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Scotland, and came to Carolina about 1700, where he became a trader with the Yemassee Indians. Fraser's role as a trustee for the Presbyterian Church gave him ample opportunity to take note of the adjacent Lot 247. Sometime after about 1732 Fraser acquired the property, most likely from William Donning. While the precise date of Fraser's acquisition is not known, the Fraser family is identified as the adjacent landowner when the Presbyterian Church purchased the Jones lot in 1755.⁵

Fraser almost certainly was the first to build on Lot 247. A 1739 map of Charleston indicates that Lot 247 was still undeveloped in that year; the marshy inlet continued to encroach on both the southern edge of the property and much of the land across Meeting Street. In this map, the walled city was still fully evident, and one of the bastions overlooked the property from the center of Meeting Street in the vicinity of the present-day cemetery fence of First Scots. When Fraser died in 1754, however, he left "all that lott of Land on which I now Live" to his wife, Judith Warner Fraser, for her lifetime; the property was then to descend to their son, Alexander, and the eldest daughter, Judith. Fraser's widow died in April, 1772, and the land passed to Alexander, whose sister Judith had died in 1763.⁶

Little is known of the Fraser period of occupancy of Lot 247. Based on the 1788 map of Charleston, the first improvement to the property was a building or buildings at the southeast corner of the lot where Price's Alley joins Meeting Street. Archaeological investigations have revealed brick foundations for this building, with artifactual evidence consistent with an occupation period of 1740s and later. Fraser's role as a trustee for the Presbyterian Church by the early 1730s is one indication that he was a successful merchant; further evidence may be drawn from his estate inventory, recorded August 20th, 1754. The total value was nearly 10,000 pounds South Carolina currency, almost £7000 of that in debts receivable and bonds. He owned sixteen slaves worth more than £2500, and household goods valued at about £400. Among the latter possessions were an array of mahogany furniture, two beds with furnishings, a book case and books, china, delftware, and a tea table, tea kettle and stand.⁷

While little is known at this point of the house occupied by Fraser, documentary and archaeological evidence offer some clues. The improvements to Lot 247 portrayed in the map of 1788 include as many as four brick and frame structures in the southeast corner of the lot and a small frame structure in the northeast corner. None of these buildings appears to be substantial enough to be a typical Charleston single-house, a form only just coming into use in the 1740s. Perhaps Fraser lived in the brick structure delineated in 1788 at the corner of Meeting Street and Price's Alley; the adjacent structures may have provided commercial and service space, or may have included one or more leased tenements. The foundation of the corner structure has been located archaeologically, and fill from this portion of the property included ceramics typical of the 1740s and later. Additional archaeological investigation holds the best hope of shedding further light on the pre-Russell occupation of the site.⁸

The large number of slaves owned by Fraser (sixteen) is also worthy of analysis. While documentary evidence suggests that gentry houses might require an extensive servant force by

the late eighteenth century, it seems unlikely that a merchant such as Fraser needed such a large staff in his home at mid-century. More likely, some of these individuals worked and lived elsewhere, perhaps in association with Fraser's commercial activity, on his rural plantation, Wigton on Goose Creek, or as leased labor hired out to work elsewhere in the city. Judith Fraser's will of 1772 casts some further light on the family's slave holdings. Among twenty slaves named in the will, eleven can be identified from the 1754 inventory. Only one of these is noted by skill, however. Dick the carpenter, valued in 1754 at £140, almost certainly served as a labor investment, hired out for wages by Fraser and his widow.⁹

Alexander Fraser took possession of the property following his mother's death in 1772. He was fifty years old at the time and married to Mary Grimke, his second wife. Fraser had fifteen children in all--a son by his first marriage, and fourteen children with Mary Grimke. Ten of these children were alive when Fraser inherited the property in 1772; twelve were living when the property was sold seven years later. Alexander Fraser was probably well established elsewhere in town in 1772 and would have treated his parents' home as rental property until he sold the property in 1779.¹⁰

This same year he was proposed as a United States attorney for South Carolina. In 1777 and 1778 he lent £11,088 to the state government and in 1778 he served in the Charleston militia. In 1780, Russell was elected to represent Charleston in the Third General Assembly of South Carolina.²¹ In 1780, British forces seized Charleston and the following year, for reasons unknown, Russell departed Charleston for England, landing in Falmouth around the first week of August. He evidently lived in London for the next two years and did not return to South Carolina until after the war ended, arriving in September, 1783 on board the ship *Brothers*. On his arrival, Russell found himself unable to disembark, the unfortunate result of a legislative act to confiscate the property of Tories. Russell spent four months on board the ship before receiving relief from the legislature.²²

In the years following the war, Russell reestablished himself in Charleston. He purchased the property behind his East Bay Street house, extending that property through to Church Street, and he bought out William Greenwood's share of the Meeting Street property. He also bought 100 acres of land at "Rumney" (or Romney), just north of town and subdivided it into lots, reserving eight acres for his own use. In 1785, he mentioned in a letter to William Bull II in London that "[I have] just finished my house and rented it at £300 per year."²³

In June, 1788, at the age of fifty, Nathaniel Russell married Sarah Hopton, the 36-year-old daughter of a prominent local family. A pair of indentures executed prior to their marriage established Sarah's legal right to real estate and slaves inherited from her father, the late William Hopton. Included among her property holdings were a one-half share in a 1,150-acre plantation on the Wando River, 350 acres on Turkey Creek, two lots on Meeting Street, houses on Broad and Tradd streets, and the foundations of four houses under construction on Pinckney Street. Among 25 slaves owned by Sarah Hopton, all but one are named. Nine of these may be traced to her father's 1786 estate inventory, including Ben, a blacksmith, Diego, a carpenter, and Andrew, a carpenter's apprentice.²⁴

The Wando River plantation included William Hopton's "Brick-yard Plantation," which he advertised for sale in 1783:

To be Sold, And may be entered on the first of January next, THE SUBSCRIBER'S Brick-yard Plantation, On Wando River, 12 miles from this City; It contains 460 acres of LAND, on which is a good quantity of wood and hoop-poles, an overseer's house, negro houses, a large brick store, two double-brick kilns, and all conveniences for brick-making; some negroes accustomed to the business, will be sold with it. If not disposed of by the 17th of November, it will then be up at vendue at the Exchange. Credit will be given paying interest and giving approved security.
WM. HOPTON, no. 116, Meeting-street....²⁵

Despite lying in the heart of an important brick-making district on the north side of the Cooper River, the land failed to sell. Hopton evidently did not expose the property to vendue sale (or withdrew it without sale), and instead devised the property to his daughters, Mary

Christiana Hopton and Sarah Hopton, at his death in 1788. Sarah retained her half-interest in the plantation and it seems highly likely that the Russells turned to this ready source of bricks when they built their new house on Meeting Street two decades later.²⁶

The Russells' first child, Alicia Hopton Russell, was born the following year and in 1790 the first United States census listed Nathaniel, Sarah and Alicia Russell living at 16 East Bay with sixteen slaves. A second daughter, Sarah, was born in 1792.²⁷

The 1790s mark a period of accelerating public service by Nathaniel Russell. At various times he served as a commissioner of roads in the city parishes, raised funds for improvements to the Charleston harbor defenses, and was elected to the state legislature. He also became a visible figure in the expansion of new business infrastructure for the city and state. He invested in the Santee Canal, purchased stock in the Charleston Insurance Company and the South Carolina Bank, and was elected a director of the Charleston branch of the United States Bank.²⁸

Russell's business connections to New England never diminished, and in June, 1802, Russell prepared for a trip to Rhode Island and Massachusetts. On June 3rd Russell conveyed a power of attorney to fellow merchant Adam Gilchrist, "being about to depart from the state."²⁹ On August 4th, the Reverend Nathaniel Bowen wrote to his sister in Boston, confirming Russell's arrival in Rhode Island:

I have visited my friend Mr. Russell at Bristol and spent a few days in the most agreeable manner. Mr. Russell and his family will shortly be in Boston - on about Tuesday or Wednesday next. I would have you call on Miss Crafts and get her to shew you where you are to find them. I am in hopes your Uncle & Aunt Hill will be able to wait on them. They have ever been in the highest degree friends and kind to our family and to me ever since my residence in Carolina. They have supplied the place of the nearest relatives. The elder of the daughters I should wish you to see a great deal of - she is much your inferior in years, but is inferior to few of superiors in years in improvement...³⁰

The Russells probably returned to Charleston late that summer or fall; in January, 1803 Russell once again was elected an officer of the Santee Canal Company, and in July he advertised for an escapee from the city orphan house. The Russell's New England tour may have been influential in their next major venture. By 1806 or 1807, the Russells had decided to build a new house on the Meeting Street property purchased from Alexander Fraser in 1779.³¹

partitions or a fence, for example. The listing of spikes implies rough rather than finish work; the number of days required indicates a project of some consequence.⁴¹

It is tempting to link this construction activity to the construction of the "hyphen" that was added to join the Russell House and its kitchen service building. This addition was carefully built of Flemish bond with a beak joint; the large window openings were finished with dressed stone lintels and carefully worked jack arches. The brick coursing did not precisely align with the house and kitchen, however, and there were significant distinctions from the main house. The window lintels were red sandstone (similar to the kitchen) rather than white marble, and the jack arches were laid with a beak joint rather than the thin butter joints of the main house. The quality of work in the hyphen suggests an early date of construction, but these characteristics can be found in Charleston as late as the 1840s. Indeed, it can be stated with certainty only that the hyphen predates 1852, when it appears on a detailed map of the city.

Three interpretations can be drawn from this evidence. Perhaps the hyphen was built during the Russell period, both as a connection to facilitate access between the kitchen and the dining room, and to accommodate service for her daughter and increasingly active grandchildren. While in actual numbers the white household had probably only added one or two Middleton grandchildren (in any given year) over the course of the 1820s, by 1830 the Dehon children were in their mid-teens and the family was served by twelve slaves and one free black man.⁴²

Alternately, the hyphen may have been added during the late 1830s or early 1840s as the population of the Dehon household increased, driven by the expanding family of Sarah Dehon's eldest daughter. Yet a third possibility is suggested by current research into the changing nature of the service yard in nineteenth century Charleston. An intensive survey of more than 200 land plats of city properties found in the McCrady Plat Collection and in contemporary land records suggests a fundamental change was underway by the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Eighteenth-century land plats indicate a strong preference for separation between the main dwelling house and the kitchen and service structures. These intervening spaces were increasingly likely to be filled in with additional service space in the nineteenth century; the nature of those spaces changed as well.⁴³

Indeed, one plat from 1844 bears remarkable similarity to the functional appurtenances of the Russell House hyphen. This plat delineates a house on Society Street planned for William McMage by the well-known Charleston builders, John and Peter Horlbeck. This rectangular single house was designed with an intermediate hyphen to provide direct access to a kitchen dependency, with stable and carriage house beyond. All four buildings were to be of brick, and the hyphen was to house an "Eating Room," pantry and cistern. This space clearly was not intended to take the place of a proper dining room in a formal house, but the combination of service space, pantry and cistern are directly analogous to the Russell House. Regardless of when the Russell House hyphen was built, the earlier screening wall survived in part,

incorporated into the north wall of the new structure. The cistern survived as well, left in place below the first floor and presumably serviced by a simple hand pump.⁴⁴

Sarah Russell died on June 11, 1832, and was buried in St. Phillip's churchyard. An appraisal of the Russell property prepared the following February lists nearly \$50,000 in real estate holdings in the city and nearby countryside, including their former home on East Bay Street; the house on Meeting Street was handled separately as a specific bequest. In addition to an array of brick and frame tenements, the Russells owned Craft's North Wharf, a store on Craft's South Wharf, and a shop on the corner of Meeting and Ellery streets. A carpenter's shop on Guignard Street may have been the workplace of a skilled Russell slave; they also owned "A lot 50 ft. by 100 on Church Street continued, with a small wooden building occupied by Negro Cain."⁴⁵

Table 3: The Russell Household, 1808-1832.

<u>Family member:</u>	<u>Resident:</u>
Nathaniel Russell (1738-1820)	1808-1820
Sarah Hopton Russell (1752-1832)	1808-1832
Alicia Russell Middleton (1789-1840)	1808-ca. 1818, 1826 [married 1809]
Arthur Middleton (1785-1837)	1809-ca. 1818
Nathaniel Russell Middleton (1810-1890)	1810-ca. 1818, 1826
Ralph Izard Middleton (1814-1891)	1814-ca. 1818, 1826, 1827-1828
Anne Manigault Middleton (1820-1876)	1826
Sarah Russell Dehon (1792-1857)	1808-1813, ca. 1820-1857
[married 1813; widowed, 1817]	
Sarah Russell Dehon (1814-1889)	ca. 1820-1857
Theodore Dehon (1816-1887)	ca. 1820-1857
William Dehon (1817-1862)	ca. 1820-1841 [married 1841]

The African American population is less clear, but ranges from a high of eighteen in 1800 to a low of thirteen in 1820.

Table 4: Sample Household Populations, 1810-1830.

1810	<p>Nathaniel Russell, age 72 Sarah Hopton Russell, 58 Sarah Russell, 18 Alicia Russell Middleton, 21 Arthur Middleton, 25 Nathaniel Russell Middleton, infant</p> <p>The Russell slaves are not included in the 1810 census list. [The Register of St. Philip's Church records the burial of "Rinchy Edwards (slave of Mrs. N. Russell) [aged] 45 years" July 22, 1818.]</p>
1820	<p>[Nathaniel Russell died April 11, 1820] Sarah Hopton Russell, widow, age 68 Sarah Russell Dehon, widow, 28 Sarah Russell Dehon, 6 Theodore Dehon, 4 William Dehon, 3</p> <p>U.S. Census records are unclear regarding the Russell household; an enumeration of slaves has not been located. [The blacksmith Tom Russell, a slave of Sarah Russell, was executed July 26, 1822 for his role in the Denmark Vesey rebellion.]</p>
1826	<p>Sarah Hopton Russell, widow, age 74 Sarah Russell Dehon, widow, 34 Sarah Russell Dehon, 12 Theodore Dehon, 10 William Dehon, 9 Alicia Russell Middleton, 37 Nathaniel Russell Middleton, 16 Ralph Izard Middleton, 12 Anne Manigault Middleton, 6</p> <p>[Simon is resident in April, 1827.] ["Momma (old nursemaid)" is resident in June, 1827.] [Momma and Hannah are resident in December, 1827.]</p>

Table 4: Sample Household Populations, 1810-1830.

1830 Sarah Hopton Russell, widow, age 78
 Sarah Russell Dehon, widow, 38
 Sarah Russell Dehon, 16
 Theodore Dehon, 14
 William Dehon, 13
 Nathaniel Russell Middleton, 20

The U.S. Census lists thirteen African Americans (seven male slaves, five female slaves, and one free black male).
[September, 1836: "Mrs. Dehon has lost her Gardener [to cholera]...[and] David the houseboy is down with it."]

The Dehon/Trapier Years, 1832-1857

On Sarah Russell's death, the house passed to Sarah Dehon, who continued to live there until her death in 1857. Mrs. Dehon's tenure as mistress of the Russell House is a period marked by further philanthropy and a steady expansion of the household. In 1833, Sarah Dehon's oldest child and only daughter, Sarah Russell Dehon, married the Reverend Paul Trapier. An Episcopal minister, Trapier served several local parishes in the early 1830s before assuming the rectorship of St. Stephen's Church in Charleston in 1836. He remained at St. Stephen's until 1840, then served at St. Michael's from 1840 to 1847 and Calvary Church from 1848 until 1856. Except for several brief interludes, the Trapiers lived with Mrs. Dehon on Meeting Street from their marriage in 1833 until her death in 1857.¹

Sarah Trapier joined her mother in philanthropic and religious good works, and the Trapiers proceeded to fill the Russell House with children. Sarah, the first of twelve Trapier children, was born in 1834; Richard Shubrick Trapier, the last, was born in 1856. By 1840, Sarah Dehon shared the house with her two sons, Theodore (age 24) and William (age 23), her daughter and son-in-law and four Trapier children, as well as eight slaves.²

At this point in time, the Russell House would have been somewhat crowded, but could have handled such a varied household with only minor inconveniences. A possible room distribution, for example, would place Mrs. Dehon in the southwest bed chamber on the second floor and her two adult sons in the corresponding chamber on the third story. Sarah and Paul Trapier were probably in the east chamber of the third story, possibly with nine-month-old Mary, and the three older Trapier children could have shared the oval chamber on the third story.³

The Trapiers continued to expand their family--four more children were born in the ensuing decade. Both Dehon sons married in 1841, however, altering once again the make-up of the Meeting Street household. The elder Dehon son, Theodore, traveled to France in 1841 after completing his medical education at South Carolina Medical College, and there married Jeanne Zoe Delpeche. His brother William stayed close to home, entered the Episcopal ministry, and married his first cousin, Anne Manigault Middleton in Charleston the same year.⁴ Theodore's wife Zoe must have been an especially successful addition to Charleston society, as Ralph Izard Middleton observed in a survey of the delights of life in the antebellum city:

Here are we so quiet (except Tuesday and Friday evenings) so peaceful, so hot, figs at Breakfast, water melons & musk melons at dinner - in the afternoon the battery to walk upon. Mr. R. W. Roper's house to delight the eye, Dr. and Mrs. Dehon to charm the mind...⁵

Theodore Dehon owned a plantation in St. Bartholomew's Parish and while active in parish affairs, he evidently continued to live in his mother's Meeting Street house with his new

easier change was undertaken in the front entry. This large rectangular room was partitioned to create a small but well-finished chamber at the south end, overlooking the garden. This room offered little privacy and has previously been interpreted as a butler or porter's chamber. In the 1864 Allston inventory of the Russell House, this room was simply furnished with an iron bed and probably was a servant's room. In 1857, however, the room was furnished with a bedstead and bedding, two dressers, a table and chairs and three wash basins, all valued at the same amount as the east bed chamber on the second floor. Clearly not used by a servant in 1857, the room most likely was a bed chamber for one or two of the older children.¹¹

Further space was created by raising the one-story brick hyphen to two stories. In this first expansion of the hyphen, the second story did not extend the full length of the ground floor. Instead, it stopped about seven feet short of the kitchen dependency, leaving a buffer space between the new construction and the adjacent servants' quarters over the kitchen. In contrast to all previous work, this new addition was built to modest standards. Rather than raising the hyphen in fine Flemish bond, the north wall was extended in brick, and the south and west walls in frame.

The second story was also purposefully positioned at the same floor level as the main house, to facilitate easy access between the southwest bed chamber on the second story of the main house and the new room in the hyphen. This arrangement was well-suited for creating a suite of rooms, possibly for Theodore Dehon and his family, with the children in the second story of the hyphen. When Sarah Dehon died in 1857, her inventory made no mention of the southwest chamber and the second story of the hyphen. Those rooms held none of Mrs. Dehon's possessions, which would be consistent with an arrangement in which they were occupied by Theodore's family. These alterations indicate that social entertaining no longer played a major role in the Dehon household. While the house still provided the appropriate spaces for genteel entertaining, the front entry had been reduced in grandeur and the elaborately finished withdrawing room on the second story had been converted to a bed chamber.

By 1850, the Dehon household had grown to fifteen, including eight Trapier children, the two Dehon children, and Eliza Matthews, a white, Irish-born female, 25 years old. Eliza was almost certainly a nanny and/or governess, employed either to manage the entire brood of cousins, or perhaps employed by Theodore Dehon specifically for his two motherless young children. In addition to these fifteen individuals, the service quarter must have been home to as many as nineteen slaves.¹²

Theodore's daughter Cecile died in 1854 and the Trapiers' eldest son, Paul, died in 1855, but Sarah Trapier continued to bear children. The last three Trapier children, Anne Dehon, Edith Russell and Richard Shubrick, were born in 1851, 1853 and 1856, and through the early to mid-1850s the Dehon household fluctuated between fourteen and sixteen members.¹³ Sarah Trapier was assisted by this time by a wet nurse acquired by her husband through a chance encounter on the street:

You will be glad to hear that Sarah dined at table today. She has been out twice to ride and hopes to be at Church next Sunday, when the baby is to be baptized....A wet nurse has at length been procured, in rather an unexpected way, Mrs. Girardeau meeting a good natured negro woman in the street with an infant in her arms, enquired of her if she knew of a wet nurse to be hired. She said that she was one herself, and was in the hands of a broker for sale, but did not know if she could be hired. Mr. Trapier, with his usual alacrity, applied to the broker, and found that the woman was from Georgetown, and had been brought up in the family of Mrs. John Keith. He obtained from Mr. Keith a pretty satisfactory account of her, and having had her on trial for a few days, and finding her good tempered and anxious to please, they determined to purchase her (from the funds to be received from the sale of the houses) and thus if possible to be relieved from the present, and perhaps future difficulties of the like kind. She has had many children, and is therefore somewhat experienced in the care of them. Her child is a fine healthy looking infant, and may grow up to be useful to them....¹⁴

In January, 1857, Reverend Trapier resigned his position at Calvary Church and traveled with Sarah, first on a therapeutic voyage to Cuba, and then to Virginia in search of a new home and ministry.¹⁵ The departure of the large Trapier brood must have left a substantial vacuum in the grand old house on Meeting Street. Even as the Trapiers were settling into a new life near Virginia, however, Sarah Dehon died. She was mourned in the local and religious press in terms that closely paralleled the tributes paid to her mother a quarter century earlier:

Naturally of a sweet and amiable disposition, the grace of God formed her into an eminent Christian. For forty years a widow, the discipline of a loving father wrought in her the fruits of holiness, and, like one of old, she 'served God with fasting and prayers, night and day'...Meekness, gentleness, resignation, and the other passive virtues of the Christian life, were combined in her with earnest zeal and active labors. The church of her affection mourns over her as a 'mother in Israel;' the poor remember her as a generous benefactress; a circle of attached friends will sadly miss her refined and improving society; and her family and household have lost an example which was as a beam of heaven upon their path. But she sleeps in Jesus...¹⁶

In her will, she made individual bequests of property, slaves, bank stock and other equities to her three children and fifteen grandchildren, and made small gifts to two benevolent societies. The Russell House was not mentioned in the division of her assets, and clearly could not be included readily in an equitable division of her estate. Instead, the house was made available for purchase.¹⁷

Table 5: The Dehon/Trapier Household, 1832-1857.

<u>Family member:</u>	<u>Resident:</u>
Sarah Russell Dehon (1792-1857)	ca. 1820-1857
Sarah Dehon Trapier (1814-1889)	ca. 1820-1857
Rev. Paul Trapier (1806-1872)	1833-1857
Sarah A. Trapier (1834-1878)	1834-1857
Paul Trapier (1836-1855)	1836-1855
Frances D. Trapier (1838-1848)	1838-1848
Mary Trapier (1840-1910)	1840-1857
Theodore D. Trapier (born 1841)	1841-1857
Zoe Trapier (born 1843)	1843-1857
Dugue Trapier (born 1845)	1845-1857
Alice P. Trapier (born 1849)	1849-1857
Elizabeth S. Trapier (born 1850)	1850-1857
Anne D. Trapier (born 1851)	1851-1857
Edith R. Trapier (born 1853)	1853-1857
Richard S. Trapier (born 1856)	1856-1857
Theodore Dehon (1816-1887)	ca. 1820-1857
Jeanne Zoe Delpeche Dehon (1820-1847)	1841-1847
Theodore Dehon (1842-1910)	1842-1857
Nathaniel R. Dehon (1843-1844)	1843-1844
Cecile Dehon (1845-1854)	1845-1854
William Dehon (1817-1862)	ca. 1820-1841

Table 6: Sample Household Populations, 1832-1857.

1840 Sarah Dehon, widow, age 48
Rev. Paul Trapier, 34
Sarah Dehon Trapier, 26
Sarah Trapier, 6
Paul Trapier, 4
Frances Trapier, 2
Mary Trapier, 9 months
Theodore Dehon, 24
William Dehon, 23

Eight blacks listed in 1840 census. Rev. Trapier's register of births, baptisms, marriages and deaths may identify six of them.

1850 Sarah Dehon, widow, age 58 [age given in census: 53]
Rev. Paul Trapier, 44 [40]
Sarah Dehon Trapier, 36
Sarah Trapier, 16 [14]
Paul Trapier, 14 [12]
Mary Trapier, 10 [11]
Theodore D. Trapier, 9 [8]
Zoe Trapier, 7
Pierre Dugue Trapier, 5
Alice P. Trapier, 20 months [2]
Elizabeth S. Trapier, infant (born 6/30/1850) [6/12]
Theodore Dehon, 34
Theodore Dehon, 8
Cecile Dehon, 5
Eliza Matthews [25]

The 1850 census lists Paul Trapier as owner of six slaves; the age and sex notations suggest a single family unit. Trapier's own records conflict with that assumption. The census lists 13 slaves for Sarah Dehon. The list does not include names, but does provide age (two children, two teenagers, nine adults), sex (six male, seven female), and black (ten) or mulatto (three). Her 1853 will includes three slaves: Phillis, Pheby and Sue; the 1857 estate inventory lists Sue (55 years old) and Phillis (67); Phoebe evidently had died by 1857.

The force pump and third story bath at Russell House would have required a cistern at the top of the house, as at Chicora Wood. A wooden cistern survives in the Russell House attic, immediately above the third story dressing/bathroom. This cistern is constructed of machine-sawn framing members and wide, carefully fitted boards. It was lined with sheet metal, probably zinc or copper (now gone), and was fitted with a lead exit pipe that still survives. A rectangular slot in the roof sheathing aligns at a slight downward pitch with an overflow aperture near the top of the cistern.

The dating evidence for this cistern is somewhat confusing, however. The frame and sheathing is sash-sawn, consistent with a date prior to 1860, and is constructed with mature cut nails typical of the period 1830s to 1880s. The nails that once secured the metal lining, however, are early wire nails of a type that should date no earlier than the mid-1870s; no evidence could be found of an earlier generation of lining. Given the availability of municipal water by about 1880, this conflicting evidence is puzzling. Most likely, the cistern dates to the 1870s and replaces an earlier tank.¹⁶

Other improvements were made to the house and grounds during those first years of the Allstons' occupancy. In February 1859, Allston paid to have 48 loads of earth hauled to "lot in Meeting Street," presumably indicating he had commenced work on the garden and was filling low areas in the yard. The bulk of the gardening work was probably done by Moses, a family slave who worked as a gardener on Allston's country plantation at the time of his marriage to Adele Petigru in 1832. By the late 1850s he was still the gardener, but was honored by the Allston children with the appellation "Daddy Moses." Moses moved to Charleston with the family and managed the garden under the supervision of a white man, Walter Webb. Webb signed the receipt for the fill dirt in 1859, and on April 24th Allston paid him \$100.00 "For one year's gardening ending Feb 1st [18]60." Allston recorded a similar payment to Webb the following February for a second year of work.¹⁷

The Allstons brought other changes to the Russell House. The population of the white household had dropped significantly in comparison to the Dehon occupancy; the supporting staff of slave and hired servants probably increased. The Dehon/Trapier household had peaked in 1853-54 at sixteen; they were replaced by Governor and Mrs. Allston and four of their five surviving children. The children included Adele or "Della," who was fifteen in 1857; Elizabeth ("Bessie"), age twelve; Charles Petigru Allston, age nine; and Jane Louise ("Jinty"), age seven. The Allstons' oldest son Benjamin was 24 in 1857; he had graduated from West Point in 1853, but maintained a room in the Allston's Charleston household.¹⁸

Later in life, Elizabeth Allston published a series of articles and several books that recount important events of her life. This material drew heavily upon a series of journals she kept as a young woman, and on family letters and other papers. Much of this material has survived and together offers a compelling portrait of life in Charleston before, during and after the Civil War. She includes, for example, a summary of ten household servants and their tasks in the Allstons' Meeting Street household:

I must describe our servants. Nelson was the butler and house-servant. (He was a mulatto, the son of a Mr. Thompson who had been overseer at Chicora before Mr. Bellflowers. He was a Northern man, very smart and capable; but after this papa sent him away. Nelson adopted his father's surname, Thompson.) He was the best, most faithful, intelligent man possible, and we were all devoted to him. Then came William Baron, who was very black and very heavily built, but an excellent servant, with very courteous manners. He took the greatest delight in arranging all the flowers in the house, which I also loved to do; and there was always a race between William and myself as to who should do it...William was my brother's (Colonel Ben Allston's) body-servant during the whole war.

After the war William Baron became well known in Charleston as a caterer, cook, and provider of elegant entertainments. He took charge of the suppers for the St. Cecilia...

Then there was Stephen Gallant, who was papa's special servant and valet, but when there was much company he helped with the waiting, which he understood well. Joe Washington was the cook. He had been trained two years by a man who kept a very fine restaurant, Sam Lee. Phoebe and Nannie were the maids, and Nellie, Nelson's wife, the laundress, assisted by a young girl. Daddy Moses, William's father, was brought down from the country to take charge of the yard and be gardener under a white man, Mr. Wubb [Webb], who was employed. Harris, a boy in the house, attended the bell and ran errands. They were all good servants and I was fond of all but Stephen, whom I could not bear. He put on great airs because he went with papa to Columbia always, and felt himself superior to the others, who jokingly called him the "little guv'ner," because he imitated papa's walk and manner generally, in an absurd way, as he was quite small and very black...¹⁹

Elizabeth omitted at least one other servant, Aleck the coachman. Aleck and Moses were among eleven Allston slaves noted by Adele Allston at the time of her marriage in 1832, and Aleck was still driving the Allston carriage in the early 1860s, when he patiently drove Elizabeth and her friends around Charleston and the nearby countryside.²⁰

For a brief period of about three-and-a-half years, the Allstons were able to fully enjoy life in their Charleston mansion. In the spring of 1861, however, growing tensions between North and South intervened. Early on the morning of April 12, 1861, Confederate batteries opened fire on the Union garrison in Fort Sumpter, at the mouth of Charleston harbor. Residents of Charleston watched the ensuing siege from the rooftops of the city; the Allston family doubtless shared this spectacle from the balustraded top of the Russell House. On April 14th, Fort Sumpter surrendered; closing the first, brief chapter of the War in Charleston. Enlistment fever swept the city, and Elizabeth Allston breathlessly recorded the departure of her elder brother and most of his generation of men for military service. Her father evidently anticipated serving in some capacity as well, for on June 10, 1861, he prepared his last will and testament.²¹

By late June, Benjamin Allston was in Richmond and could report that he had been posted as a major in a Mississippi regiment. Benjamin was joined there by his father as Confederate forces prepared for a major engagement in northern Virginia. News of the battle at Manassas reached Charleston quickly, yet word on the casualties trickled in slowly, leaving much of the city with a sense of dread.²²

On July 22nd, awaiting word from Northern Virginia, Adele Allston and her daughters stayed up late in anticipation of news to be conveyed by Adele's brother, Henry Lesesne. In describing this tense night and its almost comical developments, Elizabeth provides a vivid portrait of the family's anxiety, as well as a remarkable record of the servants' roles and interaction with the Allston household:

Last night we had a dreadful time Nelson was quite drunk. Uncle Henry came in...& stayed a little while...after he left Nelson came & locked the gate & door without heeding at all the ringing of the bell[.] when he came upstairs I noticed that his clothes were all muddy just as tho he had fallen on his side into the street. Mamma told him not to put out the light in the entry for Uncle H was coming back but he put it out about 11 o'clock[.] Uncle H. came rang at the bell but mamma was obliged to go down and unlock the door & gate for him...When Uncle H left we rang & rang but no one came. Mamma went and locked the gate & bolted the door & then went into the pantry to look for Nelson[.] she found him fast asleep in the back door [room?], she tried to wake him up called & at last took a stick a[nd] pushed him but all in vain[.] Then as there was no one to be sun [summoned?] Mamma wanted to put out the lights herself & leave him there, but I am ashamed to say I was very much scared & so Della and I woke up Nannie & sent her to call Joe[.] she went had to wake him up and told him to shut up [the house] & so we went to bed it was dreadful I felt so miserable. This morning he did not seem yet to be quite sober[.] Mamma said she would send him to the work house but he begged her pardon and seemed sorry. I really hope he will not do so again...²³

In a single brief passage, Elizabeth reveals that guests had to ring for access from the gate at the street, rather than the front door, and that Nelson, the butler, would normally be found in the pantry. When Nelson could not be roused, the Allston daughters had to awaken Nannie, one of the maids, to summon Joe [Washington], the cook. This implies that Nannie was probably quartered in the more desirable servants' rooms over the kitchen, while Joe was deeper in the quarter, in an area the Allston daughters would have considered off-limits for at least late-night ventures. Also notable is Mrs. Allston's threat to send Nelson, one of the most trusted Allston slaves, to the work house.²⁴

Robert Allston wrote home on July 23rd to report that he and Benjamin were at Manassas Junction, but had arrived too late for the battle. Three days later, perhaps moved by losses suffered by other Charleston families, Elizabeth confessed to her journal "It is so mortifying living in this large house everyone thinking us rich - but let us hush complaining."²⁵

some directions and admonitions. Elizabeth then wrote for Adele & Arnoldus & Jane & Charles, but we did not tell him we had done so....He breathed his last at half past 3 o'clock p.m. Friday 7 April. We laid him at his own request in Prince Frederick churchyard near Mrs. John H. Allston. My dear Ben we are greatly afflicted...³⁶

Robert Allston left an extensive estate, but one severely encumbered with debt and crippled by war. His intention was to provide for each of his five children a large landholding, slaves to work the plantations, and stocks and bonds to provide an income. The house on Meeting Street was left to his wife, with household and kitchen furniture, house servants, his pew in St. Michael's Church, and fifty thousand dollars in equities.³⁷

The inventory of Allston's estate listed more than 400 slaves spread among five plantations; included were 236 slaves at the Chicora Wood plantation alone. The inventory of the house on Meeting Street was conducted room-by-room, and provides a detailed picture of the contents of the house, evidently not so stripped of furnishings as Elizabeth had implied in her description of their evacuation the preceding summer. Included were two sets of "French China" (one at Chicora), rosewood, walnut and "Green Plush" furniture in the best rooms of the house, and more utilitarian items ranging from a cloakstand in the "Vestibule" to a crib in the "Nursery." Appended to the Meeting Street list was "1 Upright Piano" at Chicora Wood, doubtless the same "piano mechanic" that Governor Allston bought in Paris in 1855.³⁸

Robert Allston's estate inventory provides useful insights to room-use changes that had occurred since Mrs. Dehon's death in 1857. On the first floor, the entrance hall, described as "the entry" by Elizabeth in 1861, was here designated the "Vestibule." It was furnished as an informal sitting room, with two tables, six chairs, a bookstand and cloakstand, plus two "Small iron sofas," pictures and two marble medallions. The "Small Room adjoining" was still outfitted as a bed chamber, but now with much simpler furnishings. An iron bedstead and an iron chest imply this may have been a servant's room, but the room also included a table, chairs, a bureau, a carpet and a looking glass. Perhaps this was Nelson's room, now in close proximity to the front of the house and more readily available than he was in 1861. Certainly, the Allstons had little reason at this point to use this room for a family member, though it is worth noting that iron furniture was acceptable in the entry, and did not necessarily indicate an inferior space.

The stair passages are omitted from the inventory, but the first-story passage was described by Elizabeth as "the hall;" based on her description of a theft in the house, it probably served as an informal family sitting and work area:

My sister became engaged the year before the war. She had a beautiful engagement ring, a diamond...One day she was sewing before dinner and had taken off her rings and slipped them into her work-box, and when we went in to dinner she left it in the hall. When we came out from dinner and she opened her work-box to get the rings, they were gone!...There was a door in the hall opening on to the driveway, and it was always taken

Table 7: The Allston Household, 1857-1870.

<u>Family members:</u>	<u>Resident:</u>
Robert Francis Withers Allston (1801-1864)	1857-1864
Adele Petigru Allston (1810-1896)	1857-1870
Benjamin Allston (1833-1900)	
Adele ("Della") Allston (1842-1915)	1857-1863
Elizabeth ("Bessie") Waties Allston (1845-1921)	1857-1870
Charles Petigru Allston (1848-1922)	1857-1870
Jane Louise ("Jinty") Allston (1850-1937)	1857-1870

Note: periods of residence are inclusive and do not address time spent away at boarding school, serving in the war, or residing on the other family plantations. Benjamin Allston retained a room in the house in the late 1850s but probably never maintained permanent residence at the Russell House. After the war, at least one of the teachers at Mrs. Allston's school resided with the family.

Household slaves:

Nelson Thompson (mulatto), butler & house servant
 William Baron, house servant
 Stephen Gallant, servant & valet to Robert Allston
 Joe Washington, cook
 Phoebe, maid
 Nannie, maid
 Nellie (Nelson's wife), laundress
 young girl, assisted Nellie
 Daddy Moses, gardener (first mentioned 1832; died, 1864)
 Harris, a boy, attends bell and runs errands
 Aleck, coachman (first mentioned 1832, still present in 1864)

Table 8: Sample Household Populations, 1857-1870.

1857 Robert Francis Withers Allston
 Adele Petigru Allston
 Benjamin Allston (absent, but retains a room in house)
 Adele Allston
 Elizabeth Waties Allston
 Charles Petigru Allston
 Jane Louise Allston

Eleven slave domestic servants, listed in Table 9.

1865 Adele Petigru Allston
 Elizabeth Waties Allston
 Charles Petigru Allston
 Jane Louise Allston

1867 Adele Petigru Allston
 Elizabeth Waties Allston
 Charles Petigru Allston
 Jane Louise Allston

Mlle. Le Prince
Ten boarding students

Possibly several hired domestic servants

Chapter Notes: The Russell House Property, 1680-1779

1. Land warrant to Andrew Percival, April 4, 1694. Also see "Charleston--The Original Plan and the First Settlers," in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 9 (1908), pp. 12-27.
2. Book C-C, p. 102; 15 & 16 Mar. 1733 L & R, as transcribed and published in Clara A. Langley, *South Carolina Deed Abstracts 1719-1772, Vol. II*, pp. 128-29. For an abstract of Andrew Percival's will, see A.S. Salley, "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1700-1712," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* XII:3 (July 1911), pp. 150-51. On Percival's career, see Charles H. Lesser, *South Carolina Begins: The Records of a Proprietary Colony, 1663-1721*, (Columbia: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1995, pp. 38, 165-66, 430.
3. Ibid. The authors are particularly indebted to Robert Leath for assistance untangling the complicated early history of these two lots.
4. For a brief history of First Scots Presbyterian Church, see *Centennial Celebration of the Dedication of the First Presbyterian Church* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., 1915), pp. 9-22.
5. See deed of March 30, 1732, in which William Donning sells part of the adjacent Lot #241 to James Stobo. The property description notes that the lot to the south had been sold by Donning to Samuel Jones. Lot 247 was similarly described the following year, when Stobo transferred part of Lot 241 to the Trustees of the Presbyterian Church. See deed abstracts in Langley, *South Carolina Deed Abstracts 1719-1772, Vol. II*, pp. 128-29. A deed for Fraser's acquisition of the property has not been located. For Fraser family material, see "Fraser Family Memoranda," prepared by the late Charles Fraser, Esq., in September, 1840. Annotated by A. S. Salley, Jr., *South Carolina Genealogies, Vol. II* (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, for The South Carolina Historical Society, 1983), pp. 199-201. Also see *Centennial Celebration*, p. 10, and Martha Zierden, "Initial Archaeological Testing: The Nathaniel Russell House," (1995), pp. 10, 12.
6. The earliest specific reference to the Fraser family on this property occurs in 1765 when a boundary description for the lot to the west notes "Mrs. [Judith] Fraser" as the owner. Her will of 1772 links the family to the property at the time of her husband's death in 1754. For 1765 reference see Langley, p. 285; also Will of Judith Fraser, executed February 28, 1772, and Will of John Fraser, Record of Wills, vol. 7, pp. 190-93.
7. Appraisement of the Estate of John Fraser Deceased in Charles Town, August 20, 1754. Typescript copy, Russell House research files.

8. See "Plan of the City of Charleston, South Carolina, from a Survey taken by E. Petrie 1788," and Martha A. Zierden, *The Nathaniel Russell House: Initial Archaeological Testing*, (The Charleston Museum, Archaeological Contributions No. 24, 1995), pp. 15-16, 50-56.

9. Appraisement of the Estate of John Fraser; Will of Judith Fraser.

10. "Fraser Family Memoranda," in Salley, pp. 199-201. Alexander Fraser does not appear in the 1782 and 1785 city directories; in 1790 he is listed as a planter residing at 78 Tradd Street. He appears as "Alexander Frazer" in the 1790 Census; he died in May, 1791. His widow, Mary Grimke Fraser, is listed at 22 King Street in the 1794, 1796 and 1801 directories. The 1802 directory described her as a "widow and planter," living at 27 King Street (possibly the same house with a different number); she died in 1807. James W. Hagy, *People and Professions of Charleston, South Carolina, 1782-1802* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1992); typed transcript of 1779 deed from Alexander Fraser to Nathaniel Russell and William Greenwood, Russell House research files.

Chapter Notes: Nathaniel Russell's Early Career, 1765-1808

1. Hagy, *People and Professions of Charleston*. Greenwood's father, also William Greenwood, was a partner in the London trading firm Greenwood & Higginson, which specialized in the Carolina trade. For more on Greenwood & Higginson, see Isaac King (London) to Nathaniel Russell (Charleston), June 8, 1784, in Leath, ed., "The Nathaniel Russell Papers, 1765-1837," vol. 1.

2. N. Louise Bailey and Elizabeth Ivey Cooper, eds. *Biographical Dictionary of the South Carolina House of Representatives, vol. III: 1775-1790*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 624-26; *South Carolina Gazette*, February 2-9, 1765; *The Newport Mercury*, May 27, 1765. Newspaper advertisements, letters and other manuscript material specifically relating to Nathaniel Russell have been compiled in Robert A. Leath, "The Nathaniel Russell Papers, 1765-1837," 2 vols. (Research report for Historic Charleston Foundation and the Getty Conservation Institute, 1995).

3. *The Newport Mercury*, October 13, 1766.

4. A transcribed copy of the letter, dated July 19, 1767, is included in Leath, vol. 1.

5. For these and subsequent newspaper advertisements, see Robert A. Leath, "Russell Papers," vols. 1 and 2.

6. *South Carolina Gazette*, March 30, 1769.

7. Nathaniel Russell (Charleston) to Nicholas Brown & Company [Providence, Rhode Island], May 18, 1769. Transcribed copy, Leath, vol. 1. Subsequent correspondence suggests Russell had planned to return to New England but, with the prospect of business on behalf of Brown, he altered a permanent move to a business trip north, perhaps in part to avoid the hot summer and slow, off-season trade. On the 27th of May, Russell wrote to the firm and noted that he was planning to come to Rhode Island that summer and would leave his business in the hands of Jonathan Clark. On June 10th Russell was still in Charleston; it is not clear if he ever carried through with his planned trip.

8. For example, see Russell to Nicholas Brown & Company, May 18, 1769, May 27, 1769, and May 5, 1770; Russell to Aaron Lopez, May 28, 1770; Russell to Samuel and William Vernon, December 14, 1770; Russell to Christopher Champlin [Newport], December 31, 1771; and Charleston newspaper advertisements dated May 25, 1769 and April 5, 1770.

9. On the dull market for candles, see Russell to Nicholas Brown & Co., June 10, 1769 and May 5, 1770. For the commission on rum, see Russell to Champlin, March 29, 1772.

10. Russell to Samuel and William Vernon, May 18, 1769; *South Carolina Gazette*, May 18, 1769; Russell to Aaron Lopez, May 28, 1770.

11. Russell to Champlin, December 31, 1771; to Aaron Lopez, July 14, 1772 and September 1, 1772; to Champlin, December 1, 1773.

12. Russell to Aaron Lopez, July 14, 1772.

13. Russell to Aaron Lopez, September 1, 1772.

14. *South Carolina Gazette & Daily Advertiser*, June 13, 1785; also published in the June 18-22 edition of the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*. For 1786, see *Charleston Evening Gazette*, July 27, 1786 and August 2, 1786 and the *Charleston Morning Post & Daily Advertiser* for October 17, 1786.

15. Russell to Joseph and Joshua Johnson, July 2, 1785.

16. Russell's land acquisitions are summarized in "Russell Land Transactions," a research memorandum prepared by Robert A. Leath, dated September 14, 1995.

17. McCrady Plat Collection, Charleston. The plat has been reproduced at a reduced size in Carter Hudgins, et al., *The Vernacular Architecture of Charleston and the Lowcountry* (Charleston: Historic Charleston Foundation, 1994), p. 21.

18. Hagy, *People and Professions of Charleston*. Among Russell's neighbors on East Bay were Arnoldus Vanderhorst, Adam Tunno and Adam Gilchrist. Merchants with close business

associations to Russell along East Bay included William Crafts & Co., Robert Hazelhurst & Co., Simons, Vanderhorst & Co., and William and Adam Tunno.

19. Ibid.

20. Elkanah Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: Dana and Company, 1856), p. 44. Typed transcript by Robert A. Leath, Russell House research files.

21. Henry Laurens to Nathaniel Russell, February 10, 1778, transcribed in Leath, "Russell Papers," vol. 1; *Biographical Dictionary*, III:624-26.

22. John Parker, Jr. (Falmouth, England) to Gabriel Manigault (Charleston), August 7, 1781. Manigault Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. Typed transcript by Robert A. Leath, Russell House research files. Russell's arrival in Charleston is reported in the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* on September 20, 1783. For Russell's reception in Charleston, see Isaac King (London) to Nathaniel Russell (Charles Town), August 6, 1783, and Nathaniel Russell (Charleston) to Caleb Davis & Company (Boston), February 28, 1784.

23. Leath, "Russell Land Transactions;" Russell to William Bull II, August 5, 1785.

24. Marriage Settlement of Nathaniel Russell and Sarah Hopton, executed June 10, 1788, recorded March 3, 1789. The Russells' marriage was reported in the *Charleston City Gazette* on June 20, 1788, the day after the ceremony. William Hopton's inventory, dated December 15, 1786, is recorded in *Charleston County Inventories*, Book B:485 and is quoted here from Zierden, "Initial Archaeological Testing," p. 21.

25. *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, October 21, 1783.

26. For the brick industry on the Wando River, see Lucy B. Wayne, "Burning Brick: A Study of a Lowcountry Industry," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1992; and Wayne, "Four Men's Ramble: Archaeology in the Wando Neck, Charleston County, South Carolina," research report for Dunes West Development Corporation, Charleston, SC, 1990. Dr. Wayne is currently engaged in an intensive archaeological investigation of the Hopton plantation; see Lucy B. Wayne, "Starvegut Hall Plantation: Archaeological Data Recovery, 38CH1398 and 38CH1400, Dunes West, Charleston County, South Carolina," research report prepared for Dunes West, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina, July, 1996.

27. Hopton Family Chart, in Leath, "Russell Papers," vol. 2; Leath, Memorandum on Census Records, September 14, 1995.

28. See *Biographical Dictionary*, III:624-26, and Leath, "Russell Papers," vol. 2.

29. Nathaniel Russell to Adam Gilchrist, June 3, 1802. Russell served with Gilchrist on various civic and business boards and commissions. The Gilchrist family held a ball in honor of Alicia Russell's marriage to Arthur Middleton in 1809; in 1819, Nathaniel Russell served as trustee for Gilchrist's estate. See Margaret Izard Manigault to Mary Izard Stead Pinckney, March 20, 1809 (copy, Russell House research files); Estate of Adam Gilchrist, Esqr., November 21, 1819, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Equity Bills, 1819 No. 53.

30. The Reverend Nathaniel Bowen (Providence) to his sister, Susan Bowen (Boston), August 4, 1802. Bowen-Cooke Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. Typed transcription by Robert Leath, Russell House research files. For more on Bowen, who became rector of St. Michael's Church in Charleston in 1804 and was succeeded by Reverend Theodore Dehon in 1809, see Edgar Legare Pennington, *"The Earnest Looking Forward"* (Mobile, Alabama: Acme Printing, n.d.), pp. 16-17.

31. *Charleston Courier*, January 19, 1803; *Charleston Courier*, July 11, 1803. Russell was a commissioner of the Charleston Orphan House ca. 1800-1809.

Chapter Notes: The Russells Settle on Meeting Street, 1808-1832

1. *Charleston Courier*, May 10, 1808.

2. *Charleston Courier*, May 14, 1808.

3. Margaret W. Bowen (Charleston) to her sister-in-law, Susan Bowen (Boston), May 29, 1808. Transcribed copy, Russell House research files.

4. Margaret Izard Manigault (Charleston) to her cousin, Mary Izard Stead Pinckney (Pinckney's Island, SC), March 20, 1809. Transcribed copy, Russell House research files.

5. Nathaniel Russell Middleton, "Reminiscences" in *Life in Carolina and New England During the Nineteenth Century* (Bristol, Rhode Island: privately published, 1929), p. 185.

6. *Charleston Courier*, September 11, 1811.

7. Middleton, "Reminiscences," p. 185.

8. *The Times*, Charleston, September 11, 1811.

9. *The Times*, Charleston, September 17, 1811.

10. Martha Zierden, "Preliminary Report: Architectural Evidence derived from Archaeological Investigations, 1994-95," p. 12.
11. *Charleston Courier*, August 6, 1810.
12. Henry DeSaussure (Charleston) to William Mason Smith (London), November 1, 1810. Smith Papers, Middleton Place Foundation. A typed transcription of this extract is in the Russell House research files.
13. Margaret Izard Manigault (Charleston) to her mother, Alice Delancey Izard (Philadelphia), March 1, 1812. "Henry" is Henry A. Middleton, younger brother of Alicia Russell's husband, Arthur Middleton.
14. Catherine Van Horne Read (Charleston) to her sister, Elizabeth Van Horne Ludlow (New York), July 21, 1813.
15. Margaret Izard Manigault (Charleston) to her mother, Alice Delancey Izard (Philadelphia), November 7, 1813. Izard Papers, Library of Congress. Transcribed copy, Russell House research files. The marriage was reported in the November 5, 1813, edition of the *Charleston Courier*.
16. Barbara L. Bellows, *Benevolence Among Slaveholders: Assisting the Poor in Charleston, 1670-1860*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993, pp. 40-41. Bishop Dehon's death was reported in the *Charleston Courier* on August 7, 1817.
17. John Hammond Moore, ed. "The Abiel Abbot Journals, A Yankee Preacher in Charleston Society, 1818-1827." *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 68:2 (April, 1967), p. 72. The entry is dated November 26, 1818.
18. William Faux, *Memorable Days in America* (London, 1823; New York: AMS Press, 1969), p. 43; April 24, 1819.
19. Faux, pp. 77-78; June 7, 1819.
20. Noisette is listed as the occupant of one of the Romney lots in an 1833 property inventory included in the final resolution of the Russell estate. See Chancery Case, Arthur Middleton vs. Sarah Dehon, Alicia Middleton, et al., Devises of N. Russell deceased, August 20, 1836; January 6, 1837. The significance of Noisette as a figure in the gardening history of federal-period Charleston was pointed out by garden historian Barbara Wells Sarudy. For more on Noisette, see Sarudy, "Nurserymen and Seed Merchants in Early South Carolina." Unpublished manuscript, 1995, p. 9. A copy is included in the Russell House research files.

21. Quoted in Martha Zierden, "Initial Archaeological Testing: The Nathaniel Russell House," (1995), p. 18.

22. *Charleston Courier*, January 8, 1819.

23. Estate of Adam Gilchrist, November 21, 1819, Equity Bills, 1819 No. 53, South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Copy, Russell House research files.

24. *Charleston Courier*, April 12, 1820.

25. Last Will and Testament of Nathaniel Russell. Executed May 26, 1819, proved before James D. Mitchell Esq., April 17, 1820.

26. Family correspondence for this period derives primarily from the Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC, hereafter abbreviated as N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC. Photocopies of these letters are included in the Russell House research files; selective transcriptions are included in the Russell House chronology, a component of this report.

27. For repairs to the East Bay Street house, see Anne Middleton Izard to Alice Delancey Izard, March 20, 1826; Cheves-Middleton Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. For family activities, see Alicia Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, April 30 and November 15, 1827; January 1, February 2, and February 27, 1828; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

28. For Alicia's illness, see Anne Middleton Izard to Alice Delancey Izard, March 20 and April 6, 1826; Cheves-Middleton Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. On room use see the letter of April 6, 1826, above, and Sarah Dehon to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, June 13, 1827; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

29. Alicia Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, May 28, 1831; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

30. Alicia Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, June 14 and August 26, 1831; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

31. Sarah Russell to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, May 19, 1827; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

32. Sarah Dehon to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, June 13, 1827; N.R. Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

33. Alicia Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, February 16, 1828; Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, SHC/UNC.

34. Charles F. T. Andrus, "A Report on the Excavations at the Nathaniel Russell House." Historic Charleston Foundation, 1991, p. 4.
35. Martha Zierden, "The Urban Landscape, the Work Yard, and Archaeological Site Formation in Charleston, South Carolina." The Charleston Museum, 1992, pp. 22-24.
36. Andrew L. Ladygo, "Nathaniel Russell House: Mortar Analysis," research report for Historic Charleston Foundation, 1996.
37. The petition is dated November 29, 1829; a photocopy of the manuscript document is filed in the Russell House research file.
38. *The Trial Record of Denmark Vesey*, with an introduction by John Oliver Killens, Boston: Beacon Press, 1970, p. 80.
39. The Russell case is summarized in Zierden, "Initial Archaeological Testing," p. 22. Sarah Russell's petition, dated December 2, 1823, is listed in the manuscript index of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History.
40. Russell Warren accounts with Mrs. Sarah Russell, 1823-25. Transcribed from photocopy of original ledger pages, Middleton Family Papers, The Charleston Museum. Warren's Charleston work was but one episode in a full career. He is best known for developing the "Warren" truss, a highly influential and widely used design in American engineering. For more on Warren, see Beatrice St. Julien Ravenel, *Architects of Charleston*, Charleston: Carolina Art Association, 1945, pp. 151-57.
41. Note, however, that the cost per foot is the same as boards for "Petition [partition] in House in Tradd Street" and "for Frontice in Ellery Street," and is more than the 1½ cents per foot paid in April, 1824 for fence boards. Scantling, by contrast, cost four cents, and flooring ranged from two to 2½ cents per foot.
42. Robert A. Leath, Memorandum on Russell House Census Records, September 14, 1995.
43. Gina Haney, "'Put in Complete Order': The Development of the Charleston Back Lot, 1750-1850." Research paper, University of Virginia, 1996, pp. 10-11. Copy on file, Russell House research files.
44. Haney discusses the McMage house plan, pp. 12-13, and includes the plat as figure 4.
45. Sarah Russell's death was reported in the *Charleston Mercury* on June 15, 1832. The listing of property was prepared February 1, 1833 and is included in Chancery Case, Arthur Middleton vs. Sarah Dehon, Alicia Middleton, et al., Devises of N. Russell deceased, August 20, 1836; January 6, 1837.

Chapter Notes: The Dehon/Trapier Years, 1832-1857

1. George W. Williams, ed., *Incidents in My Life: The Autobiography of the Rev. Paul Trapier, S.T.D. with Some of His Letters*, Charleston, SC: Dalcho Historical Society, 1954, pp. 19-20; Henrietta P. Jervy, transcriber, "The Private Register of the Rev. Paul Trapier," off-print from the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Charleston: Dalcho Historical Society, 1958.

2. U.S. census records, 1840.

3. Once established in the Russell House, Sarah and Paul Trapier occupied the same chamber for their entire tenure. In his autobiography, Reverend Trapier described their return to his mother-in-law's house:

...after two winters [we] were domesticated again with Mother Dehon in Meeting Street, where we lived till her death in 1858 [1857]. There all our 12 children were born in one room, and there we passed through many checkered scenes of joy and sorrow during our experience as parents, and mine as pastor....

See Williams, p. 20.

4. Theodore and Zoe Dehon's original marriage certificate, dated July 6, 1841, is in the possession of a descendant, Zoe Churchill Ragsdale of Myrtle Beach, South Carolina. See Robert Leath's June 18, 1996 research memo to Orlando Ridout, Russell House research files. For Reverend William Dehon's marriage to Anne Manigault Middleton in November, 1841, see "The Schirmer Diary," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 70:2 (April 1969), p. 125.

5. Ralph Izard Middleton to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, August, 1842. Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Typed transcription by Robert Leath, Russell House research files.

6. Research summary concerning Theodore Dehon by Mary D. McConaghy, University of Pennsylvania, to Robert Leath, May 15, 1996; Russell House research files.

7. Paul Trapier to Nathaniel Russell Middleton, September 30, 1842, Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Typed transcription by Robert Leath, Russell House research files.

8. Sarah Russell Dehon to Reverend William Dehon, November 30, 1843, William Dehon Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. Typed transcription by Robert Leath, Russell House research files.

9. Birth dates for the Dehon children and the death date for Nathaniel Russell Dehon are recorded in Jervey, pp. 104, 258, 263; for the death of Frances, see Williams, p. 27. For residency at the Russell House, see 1840 and 1850 U.S. census and city directory listings for 1837-38, 1840-41, 1849, 1852, 1855, 1856. A summary of city directory listings related to the Russell House is included in the Russell House research files.

10. For room use in 1857, see the estate inventory of Sarah Dehon.

11. Dating evidence for the alteration to the front entry is based in part on analysis of historic paint finishes. See Susan L. Buck, "Cross-Section Microscopy Paint Study, Nathaniel Russell House." Research report prepared for Historic Charleston Foundation, April, 1996. While there was only one bed listed in the small chamber in 1857, there were two dressers and two wash basins, possibly an indication of shared occupancy. Note that Sarah Dehon's inventory does include every room on the third story (presumably occupied by the Trapiers) and omits the entire service wing except for several items in the kitchen.

12. U.S. Census, 1850. The number of servants in the Dehon/Trapier household remains unclear. The 1840 census lists eight blacks by age and sex; the 1850 census lists thirteen slaves belonging to Sarah Dehon and six Trapier slaves. In her 1853 will, Sarah Dehon bequeathed three slaves to her heirs; one of these predeceased her. It is likely that Theodore Dehon owned household slaves as well, but an enumeration has not been located.

13. Trapier register; 1850 census.

14. Sarah Russell Dehon to Anne Manigault Middleton Dehon, August, 1853, William Dehon Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. Typed transcription by Robert Leath, Russell House research files. The baptism refers to the eleventh of the Trapier's twelve children, Edith Russell Trapier, born June 16, 1853. Rev. Paul Trapier records her baptism on August 14, 1853 in Calvary Church. See Jervey, p. 165.

15. Williams, p. 28.

16. Quoted from an unidentified edition of the *Southern Episcopalian* in John N. Norton, *Life of the Rt. Rev. Theodore Dehon, D.D., Bishop of South Carolina*. New York: General Protestant Episcopal S. School Union, 1857, pp. 90-91.

17. Fifteen grandchildren were living when the will was prepared in 1853; by 1857 this number was modified by two deaths and one birth. The charitable gifts were to the Charleston Protestant Episcopal Domestic Missionary Society and the Society for the Advancement of Christianity in South Carolina. Last Will and Testament of Sarah Dehon, executed September 29, 1853; proved May 25, 1857. Charleston County Wills (W.P.A. typescript) Vol. 48, pp. 92-94. A photocopy of the W.P.A. typescript is in the Russell House research files.

Chapter Notes: The Allston Family, 1857-1870

1. Henry Deas Lesesne to Adele Petigru Allston, June 18, 1857. Original in the R.F.W. Allston Papers, South Carolina Historical Society; published in J. Harold Easterby, *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F.W. Allston* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 137-139.
2. Henrietta Petigru Lesesne to Adele Petigru Allston, June 18, 1857. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS. Photocopy of the original in Russell House research files.
3. James L. Petigru to Adele Petigru Allston, July 2, 1857. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS. Transcribed copy in Russell House research files.
4. Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Charleston County DB E-14, folio 45-46, 47; DB W-13, folio 378-80.
5. Benjamin Allston to his mother, Adele Petigru Allston, November 9, 1857. Photocopy of manuscript letter, Russell House research files.
6. These and subsequent receipts are from the R.F.W. Allston Papers, South Carolina Historical Society. Photocopies have been assembled by Robert A. Leath for the Russell House research files. Physical evidence survives for this set of stair rods as well as an earlier set presumed to be original.
7. The address for the Grice firm is omitted from this receipt, but appears on a second invoice dated January 1, 1861, covering purchases in 1859 and 1860.
8. See entry for August 25, 1865, in Elizabeth W. Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 289. The payments to Baker & Duffus are found in Adele Allston's account with Robertson, Blacklock & Co., R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS. The 1864 *Charleston City Directory* lists "Duffus, H.G., Brick-mason, 3 Wall St."
9. Denys Peter Myers, *Gaslighting in America: A Guide for Historic Preservation*. (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1978), p. 249. The advertisement for the Burrows house, by then known as "Jones Hotel," appeared in the *Charleston Courier*, September 12-14, 1850, as quoted in Harriett P. Simons and Albert Simons, "The William Burrows House of Charleston," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 70:3 (July 1969), p. 174. Lesesne noted that "Gas has been introduced in the dining room, sitting and drawing rooms, and in the hall." See Henry Deas Lesesne (Summerville) to Adele Petigru Allston, July 2, 1857. A photocopy of the original letter is in the Russell House research files. Alterations to the Aiken-Rhett House on Elizabeth Street in 1858 included elaborate French gasoliers that still survive. See Carter Hudgins, et al, *Vernacular Architecture of Charleston and the Lowcountry*, pp. 252-57. Another early reference to residential gas fixtures may be found in an advertisement published in the

Charleston Mercury of September 2, 1848. William Dougherty & Co. of Church Street, "opposite the Gas Works," offered "to fit up Churches, Stores, and private Dwellings, in a workmanlike manner, with GAS PIPES and FIXTURES...All orders left with Messrs. G. & H. Cameron, 153 Meeting st., will be faithfully attended to; who have for sale Gas Chandeliers, Brackets, Pendants, and all articles in the Gas Fitting line, of our own manufacture."

10. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS. For photocopies, see Russell House research files. Note that one Allston receipt includes charges for "taking down & putting up Pipe" and "Running 10 ft Old Pipe." See invoice of George D. Grice dated January 1, 1861 but covering charges incurred November 30, 1859 and February 29, 1860.

11. Water closets within the house became an increasingly common feature in English gentry houses in the latter half of the eighteenth century. An unusually early American example is the water closet at Governor Horatio Sharpe's Whitehall of ca. 1764 near Annapolis, Maryland. More typically, they began to appear in fine urban houses in the 1790s and in the best country estates of the early nineteenth century, and served as one characteristic of progressive, genteel living. The Russell House is therefore a likely candidate for an early water closet. However, evidence is scanty in this regard for early nineteenth century Charleston. The McCrady plats of city properties include evidence of a dual system of privies--a more refined structure for family members and a separate structure for servants and/or workmen. A survey of estate inventories for wealthy Charlestonians from the Federal period by Robert Leath revealed a surprisingly silent record on this subject. These inventories routinely included wash stands, "toilet tables," basins, bowls, and at least two bidets, but not a single close stool or chamber pot. The latter items were probably routine as well, but were purposely omitted or, occasionally, camouflaged, as with the 1814 reference to "1 Nt. chair" in the estate of Francis Simmons. More revealing, only two of these thirteen inventories included bathing implements. John Splatt Cripps's estate inventory of 1811 noted "1 shower Bath" and "1 large tin Bathing Tub," both located in the cellar; Francis Simmons grand house on Legare Street in 1814 included "A tin bathing Tub" located in the garret. The 1857 inventory for Sarah Dehon is equally silent on plumbing accouterments at Russell House. Wash stands and basins are abundant, but the record is silent on close stools, chamber pots, bidets and tubs. For the present, it is safe to say that a sophisticated water system existed in the Russell House by the late 1850s, without discounting the possibility that some form of interior plumbing predated the Allston occupancy. The development of a municipal water system for Charleston is discussed briefly in Robert P. Stockton, "The Middleton-Pinckney House...A History," manuscript research report, 1986. Stockton's references include James E. Gibson, "Charleston's Municipal Water Supply," typed manuscript, ca. 1939, Commissioners of Public Works.

12. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS.

13. Arthur Channing Downs, Jr. "The Introduction of the American Water Ram, ca. 1843-1850." *Association for Preservation Technology Bulletin* VII:4 (1975), 56-103.

14. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 166.

15. Ibid, pp. 268-69.

16. Wire nails are rarely found in house carpentry before the mid-1880s. However, documentary evidence indicates they were used for specialized purposes at least a decade earlier. The earliest wire nails were generally thick in the shank and were made from wrought stock. The nails used in the Russell House attic cistern (and parts of the frontispiece as well) were small and stubby, with a large shank in proportion to the diameter of the head. Cistern water systems continued in use in Charleston well after the introduction of public water. At the Aiken-Rhett House, for example, a second attic tank was added in the late nineteenth century and was used well into the twentieth century.

17. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS.

18. The Allston family data is drawn from several sources, including: Mrs. Ellis I. Kahn, biographical sketch, "An Alston By Any Other Spelling Is Still The Same," in Russell House research files, derived from Elizabeth Deas Alston, *Allstons & Alstons of Waccamaw* (1936) and *Dictionary of American Biography* I:223-24 (Scribner's, 1928); "Allston Family Chart," typescript in the Russell House research files; Anthony Q. Devereux, *The Life and Times of Robert F.W. Allston* (Georgetown, SC: Waccamaw Press, 1976); and Elizabeth Allston Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*.

19. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 169-71.

20. For the full list of Allston slaves in 1832, see Pringle, pp. 60-62. For Elizabeth Allston Pringle's description of an excursion with her friends, see pp. 167-68; for Nelson and Aleck's efforts on the Allstons' behalf during the Union sweep through the Low Country in 1864, see p. 228.

21. Charleston's Civil War history is briefly summarized in Robert Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston* (San Francisco, LEXICOS, 1982), pp. 98-109. For a detailed account, see E. Milby Burton, *The Siege of Charleston, 1861-1865* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1970). Elizabeth Pringle's memories of these events appear in *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*; more compelling are the handwritten passages in her journal, unspoiled by the perspective of adulthood.

22. Devereux, pp. 246-47.

23. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, July 23, 1861. Journals of Elizabeth Waties Allston, 1861-63, 1865. Allston-Pringle-Hill Papers (#11-25-19), Manuscript Collection, South Carolina Historical Society. Hereafter cited as Elizabeth Allston Journals, SCHS.

24. In Charleston, the placement of a visitors' bell at the front gate is part of a long tradition of creating buffers between visitors and the interior of the house. Formal entries at the street front of a single house piazza are the most common form of buffer; visitors' bells at the gate are another. Ebenezer Kellogg provides a vivid description of this practice during his visit to Charleston in 1817:

But whatever may be the situation of the house, you will find the knocker or bell at the first gate or door to which you come. It is very rare that you get into a man's yard, without being shown in by a servant. Dr. Leland's yard is accessible; but it is small, and the front door has no means of opening it from without....

Bell pulls mounted at the street front gate survive at 21 East Bay and the Miles Brewton House. Other examples are evident in historic photographs. See Sidney Walter Martin, "Ebenezer Kellogg's Visit to Charleston, 1817." *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49 (1948), pp. 1-14.

25. Devereux, p. 249; diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, July 24, 1861, Elizabeth Allston Journals, SCHS.

26. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, March 10, 1862.

27. Ibid, June 1, 1862.

28. Devereux, pp. 257-58; 260.

29. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, June 27, 1863. Elizabeth clipped and pasted a newspaper account of the wedding in her diary; the identity and date of the newspaper were not included.

30. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 187-88.

31. Ibid, pp. 189-90.

32. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, July 11, 1863. On Croley Hill, see Devereux, p. 248.

33. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 188-89, 191.

34. "The Allston Occupancy, 1857-1870," p. 5. This letter was published in J. Harold Easterby, *The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F.W. Allston* (Chicago, 1945), p. 428. A typed transcription is filed under "Allston" in the Russell House research files.

35. A. Robertson [Charleston] to Robert F.W. Allston, February 12, 1864. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS. A photocopy of the manuscript letter is filed in the Russell House research files.

36. The letter, dated April 13, 1864, is quoted in full in Devereux, p. 267-69. In a footnote, Devereux indicates obituaries of Robert F. W. Allston were published in the *Charleston Courier*, April 12, 1864, and in the *Charleston Mercury*, April 23, 1864.

37. Last Will and Testament of Robert F. W. Allston. Executed June 10, 1861 at Chicora Wood; signed, sealed and witnessed July 1, 1861; codicil executed March 29, 1864; entered into probate April 30, 1864; confirmed May 28, 1864.

38. Inventory of R.F.W. Allston, Case 159, File 23. There are two handwritten inventories of Robert Allston's possessions. They are in the same handwriting but differ in minor ways. One inventory is contained on two pages and is probably the first list compiled in the house. The second list (3 pages) is more neatly composed, with underlined headings for each room. The latter list is used here unless noted otherwise. Elizabeth Pringle provides a description of the piano in *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 141-42.

39. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 171-72. The family later learned the thief was a family slave, whose attempted escape to the north ended in death by drowning.

40. There were two pictures in the latter room rather than three. In the first draft of the inventory, the three vases are described as two vases and "1 china flower basket."

41. See Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 24-25 and 113-14 for references to the day-nursery.

42. For the Allstons' employment of an Irish woman to care for the children, see Pringle, pp. 24-25; two English governesses are noted here and on p. 123. For perspective on the employment of governesses in mid-nineteenth century South Carolina, see Rosser H. Taylor, *Ante-bellum South Carolina: A Social and Cultural History*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942, p. 113. Elizabeth Allston learned of the birth of Della's daughter on October 13, 1865. See Pringle, p. 295-96.

43. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, p. 166-67; Robert F.W. Allston, Meeting St., to Benjamin Allston, June 8, 1858. The visitor was William J. Hubbard, sculptor for the statue of George Washington "to be set up in the centre of the orphan-house yard, near the statue of Pitt," but eventually moved to the state capitol around 1890-91. See Devereux, pp. 216, 220. For Petigru's rooms over the kitchen, see Adele Petigru Allston to Benjamin Allston, August 27, 1866, Robert F. W. Allston Papers, SCHS. Photocopy of original letter in Russell House research files.

44. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 242-43.

45. Robertson, Blacklock & Co., Charleston, to Mrs. Adele Allston, December 7, 1864. Allston Papers, SCHS; photocopy of original manuscript letter, Russell House research files.

46. Devereux, p. 271.

47. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, May 15, 1865.

48. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 288-89.

49. Ibid, p. 289. In a letter dated September 20, 1865, Della reported progress on the house to her mother:

Arnoldus [Vander Horst, Della's husband] says your house can be repaired for \$150 or thereabouts, the roof is mended and it is the walls that require repair now...

This letter was published in Easterby, p. 214. A typed transcription is filed under "Allston" in the Russell House research files.

50. Account of Adele Allston with Robertson, Blacklock & Co., September 29 through December 31, 1865. R.F.W. Allston Papers, SCHS; photocopy of original ledger pages in Russell House research files.

51. Ibid.

52. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 307-08. The Allston Papers in the South Caroliniana Library include one newspaper advertisement for the school, dated December 20, 1865:

...MRS. R. F. W. ALLSTON

PROPOSES (D.V.) to open the first Monday in January, at her residence, No. 37 Meeting-street, a BOARDING AND DAY SCHOOL for Young Ladies. It will be Mrs. Allston's earnest desire to merit the confidence of parents and guardians. For terms and circulars apply as above...

The Sumter Watchman, Sumter, SC, Vol. XVI, No. 35, p. 3, col. 3, Wednesday 20 December 1865. Original on file, Allston Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC. Transcribed by Willie Graham.

53. Diary entry, Elizabeth Waties Allston, [December] 9, 1865. This entry is from a fragmentary section of Elizabeth's diary for 1865. The month notation is completely lost, but in *Chicora Wood*, Elizabeth notes that she left Chicora on October 21, 1865, and arrived in Charleston no later than the 25th. She variously gives December 1st and mid-December as the date the family moved into the house.

54. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 307-09. Mlle. Le Prince taught French at Madame Togno's boarding school, attended by Elizabeth before the war. In January, 1867, Elizabeth

could report "I have the delight of having Mlle. Le Prince established in the house, and French the language of the school, in a modified way, that is, there are no punishments for speaking English." See Pringle, pp. 178, 316.

55. Ibid, pp. 309-12.

56. Adele Petigru Allston to Benjamin Allston, August 27, 1866, Robert F. W. Allston Papers, SCHS. Photocopy of original letter in Russell House research files. On Charles Petigru Allston's preference to be known as "Petigru", see Devereux, pp. 274-75.

57. Elizabeth Pringle gives no hint of the dire assessment of the school's future provided in a letter from Adelle Allston to her son Benjamin in the fall of 1868:

I am grieved to say the prospect is worse for our school than it has ever been. Maggie Adger has gone to school in Baltimore. I do not know of a single pupil. This grieves me, but I have no right to complain[.] If my school had really been excellent it would not thus have failed. This is an admirable situation and there must be serious defects in the management to cause it thus to fail[.] Pray say nothing about it. It is a matter on which one can not ask sympathy[.] Burn your old letters before you leave...

Allston Family Papers, Columbia: South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC. Transcribed by Willie Graham.

58. Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 340, 342-43.

59. Advertisement of Decree in Equity and announcement of forthcoming sale, typescript copy in Russell House research files of original in possession of Sister Mary Carmel, St. Francis School of Nursing. Also see Pringle, *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*, pp. 342-43. Adele Allston was aided by a timely and unexpected gift from an Allston cousin who wished to repay the family for past assistance and kindnesses extended by her late husband. See Pringle, p. 344.

Chapter Notes: The Sisters of Charity, 1870-1909

1. Typed transcript from original in archives of the Sisters of Charity, Russell House research files.

2. RMCO DB S-15, folio 28-32, February 14, 1870. For the history of the Sisters of Charity, see Mary Alma Parker, "The Nathaniel Russell House (1870-1909)," (typescript copy, Russell House research files); and M. Anne Francis Campbell, "Bishop England's Sisterhood, 1829-1929," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, St. Louis University, 1968).

VIII. Primary Sources Relating to the Nathaniel Russell House

Abbot, Abiel. Manuscript Journal, November 3 - December 2, 1818; February 8 - March 3, 1819. Owned by Historical Charleston Foundation.

Allston Family. (1847-1924; 3,516 items) "Family correspondence and business papers, including tax receipts, bills for plantation and household supplies...medical bills for family and slaves... Correspondents include Adele Allston, Benjamin Allston, Charles Petigru Allston, Joseph Blyth Allston, Robert F. W. Allston, O. T. Porcher, and Elizabeth W. Pringle." Collection #29, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 3.

Allston, Mrs. Robert Francis Withers. Manuscript account book, 1869. Collection #31, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 4.

Allston, Mrs. Robert Francis Withers. See Albergotti-Ancrum Collection. Includes "printed advertisement re the reopening of her school." Collection #2358, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 246.

Allston, Robert Francis Withers. (1775-1920; 17 items and 12 ms. volumes) Includes "a letter to Benjamin Allston...1855 register of births and deaths on True Blue Plantation; and 11 volumes (1775-1895), typed copies of miscellaneous papers, factor's correspondence, and family letters, edited by James Harold Easterby but not published in *The South Carolina Rice Plantation*... Collection #30, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 4.

Allston, Robert Francis Withers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 12-1/32 (1757-1929; 14 feet). Correspondence, including Adele Petigru Allston, bills, receipts, craftsmen, estate papers, etc. Calendar available for holdings to 1863. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, pp. 35-36.

Allston-Pringle-Hill Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 11-17/40 (1812-1920; 4393 items). Personal and plantation papers, correspondence, of Robert Allston and Elizabeth Allston Pringle; diaries used in writing *A Woman Rice Planter* and *Chronicles of Chicora Wood*; family photographs. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, p. 1.

- Allston, Robert F. W., Plantation Book. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 34-91 (1846-1859; 1 mss. vol.) Record book for Nightingale Hall plantation, James Kelly, overseer. Includes planting records and accounts, accounts with slaves, births and deaths. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, p. 65.
- Ball Family Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalogue No. 11-515 (1631-1920; 2 feet). See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, pp. 32-33.
- Barbot Family Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 11-66/72 (1795-1949; 3 feet). Correspondence, papers, and genealogical material. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, p. 3.
- Channing Papers, Newport [Rhode Island] Historical Society.
- Charleston City Directories. Listings for occupants of Russell House, and merchants and craftsmen associated with the house, families, commerce and architecture of the city.
- Charleston City Tax Assessments, Lower Wards, 1852-56. Photocopy of two pages from Ward 2 assessing property values in the vicinity of Meeting Street, including the Russell House, then owned by Sarah Russell Dehon, widow. Russell House research files.
- Cheves-Middleton Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 12-157/183 (1770-1887; 11 feet). Includes correspondence with Nathaniel Russell Middleton; Edward B. Middleton's journal of the siege of Charleston, 1864-65. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, pp. 39-40.
- Doar-Middleton Papers. See Middleton Papers, South Caroliniana Library, Collection #1449.
- Dehon, Sarah. Inventory of Mrs. Sarah Dehon, May 30, 1857. Charleston District Inventories, Box 109, No. 24. Typescript with pencil corrections by Robert leath in Russell House research files.
- Dehon, Sara. Last Will and Testament of Sarah Dehon. Charleston County Wills, vol. 48, pp. 92-94. See W.P.A. typescript in Russell House research files.
- Dehon, Theodore. Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate and Effects of the Right Reverend Theodore Dehon, deceased. Undated typescript copy of Dehon's inventory, Russell House research files.
- Dehon, William, Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 11-120 (1840-1876; 23 items). Personal correspondence and estate papers of William Dehon, youngest son of Sarah and Theodore Dehon, and an Episcopal minister at St. Stephen's Parish, Berkeley County, South Carolina.

- Gadsden-Trapier Papers. South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; Catalog No. 11-147/148 (1758-1950; 1 feet). Includes Gadsden family correspondence; Civil War reminiscences of Sarah Trapier; and genealogical material on the Trapier family. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, p. 10.
- Gibbes Family Papers, Newport [Rhode Island] Historical Society. [Leath biblio.]
- Gilchrist, Adam. Equity papers of the late Adam Gilchrist. Equity Bills, Charleston, 1819, No. 53. South Carolina Miscellaneous Records, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, South Carolina. Accounts between Nathaniel Russell and the estate of Adam Gilchrist, dated November 21, 1818.
- Horlbeck Brothers Ledger Books, 1828-1869. South Carolina Historical Society.
- King, Isaac. Letterbook, 1783-1798. 1 ms. vol. "Contains letters from London and Bristol to Joshua Ward, James Fisher, and Nathaniel Russell in Charleston re the collection of debts due King, together with copies of letters (1785-1794) from Joshua Ward." Collection #1116, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 113.
- Leiding, Harriet Kershaw, Papers. Genealogical charts and notes, including Allston family. Collection #1185, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 121.
- Lopez, Aaron, Papers. Newport [Rhode Island] Historical Society.
- McColl, Duncan Donald, Papers. Genealogical information, including Allston family. Collection #1268, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 12.
- Middleton, Mrs. Arthur (Alicia Hopton Russell) Middleton Travel Diary, 1835. 1 ms. vol. Diary of a voyage with her children from Charleston to Havre and a record of their travels in France and Switzerland [also Italy and England]. Collection #1448, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 149.
- Middleton. Arthur Middleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection. [Leath biblio.]
- Middleton. Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, College of Charleston Special Collections. Papers, 1823-1881; 1 box. Includes material related to Middleton's tenure as a professor and president (1857-1883) of the College; extensive correspondence between Middleton

and his wife and children. See Ralph Melnick, "College of Charleston Special Collections: A Guide To Its Holdings," *SCHM* 81:2 (April 1980), p. 147.

Middleton. Nathaniel Russell Middleton Papers, Southern Historical Collection.

Middleton Family Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, Catalog No. 11-297/303 (1820-1937; 3 feet). Includes correspondence of Nathaniel Russell Middleton (1820-1890), and correspondence regarding publication of *Life in Carolina and New England*. See Moltke-Hanson and Doscher, *SCHS Manuscript Guide*, pp. 18-19.

Middleton Family Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. Collection #1449: "812 items and 1 ms. vol., 1789, 1817-1921. Chiefly family letters from Charleston and Columbia, Bristol, R.I., N.Y., and other places written by...Alicia Hopton Middleton, Anne Elizabeth DeWolf Middleton, Nathaniel Russell Middleton, Sr., and Nathaniel Russell Middleton, Jr., with comments on conditions following the earthquakes in Charleston in 1886 and on social life in S.C." See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 149. Also note single letter listed in Collection #2443: "Mrs. A. Middleton, 1838 family letter from her son." Stokes, p. 310.

Middleton Family Papers, The Charleston Museum. Accounts of Russell Warren with Mrs. Sarah Russell, 1823-25.

Russell, Nathaniel. See Rose-Ruth Collection. "Business correspondence (1770-1820) and 1774 account with the owners of the *Venus*." Collection #2469, Manuscript Collection, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina. See Stokes, *Guide to the Manuscript Collection of the South Caroliniana Library*, p. 329.

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