | 1 | pearlware, undec |
| 6 | | 1 | black basalt |
| 6 | | 2 | brown salt-glazed stoneware |
| 6 | | 7 | black bottle glass frags |
| 6 | | 9 | window glass |
| 6 | | 1 | UID iron frag |
| 6 | | 3 | machine cut nails, machine cut heads, 1 @ 2", 1 @ 2-3/4", 1 @ 3" |
| 6 | | 8 | UID nails |
| 6 | | 15 | bone fragments |
| 6 | | 1 | chert frag |
| 6 | | 1 | petrified wood  fragment |
| 6 | | 1 | gray gunflint frag |
| 6 | | 1 | gray slate fragment |
| 6 | | 5 | Colonoware |
| 6 | Southeast Corner | 3 | black bottle glass frags |
| 6 | | 3 | window glass |
| 6 | | 1 | Colonoware |
| 6 | Level B | 1 | Chinese porcelain, blue HP |
| 6 | | 38 | black bottle glass frags |
| 6 | | 10 | window glass |
| 6 | | 1 | corrosion debris |
| 6 | | 14 | UID nails |
| 6 | | 26 | bone fragments |
| 6 | | 1 | shell fragment |
| 6 | | 3 | flint, chert frags |
| 6 | | 1 | Colonoware |
| 6 | Inside fireplace | 2 | melted glass |
| 6 | | 51 | window glass |
| 6 | | 60 | black bottle glass frags |
| 6 | | 1 | 1" wide iron strap |
| 6 | | 11 | L-head nails, machine made (not confirmed) |
| 6 | | 14 | cut nails (not confirmed) |
| 6 | | 16 | cut nails with hand wrought heads (not confirmed) |
| 6 | | 1 | hand-wrought nails (not confirmed) |
| 6 | | 98 | UID nails (not confirmed) |
| 6 | Provenience Lost | 2 | pearlware, undec |
| 6 | | 2 | whiteware, undec |
| 6 | | 1 | porcelain, white, undec |
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, decalcomania (1 cup rim) |
| 6 | | 1 | pearlware, blue edged |
| 6 | | 1 | whiteware, flow blue |
| 6 | | 3 | black bottle glass frags |
| 6 | | 1 | brown bottle glass, embossed " ARTE " (modern) |

# 38JA72- OLD HOUSE
## Artifact Catalogue

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 6 | 1 | brick frag |
| 6 | 1 | grey slate fragment |
| 6 Found at Hayward Grave | 1 | chert fragment with embedded shell |
| 6 | 5 | creamware, undec |
| 6 | 2 | pearlware, undec |
| 6 | 2 | white salt-glazed stoneware |
| 6 | 1 | grey salt-glazed stoneware (1 crock rim) |
| 6 | 1 | lead glazed slipware |
| 6 | 1 | black bottle glass frags |