

VOLUMES THAT SPEAK: THE ARCHITECTURAL BOOKS OF THE DRAYTON  
LIBRARY CATALOG AND THE DESIGN OF DRAYTON HALL

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## **Abstract**

Drayton Hall, an early eighteenth-century plantation house on the Ashley River in Charleston, South Carolina, is widely considered to be the first Palladian house in the United States. Now owned and operated by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Drayton Hall is something of a laboratory for the study of archaeology, landscape architecture, material culture, social history, and historic preservation. Though new discoveries are made almost every day at Drayton Hall, the origins of the house's design remain unknown.

In 2009, the Drayton Library Catalog was discovered within the Drayton manuscript collection containing references to seven popular eighteenth-century architectural books. By comparing measured drawings of Drayton Hall to designs found in these seven books, this project examines the origin of the house's design in the context of published sources that would have been available at the time of its construction. While some of the books discussed have been previously identified as sources of inspiration, this project led to the discovery of a correlation between a pattern book plate and executed design from one of the seven books in the Drayton Library Catalog.

The scope of this project was limited to the seven books in the Catalog and the previously identified sources. For that reason, measured drawings of the interior are included so that this document may be a tool for future studies outside the parameters of this project.

## **Acknowledgements**

I want to thank Dr. Carter Hudgins and the staff of Drayton Hall for their inspiration, guidance, and encouragement throughout this process. Their interest and enthusiasm has kept me motivated, and ultimately this project is for them. I am grateful to Robert Russell and Ashley Robbins Wilson for their constructive criticism and of course to my adviser, Ralph Muldrow, for sharing his expertise in architectural history. Professor Muldrow is a veritable glossary of architectural terms, without which I would have been lost.

I thank the staff in Special Collections at the Addlestone Library for repeatedly donning their white gloves and turning page after page while I searched for the elusive plate that might match a design at Drayton Hall. I am also grateful for my classmates who, in the last two years, have grown to be like family to me. Their camaraderie and support has been invaluable, and it has been an honor getting to know each of them.

Finally, I want to thank my friends and family who have cheered me on tirelessly most especially, Adam Smith, for his special brand of encouragement and unwavering enthusiasm for all of my endeavors.

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## Chapter I Introduction



Figure 1: Drayton Hall. Charleston, South Carolina (Photo from Carol M. Highsmith's America, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).

### History of Drayton Hall

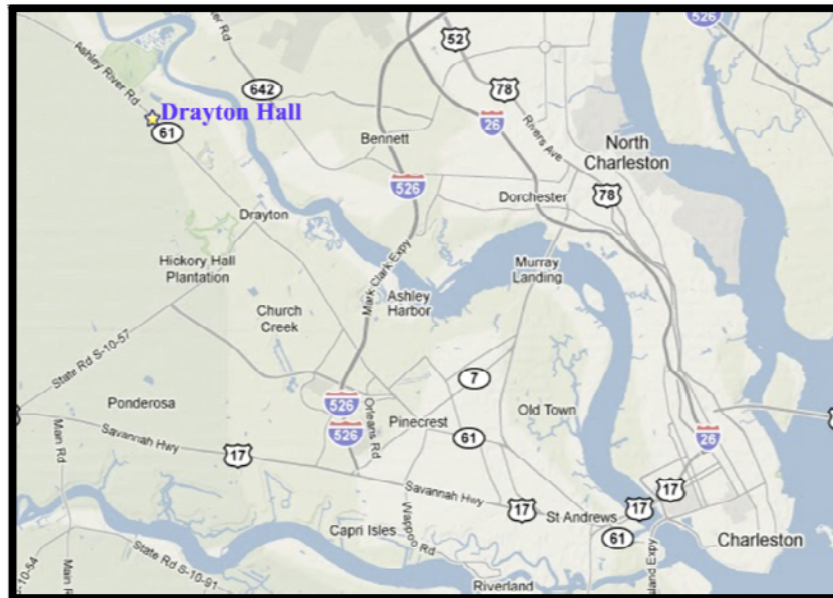
Drayton Hall is widely regarded as the first Palladian house in the United States (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the decisions made by generations of the Drayton family and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the house remains largely as it appeared in the

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<sup>1</sup> Gerald Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004), 152.

eighteenth century. Despite its state of preservation, questions surround the history of Drayton Hall and the matter of the origin of its design. For example, to date the architect remains unknown. However, the recent discovery of a document written by Charles Drayton I (d. 1820) may shed light on this mystery.

The Draytons were an English family that came to the colonies by way of Barbados in 1679. They established their family home seat at the present-day site of Magnolia Plantation and gardens. John Drayton (d. 1779) was the third son of Thomas and Ann Drayton, and in accordance with the right of primogeniture, did not stand to inherit any land. So, in 1738, he purchased a 350-acre tract on the Ashley River just south of the family seat at Magnolia (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup>



**Figure 2: Present-day map of Charleston showing location of Drayton Hall.**

It was no small accomplishment for a young man in his early twenties to establish a new family seat. In fact, it is curious that John Drayton does not appear in any official

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy Gail Griffin, *The Eighteenth Century Drayton's of Drayton Hall* (Atlanta: dissertation submitted to Emory University, 1985), 12-14.

records until 1738 and yet acquired the means to purchase such a large tract of land. This raises the question: where was John Drayton, and what was he doing in the years leading up to his land purchase to establish himself at such a young age? It has been theorized that he left South Carolina to pursue an education abroad.<sup>3</sup> If he went to England, his education would have coincided with a resurgence of Palladian architecture, championed by such patrons as Richard Boyle, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Burlington and 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Cork (d. 1753). This would explain both his conspicuous absence in the American colonies as well as the strong influence of Georgian-Palladian design at Drayton Hall.

Beginning in 1738, John Drayton oversaw the construction of his new home seat. Though the exact timeline of construction is unclear, the main house was ultimately flanked by two dependencies connected by hyphen walls to form a forecourt on the landside. The house is two stories tall on an elevated basement. It is seven bays wide on its two principal elevations and is fenestrated by six bays on the north and south elevations. A two-story portico makes for a gracious receiving area for those arriving by land while three aediculed windows and a grand stairhall greet arrivals from the river (fig. 3).

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<sup>3</sup> Dr. Carter Hudgins, Director of Preservation at Drayton Hall, suspects that John Drayton may have been in England in the years leading up to the construction of Drayton Hall. Currently, this theory is little more than conjecture, but is relevant to the discussion of various influences on the design of Drayton Hall. As such, further research in this area would be of great value.

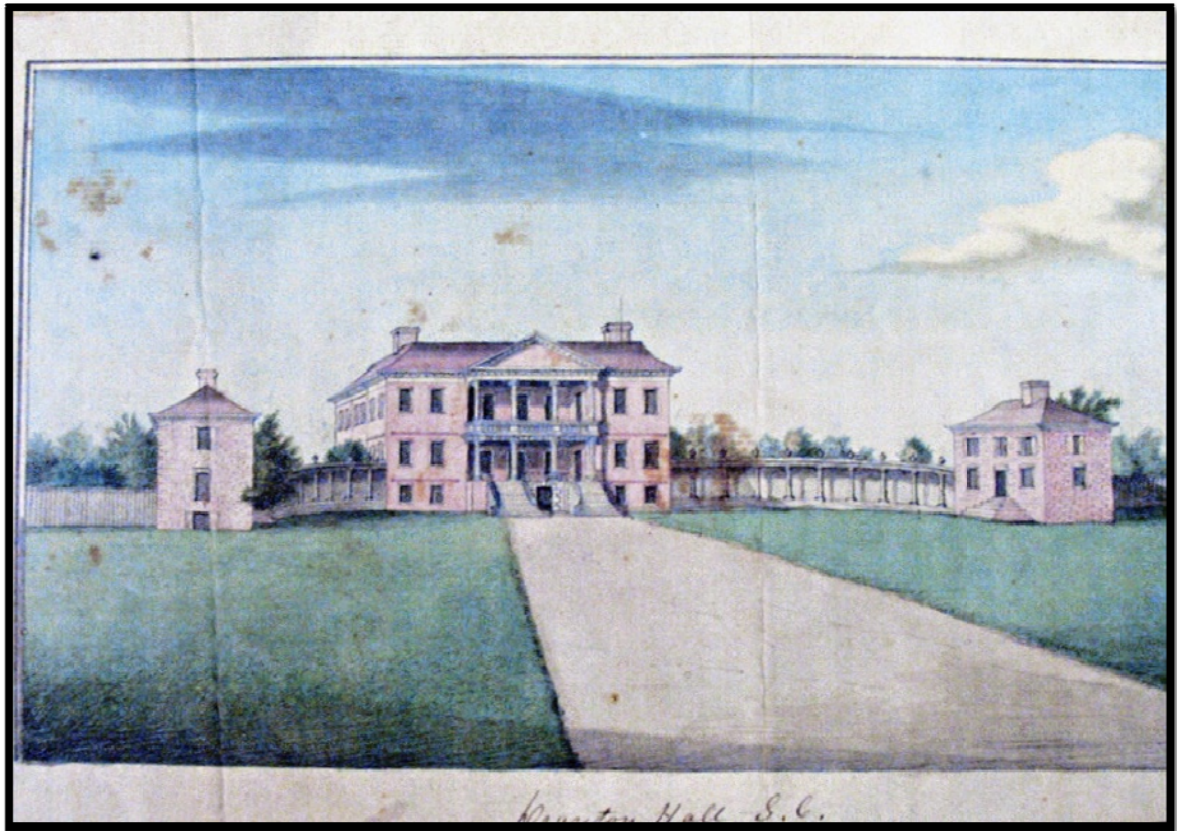


Figure 3: This watercolor of Drayton Hall from 1765 shows the land side of the house. (Photo from Drayton Hall Figures).

From his new family seat, John transitioned from the Draytons' earlier practice of cattle ranching into the lucrative production of rice and indigo. He amassed great wealth and decorated his house with the most fashionable English furnishings. As his wealth grew, so too did his power and influence. Drayton sent his two sons, William Henry Drayton (d. 1779) and Charles Drayton (d. 1820), to school in England where they would learn to be proper gentleman while he himself ascended to the Royal Governor's

Council.<sup>4</sup> In 1779, John passed away as he and his family fled the British troops who were advancing upon Drayton Hall.<sup>5</sup>

Following John Drayton's death, Charles Drayton purchased the property from his stepmother Rebecca Perry Drayton. Charles, who corresponded with Thomas Jefferson, had an affinity for such topics as science, architecture, and botany. The voracity of his intellectual appetite is evidenced by the seven hundred books indicated in his estate inventory.<sup>6</sup> Determined to keep abreast of changing tastes in architecture, Charles replaced three Georgian mantles with Federal style mantles in 1802.<sup>7</sup>

Charles Drayton died in 1820, leaving the property to his son Charles II (d. 1844). Charles II married and had six children, four of whom survived to see the rice economy begin its slow decline. By the end of the Civil War, the family had transitioned from rice production to phosphate mining on the site in order to make ends meet. The phosphate mining operation continued at Drayton Hall until circa 1887.<sup>8</sup> The house remained in the Drayton family but was no longer a working plantation.

In 1974, Charles and Francis Drayton sold the house and 125 acres to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.<sup>9</sup> The financial burden of caring for their ancestral home coupled with their desire to preserve the house for future generations fueled the

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<sup>4</sup> Griffin, 86.

<sup>5</sup> Judge John Drayton, *History and Genealogy of Drayton Family Copied by Dr. Bernard Baker*, (original manuscript in possession of Mrs. Eggleston, South Carolina Historical Society), 35.

<sup>6</sup> Inventory of Charles Drayton, Charleston County Public Library, South Carolina History Room, Will Book F, 246.

<sup>7</sup> "Seven Generations of the Drayton Family," [http://www.draytonhall.org/research/people/drayton\\_2.html](http://www.draytonhall.org/research/people/drayton_2.html).

<sup>8</sup> South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston County Deed Book 1884 A-30, p 117.

<sup>9</sup> Charleston County Courthouse, Register Mesne Conveyance, Deed Book V 105, p. 203, 204.

decision.<sup>10</sup> Since this transfer of ownership, the NTHP has endeavored to maintain the house in the nearly original state in which it received it. Today, the house represents nearly three centuries of American history. Its remarkable state of preservation makes it possible to study the house as it appeared when it was completed in the eighteenth century, and provides an opportunity to better understand how one of the finest examples of Georgian-Palladian architecture in the U.S. came to be built.

### **Drayton Library Catalog**

In Spring 2009, a document written by Charles Drayton (d. 1820) was discovered which offers new insight into the design of Drayton Hall. The Drayton Library Inventory, as it will henceforth be called, contains a catalog of Drayton's library, including some of the most influential architectural books of the eighteenth century (app. A). Several of these books are known to have been referenced in the designs of some of the greatest houses built in England and the American colonies. Moreover, their respective publication dates relative to the construction date of Drayton Hall as well as evidence of their place in the Drayton library invite speculation regarding their role in the house's design.

Much has been written about the design of Drayton Hall. Researchers frequently cite the overmantle in the first floor great hall as evidence that the person who designed the house looked directly to William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* for inspiration.<sup>11</sup>

Another popularly held belief is that the landfront of the house emulates Andrea

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> This particular architectural element of the house bears a striking resemblance to Plate 64 in *Designs of Inigo Jones*. The implication is that the builder must have seen the design in William Kent's book in order to approximate its design so closely at Drayton Hall.



Palladio's Villa Pisani (fig. 13).<sup>12</sup> However, the connections that have been made between architecture books and the design of Drayton Hall appear to stop here. With 106 architectural books known to have been available in America before the Revolution, the task of combing through each one in the search for connections to Drayton Hall is formidable.<sup>13</sup> Even if you exclude the titles published after the house was completed, that leaves approximately half the list to examine. This is, in large part, why the discovery of documentation of Drayton's library is intriguing, because it presents a new angle from which to study the link between the design of Drayton Hall and contemporary pattern books pertaining to architectural design. By narrowing the field of possible design sources to the seven books in the Drayton Library Catalog, the goal of matching the designs at Drayton Hall to those in architectural books becomes more attainable.

Until now, claims concerning the design of Drayton Hall have been based on elements that are clearly direct copies of a published design. Anything less obvious could be attributed to any number of published sources, an element seen in another house, or the builder's interpretation of a design he remembered. In fact, it was rare for builders to copy directly from books. According to Hugh Morrison, craftsmen in the colonies "departed freely—and usually intelligently—from their sources, altering a detail here or a dimension there in accordance with necessity, invention, or taste."<sup>14</sup> This particular reality of the building process sometimes stymies efforts to identify correlations, because researchers essentially need an exact reproduction to say with any confidence that a

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<sup>12</sup> Villa Pisani is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

<sup>13</sup> Park, 39.

<sup>14</sup> Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 291.

particular architecture book was associated with a house's design. The discovery of the Drayton Library Catalog is important, because it allows us to narrow our focus to the books in the Drayton library so that we might look for strong correlations that might be made otherwise, but—perhaps—would not withstand much criticism. Put another way, the catalog allows us to make positive associations with the understanding that exact replications were rarely executed. It is possible, then, to say with some confidence that a certain book likely inspired a particular element without being limited by the search for an exact match.

The seven books in the Drayton Library Catalog present a rare opportunity to study a house in the context of architectural books that belonged to its inhabitants. However, which Drayton first acquired the books—John or Charles—we cannot say. It is possible that John Drayton purchased the books and then passed them on to his son Charles. If John Drayton's ownership of the seven volumes could be established, it would constitute strong evidence that he designed his own house. However, there does not appear to be an official record of John Drayton's estate that would confirm his ownership of these titles. It is reasonable to suppose that John Drayton, who clearly went to great lengths to signal his wealth and power with his house, would turn to the most fashionable architectural books of the day to ensure that his estate would convey such a message. Indeed, the evidence of their influence on the design of the overmantle in the Great Hall and on the landfront, or west elevation, of the house which resembles a Palladian design, suggests that this was the case. Additionally, the cost of these books would have made them prohibitively expensive for anyone but the most serious and

wealthy builder. In the mid-eighteenth century, architectural books in Charleston were valued in the area of £4. Converted to today's currency, that is well over six hundred dollars.<sup>15</sup> For these reasons, it is plausible that it was John Drayton who acquired the books to inform the design of Drayton Hall. Though it is impossible to say with certainty who first owned the books without new evidence, it is certain that these titles were included in Charles Drayton's library, and that they were popular around the time that Drayton Hall was built. This is reason enough to examine their contents for possible connections to Drayton Hall.

With the knowledge that these seven influential architectural books were among the seven hundred volumes that belonged to Charles Drayton, the purpose of this project is to compare measured drawings of Drayton Hall to the designs in these books in order to identify which, if any, of the architectural elements at Drayton Hall can be attributed to them. If positive associations can be made between the published sources and the executed designs, it may be inferred that these books played a pivotal role in the construction of Drayton Hall.

## **Methodology**

In order to identify compelling correlations between the architectural books listed in Charles Drayton's library and the design of Drayton Hall, it is first necessary to establish exactly which books were included in his library. Ideally, this would be done

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<sup>15</sup> Caroline Wyche Dixon, "The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82 (1981): 118-142, 123. Eric Nye, "Pounds to Dollars Historical Conversion of Currency," Department of English, University of Wyoming, <http://uwacadweb.edu/numimage/currency.htm> (accessed Feb. 11, 2010).

by cross-referencing the Drayton Library Inventory with the official inventory of Charles Drayton's estate, located at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Regrettably, the surviving inventory on file for Charles Drayton is an abbreviated version. It notes the existence of seven hundred volumes in Drayton's library, but the titles of the volumes are not recorded.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, it is necessary to work solely from the document provided by Charles Drayton. It should be noted, however, that Charles Drayton's script is not always exact, as he appears to take some liberties with the actual titles of the books. Nonetheless, it is possible to make reasonable assumptions as to which books he is referencing (app 2).

A similar method of analysis was undertaken by Caroline Wyche Dixon in her investigation of the Miles Brewton House, a c. 1769 house on King Street in Charleston.<sup>17</sup> Her article examined the books listed in the inventory of Ezra Waite as well as books listed in the Charleston Library Society Catalogue of 1770 to find parallels between the architectural books and the designs that can be seen in the Miles Brewton House. By observing the "correspondence between pattern book plate and executed feature," Dixon was able to make suppositions regarding the influence of pattern books in the design of the Miles Brewton House.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> A file at Drayton Hall includes a photocopy of an extended version of Charles Drayton's inventory, and unlike the copy on file at the S.C. Department of Archives and History, it lists the titles of each of the volumes. However, only one page appears to have been photocopied and the source of the copy was not recorded. A search of the Charleston Archive--a repository of documents at the main branch of the Charleston County Public Library--and the records at the Charleston County Courthouse turned up additional copies of Drayton's inventory, but there was no sign of the list of titles in his library. There is no way to know where this mysterious page came from, but it would be a valuable resource for the purposes of this project.

<sup>17</sup> Caroline Wyche Dixon, "The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82 (1981): 118-142. Foster, 160.

<sup>18</sup> Dixon, 142.

Critical to the project at hand is establishing the publication dates of the architectural books in the Drayton Library Catalog. Because it is uncertain that John Drayton purchased the books to inform his design of Drayton Hall, it is necessary to identify the publication dates of each volume in order to rule out anything that would have been published after the house was constructed. Helpful, is Helen Park's, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution*.<sup>19</sup> Park's work is widely considered to be the most complete list on the subject of architectural pattern books and their publication dates. In addition to listing the authors, years of publication, and earliest recorded American reference, Park includes a list of repositories for such books by city, including Charleston, South Carolina. According to Park's list, several popular architectural books were available at the Charleston Library Society.<sup>20</sup> However, the Library Society was not founded until 1748, too late to be considered a resource for the designer of Drayton Hall.

Similarly, Hugh Morrison offers an abbreviated list of the most popular pattern books that were available in the first half of the eighteenth-century. He makes the important point that pattern books generally fall into one of two categories, "large and expensive volumes...and smaller, cheaper handbooks, which emphasized details of practical building for carpenter-builders."<sup>21</sup> While it is easy to focus solely on the influence of designs by Palladio and Inigo Jones, the careful observer would be remiss if he/she did not consider the influence of builders, craftsmen and others working directly

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<sup>19</sup> Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1973).

<sup>20</sup> Park, 44.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1987) 290.

on the building. According to Caroline Wyche Dixon, “The design is Palladio’s, but the ornamentation which gives the house its rhythm and vitality is that of the craftsman-architect.”<sup>22</sup> Thus, the lesson to be applied to the study of Drayton Hall is this: as much as may be learned about the influence of important architectural pattern books on the house’s design, the real discoveries regarding its origin may come from the craftsmen’s interpretations of those designs.

Finally, the elements of the house as executed must be compared to the plates in the appropriate pattern books. Finding first editions of these eighteenth-century architectural books can be a challenge, but Janet Foster and Robert P. Guter co-authored a book that contains a list of repositories that have original copies of eighteenth century architectural books.<sup>23</sup> Also helpful is their discussion of Georgian interiors in which they have described the evolution of floor plans in the colonies and the influence of architectural books on particular interior details such as stairways, chimneypieces, and moldings.

With respect to Drayton Hall specifically, little is known about its designers, who or what may have influenced them, or the dates of construction and modifications. The date of completion of Drayton Hall remains unknown but is estimated to be between the years 1742 and 1744. Writing in the nineteenth century, Governor John Drayton (d. 1822) claims that his father William Henry Drayton was born at Drayton Hall in

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<sup>22</sup> Dixon, 142.

<sup>23</sup> Robert Guter and Janet Foster, *Building by the Book: Pattern-Book Architecture in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 46.

1742.<sup>24</sup> Perhaps a more reliable source is an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* from 1744 that refers to “John Drayton Esq.’s” Ashley River residence.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, an approximate date of completion is sufficient for the purposes of this investigation.

Gene Waddell’s, *Charleston Architecture*, offers an explanation of Palladianism, and describes how English settlers brought the style to Charleston, but there is an evident lack of information pertaining specifically to the origin of the design of Drayton Hall.<sup>26</sup> Recently, this gap in the body of knowledge pertaining to Drayton Hall has received more attention.

In his article, *From Mantel to Roof: The Influence of Pattern Books on Drayton Hall*, Matthew Webster, former director of preservation of Drayton Hall, explores the possible influence of architectural books on the design of the house.<sup>27</sup> Webster explains that it was quite rare for homeowners in the American colonies to own architectural books, but marvels at the remarkable influence of popular design books on elements of Drayton Hall. In particular, he noted the apparent references to *Designs of Inigo Jones* by William Kent and *The City and Country Builder’s and Workman’s Treasury of Designs* by Batty Langley. This article underscores how important it is to find evidence that the Draytons owned architectural books, and suggests a few architectural elements to investigate in the search for their influence.

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<sup>24</sup> Margaret Babcock Meriwether (Ed.). 1943 *The Carolinian Florist of Governor John Drayton of South Carolina 1766-1822*, The South Caroliniana Library of the University of South Carolina: Columbia.

<sup>25</sup> *South Carolina Gazette*, 28 May 1744, Charleston County Public Library.

<sup>26</sup> Gene Waddell, *Charleston Architecture 1670-1860* Vol. 1 (Charleston, SC: Wyrick & Company, 2003), 3.

<sup>27</sup> Matthew Webster, “From Mantel to Roof: The Influence of Pattern Books on Drayton Hall,” *Interiors* 25 (2007), 1.

By examining the availability of published sources related to the influence of architectural books it is clear that there is sufficient interest in the subject to support a growing body of work. However, the problem of limited access to first edition publications of many architectural books may explain why there have been few studies that attempt to make connections between architectural books and executed design elements in individual buildings. To successfully inventory the architectural elements of the “first Palladian house in America” in an effort to discover their origins could constitute a major contribution to the existing body of knowledge in this field, and might ultimately result in a cascade of research related to other houses in South Carolina that were influenced by Drayton Hall. While the potential impact remains to be seen, this project is a systematic evaluation of the seven books in the Drayton Library Catalog, in addition to other architectural books that were possibly involved in the design of Drayton Hall.



## Chapter II

### Analysis of Eighteenth-Century Architectural Books

Drayton Hall was built during a pivotal time for domestic architecture in the colonies as landowners were transitioning from temporary vernacular houses to more sophisticated high-style dwellings. The more mature construction signaled that the colonists had established themselves sufficiently to turn their attention toward achieving the sort of lifestyle enjoyed by their counterparts in England.<sup>28</sup>

In South Carolina, planters were amassing great wealth thanks to a dramatic increase in rice exports. As wealth and influence grew so too did Charleston society with the emergence of several new cultural institutions in the 1730s and 1740s.<sup>29</sup> By the 1750s, Charleston was the fourth-largest city in the colonies, a place where wealthy merchants and planters like John Drayton liked to see and be seen at theater performances, parties, and other social events. French émigré J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur wrote of his visit to Charleston in the 1780s,

“Charles-Town is, in the north, what Lima is in the south, both are capitals of the richest provinces of their respective hemispheres: you may conjecture, that both cities must exhibit the appearances necessarily resulting from riches...Here the produce of the extensive territory concentrates...The inhabitants are the gayest in America, it is called the center of our beau monde...”<sup>30</sup>

As the city expanded, the plantations became increasingly autonomous, centralizing their operations and increasing the power and authority of individual wealthy families. As a

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<sup>28</sup> Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), 28.

<sup>29</sup> Shelley E. Smith, *The Plantations of Colonial South Carolina: Transmission and Transformation in Provincial Culture* (Columbia University, 1999), 106.

<sup>30</sup> Robert Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston* (Charleston: Peninsula Press, 1992), 27.

result, these wealthy planters began to think of themselves as members of a new aristocracy. After traveling through Charleston in the eighteenth century, Dr. Johann B. Schoepf wrote,

“Luxury in Carolina has made the greatest advance, and their manner of life, dress, equipages, furniture, everything, denotes a higher degree of taste and love of show, and less frugality than in the northern provinces.”<sup>31</sup>

Wealthy Charlestonians’ “love of show” inspired them to build magnificent homes in order to display their affluence, and to satisfy their desires to build a grand dwelling befitting their stature, Charleston’s elite looked to the contemporary center of fashion—London.

Interestingly, London itself was experiencing a renaissance of sorts. In the mid-seventeenth century, architecture in London was revived by the end of an era of puritanical leadership<sup>32</sup> and the accession of Charles II to the throne in 1660.<sup>33</sup> The new interest in architectural pursuits spread as the city rebuilt after the Great Fire of London in 1666. Finally, in 1714 when George I came to power, so too did a new generation of Whig aristocrats that were very much in favor of classicism and hated anything that seemed reminiscent of the Baroque. For the Whigs, the Palladian style came to represent enlightenment--the casting off of Catholic influence and a revolution of English taste.<sup>34</sup>

These “tastemakers” looked to the work of Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio who, in turn, had looked to ancient Roman temples for inspiration.<sup>35</sup> Palladio’s work represented a return to classical ideals of enlightenment and progress, the very ideals that

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<sup>31</sup> Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston*, 32.

<sup>32</sup> Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1973).

<sup>33</sup> John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 173.

<sup>34</sup> Roy Strong, *The Spirit of Britain: A Narrative History of the Arts* (London: Hutchinson, 1999.), 344.

<sup>35</sup> Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina* (New York: Beehive Press, 1984).

the Whig aristocracy wished to convey with their new country houses. Knowledge of Palladian architecture was disseminated rapidly through architectural pattern books that were published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Architectural pattern books of the eighteenth century depicting Palladian ideals can be sorted into two basic categories. The first category consists of magnificent folios containing plates of buildings designed and documented by Palladio and his followers. These books were meant to inspire and were intended for professional architects who could determine proper proportions themselves. The second category of books consists of handbooks meant to assist the builder or gentleman architect in the particulars of building a Palladian structure.

Both types of architectural books were popular in London as well as the English colonies in North America and the Caribbean. Park's *List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the American Revolution* indicates that there were several repositories throughout the colonies that had such books. The list also tells us that a select group of colonists with the resources to afford such books had personal collections.

The discovery of the Drayton Library Inventory tells us that there was such a collection at Drayton Hall. Further, the identification of the publication dates of the books indicates that the collection could have originally belonged to John Drayton. What follows is an exploration of the books in Charles Drayton's collection with regard to the possible correlation between these books and the design of Drayton Hall.

***A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern* by John Evelyn, 1664**

Of all the books in Drayton's collection, John Evelyn's *A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, has the earliest publication date (1664). Before Leoni published his translation of *Quattro Libri* in 1715, Evelyn's book was the only one detailing Palladio's orders with English commentary.<sup>36</sup>

***The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture* translated by Isaac Ware, 1738**

A new edition of the *Quattro Libri* by Isaac Ware was published to build upon Leoni's version, which was considered too Baroque for the current taste.<sup>37</sup> The work was begun by Colen Campbell, but he died after completing just one of the four books. Ware picked up where Campbell left off and published the "definitive" edition in 1738, the same year John Drayton purchased the land for Drayton Hall.<sup>38</sup>

***Vitruvius Britannicus* by Colen Campbell, 1715**

Before his death in 1729, Colen Campbell published, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the second-oldest book listed in Drayton's collection. Sponsored by Richard Boyle, 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl of Burlington, a great patron of the arts and champion of the Palladian movement, *Vitruvius Britannicus* is considered the first major publication on the subject of "English Palladianism." It features reproductions of classical revival buildings by Campbell in

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<sup>36</sup> Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 469. A second edition was published in 1707 followed by a third in 1723. Park, 54.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 24.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 139.

addition to distinguished works by Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Webb, and Sir John Vanbrugh.<sup>39</sup>

***Art of Sound Building* by William Halfpenny, 1725**

Another important work in the Drayton collection is Halfpenny's 1725 *Art of Sound Building*. Halfpenny took issue with the grand volumes that dominated the available literature on the Palladian style, considering them useless for the average builder who wished to construct a building faithful to the prescribed proportions of Palladio's work. To explain the reasoning behind his new book, Halfpenny said:

“Those Orders being divided in the Works of the Architects, according to the Modules and Minutes...it occasions a great deal of Trouble to Workmen, when they are obliged to do a Piece of Work upon those Models, to find the real Proportions of the several members of the Design they are to execute; for they being obliged to work upon some determinate Scale, and the Proportions of the members being given in the Works of Architects, by one general Measure, a Workman must be forced to the Trouble of a new Calculation, every Piece of Work he undertakes,...this is a great Labour and Hindrance to those who are well acquainted with Arithmetick, and to those who are not ready and expert at it, makes those Treatises little better than useless.”<sup>40</sup>

To correct this oversight, Halfpenny devised a system in *Practical Architecture* (1724), which he continued in *Art of Sound Building* that provided proportions of the orders in feet and inches and included calculations for the most common measurements. This book would have been of great assistance for the craftsmen at Drayton Hall as the house abounds with examples of Palladian proportions.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1973), 115.

<sup>40</sup> Harris, 218.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, 218.

### ***Palladio Londinensis* by William Salmon, 1734**

Nearly a decade after Halfpenny's *Art of Sound Building* was published, William Salmon introduced a book also intended to be an aid to the average builder. However, while Halfpenny tried to devise a system of calculating the module, or diameter, of a column by dividing the orders into equal parts, Salmon had a new idea. He commended the spirit of Halfpenny's work but took issue with it saying, "'the best, and all the Rules' he knew, were nonetheless 'very troublesome and intricate, if not obscure'" because they resulted in very large numbers and "awkward fractions."<sup>42</sup> Salmon realized that scales like Halfpenny's were useless unless one knew how to calculate the module of a column.<sup>43</sup> In his 1734 book *Palladio Londinensis*, he included geometric figures, orders, staircases, chimneypieces and roofs, and tried to make it easy for novices to properly execute Palladian ideas by teaching them to determine a "just proportion." The book was intended to be used for the construction of private dwellings, and included all of the information necessary for the construction and decoration of a house with the exception of plans. In addition, the book was intentionally made smaller than most architectural books so that it could be used on the job.<sup>44</sup>

### ***A Book of Architecture* by James Gibbs, 1728**

William Pierson, Jr. calls James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture* (1728) the most important architectural book following *Vitruvius Britannicus* and the *Four Books*,

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<sup>42</sup> Harris, 404.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 404.

<sup>44</sup> Park, 118.

because it includes simple, straightforward designs and well-illustrated plates that met the needs of colonials.<sup>45</sup> Gibbs' facades depart from traditional English Palladianism in several ways. Often reminiscent of the work of Wren, his facades feature uncharacteristic ornamentation including quoins, heavy rustication, pilasters and balustrades that lend a brooding quality to the stately Palladian style. Pierson goes so far as to say that such details were "anathema to Palladians."<sup>46</sup> This being the case, Gibbs' influence is readily apparent in late Georgian structures in the United States. In particular, houses constructed in the latter half of the eighteenth century bear these types of ornamentation. Drayton Hall represents a transition between early and late Georgian design. Although most of its features are decidedly early Georgian, the two-story portico on the land front and the aediculae on the river front are more common among late Georgian houses.

***The London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works* by Batty Langley, 1748**

The final book on Drayton's list is Batty Langley's *The London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works* (1748). Published after construction had finished on Drayton Hall, the book was nonetheless valuable for the average workman to establish fair prices for materials and labor thereby avoiding overcharging and maintaining a favorable reputation of the building trade.<sup>47</sup>

Upon examination of Drayton's collection of architectural books, it is clear that they represent a keen interest in Palladian design. With seven books, Drayton's

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<sup>45</sup> William Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and their Architects*. Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1986), 114.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid, 114.

<sup>47</sup> Harris, 44.

collection is comparable to fellow South Carolinian Ezra Waite, who had the second-largest collection of architectural books in the state.<sup>48</sup> Among his fellow South Carolinians, Drayton had one of the most extensive architectural libraries. Compared to other colonials, however, his collection was modest. The estate inventory of William Byrd of Virginia contained ten architectural books while Peter Harrison, a merchant and architect, had twenty-seven. Thomas Jefferson's collection dwarfed them all with sixty titles.<sup>49</sup>

Several of the books in Drayton's collection were among the most popular architectural books in the colonies before the American Revolution. William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* was the most widely referenced book and was also found in the estate inventories of William Buckland, Peter Harrison, and Thomas Dawes. The other books in Drayton's collection were similarly well-referenced with two exceptions: Langley's *London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works* and Ware's *Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture* were not as widely circulated.<sup>50</sup>

All of the books in Drayton's collection were published in London, and with the exception of Evelyn's *A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern* (1664), were published within thirty-three years of one another. Specifically, they were published between the years 1715—1748. During this time British Palladian architecture became the predominant style. Under the aegis of Lord Burlington, the English Palladian

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<sup>48</sup> Caroline Wyche Dixon, "The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 82 No. 2 1981, 127.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 127.

<sup>50</sup> Park, 39.



movement flourished. Burlington was a great patron of the arts and a strong proponent of the Palladian style.<sup>51</sup>

Assuming that John Drayton was primarily responsible for the design of the house--and a builder for its construction--Drayton could have looked to several of these books for inspiration including *The Four Books*, *A Book of Architecture*, and *Vitruvius Britannicus*. The other books in the collection may have served as helpful guides for the builder. The design of the chimneypiece in the great hall constitutes strong evidence that Drayton had access to Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*, as well, but this title is not listed in the Drayton Library Catalog, and the Charleston Library Society, which listed this book in its 1770 inventory, was not established until 1748. This is a puzzling situation that is addressed in further detail in the following chapters.

While the Drayton Library Catalog does shed more light on the influences surrounding the construction of Drayton Hall, there is no way to know for sure who designed and built Drayton Hall. In fact, this is the case for nearly all of the houses built during this time. Samuel Lapham points out the following:

“The architects of practically all of the masterpieces of colonial architecture of private homes remain unknown as far as actual names and responsibility for design, for practically the entire eighteenth century.”<sup>52</sup>

It was not until the turn of the nineteenth century that professional architects became a regular part of the building process in the United States. In Charleston, the word “architect,” does not appear in any records until 1752 with the construction of the

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<sup>51</sup> Roy Strong, *The Spirit of Britain: A Narrative History of the Arts* (London: Hutchinson, 1999), 344.

<sup>52</sup> Samuel Lapham, *A History of the Practice of Architecture in the State of South Carolina: Part I*, South Carolina Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, 1938, 6.

new building for St. Michael's Church.<sup>53</sup> During a time when professionally trained architects were not readily available, the gentleman architect assumed the role of designing buildings. Just how this might have been done is described in a 1745 account of the construction of Chief Justice Pinckney's residence.

“The owner set the story-heights and described each room, its approximate size, parts ‘like the wainscot in Capt. Shubrick’s house,’ ‘like Mr. Whitaker’s entry,’ etc., etc.”<sup>54</sup>

Bearing this in mind, it is possible to make a plausible argument for John Drayton acting the part of gentleman architect and gleaning the design of his new house for himself from a collection of popular architectural books. Credible arguments have been made to that effect regarding other colonial homes of the same era and with respect to houses in Charleston in particular.<sup>55</sup> By comparing plates from architectural books listed in Charles Drayton's inventory with existing architectural elements in the house, it is possible to make a case for those books originally belonging to John Drayton and playing a pivotal role in the design of the house.

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid, 7.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 8.

<sup>55</sup> See Caroline Wyche Dixon's, *The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources*, 118.

## Chapter III

### Architectural Books and the Design of Drayton Hall

#### The Treble Roof

Just as architectural designs changed during the seventeenth century, so too did conventions for building structural systems. In Italy, Renaissance architects generated new concepts for roof systems that were disseminated by English architects like Inigo Jones, whose Roman sketchbook included a drawing of a modern king post truss. Also influential in the dissemination of knowledge of modern truss systems was James Gibbs who studied in Italy and who also brought back new designs to England.<sup>56</sup>

The primary difference between the new roof designs and the more traditional ones was the method of distributing the load. In earlier, more primitive designs, the tie beams simply rested on top of the posts and experienced tremendous bending forces. In the new systems, the tie beams were mechanically fastened to the posts, allowing the posts to carry the load.<sup>57</sup> The new designs effectively “trussed up” the structural members making them stronger and allowing more elaborate roofs to be built.

Knowledge of these modern king and queen post truss systems spread quickly in the construction boom that followed the Great Fire of London in 1666. Carpenters learned the new designs and occasionally modified them to suit their specific needs.<sup>58</sup> William Kent’s *Designs of Inigo Jones* and James Gibbs’ *A Book of Architecture* both include designs for modern truss systems. So, it is possible that knowledge of the new

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<sup>56</sup> D.T. Yeomans, "A Preliminary Study of "English" Roofs in Colonial America," *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 13, no. 4 (1981): 9.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 9.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 12.

method of roof-building could have spread to the colonies by way of these books. It is equally possible, however that craftsmen brought their knowledge with them to the English colonies. As the timeline for the rising popularity of architectural books in the colonies mirrors the growth of knowledge of such roofs in England, it is hard to say which exerted more influence; the books or the craftsmen. However, the circumstances at Drayton Hall indicate that the latter is more likely.<sup>59</sup>

The current roof at Drayton Hall is a double-pitch hipped roof; one which evidence suggests has been there for generations. There are indications, however, that the roof is not original. Evidence of downspouts (fig. 4) on the north and south elevations shows that Drayton Hall originally had a “W-shaped” or treble roof (fig. 5). With such a roof, the water would run down the peaks of the roof to two parallel gutters that would then carry the rain out of the house. Any roof that brings water inside the structure inevitably fails, which is almost certainly why a different roof was constructed at Drayton Hall. Nonetheless, evidence of a treble roof at Drayton Hall is relevant to the discussion of eighteenth century architectural pattern books.

At the time of its construction, the treble roof at Drayton Hall would have been a very distinctive and novel design; one that indicates that the builder looked to a contemporary source for inspiration. He may have been familiar with other buildings that had treble roofs and proposed such a design for Drayton Hall. It is also possible that the idea came from an architectural book. William Salmon’s, *Palladio Londinensis*, was published four years before construction began on Drayton Hall. Plate O shows an “M-

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid, 12.

Shaped,” or double roof, which employs an internal gutter system similar to what existed at Drayton Hall (fig. 6). Salmon explains the reasoning for such a configuration as follows:

The second is a roof so formed, that if the foregoing pitch for plain tiles is judged to be too lofty, then by this method of having a gutter in the middle, one third part of the height of the roof is taken off, as is plain by the divisions on the plate; and these are called M roofs, from their likeness of an M.<sup>60</sup>

As Salmon explains, the intended benefit of such a roof is to maintain a lower roof profile in circumstances when a more traditional roof system would require a much steeper pitch to carry its load. Steeply pitched roofs were common among early Georgian houses in the North American colonies. So by comparison, the lower profile of the roof at Drayton Hall represented a more sophisticated interpretation of Georgian design that would not proliferate in the colonies until the late eighteenth century.

The treble roof is not depicted in any of the seven architectural books listed in the Drayton Library Catalog, but it does appear in Batty Langley’s *The City and Country Builder’s and Workman’s Treasury of Designs*, from 1756. The book includes two plates that show how double and treble roofs are constructed. Both designs involve gabled sections terminating at the base in one or more internal gutter systems, all of which is hidden by hipped returns (figs. 7-8).

Currently, Langley’s book is the most definite link we have between the unusual design of the roof and a published source. However, it was published after the house was completed, and cannot be considered as a design source in this instance. Bearing in mind

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<sup>60</sup> William Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis*, London: Ward and Wicksteed, 1734.

that these books frequently borrowed designs from one another, it is possible that the design comes from an earlier source that has not been identified, but that remains to be seen. Alternatively, the design may have come from an experienced English craftsman. Regardless of its origin, the existence of a treble roof at Drayton Hall is yet another indication that the house was built by a person, or persons, with a sophisticated understanding of Georgian-Palladian design.

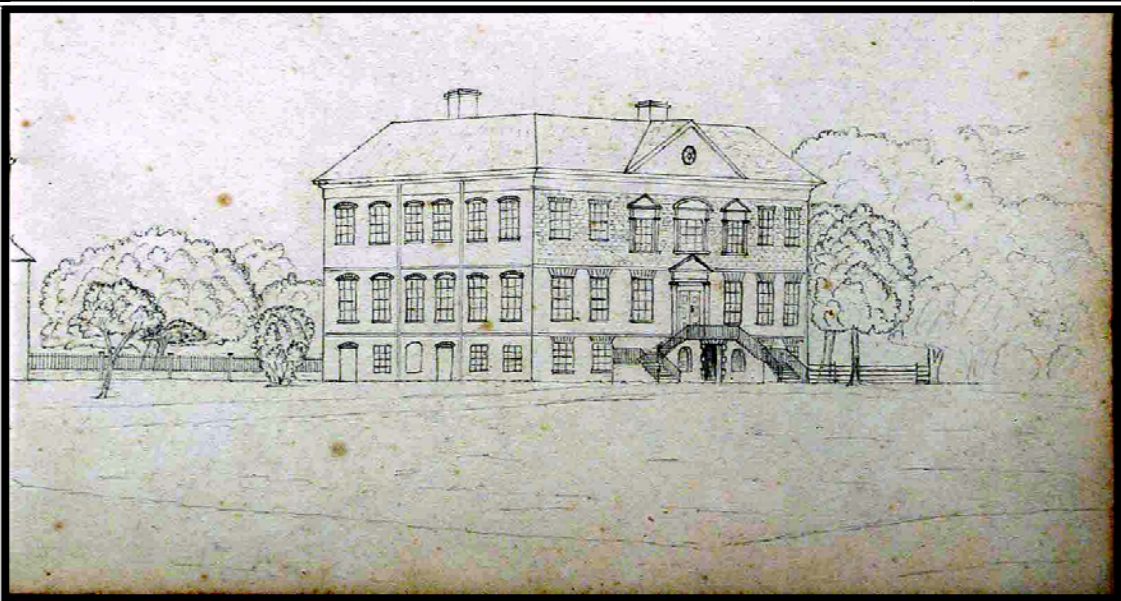


Figure 4: Gibbs Sketch from 1850 showing downspouts on south elevation (Image from Drayton Hall figures).

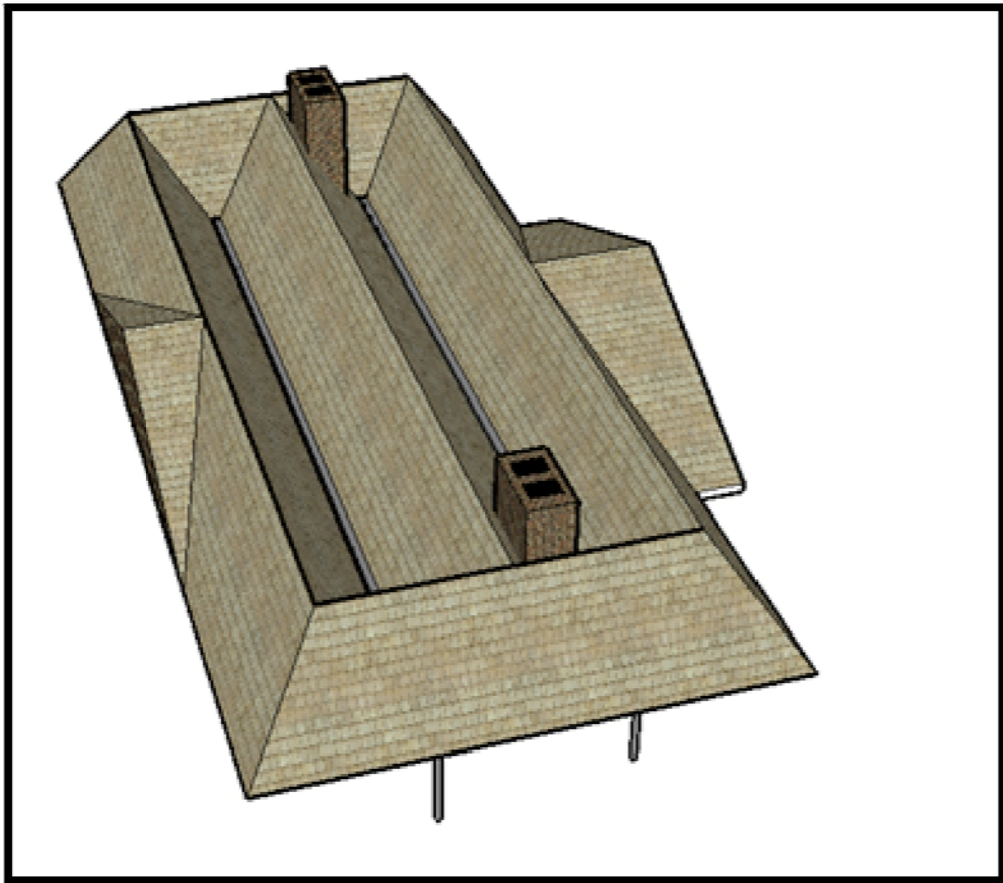


Figure 5: Image shows treble roof at Drayton hall (Matt Webster, Drayton Hall Figures).

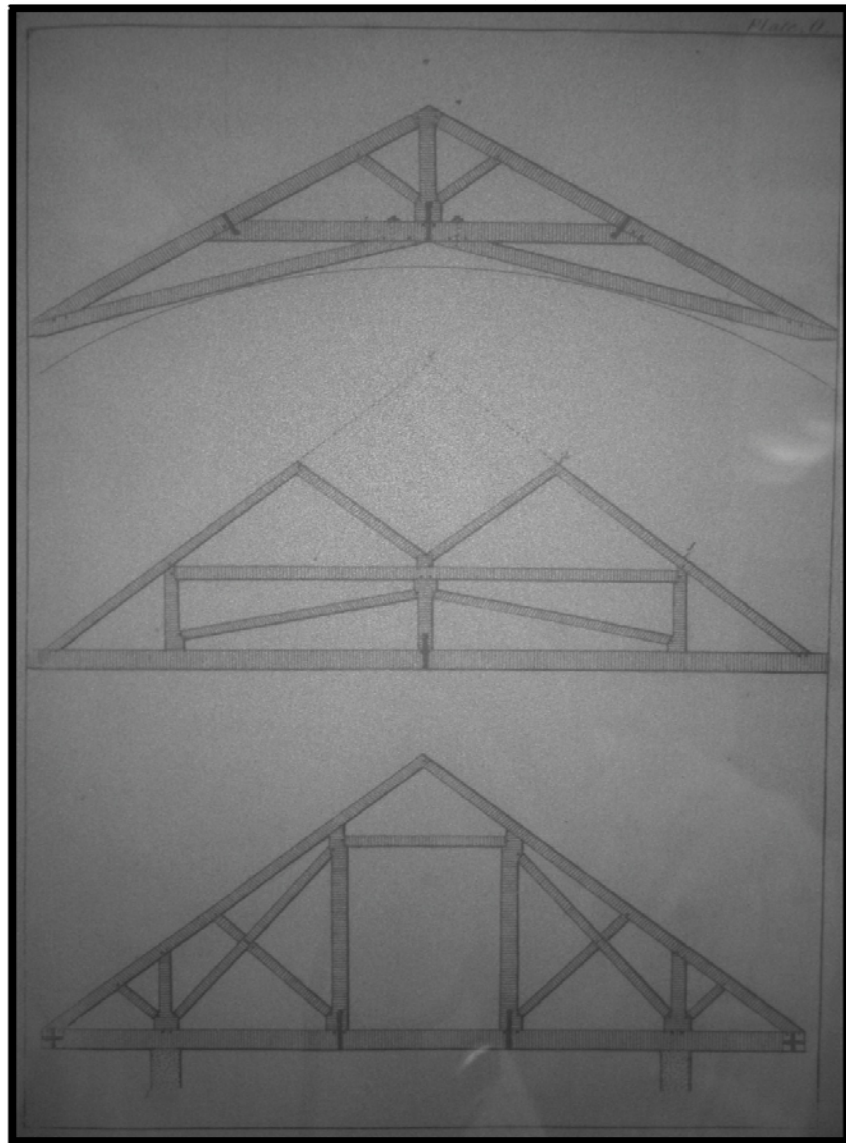


Figure 6: Plate O, *Palladio Londinensis* by William Salmon, 1734 (Photo from microfilm, College of Charleston Addlestone Library).





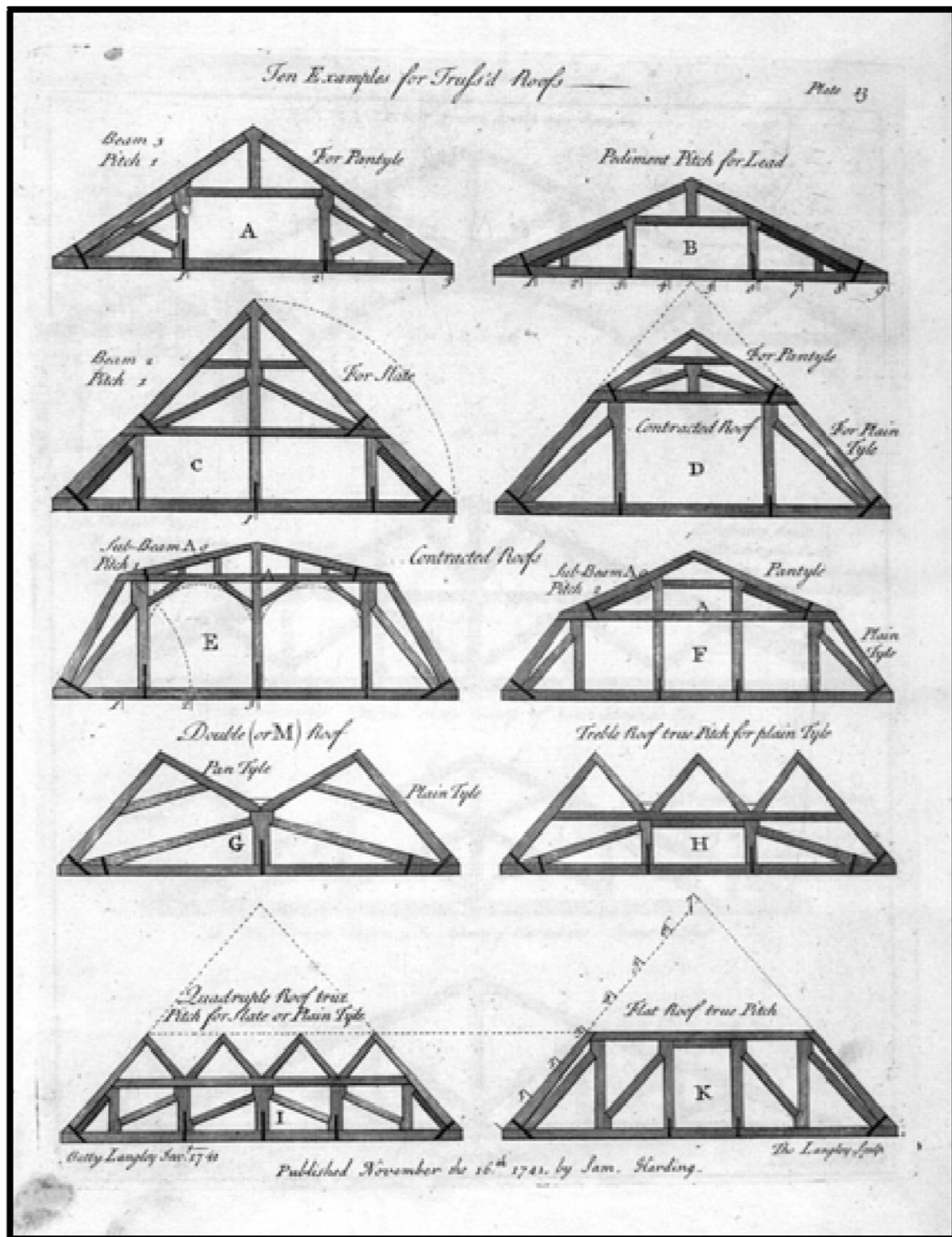


Figure 8: Plate 13, *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* by Batty Langley, 1756 (Photo from University of Wisconsin Digital Collections).

## Fireplace Treatments

Central to the discussion of the influence of architectural pattern books on the design of Drayton Hall are the chimneypiece and overmantle<sup>61</sup> in the first floor great hall. Together, they bear a striking resemblance to Plate 64 from William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (figs. 9-10).

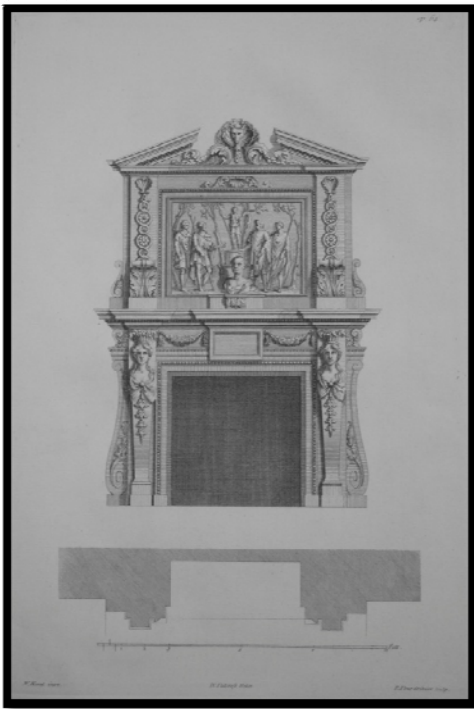


Figure 9: Plate 64, *Designs of Inigo Jones* by William Kent, 1727 (Photo by Author).



Figure 10: Chimneypiece and Overmantle, Great Hall, Drayton Hall (Photo by Author).

In the open pediment, the details are nearly identical, as are the guilloche treatments on either side of the overmantle. The chimneypiece is more of a departure from the original design. The basic profile is the same, but the busts and swags are

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<sup>61</sup> A *chimney-piece* is a “Dressing or surround of a fireplace. The horizontal part is the mantle- or mantel-piece”; an *overmantle* is a “Decorative framed panel or the architectural arrangement above a mantel.” James Stevens Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 171, 546. For the purposes of this project the term *chimneypiece* will refer to everything below the mantle, and the term *overmantle* will refer to everything above the mantle.

replaced here with fluted pilasters and a Greek Key motif in keeping with the order of the Great Hall. Regarding the use of architectural books in the early eighteenth century, this detail is rather remarkable. As Daniel D. Reiff explains, “There is, it seems, only one example of a dwelling erected following a design in a book in the first half of the eighteenth century: Drayton Hall.” Here, Reiff is referring specifically to the house’s likeness to a Palladian design, but he goes on to discuss the influence of Kent’s book in the Great Hall.<sup>62</sup>

With such an obvious connection to a popular eighteenth-century pattern book, one might expect to find *Designs of Inigo Jones* listed among the titles in the Drayton Library Catalog, but this is not the case. The Charleston Library Society’s 1770 inventory lists, *Designs of Inigo Jones and Others*, by Isaac Ware (1735), but the Library Society was not established until 1748, and Ware’s book does not contain the design that appears at Drayton Hall.<sup>63</sup> Where, then, did John Drayton or his craftsmen learn of this design? Drayton or one of his craftsmen may have seen Houghton Hall (1721—31) wherein there is a chimneypiece that exactly replicates Inigo Jones’ design (fig. 11).

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<sup>62</sup> Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950: A History and Guide* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 25.

<sup>63</sup> Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessy & Ingalls, Inc., 1973), 74. The Charleston Library Society, *Our History*, [http://www.charlestonlibrarysociety.org/Our\\_history.html](http://www.charlestonlibrarysociety.org/Our_history.html) (accessed March 5, 2010).





Figure 11: Houghton Hall, Norfolk, England 1721-31 (Photo from the Royal Institute of British Architects).

It is possible that John Drayton learned of this design without travelling abroad, but there is no evidence to indicate that he had access to Kent's book in the colonies. In fact, excepting the occurrence at Drayton Hall, the earliest recorded American reference is from 1775.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, the Inigo Jones chimneypiece in the Great Hall is solid evidence that architectural pattern books influenced the design of Drayton Hall, and this evidence invites further investigation into the matter.

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<sup>64</sup> Park, 42.

Another element that appears to be closely related to a design in an architectural book is the overmantle in the northwest chamber on the first floor<sup>65</sup> (App. C). As shown in figures 12 and 13, the overmantle in this room is very similar to Plate 91 in James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*.

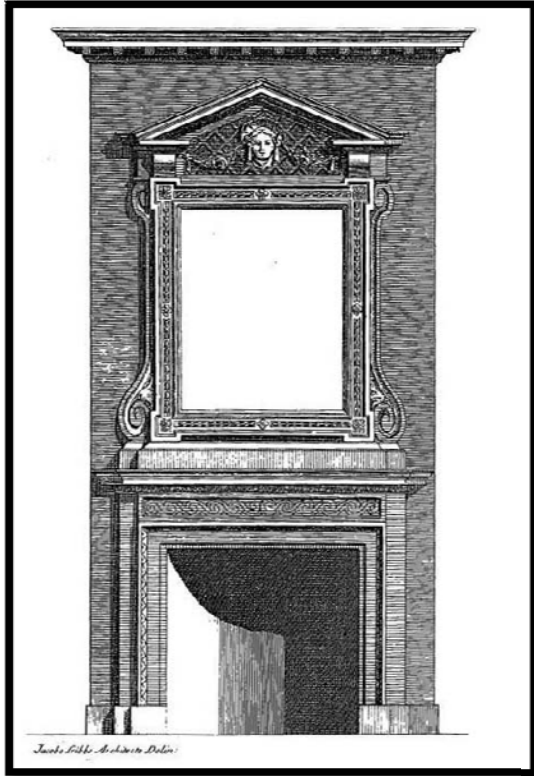


Figure 12: Plate 91, *A Book of Architecture*, James Gibbs 1728 (Photo by Author).

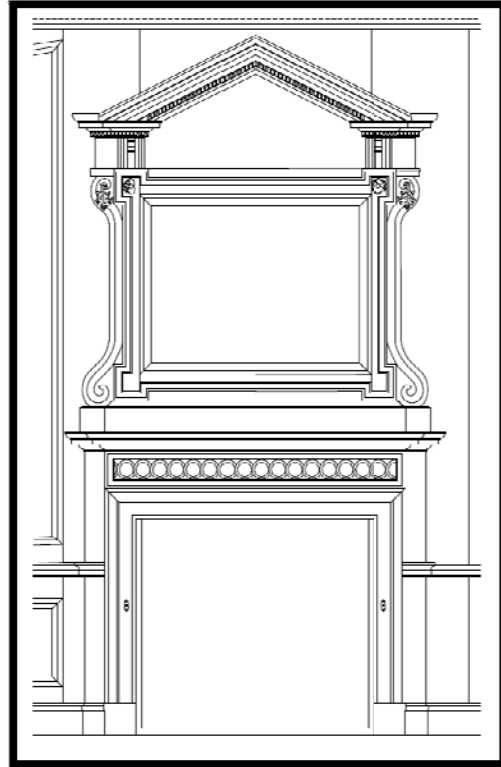


Figure 13: Measured Drawing of Chimneypiece and Overmantle, Room 105, Drayton Hall (Drawing by Natalie Ford, Modified by Author).

In the overmantle, the open pediment, flanking scrolls, and center panel with square corner details all appear to be the same. The guilloche pattern in the chimneypiece at Drayton Hall differs from the interlocking scrolls that make a wave pattern in the Gibbs chimneypiece, but the designs are similar enough to assume a relationship. Unlike the

<sup>65</sup> See Room 105.

chimneypiece in the Great Hall, this architectural detail is associated with a book from the Drayton Library Catalog. The reference appears in figure 14 as “Gibbs designs.”

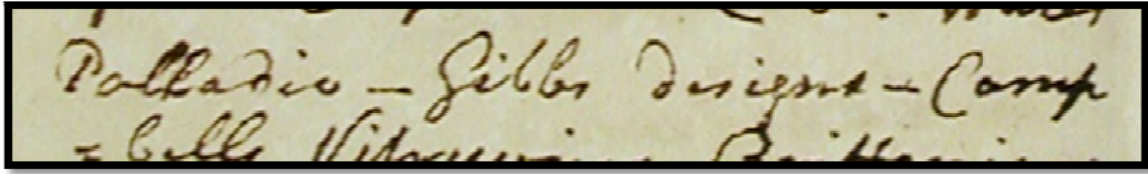


Figure 14: Detail of Drayton Library Catalog, Drayton Hall Manuscript Collection A-11-010 (Photo by Author).

James Gibbs intended this book to be “of use to such gentlemen as might be concerned in Building, especially in the remote parts of the Country, where little or no assistance for Designs can be procured.”<sup>66</sup> This statement is remarkable, because it so aptly describes the circumstances that would have led John Drayton to consult this book, and in Room 105 we see evidence that he did just that. What’s more, Eileen Harris explains that “Gibbs was the first British architect to publish a book devoted entirely to his own designs.”<sup>67</sup> It follows, then, that Drayton must have seen the overmantle in James Gibbs’ *A Book of Architecture*, because he could not have seen it anywhere else. Some of Gibbs’ designs did appear in later publications by William Salmon and Batty Langley, but this particular design does not appear again in any of the books in the Drayton Library Catalog.

These elements may constitute the best way to observe the influence of architectural pattern books at Drayton Hall. Their designs are on a comparatively smaller scale than a building façade, and as such are less likely to be modified beyond recognition. Nonetheless, it is possible to overlook elements rendered from pattern

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<sup>66</sup> Harris, 210.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 210.

books, even on a smaller scale. For this reason, Appendix C contains measured drawings of the house's interiors so that this document might serve as a tool for future research.

### **Palladian Villa Design**

Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of Drayton Hall, architecturally, is its Georgian-Palladian design.<sup>68</sup> Inspired by the work of sixteenth-century architect Andrea Palladio, this style is heavily dependent on rules of proportion and order. It should be noted, however, that two additional forces greatly influenced the brand of Palladianism that found its way to Drayton Hall. Vitruvius' *Ten Books of Architecture* became a highly regarded source for matters of classical design, informing the work of great classical revival architects like Inigo Jones. Jones expanded on Palladio's work, further enriching it with his own designs for ceilings and fireplace treatments, many of which can be seen in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones*. What emerged from this confluence of ideas was a slightly eclectic, and decidedly English Palladianism that drew from the fundamental strengths of these three pillars of architecture.<sup>69</sup>

Despite the coalescence of various architectural influences in the early eighteenth century, Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* remained a respected source unto itself. Houses were built in the image of his designs and with careful regard for his rules

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<sup>68</sup> The term Georgian-Palladian is thought by some to be redundant, but all Georgian structures are not necessarily Palladian, nor is the reverse true. Georgian architecture is encompassed by the reigns of the first four Georges of the English monarchy (1714-1830). Palladian architecture is a "classical style based on the architecture of the sixteenth century Italian architect Andrea Palladio." James Stevens Curl, *Oxford Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 311, 551.

<sup>69</sup> Summerson, 334.



regarding proper proportions. Such deference for Palladio's work first appeared in the North American colonies at Drayton Hall.<sup>70</sup>

Many of Palladio's designs require some modifications to be practical in northern climates and dense urban areas, but the southern climate and sprawling acreage of John Drayton's estate lent itself nicely to the construction of a Palladian villa. In particular, Drayton Hall closely resembles Palladio's Villa Pisani (figs. 15-16). The square massing of the central portion of the villa is similar to that of Drayton Hall. Further reinforcing the semblance between the two structures is the stacked portico. Whereas most Georgian houses in the colonies would "simply simulate such porticos with centered gables (figs. 17-19)," <sup>71</sup> Drayton Hall features a portico on the west, or landside, elevation that is similarly composed of four columns on each level.<sup>72</sup> According to Witold Rybczynski, the double portico had to have been based on a copy of *The Four Books of Architecture*, because "the English Palladians never adopted Palladio's double portico."<sup>73</sup> This proves that the person who designed Drayton Hall looked to Palladio's *Four Books* for inspiration.

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<sup>70</sup> Gerald Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2004), 152.

<sup>71</sup> Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 139.

<sup>72</sup> It may also be worth noting that the later addition of a louvered oculus in the tympanum at Drayton Hall reads almost like the oval-shaped coat of arms depicted in Palladio's drawing of Villa Pisani.

<sup>73</sup> Witold Rybczynski, *The Perfect House: A Journey with the Renaissance Master Andrea Palladio* (New York: Scribner, 2002), 126.

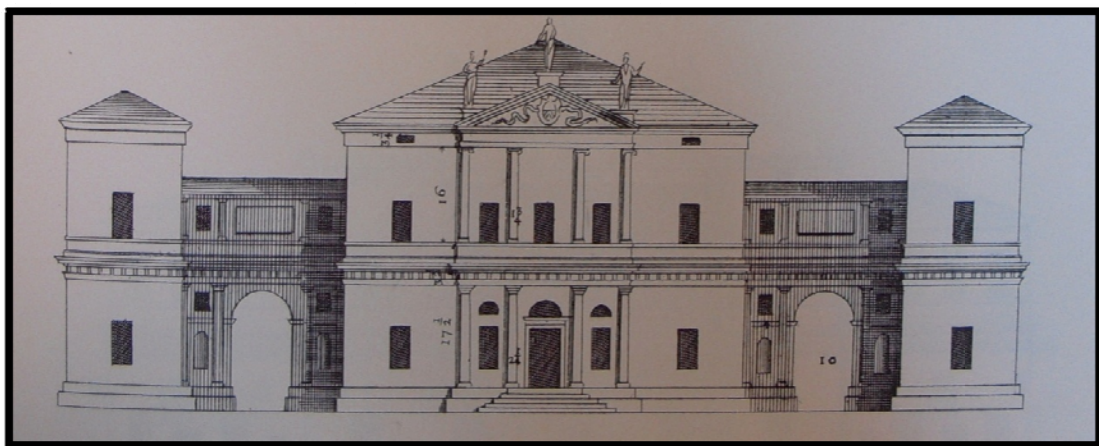


Figure 15: Palladio's Villa Pisani, *Four Books of Architecture: Book II* (Photo by Author).

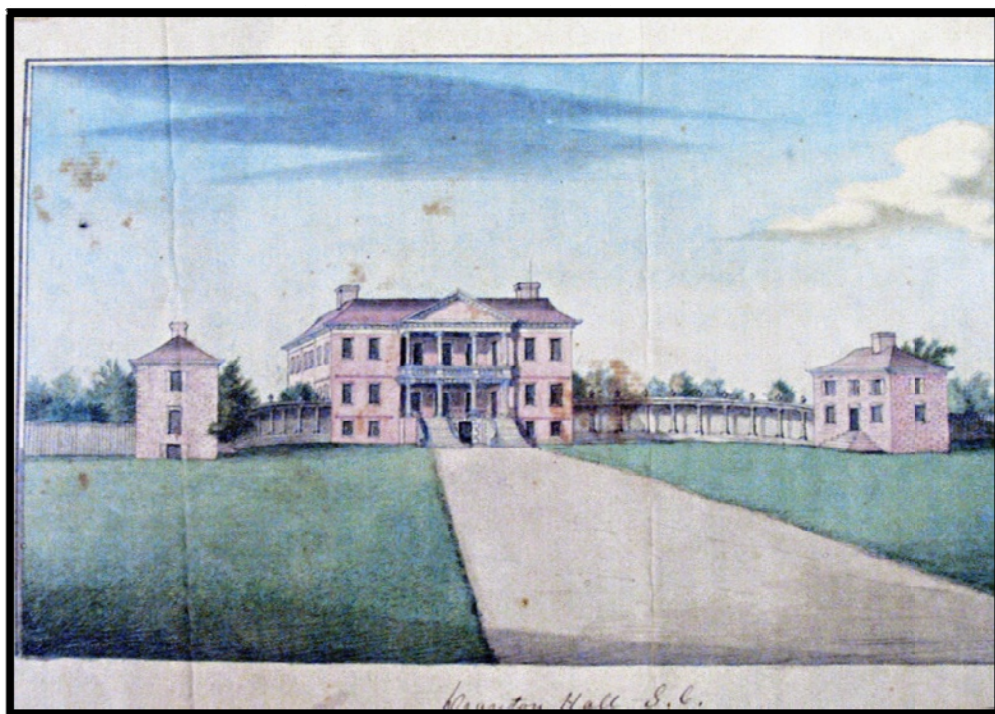


Figure 16: Drayton Hall Watercolor, 1765. (Image from Drayton Hall Image Archive).



Figure 17: Longfellow House, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1759 (Photo from Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).



Figure 18: Cliveden, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1763-67 (Photo from Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).



Figure 19: Hammond-Harwood House, Annapolis, Maryland, 1774 (Photo from Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division).

The overall effect achieved by designing Drayton Hall after a Palladian villa is that the house projects a level of sophistication that was rare among its contemporaries. Edward Chappell concludes that the portico is “integrated in a more fundamentally Palladian manner than most classical references in buildings of the mainland British colonies.”<sup>74</sup> The floor plan also adheres more to Palladian strictures than most Georgian-Palladian houses in the colonies. The central room, or Great Hall, is a Palladian influence that was usually replaced in the British colonies with a central hall similar to an English double house plan (figs. 20-21). Though the layout of Drayton Hall is not entirely in keeping with a formal Palladian floor plan, it nonetheless represents a more faithful interpretation of a classical arrangement than contemporary houses in the British colonies.

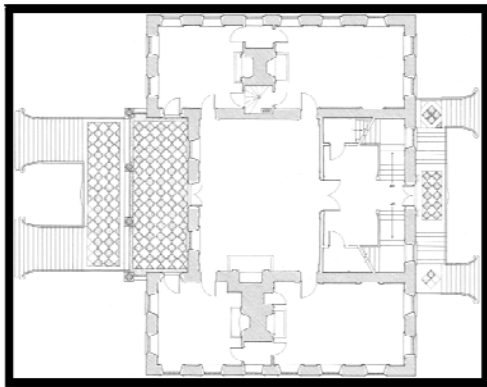


Figure 20: Floor plan of Drayton Hall (Image from Drayton Hall Maps Collection).

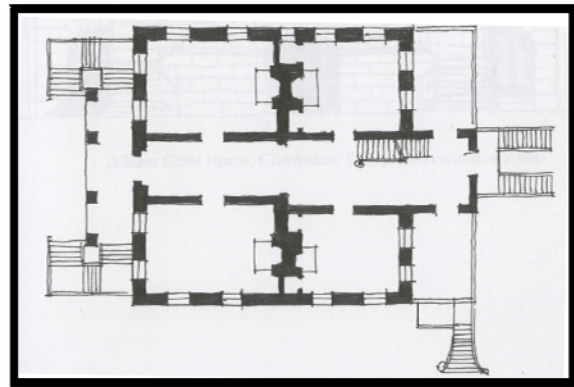


Figure 21: English double-house floor plan (Image from Gerald Foster, *American Houses: A Field Guide to the Architecture of the Home*, 159).

One wonders what motivated John Drayton to erect a high-style Palladian edifice in the rural South Carolina low country. Kenneth Severens posits that John Drayton may

<sup>74</sup> Edward A. Chappell, *Understanding Drayton Hall*, IMLS-Funded New Perspectives Scholars' Workshop, September 2007, 18.

have thought of himself as a sixteenth-century farmer-aristocrat of the Veneto; a man of letters who seeks out the countryside to live lavishly in a classical villa from which he can observe the landscape that both inspires and sustains him.<sup>75</sup> More than providing the aesthetic that John Drayton wished to achieve, Villa Pisani is designed in such a way as to make it ideally suited to a warm climate. The portico provides much-needed shade and helps to funnel cool air into the house. Therefore, it was a fitting choice practically, as well as aesthetically.

What is perhaps more striking than Drayton Hall being among the first Georgian-Palladian houses in the colonies, is that it appears to be one of the best in terms of executing a Palladian design. Whereas contemporary houses in the northeast were clearly Georgian, it is evident that John Drayton took care to build a house that was unmistakably Palladian. The volume containing Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* is, for obvious reasons, the genesis of Palladian design, and therefore an essential part of any library of eighteenth-century architectural books.

The reference to *The Four Books of Architecture* in the Drayton Library Catalog, coupled with the double portico quoted directly from *The Four Books of Architecture*, is further evidence that John Drayton may have looked to architectural books for inspiration in designing Drayton Hall. As shown in figure 22, Charles Drayton owned a copy of Isaac Ware's translation of the book. Perhaps this was the very copy that led to the design of Drayton Hall.

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<sup>75</sup> Kenneth Severens, *Southern Architecture: 350 Years of Distinctive American Buildings* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1981), 38.

The extent to which Drayton Hall embodied Palladian conventions in the eighteenth-century was unparalleled among contemporary buildings in the British colonies. Though it may seem provincial when compared to the great country houses of England, in the colonies it was a high-style building that was unrivaled at the time of its construction. The fact that John Drayton so skillfully inserted such an elegant house into the rural landscape of South Carolina speaks to the unique ability of Drayton Hall to reflect both the sophistication of Georgian-Palladian architecture and the vernacular of the low country plantation.

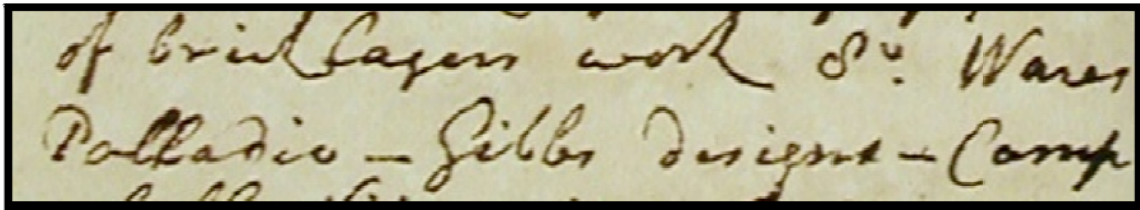


Figure 22: Detail of Drayton Library Catalog, Drayton Hall Manuscript Collection A-11-010 (Photo by Author).



## **Chapter IV**

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of this project was to look at all of the architectural books that John Drayton might have had access to according to the Drayton Library Catalog in the search for designs that were executed at Drayton Hall. This process resulted in the discovery of a correlation between the overmantle in Room 105 and Plate 91 in James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*. This evidence, in concert with other architectural elements that quote from architectural books, shows that the design of Drayton Hall was gleaned from various published sources, most likely by John Drayton himself.

The common link among the design elements at Drayton Hall that are associated with architectural books is that each one departs from the original design in some fashion. This is evidence of the influence of John Drayton and his craftsmen. Although the overmantles in the Great Hall and Room 105 closely resemble specific pattern book plates, they also show willful departures from the original designs, and the extent to which such designs were modified to suit John Drayton's tastes correlates directly with the number of associations one can reasonably be expected to make. References to architectural books are evident throughout the house, but it is clear that in addition to quoting directly from the books John Drayton is making stylistic interjections and modifying the syntax such that the final product reflects his influence as much as the architectural books.

The dichotomy between deliberately executed pattern book designs and improvised arrangements of Palladian conventions reinforces the broader conclusion that Drayton Hall is a provincial interpretation of a high-style building. This is evidenced on the exterior of the house by the juxtaposition of the two principal facades. The east, or riverfront, elevation greets guests arriving by water with a simple Georgian façade that is conservatively—albeit creatively--embellished with aediculed windows in the three central bays that allow an unobstructed view of the river from the stairhall and also allude to the fenestration of the portico. Conversely, the west, or landfront, elevation brings visitors up the drive directly to the front steps that ascend to a classical loggia flanked by symmetrical dependencies. The former welcomes guests with polite reserve in South Carolinian fashion, while the latter projects the grandeur of Palladian classicism. As a result, Drayton Hall is essentially an edifice with two identities—one provincial, the other high-style.

This dichotomy is reflected inside the house as well, and further research should be done to determine the extent to which Palladian conventions regarding prescribed ratios are faithfully executed throughout the house. The scope of this project did not include such a study, but the current consensus is that the proportions at Drayton Hall are not in line with Palladio's rules. An exhaustive study would remove any doubt and could involve some of the books from the Drayton Library Catalog that were not relevant to this study including: *A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern* by John Evelyn, *Art of Sound Building* by William Halfpenny, and portions of *Palladio Londinensis* by William Salmon that explain the method of calculating the module of a column.



Prior to this study, such a methodical search for pattern book designs at Drayton Hall had not been completed, nor could it have without the recent discovery of the Drayton Library Catalog. Ultimately, the thorough examination of the seven architectural books listed in the catalog led to the identification of a previously unrecognized quotation from a popular eighteenth-century pattern book. With further exploration, more discoveries could be made. With that potential in mind, Appendix D includes measured drawings of the house's interior to aid those who wish to explore the influence of architectural books at Drayton Hall. It is certain that they played an important role—to what extent remains to be seen.

## APPENDICES

## Appendix A

### Drayton Library Catalog

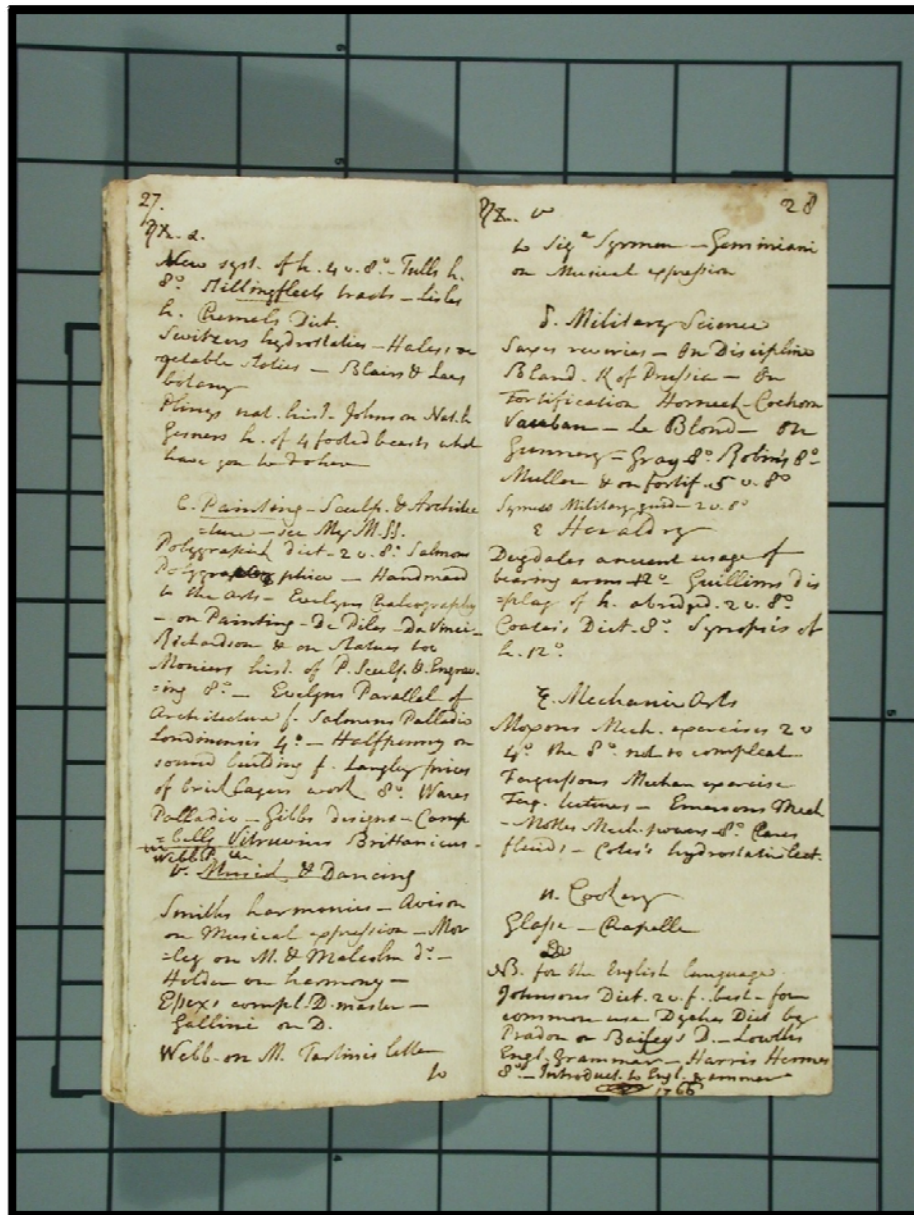


Figure A-1: The Drayton Library Catalog is referenced as Drayton Papers Collection A-11-010 and can be found in Special Collections at the College of Charleston Addlestone Library.

C. Painting - Sculp. & Architecture  
 = here - see My M.S.  
 Polygraphick Diet - 2 v. 8.<sup>o</sup> Salmon  
 Polygraphick phica - Handman  
 to the Arts - Evelyns Caligraphy  
 - on Painting - De Piles - Da Vinci -  
 Richardson & on Statues too  
 Moniers hist. of P. Sculp. & Engrav.  
 = ing 8.<sup>o</sup> - Evelyns Parallel of  
 Architecture f. Salomon Palladio  
 Londinensis 4.<sup>o</sup> - Halfpenny on  
 sound building f. Langley prices  
 of bricklayers work 8.<sup>o</sup> Wares  
 Palladio - Gibbs Designs - Comp  
 = billy Vitruvius Britannicus -  
 Webb P. 4.<sup>o</sup>

Figure A-2: This image is a detail from the Drayton Library Catalog showing the section containing the seven architectural books examined in this study.

## **Appendix B**

### **Transcription of Drayton Library Catalog**

#### **Painting—Sculpture & Architecture**

“Evelyn Parallel of Architecture”

(John Evelyn: *A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, 1664)

“Solomon Palladio Londinensis”

(William Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis*, 1734)

“Halfpenny on sound building”

(William Halfpenny, *Art of Sound Building*, 1725)

“Langley Prices of Bricklayers work”

(Langley, *The London Prices of Bricklayers Materials and Works*, 1748)

“Ware Palladio”

(Isaac Ware, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio’s Architecture*, 1738)

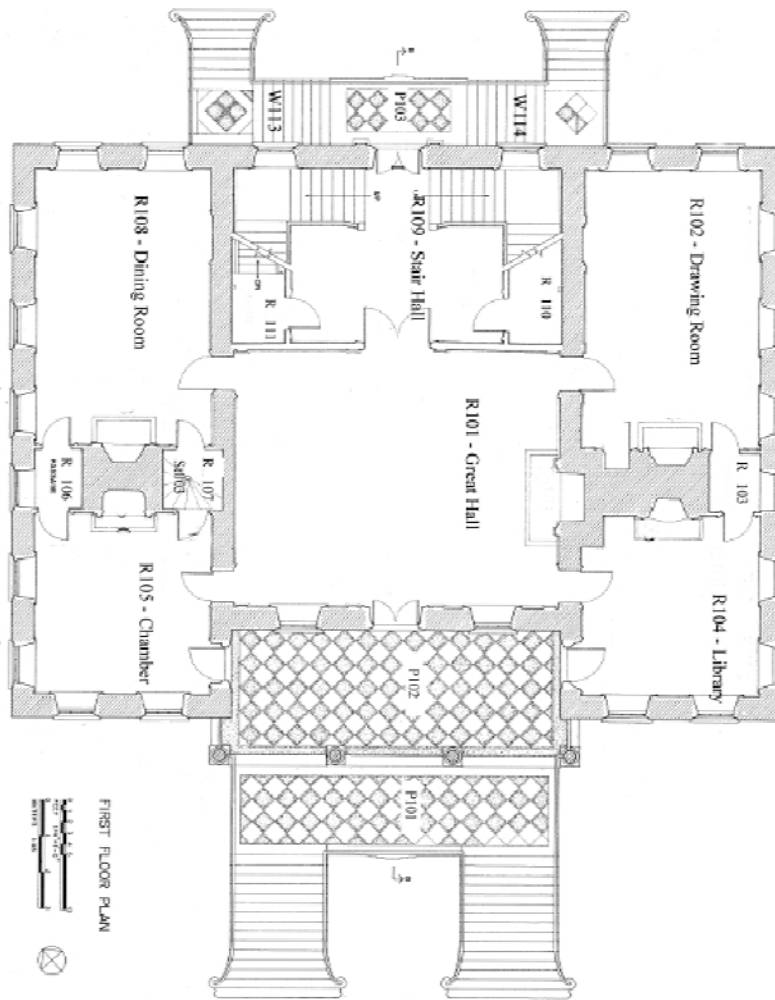
“Gibbs Designs”

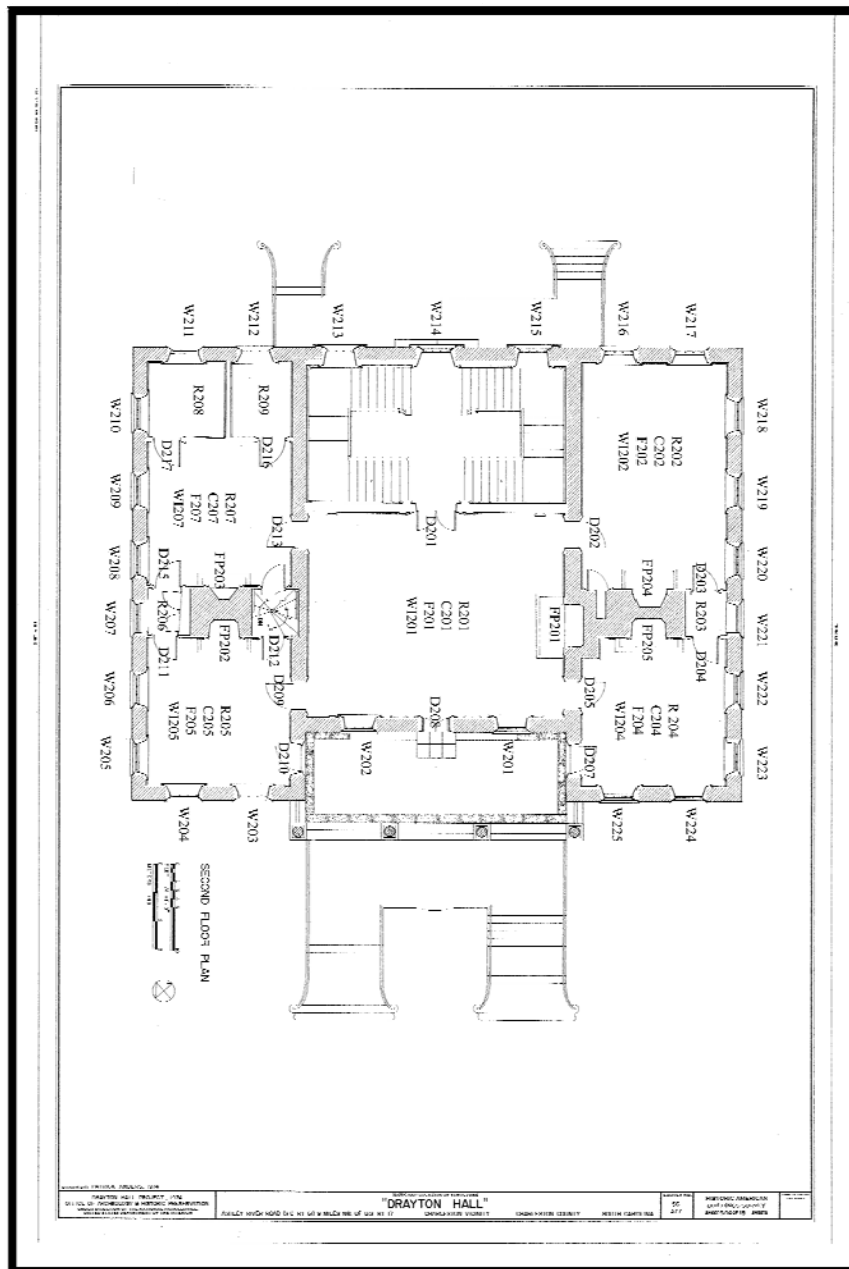
(James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, 1728)

“Campbell Vitruvius Britannicus”

(Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715)

## Labeled Floor Plans

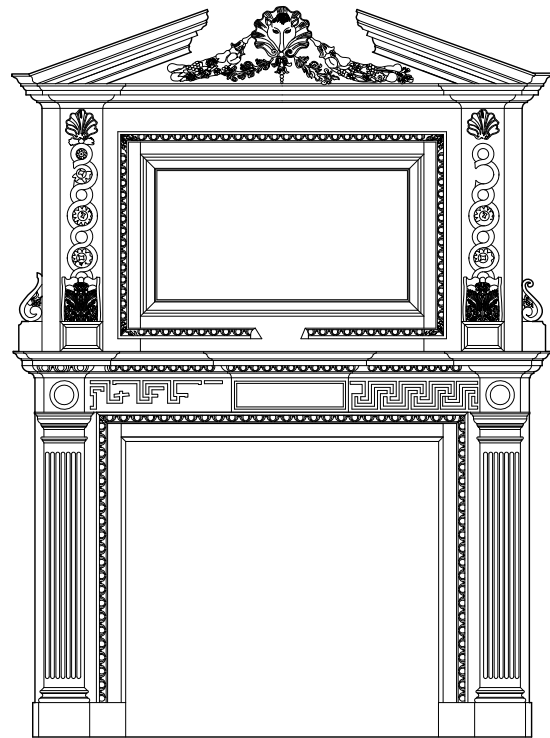




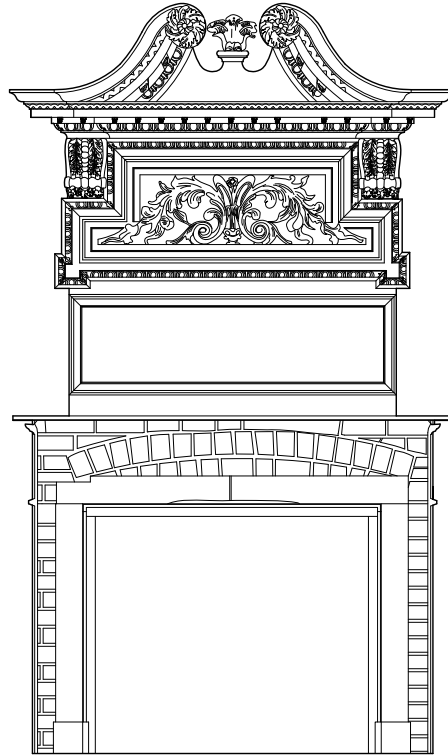
## **Appendix D: Measured Drawings**

The following drawings show elevations of the primary rooms on the second floor of Drayton Hall. Additionally, drawings of the chimneypieces on the first floor are shown. Elevations of the first floor were completed by Natalie Ford in 2008, but are not included. They are available upon request at Drayton Hall.

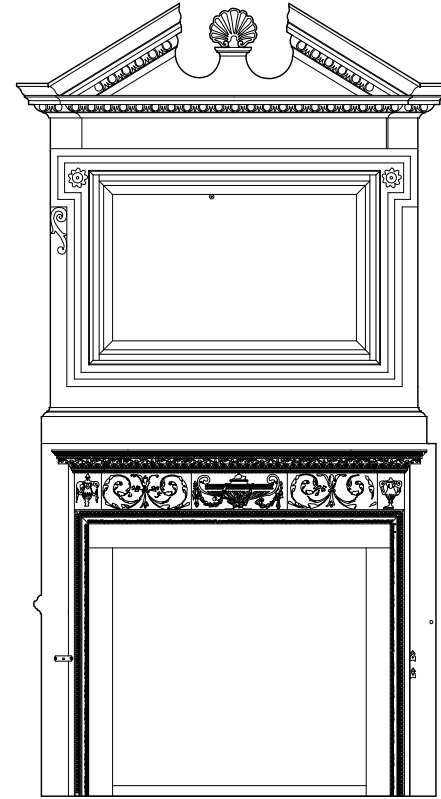




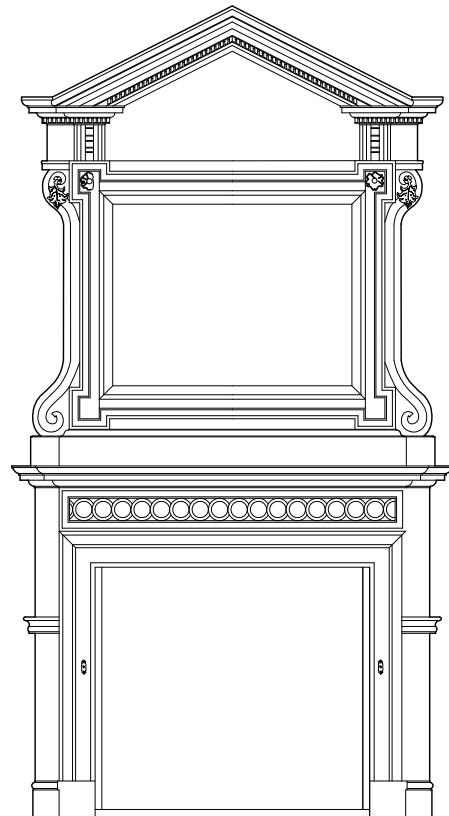
Room 101



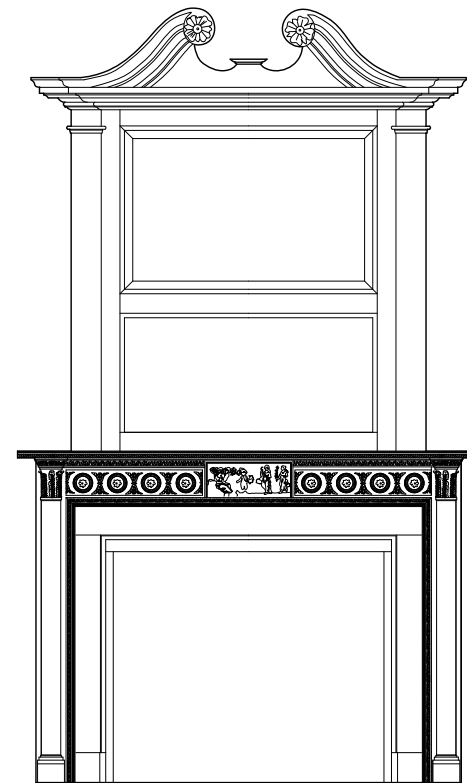
Room 104



Room 104



Room 105

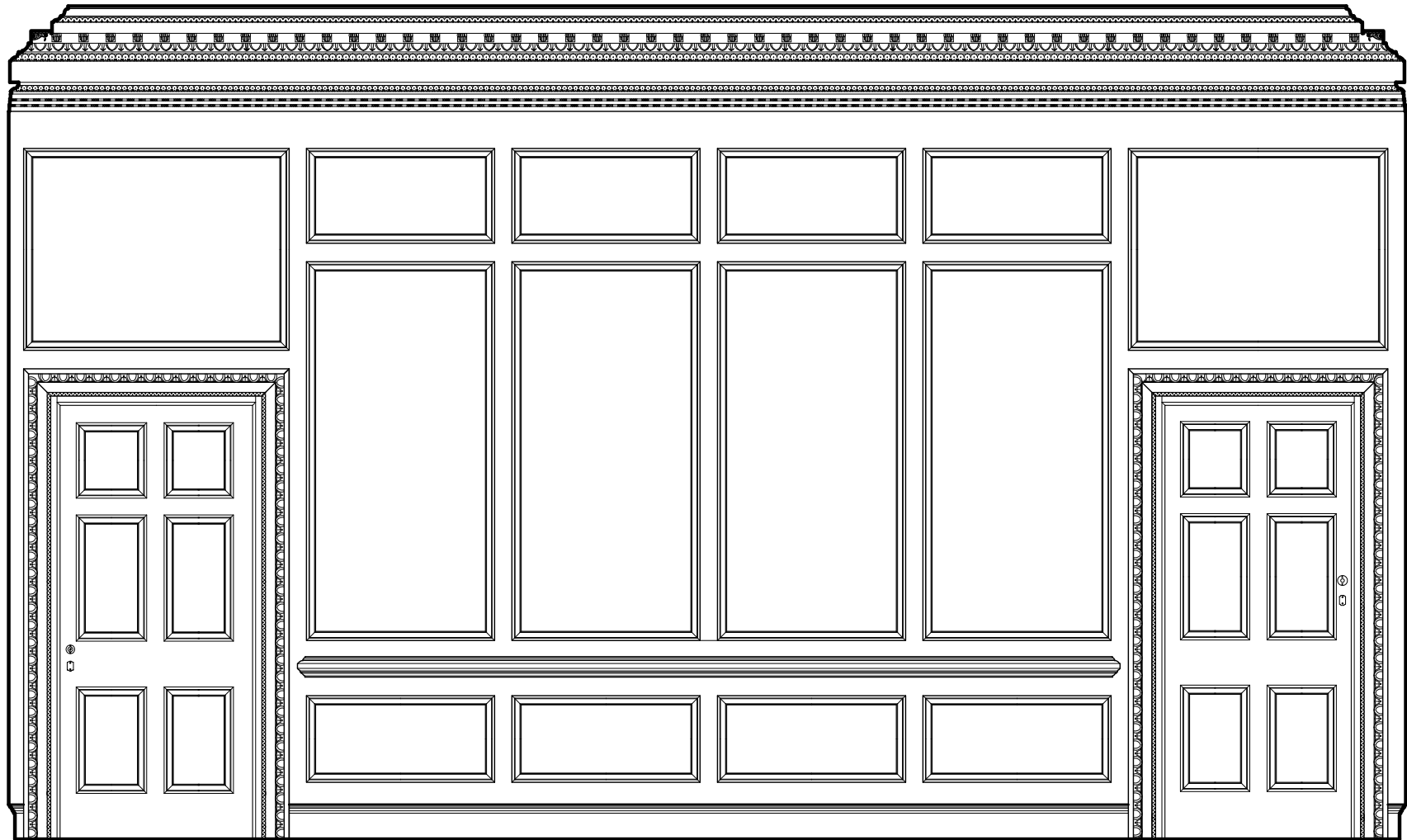


Room 108

ROOM  
NO: 101-108

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD  
CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

DRAWN BY: NATALIE FORD



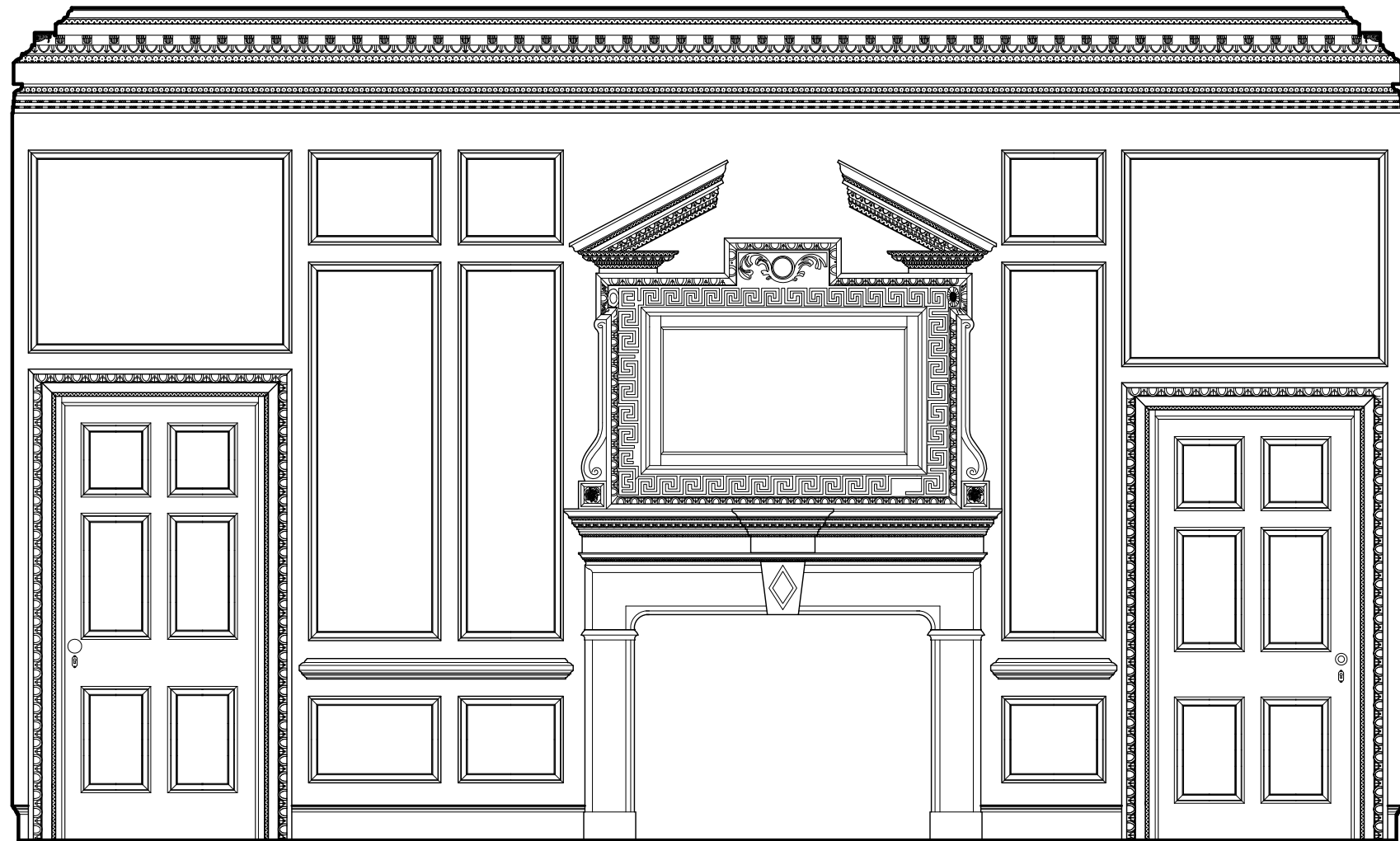
NORTH ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0" 1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
201

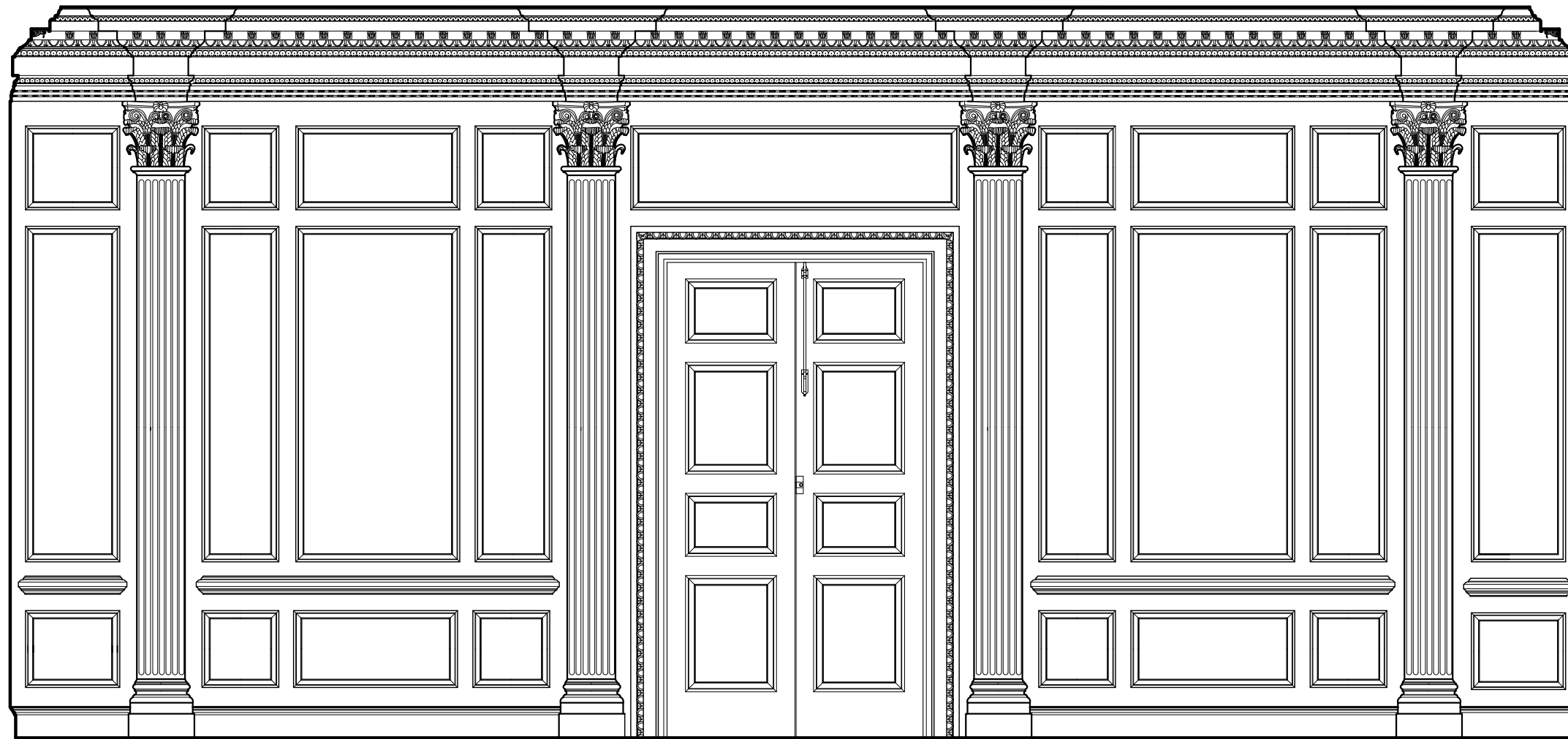


**SOUTH ELEVATION**  
 $3/8" = 1' - 0"$  1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
201



## EAST ELEVATION

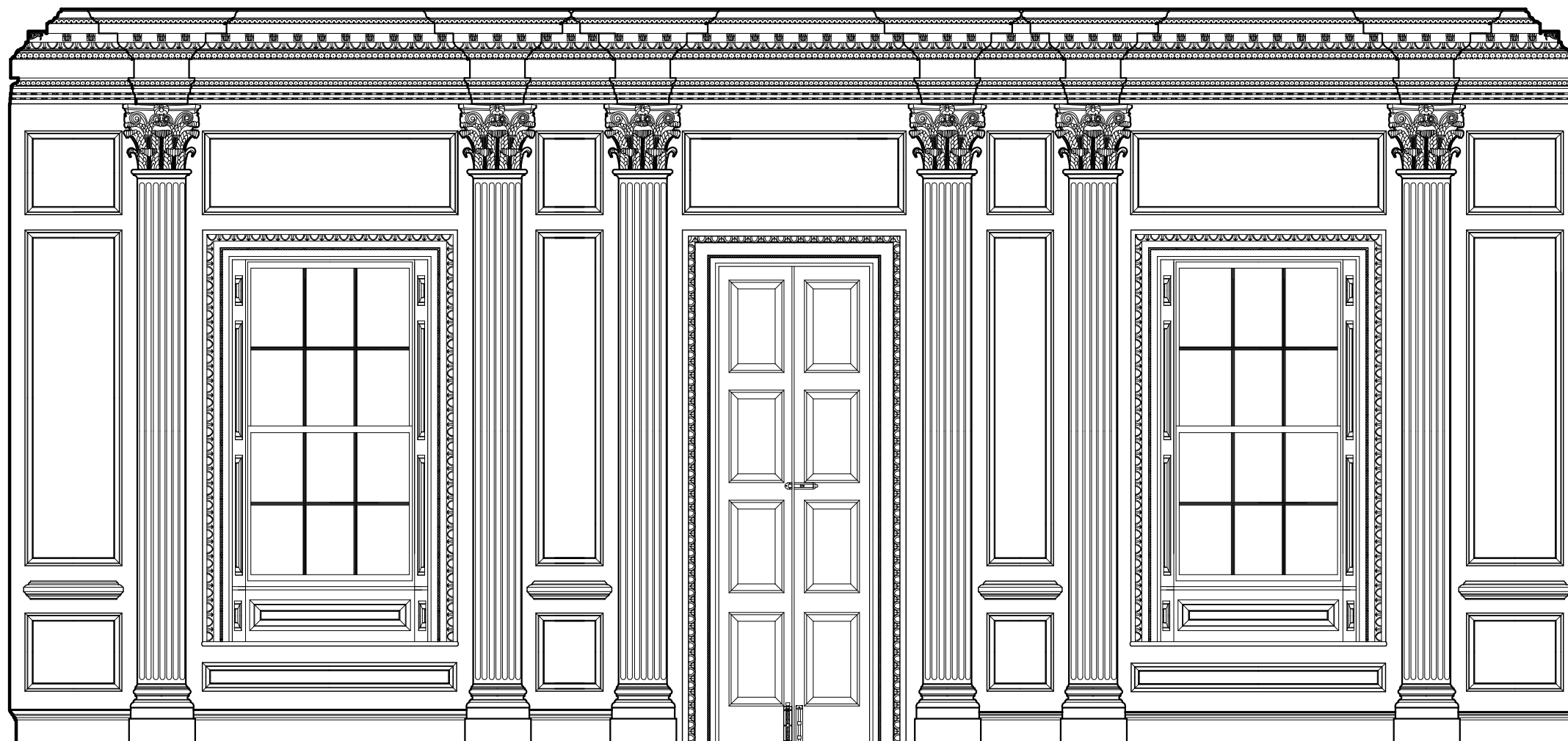
3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO: 201



# WEST ELEVATION

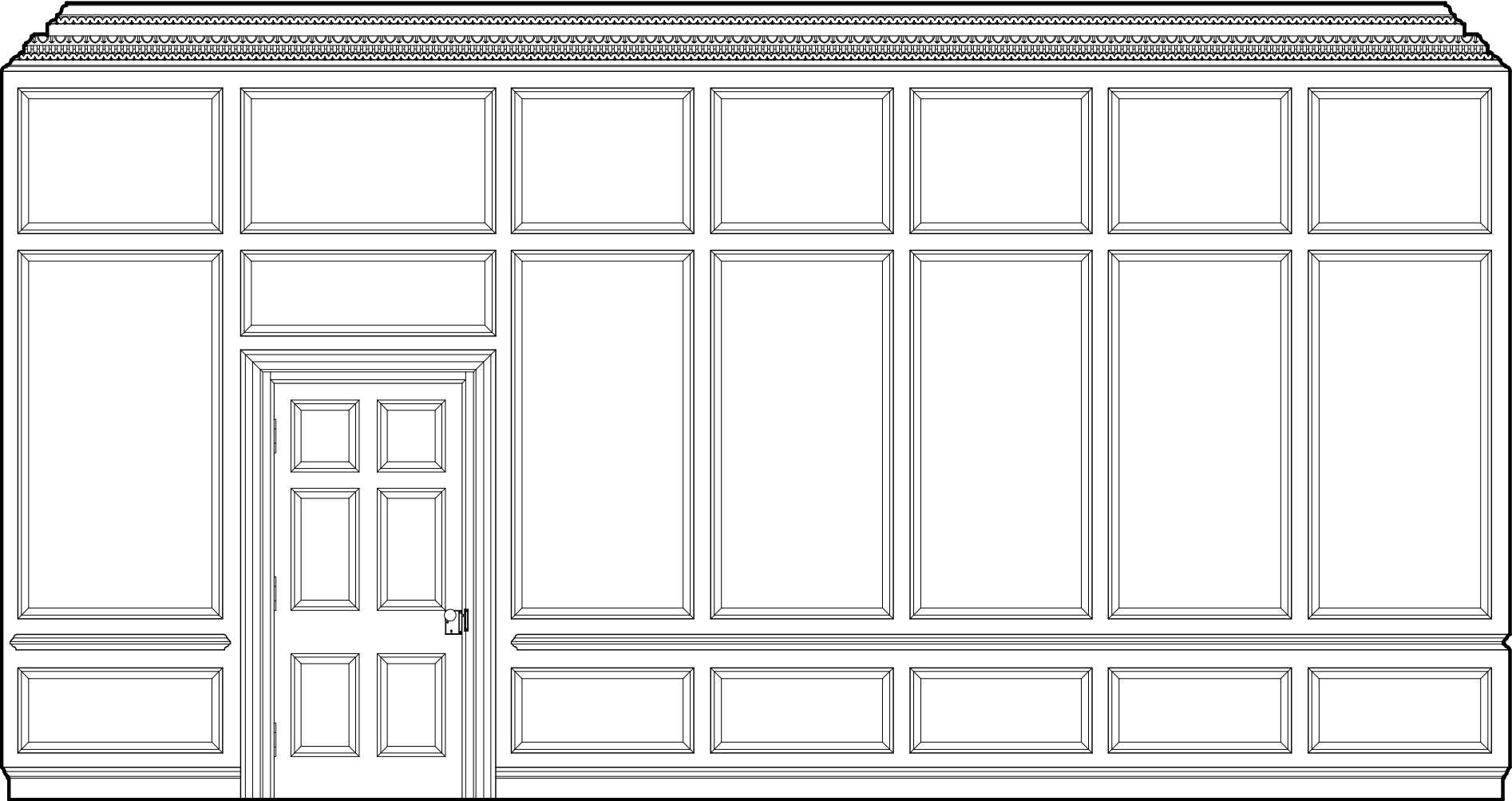
3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
201



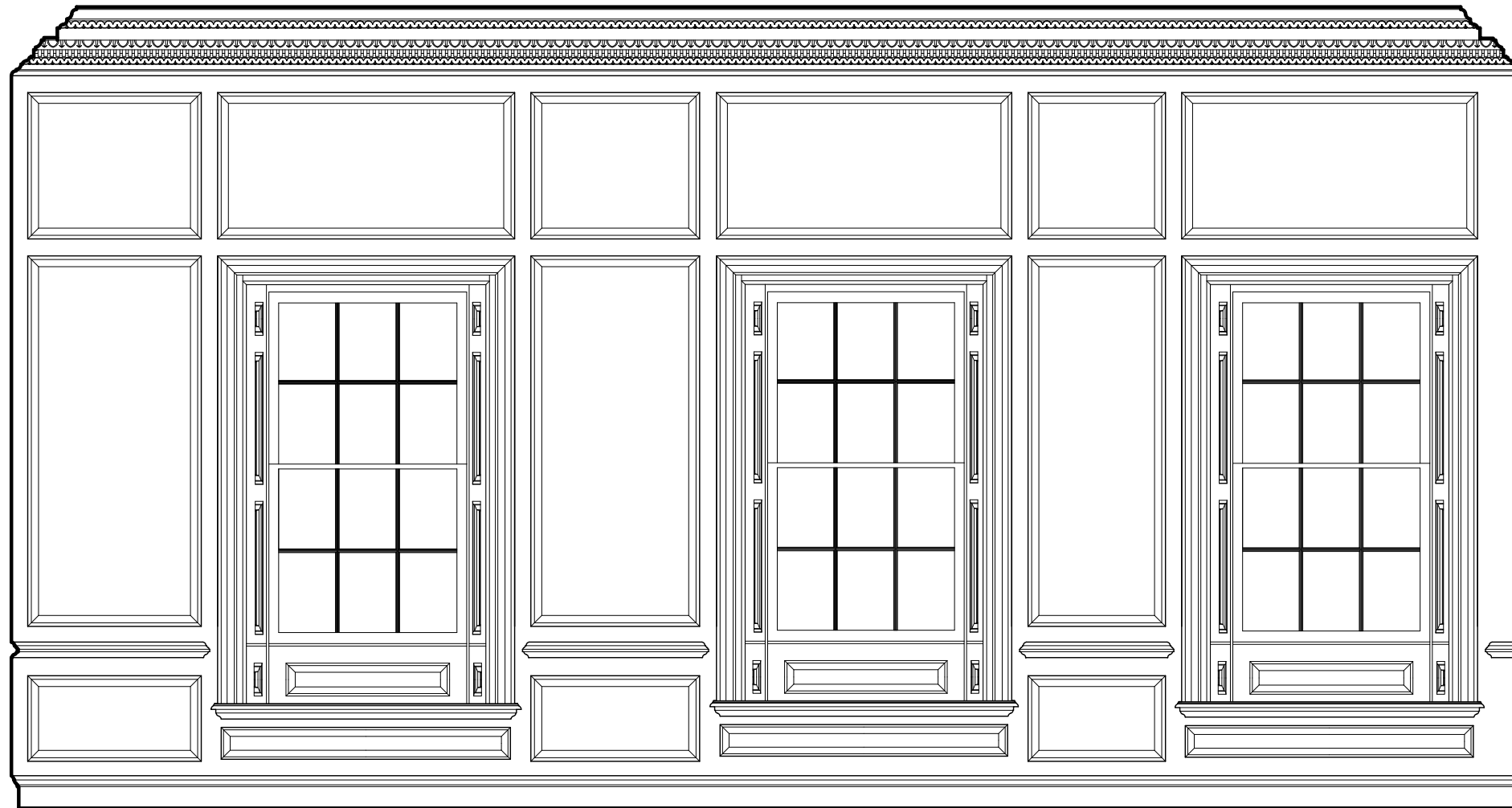
NORTH ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0" 1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM NO: 202



# SOUTH ELEVATION

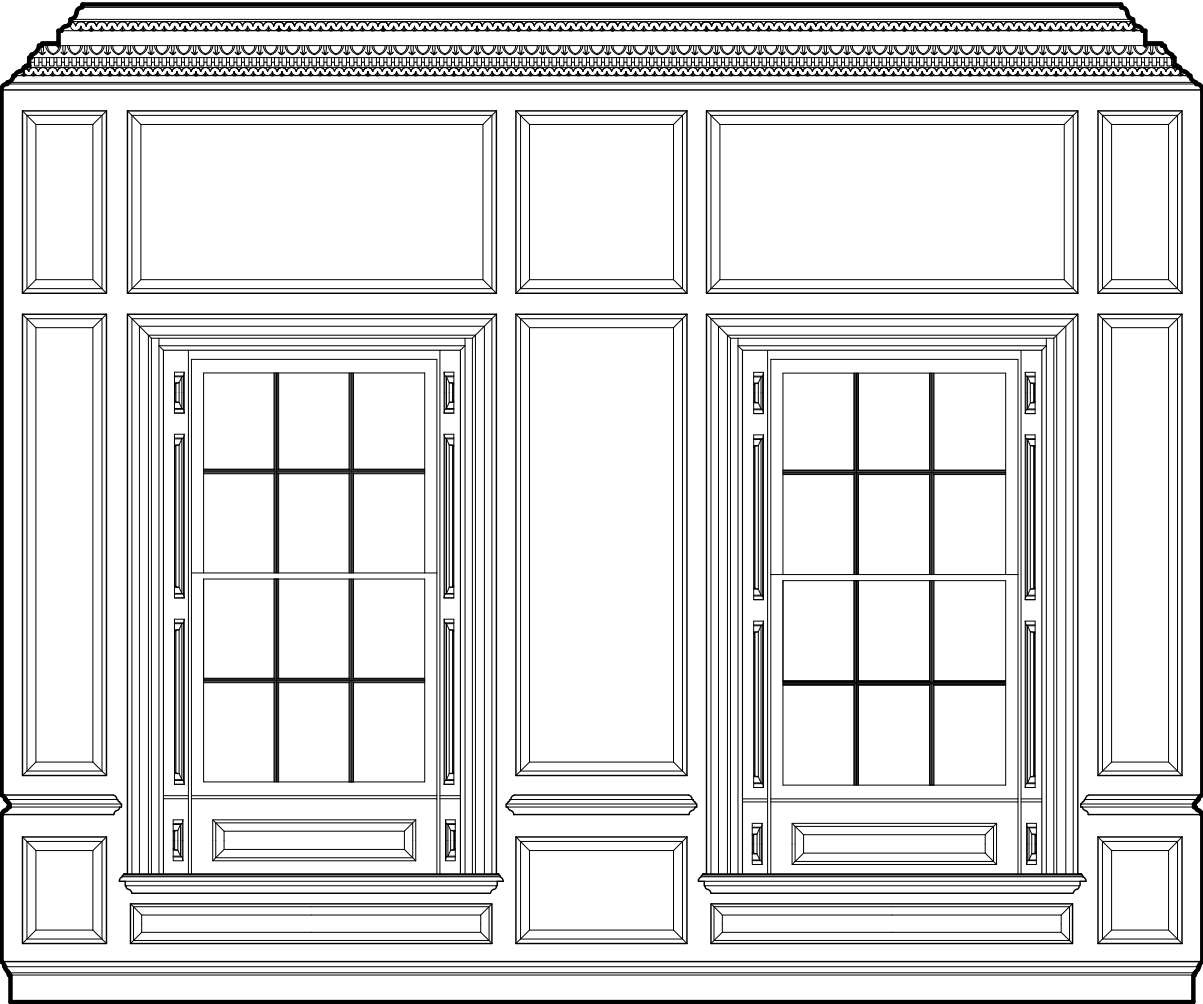
3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD  
CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
202



EAST ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

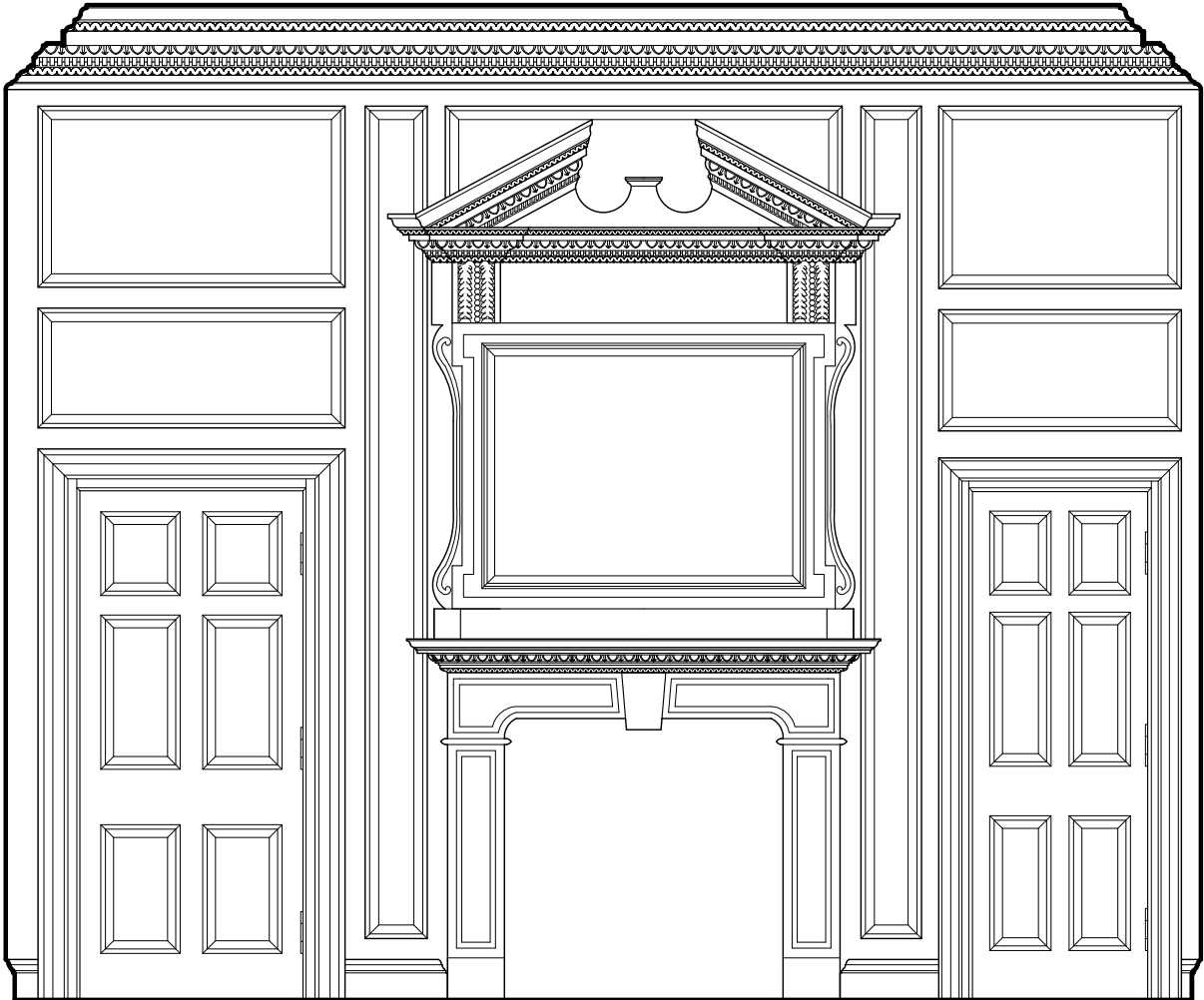
DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

DRAYTON HALL

ROOM  
No:  
202





WEST ELEVATION

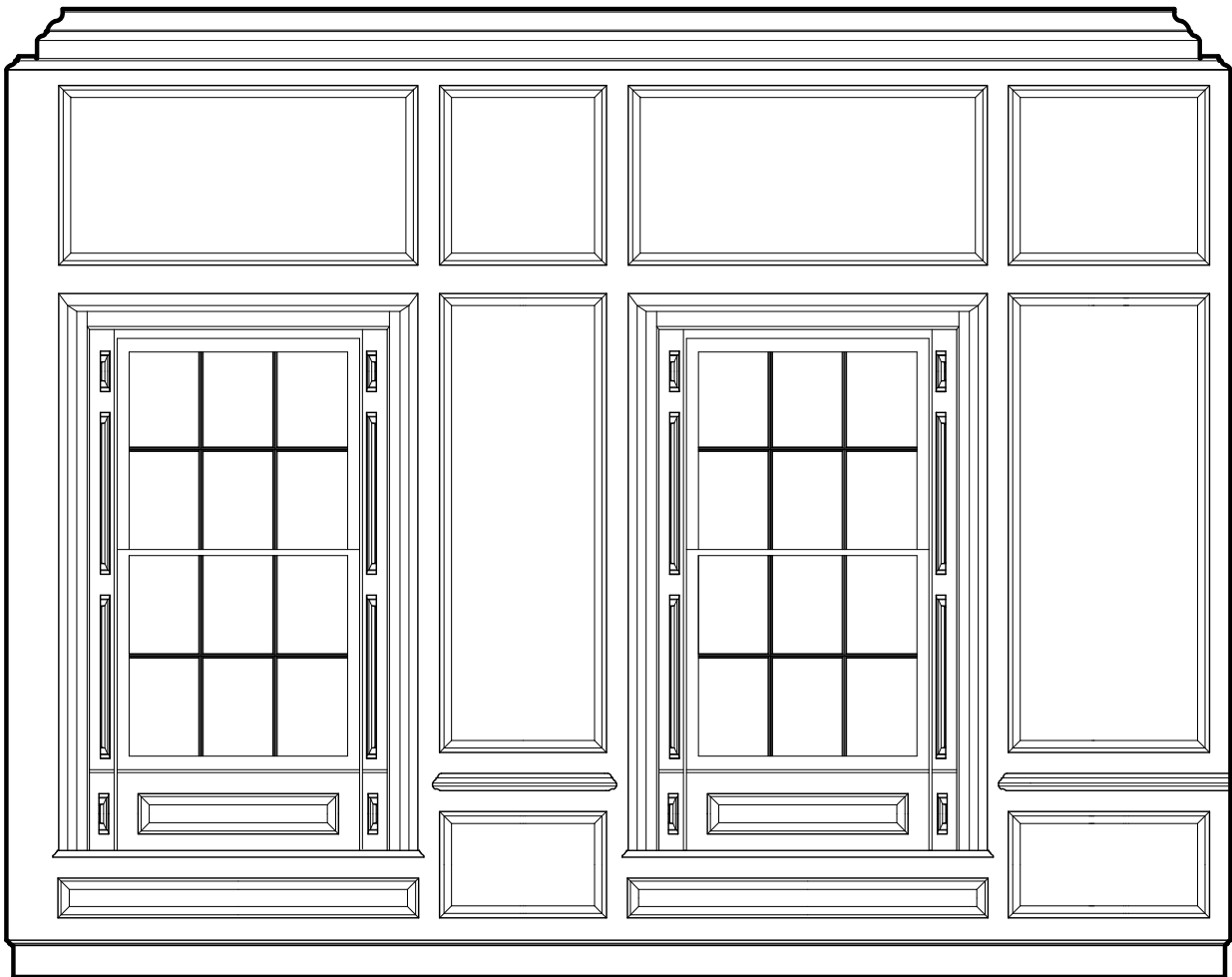
3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
202



NORTH ELEVATION

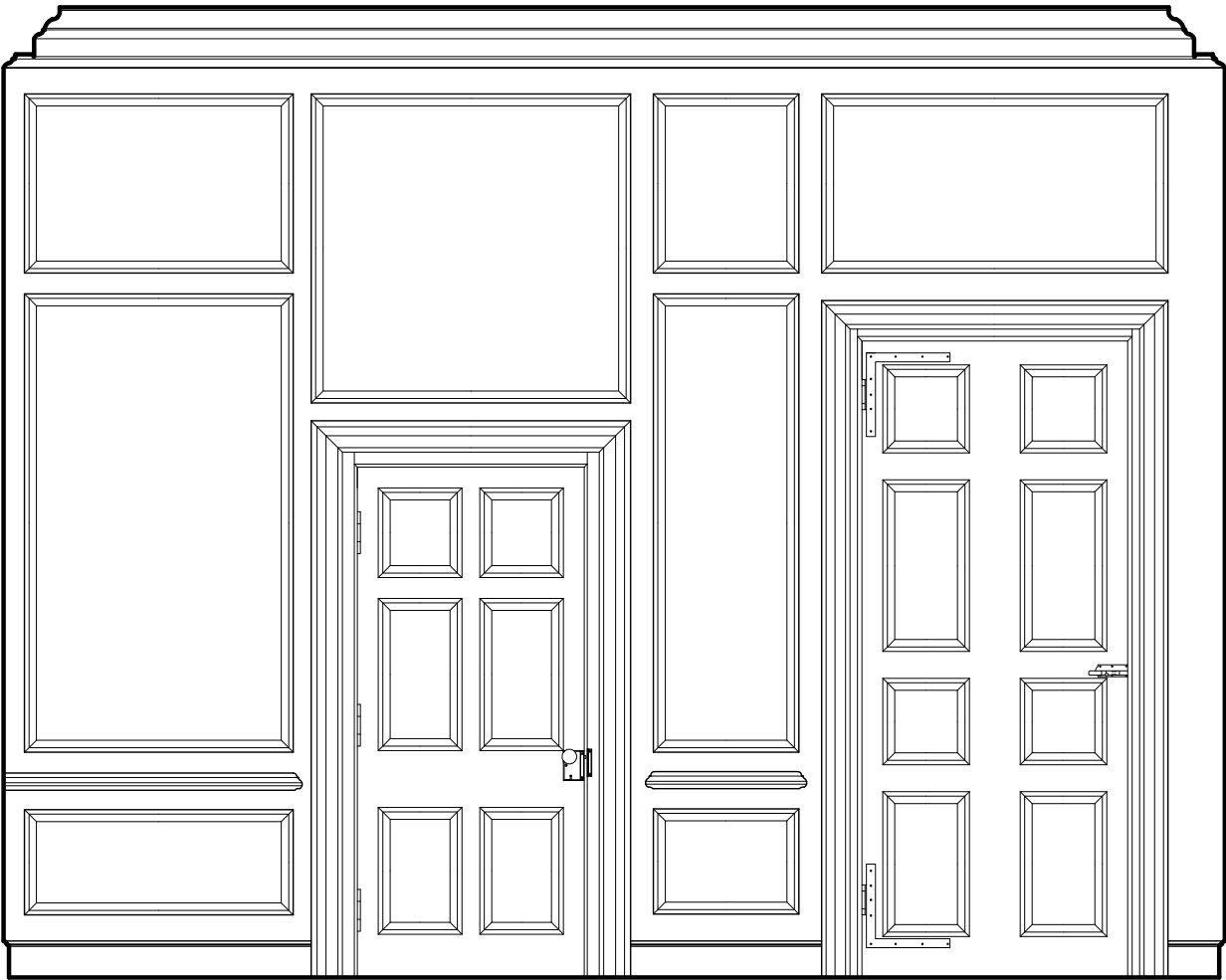
3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

DRAYTON HALL  
3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

ROOM  
NO:  
205



# SOUTH ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0"

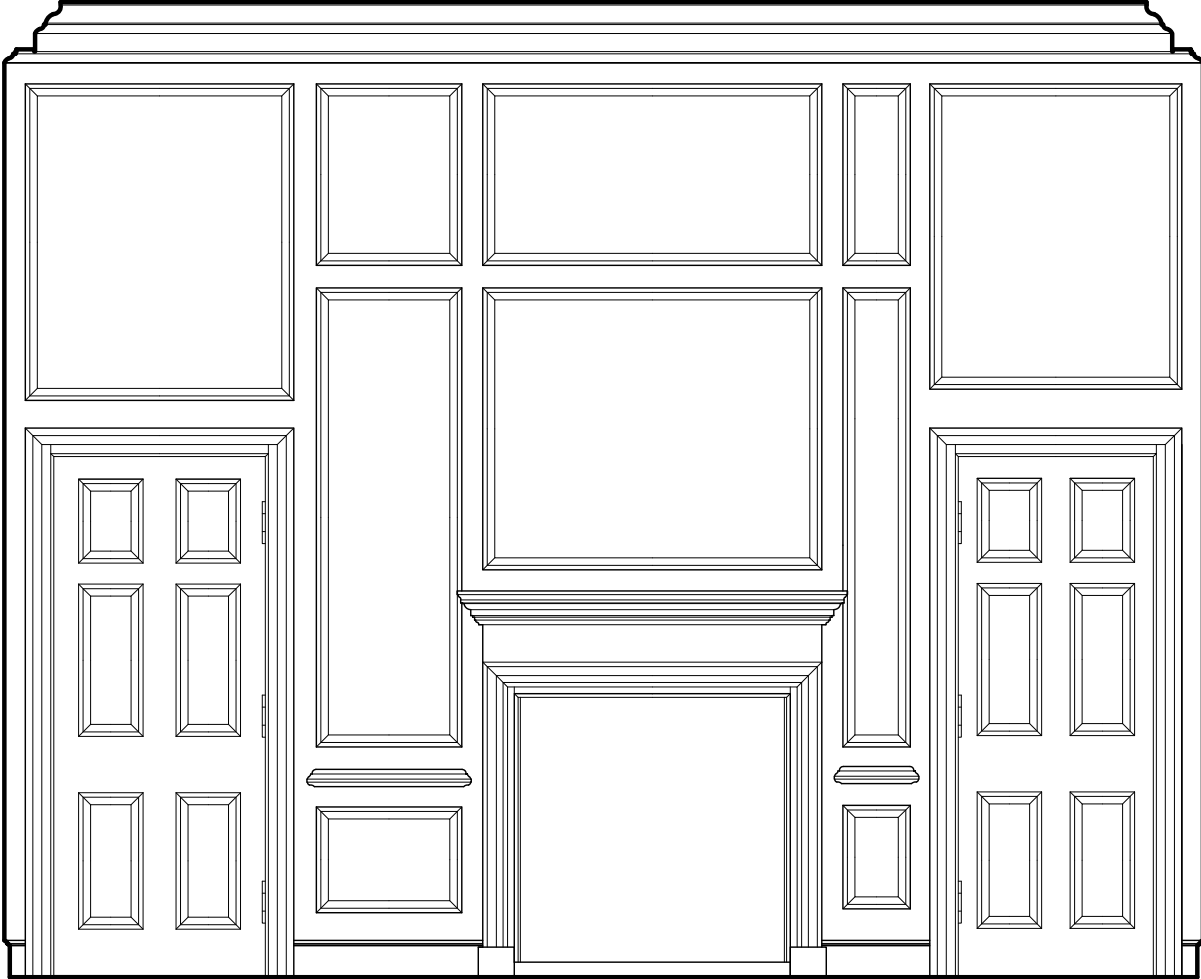
1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

DRAYTON HALL

ROOM  
NO:  
205



EAST ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0"

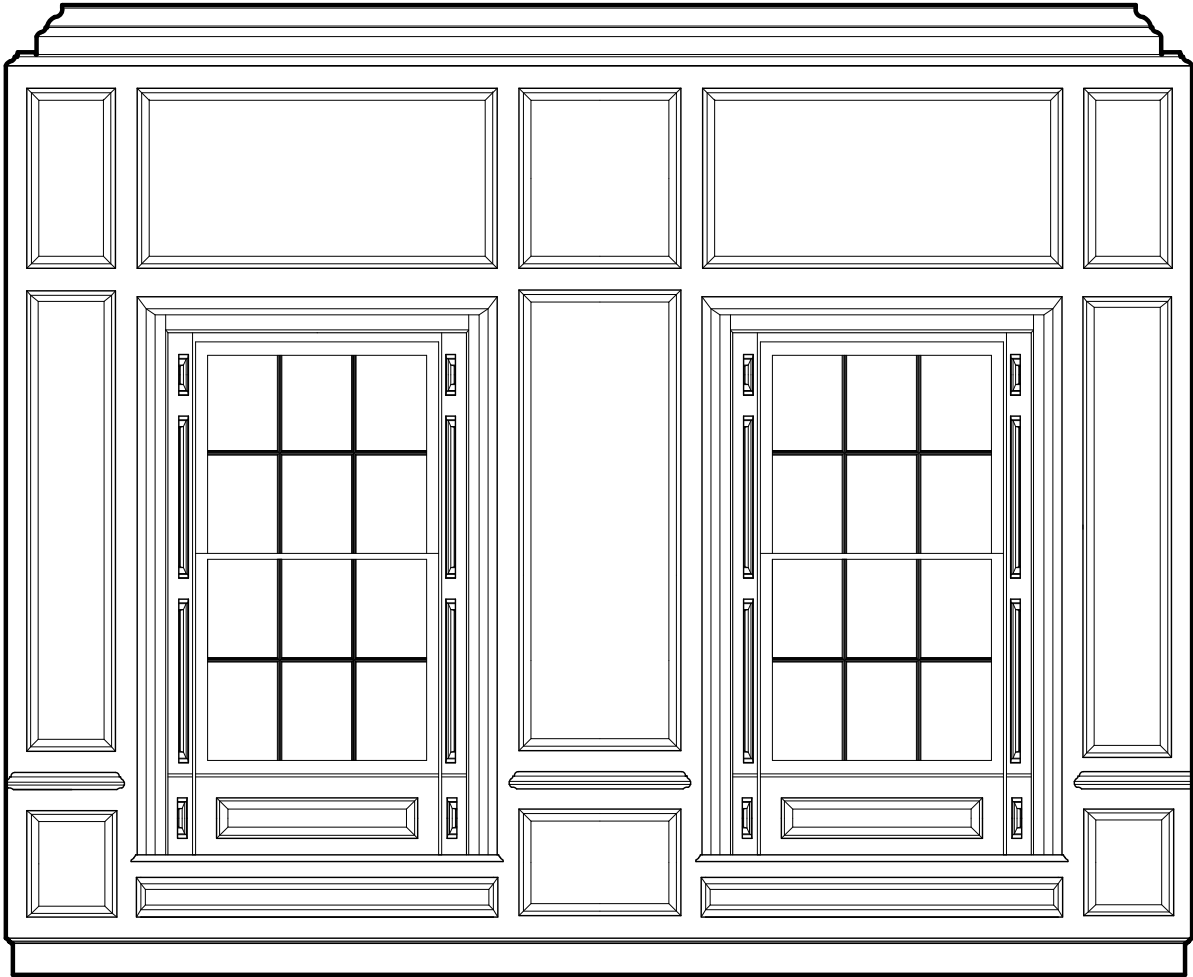
1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

DRAYTON HALL

ROOM NO: 205



WEST ELEVATION

3/8"=1'-0"

1:32

DRAWN BY: PATRICIA LOWE

3380 ASHLEY RIVER ROAD CHARLESTON SOUTH CAROLINA

DRAYTON HALL

ROOM  
No:  
205

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