

## An American Palladian Prototype *Charleston's Miles Brewton House*

C. Allan Brown

Part One of this article, "The Significance of a Portico," was published in the Fall 2023 Palladiana.



The Miles Brewton house in Charleston, SC, erected 1766–1769, is renowned for its superb interior ornamentation and, perhaps even more especially, for its unprecedented two-tiered portico, reflecting Andrea Palladio's innovative mid-16th century villa designs.

Indeed, the Brewton house's fully projecting, superposed, and pedimented portico may be regarded as an American Palladian prototype. In part one of this article, its architectural influence was examined. Part two will consider the origins of its design, the cultural context of its creation, and its ultimate significance to American architecture, particularly in relation to two other important, early Palladian houses in South Carolina, the Charles Pinckney house and Drayton Hall.

The "general contractors" of the construction of the Miles Brewton house were Kinsey Burden, c1740–1785, and Richard Muncreeff, c1710–1789, a house-building partnership operating in Charleston from 1765 to 1769 under the name of "Kinsey Burden & Co."<sup>1</sup> Manuscript case files for a 1773 lawsuit between the former partners give much information on their working

relationship.<sup>2</sup> Burden was new to the province; Muncreeff had been established as a builder in Charleston for three decades. Younger partner Burden was more actively involved in construction; old-hand Muncreeff served primarily as clerk of the works. Witnesses deposed for the trial included client Miles Brewton and several of the workmen.



Miles Brewton house, 1766–1769  
27 King Street, Charleston, SC  
Photograph by Calder Loth

As discussed in part one, Ezra Waite, 1723–1769, claimed responsibility in a 1769 public notice for many of the house's splendid architectural details.<sup>3</sup> His carving work appears to have been augmented by the artistry of Thomas Woodin, d.1774, John Lord, d. after 1775, and Benjamin Baker, d.1780.<sup>4</sup> Burden and Muncreeff led the team of construction craftsmen. But who gave the house generally and the portico specifically their Palladian design sophistication?

Circumstantial and stylistic evidence suggest that William Rigby Naylor, 1745?–1773, may have been the architect.<sup>5</sup> Recently arrived in Charleston from London, he had designed, by late 1766, the new Exchange and Custom House, erected 1768–1771, in an impressive British Palladian manner.<sup>6</sup>

Gene Waddell assesses it as "Charleston's first fully professional design."<sup>7</sup> Only the 1766–1767 drawings by émigré English architect

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# CPSA President Retires *Co-presidents to Serve*

JOHN J. ZEUGNER, AICP, PRESIDENT



John J. Zeugner

For the past year or more, I have been telling the Board that I wanted to step down from my now seven-year tenure as president of the CPSA.

Some of the reasons: I turned 71 in September after 40 years serving as an urban planner and historic preservationist. My dear wife Bucci has retired, and we are ready to see much more of the world. With reluctance, I have tendered my letter of resignation.

The timing is fortuitous. In October, the Board established a Nominating Committee to revitalize the CPSA. The Committee has recommended adding new Board members who share our passion for architectural history. With the expectation of more members joining the Board, it is time to relinquish my position as President.

In the next month or two, the Nominating Committee will contact potential Board members to solicit their candidacy. If you are interested, contact Bryan Clark Green [bryancgreen@gmail.com](mailto:bryancgreen@gmail.com).

To smooth the transition, Board members Bryan Clark Green and Dale Hilton have agreed to serve as interim co-presidents to guide CPSA over the next months. The Board will collaborate on travel, educational opportunities, and the annual meeting. Look for new initiatives, including a membership survey, program offerings via Zoom, and an annual calendar.



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Students scanning a capitol  
Academical Village, University of Virginia

Photograph by Will Rourk

Our goal is to elect a new President within the year. Calder Loth will continue as Vice President, and Bucci Zeugner as Treasurer. Mark Hoerath serves as our Secretary and Administrative Assistant, and Kay Slaughter continues her editorial role with *Palladiana*. I will continue as a Board member, and I look forward to helping with this important transition.

Going forward I am hopeful that the CPSA will serve a larger regional and national audience, build more partnerships with those who share our goals (especially UVA's Architecture School and student body), and be more engaged in social media to better communicate with our members and attract young professionals.

In closing, I am incredibly grateful for all the time and commitment that the Board has given the CPSA, and the way it has helped me and the other Officers to lead, re-energize, and expand this unique educational non-profit.

Thank you for allowing me to serve! ■

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# Palladiana

# Mapping the Villa

## *The Icon and the Farm*

ANDREW JOHNSTON AND WILL ROURK

UVA's mapping of the Villa Rotonda reveals how the villa's Palladian design accommodates its cultural landscape and links this architectural masterpiece to its agricultural buildings and functions. Our digital project demonstrates how these linkages may have influenced Palladian design in Virginia.

For many years at the University of Virginia, we've embraced a digital approach to historic preservation data collection. Laser scanning, photogrammetry, remote sensing, point clouds, augmented reality, virtual reality: all are terms associated with a digital lexicon in preservation data collection, research, and scholarship that professionals increasingly are expected to understand and use. An ongoing collaboration between UVA and the Valmarana family, owners of Palladio's Villa la Rotonda, well illustrates the

challenges and possibilities in collecting and interpreting highly detailed records of the physical environment.

*Informatics* is the science of data, and 3D Cultural Heritage is the collection, processing, archiving, and transformation of 3D data into knowledge of historical and cultural heritage subjects. Each semester, an internship course is taught to multi-disciplinary students through a collaboration between the UVA Program in Historic Preservation and the UVA Library to provide training in digital documentation. Students learn to record sites in the field, process, analyze, and interpret the data, develop research questions, and present their work and findings while archiving everything for the future.

Andrea Palladio's Villa La Rotonda, also known as Villa Almerico Capra Valmarana, is a canonical work in architectural history and a UNESCO World Heritage Site.<sup>1</sup> Constructed in the late 1500s, the Villa is often presented in architectural textbooks as a renaissance ideal, with students, scholars, and architects trained to understand the building as an idealized form and icon from a modernist point of view. As a result, the Villa is abstracted from its landscape and the history of its construction and use. This, however, fails to engage the site's reality: the location of the Villa as one component of an agricultural landscape intimately tied to social and economic change occurring in the Veneto in the 16th century.<sup>2</sup> The power of digital technologies to collect vast amounts of precise data enables the



Early morning view of the Villa la Rotonda looking South  
Photograph by Shayne Brandon



View of the main entrance to the Villa la Rotonda

Photograph and 3D rendering by Will Rourk

owners and researchers to see and study La Rotonda in its wider context and to provide them with powerful possibilities for preservation, management, and scholarship.

The current owners of the Villa Rotonda understand its importance as both an ideal structure and an essential part of the landscape. They have focused on stewardship of the whole site while cultivating an interest in the long history of La Rotonda. Perhaps surprisingly, but not uniquely among famous structures, the Villa and its landscapes were not well-documented with digital technologies before work by the UVA team in collaboration with the owners.<sup>3</sup> The collective interests in this work included gaining new knowledge of the history of the entire site, securing baseline documentation for conservation and management, and enabling student training and education. Additionally, the value of detailed digital recording of sites was reinforced after the tragedy of the 2019 fire at Notre Dame Cathedral.

Beginning in 2019, UVA students, faculty, and staff, working with the Valmarana family, digitally recorded the Villa La Rotonda and its wider landscape. This research was funded by a Three Cavaliers Grant from the University, with Andrew Johnston, head of the UVA program in Historic Preservation as principal investigator; William Rourk of the Scholars' Lab of the UVA Library; and Worthy Martin of the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities.

The goal was to create and archive a high-quality digital recording of buildings and landscapes for use in preservation, scholarship, and

ongoing management of this World Heritage site. The UVA connections to Villa Rotonda are twofold: Mr. Jefferson intently studied and modelled his designs on the works of Palladio. Moreover, a long-time UVA School of Architecture faculty member and founder of the Center for Palladian Studies in America, Mario Valmarana was an owner of Villa la Rotonda and worked for decades to create educational opportunities for UVA students in the Veneto through the study abroad program he founded.

The approach of this project was to understand the Villa Rotonda as part of a cultural landscape, a social and historical approach that situates the monumental structure of the Villa within its context as the center of an agriculture estate, similar in some ways to a plantation in the American South. In addition to recording the Villa, the team also recorded all of the associated agriculture buildings, adjacent settlement, roadways and canals, and 100 acres of land.

To do this work, UVA students, faculty, and staff travelled to La Rotonda, Vicenza in February–March 2019. Onsite, the team used digital technologies, in this case, point cloud laser data collection with FARO 3D laser scanners, aerial photogrammetry with quadcopter drones, and 360-degree photography, to record the villa's exterior.

The recordings include the full exterior of the building: the roof and its statuary in high detail, the associated agricultural buildings of the granary, animal pens, garden ruins, and roughly 100 acres of surrounding fields, woodlands, waterways, and nearby village walls

and buildings.<sup>4</sup> This recording resulted in over 150 scans and over 5 billion data points. Because not all information was recordable from the ground, quadcopters were used for aerial photography.

Combining ground-based laser scan data with aerial photography allows for the creation of complete models including roofs. The team also completed various forms of high-end photography, including 360-degree photography. This team included the Valmarana family, UVA undergraduate and graduate students, staff, and faculty, all working for the goals of preservation while engaging students in research.

When the total landscape is subject for analysis, a wider range of analytical lenses is available to the scholar.<sup>5</sup> For example, modeling the linked workspaces and the agricultural buildings at Villa la Rotonda opens a view onto the labor and laborers associated with the Villa so that, in this case, the stories of the agricultural workers can be known. The goal is to understand not only how people with power construct space but also how people lived their lives and derived meaning from and gave meaning to these spaces. In this way, digital reconstructions allow us to see the ephemeral of what has come and gone over time.

This cultural landscapes approach allows a range of stories to be told, including a focus on the environment, the villa as a temple within the landscape, food economy, work spaces, and the movement of people employed at the site, including domestic servants and farmworkers. In fact, laborers would have been clearly seen from all sides of the villa in the fields and farmyard. Even the entrance was formerly agricultural, and workers would have been coming constantly in and out from the four entrances; only one entry is truly concealed, partly because of the land level and access. We don't know if this is due to the design of Scamozzi or Palladio. Often not acknowledged in descriptions of the site as a Renaissance ideal are service routes and the connecting passages for movement between the fields, farmyards, and stores to the main house. Thus, understanding the value of the landscape economy and logistics of agricultural and labor movement at Villa la Rotonda may shed light in relationship to the designs of Thomas Jefferson, one of Palladio's greatest acolytes.

In the last few decades, scholarship has explored Jefferson's designs in relation to his worldview, including the roles and work lives of the enslaved laborers at Monticello. Dell Upton has described Jefferson's



Aerial view of the Villa la Rotonda looking west from the field team's quadcopter  
Photograph by Shayne Brandon



Data rendering of the grounds of the Villa la Rotonda looking from the north  
3D rendering by Will Rourk



Data rendering of the Villa la Rotonda showing a section along the southeast-northwest axis  
3D rendering by Will Rourk

design of an underground network at Monticello through which enslaved laborers could move around the hilltop in a system of interlinked work areas, performing their tasks out of view of Jefferson's gaze from his perch in the aboveground spaces of his home.<sup>6</sup>

Poplar Forest, Thomas Jefferson's other home, located in Bedford County, VA, was also designed to hide the everyday labor of the enslaved. In digitally recording Poplar Forest, a UVA team created detailed digital models of the site, allowing study of the built forms with extant correspondence and writings of Jefferson. These documentary records detail his design intent, the process of construction, and the ways in which he used Palladio's designs as

models. Poplar Forest is, in the section through the center of the house, a half-scale model of the Villa la Rotonda, emphasizing qualities of Palladio that Jefferson so loved.<sup>7</sup> But the deeper organization of space at Poplar Forest includes largely underground spaces for the work of the enslaved, which supported Jefferson's life at Poplar Forest. His design for Poplar Forest, as at Monticello, continued the long tradition of invisible labor at agricultural villas.<sup>8</sup>

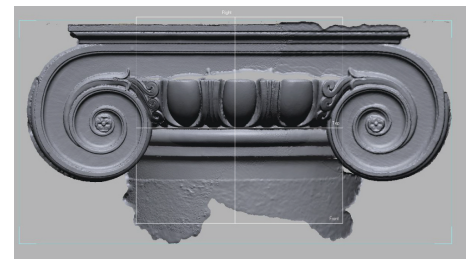
Continued digital recording work is being discussed as one element of the ongoing cooperation between the Valmarana family and UVA with a focus is on recording the interiors of both the Villa and supporting buildings, including the barchessa. This data will continue

to enhance preservation and site management, as well as provide data for scholarship and technical training for students. In classes at UVA, students use this data for design studio work; for preparing an exhibit on this work that will be displayed at both the UVA Rotunda and the Villa Rotonda; and, in several cases, for architectural history theses. To further enhance training in digital preservation technologies, UVA has recently completed an agreement with the University of Padua to host faculty, staff, and students for shared training and field work.

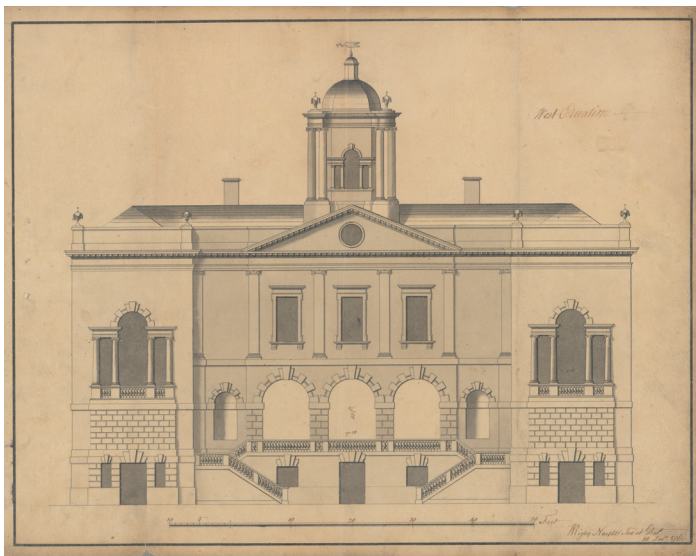
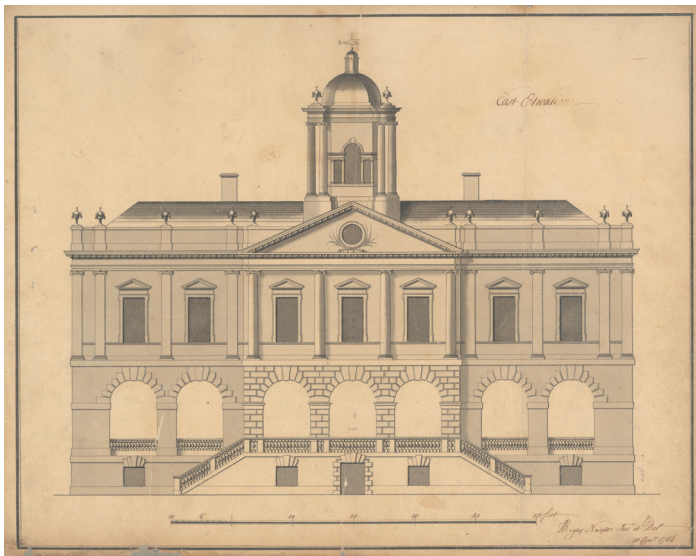
Perhaps most significantly for understanding the Virginia landscape, due in large part to the success of the work on the Villa la Rotonda, UVA continues to be asked to do similar work on sites here in Virginia. This wide variety of sites have been chosen to tell a range of stories in Virginia's history, from the State Capitol to dwellings of the enslaved and from Rosenwald Schools to UVA Grounds. The archiving and preservation of this data is an on-going discussion with the UVA Library, the new Data Sciences School, and national and international consortiums. ■

Andrew Johnston is Director of the University of Virginia Program in Historic Preservation and William Rourk works in The Scholars Lab, University of Virginia Library. They were assisted in this project by the Valmarana Family, the Institute for Advanced Technology, students in the Historic Preservation Program, and the Fall 2019 Digital Heritage Seminar.

- 1 The name of this UNESCO World Heritage Site, designated in 1994, is City of Vicenza and the Palladian Villas of the Veneto.
- 2 Denis Conzen, *The Palladian Landscape*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.
- 3 The digital recording of the Villa Rotonda and its landscape was funded by Three Cavaliers grant from the University of Virginia, Andrew Johnston, principle investigator. Participants included members of the Valmarana family; UVA School of Architecture: Amelia Hughes, Charity Revuten, Adriana Giorgis, Meghan Page; UVA Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities: Worthy Martin, Shayne Brandon, Lauren Massari; UVA Library/Scholars' Lab: William Rourk
- 4 Field equipment included FARO Focus X130 medium range and X330 long-range terrestrial laser scanners, DJI Mavic Pro compact quadcopter, Insta 360 Pro—8K 3D VR panoramic video/still photography camera. Software used in processing field data included FARO Scene—FARO Focus scanner data registration; AutoDesk ReCap—point cloud visualization software; Agisoft Metashape—photogrammetry processing software; Capturing Reality Reality Capture—photogrammetry and laser scan data integration and registration software; and Meshlab—open source 3D data editing and optimization tools.
- 5 Andrew Johnston, "Making the Invisible Visible through Digital Technologies in Fieldwork" *Future Anterior* 17:2, 2020.
- 6 Dell Upton, *Architecture in the United States*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- 7 Orsina Simona Pierini, "The Secrets of Villa La Rotonda by Palladio." *Abitare*, 9 May 2017, also online.
- 8 Travis McDonald, "Poplar Forest: Jefferson and Palladio in Spiritual Agreement," *Palladiana*. Fall 2018, pp. 4-7.



Right: students gathering data at the Academical Village, University of Virginia  
 Left, from top to bottom: data renderings of capitals from Pavilion II, Pavilion V, and Pavilion IX  
 Photography and 3D rendering by Will Rourk



William Rigby Naylor's 1766 design drawings of the east and west elevations of the Exchange and Custom House, Charleston, SC  
 Courtesy of South Carolina Department of Archives and History

Continued from page 1.

John Hawks, for the Governor's House, now known as Tryon Palace, at New Bern, NC, are of comparable quality in colonial America.

To appreciate the differences in architectural achievement among major public buildings of the colonial era, consider the Pennsylvania State House, Independence Hall, Philadelphia, c1732, 1753; Faneuil Hall, Boston, c1742–1762; or the Market House, Newport, RI, c1762. Dominating the city panorama as one arrived by sea, the Charleston Exchange was arguably the finest civic edifice in colonial America. Significantly, Miles Brewton was one of the commissioners charged with implementing Naylor's design.<sup>8</sup>

Nothing is certain about Naylor's life before coming to Charleston.<sup>9</sup> Some descendants claim that he was from Bradford, West Yorkshire, a village near Leeds.<sup>10</sup> A "William," son of Richard Naylor of Kirkgate Street, was born there on 21 March 1745.<sup>11</sup> Was he the same young "Will:Naylor" who was apprenticed to "Geo:Wade &c.: of Pontefract York Joiners," commencing 16 January 1759?<sup>12</sup> Pontefract or "Pomfret" is a nearby village. If so, he may have learned Palladian principles while indentured to the Wades, who evidently were involved in the 1760s in the construction of Harewood, just north of Leeds.<sup>13</sup> That handsome country house, which originally had a monumental portico, was designed by John Carr of York, a prominent British Palladian, with interiors by Neoclassicist Robert Adam.<sup>14</sup>

Continuing with this line of speculation, Naylor would have completed his apprenticeship in early 1766, assuming that he served a standard seven-year term beginning at age 14. He apparently moved briefly to London, then emigrated to Charleston later that year at age 21. Those circumstances may explain why no records of any independent work by him in England have been found.<sup>15</sup> They also fit with the scenario of a talented and ambitious young provincial, just freed from his indenture, whose confidence outstripped his experience and who was willing to gamble his future, at least temporarily, in the New World.<sup>16</sup>

Naylor's design of the Exchange has much in common stylistically with the work of the later generation of British Palladians, practitioners such as John Wood the Younger, John Vardy, Isaac Ware, and John Carr. In basic composition, it resembles the seven-bay, arcaded "Market or Town-House," with cupola, illustrated in plate 44 in Robert Morris's *Select Architecture*, 1755.<sup>17</sup> That design follows a long tradition of such public structures in Europe and Britain, with open trading spaces below and civic meeting rooms above.<sup>18</sup> On the basis of the Exchange design alone, Naylor ranks with Peter Harrison, 1716–1775, John Hawks, 1731–1790, and William Buckland, 1734–1774, as one of the most sophisticated architectural practitioners in colonial America.<sup>19</sup>

Today, the Exchange survives in a much-altered state, so we cannot fully appreciate its original appearance. Moreover, we can no longer examine the two-story Watch House, 1767–1769, or the three-story Gaol, 1770–1771, both built by Naylor with his construction partner James Brown, but later demolished. Miles Brewton was also one of the supervisors overseeing the erection of the Watch House, or Guard House as it was later known. It had an imposing, tetrastyle Tuscan portico extending over the sidewalk, at the southwest corner of Broad and Meeting streets. That structure was replaced in 1838 with a building fronted by massive Greek Doric columns. It, too, is no longer extant.

The designer of the State House, 1753–1756, on the opposite corner, directly across Broad Street, is unknown.<sup>20</sup> Its present appearance



reflects the 2001 restoration of the exterior to its significantly differing 1792 Court House design. With its dignified central pavilion of four colossal engaged columns of the composite order, it was everything proper Palladian to which the contemporaneous Virginia capitol in Williamsburg aspired, but did not achieve. As Kenneth Severens has suggested, a likely candidate for the designer/builder of the State House was Irish émigré architect Samuel Cardy, d. 1774, who was then constructing St. Michael's Church, 1752–1762, with its monumental Roman Doric portico, on yet a third corner of that intersection.<sup>21</sup> A market hall, c1730s, occupied the fourth corner.

By 1770, that group of public buildings, on the four corners of the city's principal intersection, formed the most "Roman" civic square in the colonies. It was a landmark in the history of American urban design. At its center was a marble statue of the colonists' celebrated Whig ally, William Pitt, Lord Chatham, on a high pedestal. Naylor's new Exchange elegantly terminated the vista from that square to the waterfront. The ultimate realization of this long-planned, classical forum seems to have been the work of two talented designers, Cardy and his son-in-law Naylor.<sup>22</sup>

Naylor's documented public architecture featured distinctive elements, which found rare residential application at that early date in the Brewton house and garden. Those included the extensive use of imported Purbeck and Portland stone and Carnarvon slate; Gibbsian door surrounds at basement level; hipped-roofs with 9-in-12 pitch; lofty coved ceilings; niches; shell motifs; balustrades; simulated-stone "rough-casting;" groin vaulting in undercrofts; bilateral perron approaches; and stair towers with Venetian windows. Those shared characteristics seem to implicate Naylor further as the designer of the Brewton's innovative Palladian *villa suburbana*.<sup>23</sup>

Initially the Brewton residence was not, strictly speaking, a townhouse if one considers its rather isolated original setting beyond the developed town edge. Miles Brewton, 1731–1775, was a wealthy merchant and slave trader. Having been active in maritime commerce since 1753, he announced to friends and to the public in 1774 that he had "quited [sic] Trade," evidently to become a fulltime rice planter, on land he was acquiring along the Savannah River.<sup>24</sup> The prominent marble plaque at the center of the upper drawing-room mantel, with its shepherd and flock, seems to proclaim his new "pastoral" intentions.

Several notable details of the Brewton house exterior warrant comment. The elegant, elliptical oculus in the tympanum of the portico's pediment probably was added in the 1790s by later owner William Alston. The original nine-over-nine windows presented a quite different visual effect than the six-over-six Federal era replacements. There is trace physical evidence that the basement story of both the front and rear façades originally may have been stuccoed and scored into *faux* stone blocks. The earliest known

photograph of the house, taken in 1868, surprisingly shows the entire exterior covered in stucco, yet it was spalling in places. The date of that enveloping surface application is undetermined; it had been removed by the late 1880s.

The eight-foot-high brick walls enclosing the perimeter of the property and stuccoed along the King Street frontage were erected c1768–1769.<sup>25</sup> Tall garden walls had been a Charleston tradition since the 1740s. That feature, in part defensive, may have influenced the British in choosing the Brewton house as military headquarters for Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Henry Clinton, during the Revolutionary War occupation of 1780–1782.<sup>26</sup> It is also likely that the iron spikes of the menacing *chevaux-de-frise* were strung atop the front fence and gate at that time.<sup>27</sup>

Columns, or sometimes square pillars, with their associated "orders," specifically define the pedimented classical portico as distinct from the common gabled porch supported by plain wooden posts. In early America, those columns were usually made of wood or perhaps of compass bricks covered in stucco and finished with a stone-colored render. It was very rare for actual stone columns, fashioned to specification, to be imported from England, as Miles Brewton evidently had ordered.<sup>28</sup>

It was also unusual for columns to be crafted on site from local stone. Thomas Jefferson engaged a carver from Philadelphia who labored at his home, Monticello, for three years, beginning in 1775, to produce the four stone columns of the lower level of his superposed entrance portico.<sup>29</sup> As discussed in part one of this article, the main block of the house was standing by 1774, but it was only after 1778, when those stone columns were in place, that Jefferson's c1771 Palladian design for Monticello became more apparent. The upper level of the portico evidently remained unfinished.

With his demonstrated Palladian expertise, William Rigby Naylor was more than capable of introducing the fully-projecting, superposed, and pedimented portico to American architecture. A copy of Giacomo Leoni's 1742 English edition of the *Quattro Libri* was in the Charleston Library Society's collections by 1770.<sup>30</sup> Brewton was an active member of that society. Perhaps Brewton himself owned some edition of the *Quattro Libri*; no catalogue of his library survives. As so few of his papers remain, we have no specific insights into his apparent interest in architecture, beyond what is manifest in the physical presence of his house. Brewton made at least three voyages to England.

Like most colonial Charleston merchants, Miles Brewton had strong business ties with Bristol, England.<sup>31</sup> Residents of both cities traveled back and forth. The restrained classical aesthetic of the Brewton house has affinities with Isaac Ware's c1746–1750 Palladian design for Clifton Hill, a much-admired merchant's villa on a ridge above Bristol, including its pronounced raised presence, geometric volumetrics,

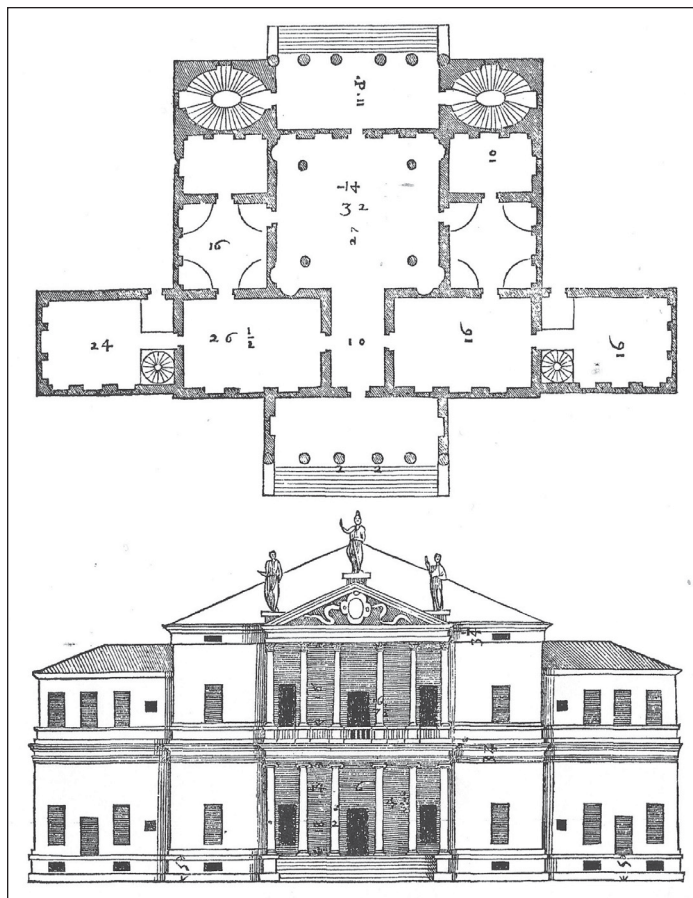
spare exterior surfaces, dignified perron and central passage with garden vista through the house; however, there was no portico.<sup>32</sup> Clifton Hill was publicized in Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture*, 1756, plate 40. Its walled garden, of a proportional size and shape to the rectangular Brewton garden, reduced in 1854–1857 by about half of its original extent, recently has received an interesting interpretive treatment, incorporating selected historic features but not constituting a traditional, literal garden restoration. Clifton Hill provides a pertinent comparison for understanding the integrated, *villa suburbana* concept of the Brewton house and garden.

Shared similarities with aspects of the Brewton house suggest that Naylor may have designed a number of other houses in Charleston, including the Daniel Blake tenements, c1767; the Savage-Washington house, c1768; the glebe house for St. Philip's parish, c1770; the John Edwards house, c1770; the William Gibbes house, c1772; and at least two other, no longer extant houses.<sup>33</sup>

Working also as a surveyor, Naylor conducted two major land reclamation and large-scale grading projects. One was immediately to the southwest of the Brewton house, the other was more distant



Drayton Hall, c1748-1758, near Charleston, SC  
 Photograph from Library of Congress



Andrea Palladio's c1552 design for the Villa Cornaro, Piombino Dese  
 I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura, 1570

to the northwest, adjacent to the Free School and Glebe lands, the area which became the Harleston Village suburb where he later lived on Pitt Street.<sup>34</sup> Naylor died in Charleston in 1773 possessed of books valued at £30, titles not listed, with an additional collection of "Drawing Books and paper" worth £14.<sup>35</sup> A brief newspaper notice lamented the loss of "the ingenious Mr. William Rigby Naylor, Architect and Surveyor," apparently at the age of 28.<sup>36</sup>

The primary model for the Miles Brewton house seems clearly to have been Palladio's Villa Cornaro at Piombino Dese, c1552, with its fully projecting, superposed hexastyle portico, reduced in this instance to tetrastyle.<sup>37</sup> Classical porticoes occasionally had been features of churches and large public buildings in colonial America, beginning with St. Philip's Church erected in Charleston, c1723–1727. Only rarely had they appeared on private residences. Before the Brewton portico was erected by 1769, several small, single-story, classical porticoes, that perhaps are better described as porches, had appeared on a few colonial American houses. These examples include Gunston Hall, Fairfax County, VA, c1759; Upton Scott house, Annapolis, MD, c1763 or later; John Ridout house, Annapolis, MD, c1765 or later;



Ruins of the Charles Pinckney house, Charleston, SC, 1745–1749

Photograph c1865 from George N. Barnard, *Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign* [1866]

Courtesy of the Getty Museum

Jeremiah Lee House, Marblehead, MA, c1766; and Mount Clare, Baltimore County, MD, c1767. The impressive Corinthian portico at Whitehall, near Annapolis, may have been built as early as 1764–1769; yet some authorities think it was added years later, after the wings had been raised to two stories. Although the lofty portico of the Roger Morris house, Harlem Heights, NY, later owned by the Jumel family, is sometimes dated to the original construction of 1765–1770, its slender columns and architectural details suggest it more likely was added after the Revolution. None of these porticoes or porches were of the distinctly Palladian two-tier type.<sup>38</sup>

Notwithstanding Fiske Kimball's claim quoted in part one of this article, the earliest known, residential superposed portico in America, by a general use of that term, survives at Drayton Hall, Charleston County, SC. It was probably erected between 1748 and 1758, with confirmation of the house's completed five-part appearance by 1765.<sup>39</sup> However, its double portico projects only slightly outward and is more properly classified as a "double loggia."<sup>40</sup> Thomas Durant Visser explains in his comprehensive study of American porches that a loggia is "fully or partially recessed into the body of the building."<sup>41</sup>

This is not a merely semantic quibble. The qualities of the embraced spaces are quite different. It was the forward-thrusting portico that embodied the bold American spirit and captured the young country's imagination. A projecting portico also was easier to affix to a façade. The receding double-loggia form at Drayton Hall found little popularity in America, whereas fully-projecting double-porticoes became prolific. A splendid early 19th-century example of the latter adorns the entry to Charleston's South Carolina Society Hall, of which prestigious group Miles Brewton had been a prominent member.

One further observation on terminology: from its very distant origins, a portico has been most fundamentally defined as a covered space for walking. As we have noted, columns and their orders give the classical entrance portico its distinction. Engaged columns or applied pilasters on a pedimented façade do not constitute a true portico. Yet architectural historians sometimes refer to the surface image of a temple on a façade, such as graced the front of the Charles Pinckney house, 1745–1749, in Charleston, destroyed 1861, as an "engaged plastered portico."<sup>42</sup>

The front façade of the Pinckney house was generally related to the central pedimented pavilions characteristic of many British Palladian residences, and more specifically, to the colossal pilasters on the land side of Marble Hill House, Twickenham, c1724–1729, which Sir John Summerson dubbed “an epoch-making model.”<sup>43</sup> Kimball noted that the Pinckney house was the first residential “temple front” in America.<sup>44</sup> The Pinckney residence also had the earliest documented Venetian window on a house in America, on the landing of its staircase. It seems significant that in 1742, Pinckney had been elected *Praetor*, or presiding officer, of the Charleston chapter of the Ancient Order of the Ubiquarians, a society founded earlier in England, dedicated to celebrating Roman republican civic virtue.<sup>45</sup> How appropriate that he was the first American in the colonies to emblazon his house with the bold likeness of a classical temple!

The key point is that the long association of the early American house with ancient temple imagery has its deepest roots in the Carolina Low Country, beginning with the engaged colossal portico of the Pinckney house, 1745–1749; the two-tiered loggia or recessed portico of Drayton Hall, c1748–1758; and the fully-projecting two-tiered portico of the Brewton house, 1766–1769.

In considering the overall architectural character of Drayton Hall, a basic question arises. Were those recessed loggias the result of intentional design or an accommodation to evolving expediency?<sup>46</sup> As Kimball assessed, the Brewton house and its portico, so masterfully coordinated from initial conception, possess “far greater elegance” than Drayton Hall.<sup>47</sup> The columns of the loggias at Drayton Hall are too widely spaced for orthodox practice. The simple doctrinaire entablatures exhibit none of the lively creativity on display with the Brewton ornamentation. The Drayton floorplan reflects a British Baroque arrangement of a century earlier, the paneling schemes are awkwardly asymmetrical in some of the best rooms, and the fenestrations of the garden façade and side elevations are clumsily composed. Moreover, the graceful aesthetic arrangement of portico framing the frontispiece at the Brewton house is missing at Drayton Hall where the main entrance is the plainest of doorways.<sup>48</sup>

At Drayton Hall, as at the Miles Brewton house, there is a progression of the classical orders expressing the hierarchical status of the public reception rooms. Yet it is curious that the great Ionic stair-hall at Drayton Hall faces the garden façade, not the main entrance. That hall was clearly composed in the 17th-century British tradition, as perhaps best exemplified at Coleshill, Berkshire, c1649–1662, designed by Inigo Jones and Roger Pratt. Immediately upon entering Coleshill one was presented with the impressive scene of a double flight of stairs beckoning one upward to the finest room in the house. But at Drayton Hall the arrangement is reversed so that one proceeds from the Doric portico/loggia and entrance-hall, to the rear end of the grand Ionic stair-hall, and then backtracks upward to the Corinthian parlor. Except when entering from the garden façade, this layout largely defeats the purpose of the dramatic, Baroque stair-hall composition.

Like Palladio’s Villa Cornaro, the Brewton house originally stood on a well-traveled road at the edge of town. Although platted on paper

as part of the 17th-century “Grand Modell” grid plan, King Street was in 1769 still the ancient, unimproved “Broad Path,” running along the slight ridge of the long peninsula. Most overland visitors arriving in colonial Charleston passed near the Brewtons’ suburban gate. A contemporary poetic description of Charleston described the house’s original bleak setting: “Houses built on barren land / No lamps or lights but streets of sand.”<sup>49</sup> That neighborhood, known as White Point, had been “almost a desolate Spot,” yet by 1774, was transformed with Naylor’s help, and was “lately almost covered in Houses, many of them very elegant.”<sup>50</sup>

With few other buildings around it in 1769, the Brewton house’s upright figure with projecting portico was highly visible throughout the busy port and from the surrounding bays. By contrast, Drayton Hall had been erected at the end of a long private lane, some 12 miles north of Charleston. Its portico/loggia was seen only by those who made an intentional visit there. Moreover, many visitors in the 18th century entered the house through its riverside, garden façade. Perhaps that explains in part why there were no apparent imitations of Drayton Hall’s double-loggia form in the immediate decades after its completion.<sup>51</sup>

By the Civil War, numerous variations of the two-tiered, projecting portico had appeared from Maryland to Texas and beyond. Greek Revival glosses of this concept in the antebellum years produced many creative new interpretations, such as may be seen at Belle Grove, King George County, VA, c1791, porticoes after 1839; Rose Hill Manor, Frederick, MD, c1792, portico probably after 1845; and Moss Neck Manor, near Fredericksburg, VA, c1856. At the far northwestern corner of the nation’s continental boundaries, Judge Columbia Lancaster in Washington Territory, in the early 1850s, invoked this same Palladian *parti* when building his house in the shadow of Mount St. Helens. That widespread proliferation today, made almost banal by familiarity, should not keep us from appreciating the prototype’s extraordinary classical “temple” heritage.<sup>52</sup>

Of course, that legacy today is complicated by the recognition that such porticoes are disdained from some perspectives as “pompous symbols of hegemonic power.”<sup>53</sup> While acknowledging the image’s complexity of cultural associations, we can yet admire the remarkable architectural achievement and respect the classical inheritance of disciplined human thought. Even in its most pared-down, late Greek Revival expression, the handsome Lakeport plantation house, built c1859–1860, near the banks of the Mississippi River in Arkansas, still exudes the classical essence of the Miles Brewton house’s progenitor American Palladian portico. ■

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Now retired after 40 years as an independent consultant in historic preservation, C. Allan Brown was engaged from 2015 to 2021 by the owners of the Miles Brewton house to investigate the history of the property. He holds an MLA from the University of Virginia School of Architecture, where he completed the certificate program in historic preservation, then directed by the late Mario Valmarana. Mario’s inspiring lectures introduced him to the cultural significance of the Miles Brewton house.



Lakeport plantation house, c1859-1860, Chicot County, AR  
 Courtesy of Arkansas State University

- 1 Their direct involvement was documented in *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 21 August 1769. See also C. Allan Brown, "Regarding 1773 Chancery Court Case, *Burden v. Muncreeff*" (June 2016), Miles Brewton house archives. These spellings of their names are confirmed by documented signatures. Contemporaries sometimes used alternate spellings.
- 2 See "*Kinsey Burden v. Richard Muncreeff*," Chancery Court RG 142000-142001, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC, folders labeled "Chancery Bundle, 1770-1779, No.4, 23 January 1773" and "Chancery Bundle, 1770-1779, No.7, 28 April 1773." These significant documents had remained unexamined by previous writers on the Miles Brewton house until my analysis.
- 3 Ezra Waite's public notice was published in two, slightly differing versions. See *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 21 August 1769; *South-Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, 22 August 1769.
- 4 See C. Allan Brown, "Clarifying the Role of Ezra Waite (1723-1769) in the Creation of the Miles Brewton House, Completed 1769; and New Biographical Information on Him and Some of His Craftsmen Colleagues Who Also Worked on the Construction of that House," September 2021, Miles Brewton house archives, pp.40-41. My investigations of the carvers supplement the findings presented in John Bivins Jr., "Charleston Rococo Interiors, 1765-1775: The 'Sommers Carver,'" *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, v.12, November 1986, entire issue.
- 5 It appears that Kinsey Burden and Richard Muncreeff (for carpentry) and Cato Ash and George Tew (for masonry), and their crews, were tasked by Miles Brewton with the primary realization of William Rigby Naylor's design. See Brown, "Clarifying," esp. pp.33-37.
- 6 Naylor arrived in Charleston sometime before 18 December 1766, the date of his earliest extant drawings for the Exchange. The enactment calling for a new Exchange building had been passed on 9 May 1766. For Naylor's professionally drafted designs (signed and dated), see *The Exchange, 1766-1973: A Portfolio Reproduced from the Original Plans and Drawings of W. Rigby Naylor, 1766-1767*, published by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in 1973. Regarding a discrepancy in the dates of Naylor's set of drawings, see Gene Waddell, *Charleston Architecture, 1670-1860*, 2vols., Wyrick & Company, 2003, 1:127 n.17.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 1:95 (see also 1:115-129).
- 8 *Ibid.*, p.117. In July 1773, a few months before his death, Naylor mortgaged two slave boys, July and Lancaster, to Miles Brewton, an interaction which seems to suggest an ongoing relationship between the two men; Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance, Mortgage Book C3, 1769-1774, p.296.
- 9 For the scant facts of Naylor's life in Britain, see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600-1840*, Paul Mellon Centre, 2008, p.738. Colvin evidently was unaware that after Naylor had emigrated to Charleston by late 1766, he made a return visit to England in 1769; see *South-Carolina Gazette*, 23 November 1769. No documentation supports the claim by some writers that Naylor was Irish. Contemporary documents suggest that he was known familiarly in Charleston as "Rigby." Yet in public notices he used either his full name or, occasionally, "William R. Naylor;" see *South-Carolina Gazette*, 25 July 1771, and *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 3 August 1772. His carpenter's shop was on the northwest corner of Deans Square; *South-Carolina Gazette*, 13 June, 1 August 1771. In 1768 he was paid £50 for making a model of "the late invented Rice Machine;" *Records of the Public Treasurers of South Carolina, 1725-1776*, microfilm 13, p.142.
- 10 Geni.com postings; reportedly there is a record in family hands that after Naylor's death in Charleston on 14 October 1773, his body was transported back to Bradford, Yorkshire, where he was buried about one month later. I have been unable to confirm that claim or to find his grave in South Carolina or England. Today there are numerous descendants of William Rigby Naylor and his wife Margaret Cardy Naylor, through their daughter Elizabeth

Ann Naylor Robert McMullen (1771-1814); see George Mason Graham Stafford, *Three Pioneer Rapides Families: A Genealogy*, Pelican Publishing Company, 1946, p.19.

- 11 FamilySearch: "Registers of the Parish Church of Leeds," 20:244. This William Naylor was baptized on 19 April 1745 at St. Peter's, Kirkgate.
- 12 Ancestry.com: "United Kingdom, Register of Duties Paid for Apprentices' Indentures, 1710-1811." Fourteen was a typical age to begin an apprenticeship. In Charleston, William Rigby Naylor sometimes self-identified as a "carpenter;" e.g., *South-Carolina Gazette*, 25 July 1771.
- 13 Timur Tatlioglu, "Biographies of Place: The Joiners' Workshop at Harewood, West Yorkshire," *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, v. 44, 2010, pp.273-293. There were a number of Wade, Naylor and Rigby families active in the Leeds locality in the mid-Georgian era (Rigby more so in adjacent Lancashire).
- 14 Brian Wrang and Giles Worsley, *The Life and Works of John Carr of York*, Oblong, 2000, pp.17-24, 154-155.
- 15 Naylor submitted two designs, unsuccessfully, in the international competition for the Royal Exchange, Dublin (deadline: 1 February 1769); *Anthologia Hibernica*, v.1, 1793, pp.248-250. Although he had been living in Charleston since 1766, in that submission he identified himself as being of London. Was he planning an eventual return to England?
- 16 Naylor's design for the Exchange displays some signs of a neophyte's inexperience, particularly in the rather awkward placement of the Venetian windows at varying levels and scales, in relation from one elevation to the next. Giles Worsley is harsher in his criticism in *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age*, Yale University Press, 1995, p.284.
- 17 Cf. the design for a nine-bay "town-hall," also with an open-arcaded market below; plate 49 in Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (1756).
- 18 See Nikolaus Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, Princeton University Press, 1976, pp.27-34, 53, 193-203, 235-236, 289; James Schmiechen and Kenneth Carls, *The British Market Hall: A Social and Architectural History*, Yale University Press, 1999, pp.3-20.
- 19 For a concise demonstration of the reliance of American colonial architects on published sources, see Center for Palladian Studies in America, "Palladio and Architectural Patternbooks in Colonial America," 2009, online document. See also Daniel D. Reiff, *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950, A History and Guide*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000, pp.23-33.
- 20 Carl R. Lounsbury, *From Statehouse to Courthouse: An Architectural History of South Carolina's Colonial Capitol and Charleston County Courthouse*, University of South Carolina Press, 2001, pp.22-23. In recent decades, some architectural historians have minimized the role of individual designers in colonial America, emphasizing instead the involvement of building committees. For a brief critique of that interpretation, see Gene Waddell's review of Lounsbury's book in *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, v. 102, 2001, pp.263-265.
- 21 In Ireland, Cardy was also known as Samuel "Cardiff." Kenneth Severens, "Emigration and Provincialism: Samuel Cardy's Architectural Career in the Atlantic World," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, v. 5, 1990, pp.21-36, provides much biographical information, yet I disagree with some of his architectural analyses. I concur with Gene Waddell that plate 5 in Severens' article is a stylized depiction of the west elevation of Naylor's Exchange, not the State House; see Waddell. *Charleston*, 1:126 n.7. For a reconstruction of the original principal façade of the State-House, see Lounsbury, *From Statehouse*, p.26. Cardy's chief inspiration for the State-House design appears to have been Kildare House, later known as Leinster House, Dublin, c1745-1751, designed by Richard Cassels ("Castle").
- 22 For the development of Charleston's mid-eighteenth-century civic square, see Waddell, *Charleston*, 1:115-116. William Rigby Naylor married Margaret ("Peggy") Cardy, daughter of Samuel Cardy, on 3 March 1768 at St. Philip's, Charleston. Margaret's age (evidently born late 1740's; died before 1796) may lend further credence to connecting Naylor's birth year to 1745. As a widow, she supported herself and their daughter Elizabeth Ann, as a schoolmistress; *South-Carolina Gazette*, 25 August 1779. She later married a Mr. Nestor and had another daughter, Lydia Nestor Roney, wife of Anthony Roney.
- 23 Gene Waddell noted that the Miles Brewton house was "influenced" by Naylor's Exchange building but he stopped short of attributing its design to Naylor; Waddell, *Charleston*, 1:117, 128 n.36, 223.
- 24 Miles Brewton to Josiah Quincy, Jr, 12 July 1774, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol.85, *Portrait of a Patriot: The Major Political and Legal Papers of Josiah Quincy, Junior*, University of Virginia Press, 2014, 6:254-255. See also Brewton's public announcements in *South-Carolina Gazette*, 26 September 1774; *Supplement to the South-Carolina Gazette*, 10 October 1774. For context, see C. Allan Brown, "Miles Brewton: A Biographical Outline," October 2017, Miles Brewton house archives
- 25 See reference to "South brick Wall lately built by the said Miles Brewton," 9 March 1770, Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance, Deed Book Q3, pp.84-86.
- 26 There is a caricature portrait labeled "Sir H. Clinton," etched into the marble mantel of the south, first-floor parlor. See C. Allan Brown, "The Miles Brewton House and Garden During the British Occupation, 1780-1782," September 2017, Miles Brewton house archives.
- 27 There is no documentation to support the claim by some recent writers that the high garden walls and *chevaux-de-frise* at the Miles Brewton house were erected in response to the Denmark Vesey slave-revolt plot of 1822. Four years prior, a visitor in 1818 commented on the "military" character of the "sharp spikes" on the iron fences of some Charleston mansions, evidently left from the Revolutionary War occupation of the city; John Hammond Moore, "The Abiel Abbot Journals: A Yankee Preacher in Charleston Society, 1818-1827," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 68, 1967, p.59.
- 28 William Percy of Wimborne, Dorset, carver, was sending shipments of architectural trim elements, crafted from Portland Stone, to Charleston in 1768-1769, for Naylor's Exchange and Custom House, under construction at the same time as the Miles Brewton house; Waddell, *Charleston*, 1:128-129, n.41.

- 29 Jack McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*, Henry Holt, 1988, pp.69–70.
- 30 That same year a copy of Leoni's edition was advertised by Charleston bookseller Robert Wells; *South-Carolina Gazette*, 3 May 1770. The discovery in 2009 of an inventory of the Drayton Hall library, evidently made before 1820, lists a copy of Isaac Ware's 1738 edition of Palladio's *Four Books*.
- 31 Kenneth Morgan, *Bristol and Atlantic Trade in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, 1993, esp. pp.62–63, and table 3.6; Walter E. Minchinton, "The Slave Trade of Bristol with the British Mainland Colonies in North America, 1699–1770," in *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade and Abolition*, ed. P. E. H. Hair and Roger Anstey, Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Occasional Series, vol. 2, 1976, p.53.
- 32 See Annie Burnside, *A Palladian Villa in Bristol: Clifton Hill House and the People Who Lived There*, Redcliffe Press, 2009. The Brewton family had business relations with Paul Fisher (1692–1762), the original owner of Clifton Hill. See C. Allan Brown, "Miles Brewton and His Connections to London and the West Country of England (Particularly Bristol) Through Activity in the Carolina Trade," August 2020, Miles Brewton house archives, pp.11, 15–16, 18, 21.
- 33 Those houses were the William Williamson – Thomas Ferguson house, c1766 (destroyed by fire 1861) and the William Burrows house, c1772 (demolished 1928).
- 34 See Alice R. Huger Smith and D. E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina*, J. B. Lippincott, 1917, pp.207–208, 311–312. For Naylor's surveys of the two reclamation projects, see Charleston County Register Mesne Conveyance, Deed Book P4, September 1772, plat folded between pp.156–157; South Carolina Historical Society, 1814 copy of 1770 survey, plat 32-20-01. Naylor's personal estate at his death included "a good Frame for a Wooden House 42 by 21 Feet [i.e., double-square proportions], two Stories high...ready made," "Drawing Instruments," "Sets of surveying Instruments, some of which are very curious" and a "Hadley's Quadrant," an innovative improvement in surveying equipment; *South-Carolina Gazette*, 1 November 1773.
- 35 Probate inventory, William Rigby Nailor [sic], 26 October 1773, volume 94, pp.416–417, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC. By comparison, Ezra Waite's dozen books had been valued at £ 32 upon his death in 1769.
- 36 *South-Carolina Gazette*, 18 October 1773. His father-in-law Samuel Cardy died only a few months later and was also described as an "ingenious Architect;" *South-Carolina Gazette*, 31 January 1774. Naylor and Cardy seem to have been held in particular esteem in the building community of late colonial Charleston. Naylor stated that he was "frequently solicited...to instruct in the Art of drawing architecture;" *South-Carolina and American General Gazette*, 19 October 1772. Waddell, *Charleston*, 1:119, describes Naylor's drafting skills as "above average for British architects of the middle of the eighteenth century." I disagree with the characterization of these prominent practitioners, Cardy and Naylor, in Lounsbury, *Statehouse*, pp.22, 94 n.16, which suggests that they were merely two of a number of similarly capable builders then working in Charleston.
- 37 Caroline Wyche Dixon suggests alternatively that Palladio's Villa Pisani at Montagnana was the model; see "The Miles Brewton House: Ezra Waite's Architectural Books and Other Possible Design Sources," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 82 (1981), pp.118–142. She cites the interpretation of William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neoclassical Styles* (1976), pp.113, 121–123. However, the Villa Pisani does not have a projecting portico.
- 38 The Nicholas William Stuyvesant house, once on the northern outskirts of New York, demolished by 1835, was depicted in an 1857 engraving as having had a superposed, pedimented portico; see D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 1857, opp. p.524. Benjamin Robert Winthrop (1804–1879) stated that the house was "erected before the year 1765;" D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 1862, p.693. I have seen no documentation to confirm that remarkably early date for the portico. It more likely was added later, as was a common occurrence in the early republic. It is also possible that Winthrop confused the house with the early colonial "mansion house belonging to Mr. Nicholas Stuyvesant," a family relation, which burned on 24 October 1778; *ibid.*, 657.
- 39 There is much uncertainty about the construction history of Drayton Hall, which has long been inaccurately dated to 1738, the year that John Drayton, c1715–1779, obtained the land. Dendrochronological analysis in 2012 indicated that the roof timbers were felled c1747–1748; typically, the lumber then would have been seasoned for one or more years before use. The earliest clear documentary evidence of the present house dates to 1758; *South-Carolina Gazette*, 22 December 1758. See also Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic*, C. Scribner's Sons, 1922, pp.99, 266, 280. A 1753 mention of "Drayton's seat" as a "villa" may in fact refer to another Drayton house, no longer standing, along Goose Creek. The discovery in 2007 of a dated watercolor of Drayton Hall by Pierre-Eugene du Simitiere confirms the completed five-part Palladian composition by 1765. For speculation that the house began as a single-story above a raised basement, see Robert Garrett FitzGerald, "An Alternative Theory of the Design and Construction of Drayton Hall" (master's thesis, University of Pennsylvania, 1995). See also Charles Edwin Chase and Kevin Murphy, "Drayton Hall: Architectural and Documentary Research Report," National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1977, rev. 1988, esp. pp. 213–214. Is the curious, glazed-header brick diapering that has been revealed behind a false door, evidence that this interior wall was once an exterior wall, perhaps part of the "very good Dwelling-house" known to have been earlier on the property? See *South-Carolina Gazette*, 15 December 1737. Is the eastern inner core of the house (three central bays) part of a previous structure? Why is there a stack of stone columns in the basement, similar to the ones of the lower level of the portico/loggia? Recent physical investigations of the portico/loggia have presented even more mysteries; see Patricia Lowe Smith, "Unexpected Discoveries During Drayton Hall's Portico Rehabilitation," Preservation Leadership Forum Blog, 20 November 2015.
- 40 Thomas Durant Visser, *Porches of North America*, University Press of New England, 2012, pp.112–113. Visser neglects however to mention the significance of the Miles Brewton house portico. See also Charles Hind, "The Double Portico in America," YouTube Video, National Building Museum, 12 March 2012.
- 41 *Ibid.*, p.106. The Drayton Hall portico/loggia is not *in antis*, an academic term which denotes a row of columns, flush with the façade, positioned between squared pillars (*antae*), fronting an inset space. Rather, it is an unorthodox hybrid portico/loggia arrangement, betraying its provincialism.
- 42 Lounsbury, *Statehouse*, p.23. In a caption on the next page he describes it incorrectly as an "engaged columnar portico." Originally, there was a balcony over the front entry, and evidence may point to a later porch.
- 43 John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530 to 1830*, Harmondsworth, rev. ed., 1979, p.360. Earlier, less influential British examples of the "temple front" pavilion form are Eltham Lodge, Kent, c1663–1665; Cornbury House, Oxfordshire, c1663–1668; and Stoke Edith, Herefordshire, c1697–1699. The latter had a curving peron, as did the Pinckney house. These British houses were likely influenced by the Mauritshuis, erected at the Hague, c1636–1641.
- 44 Kimball, *Domestic*, p.94. For construction documents, 1745–1749, for the Pinckney house, see Smith, *Dwelling Houses*, pp. 361–375. Original manuscripts of the specifications are in Charles Pinckney Papers, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC.
- 45 *South-Carolina Gazette*, 26 March 1741, 3 April 1742. The secretive Ubiquarian society was established in England sometime prior to 1737, concurrent with the popular rise of Palladianism and Freemasonry. See Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.77, 391, 421, 429 n.75; Steven C. Bullock, *Revolutionary Brotherhood: Freemasonry and the Transformation of the American Social Order, 1730–1840*, University of North Carolina Press, 1996, pp.70–71. Charles Pinckney, 1699–1758, was born in Charleston but educated in England, returning home by 1729. After two decades of prominence in South Carolina society, he and his wife, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, moved temporarily to England (Ripley, Surrey) from 1753 to 1758. He had a documented interest in architectural design and appears to have taken close notice of current trends in England.
- 46 For the uncertain design origins of Drayton Hall, see Patricia Lowe Smith, "Mysterious Drawing May Be An Early Design For Drayton Hall," *Palladiana: Journal of Center for Palladian Studies in America*, Vol.9, Spring 2015, pp. 6–7. Dudley Inman, probably born 1732, Northrepps, Norfolk, who arrived in Charleston from London by 1751, is one possible candidate as designer of Drayton Hall. He was still active in Charleston in 1757. He advertised that he would "closely adhere to either of the orders of architecture...gives designs of houses according to the modern taste..." *South-Carolina Gazette*, 20 May 1751.
- 47 Kimball, *Domestic*, p.99. In Giles Worsley's estimation, the proportions of the Brewton portico are "impeccable," yet Drayton Hall, is "uncomfortably proportioned and clearly not the work of a professional architect;" *Classical Architecture*, pp.285, 173.
- 48 For the "amateurish" character of the architectural execution of Drayton Hall, replete with "numerous unresolved design problems," see Waddell, *Charleston*, 1:94–95.
- 48 H. Roy Merrens, ed., *The Colonial South Carolina Scene: Contemporary Views, 1697–1774*, University of South Carolina Press, 1977, pp.230–231.
- 50 *South-Carolina Gazette*, 7 March 1774.
- 51 For a contrasting interpretation which credits Drayton Hall with much influence in the Low Country, see Shelley E. Smith, "Architectural Design and Building Construction in the Provincial Setting: The Case of the Colonial South Carolina Plantation House," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 116, 2015, esp. p.26.
- 52 Ironically, no classical temple is known to have had a superposed portico. The form appeared only on secondary structures in a sacred precinct. As Colen Campbell observed in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715, 2:2, neither the Greeks nor the Romans placed "two Orders, one over another, in the same Temple in the Outside." Calder Loth suggests to me that Palladio, in creating the two-tiered portico, was more directly influenced by Renaissance courtyard designs like that of the Palazzo della Cancelleria, 1489–1513, in Rome.
- 53 David Gobel, "Porch, Piazza, and Place: Thoughts on the Classical Tradition in the Architecture of the South," *Classicist*, No. 13 (2016), p.50. See also Steven Hoelscher, "The White-Pillared Past: Landscapes of Memory and Race in the American South," in *Landscape and Race in the United States* ed. Richard H. Schein, Routledge, 2006, pp.39–72.

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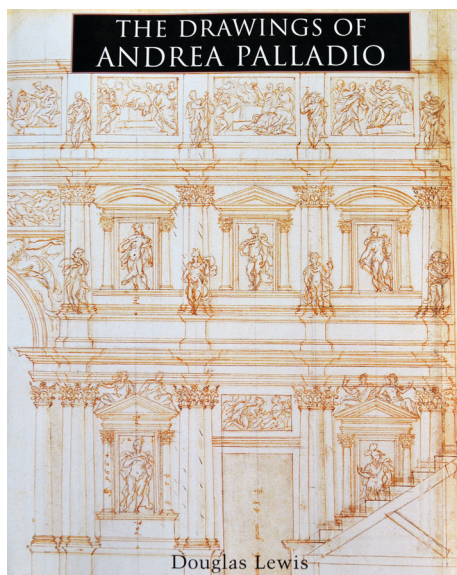
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