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THE DRAYTONS OF DRAYTON HALL

LAND, KINSHIP TIES AND THE BRITISH ATLANTIC WORLD

by

BARBARA SPENCE ORSOLITS

Under the Direction of Glenn Eskew, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

In 1675, Thomas Drayton Sr. undertook a voyage across the Atlantic Ocean to the colony of Barbados in search of land and opportunities. He did not find either in Barbados, but his eldest son, Thomas Drayton Jr. immigrated to the new colony of Carolina. Drayton Jr.

accumulated a large amount of capital and invested his money in rice cultivation and the importation of slaves.

Drayton Jr. married Ann Fox, the daughter of his friend and mentor, Stephen Fox. Their marriage laid the foundation for the Drayton Dynasty in Carolina. Upon the death of Thomas Drayton Sr., his widow Ann became the executrix of his estate and legally became a “feme sole.” Ann Fox Drayton established tight kinship ties to several powerful planter families, who resided on the Ashley River. She taught her son youngest, John Drayton business skills, financial management, and agricultural methods.

John Drayton would become one of the wealthiest and powerful planters in the South Carolina Lowcountry. He would construct the most exceptional Georgian-Palladian mansion in British North America. Drayton Hall would come to signify his elevated position in the Charleston plantocracy. Drayton identified with all things English, which he reflected in matters of taste and style.

In 1784, Charles Drayton, the second son of John Drayton, assumed ownership of Drayton Hall, when he purchased the plantation from his father’s widow, Rebecca Perry Drayton. Litigation amongst the children and grandchildren over John Drayton’s will would leave him in reduced circumstances. He would redesign Drayton Hall as a “ferme ornee” or ornamental farm, which would grow provisions and livestock and cultivate rice at two outlying plantations on the peripheries of the Lowcountry. When died in 1820, Drayton Hall was his one remaining asset, which he left to his son, Charles II.

After 1820, Drayton Hall entered an eclipse. The attempts of the Draytons to cultivate rice in southern Georgia were a failure. The Civil War did not destroy Drayton Hall, but the family was penniless. Phosphate mining at Drayton Hall returned the family to prosperity. In

1973, unable to maintain Drayton Hall, the Drayton family sold it to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

INDEX WORDS: Barbados, Sugar, Charleston, Thomas Drayton Jr., Rice, Ann Fox Drayton, Kinship Networks, John Drayton, James Glen, Drayton Hall, William Henry Drayton, Charles Drayton, Andre Michaux, Ferme Ornee, Phosphate Mining.

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BARBARA SPENCE ORSOLITS

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of History

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2019

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by

BARBARA SPENCE ORSOLITS

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DEDICATION

I want to dedicate this work to my husband, John, who never gave up on me and encouraged me in my research and writing. He took countless trips to Charleston with me, always with a smile on his face. Moreover, to Diana Evans Berman, who has been by my side over the past twenty years.

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I want to express my gratitude to Dr. Glenn Eskew, who always kept in touch with me over the years as I struggled to complete this project. Dr. Eugene Genovese always pushed me forward saying “Young lady you have to finish, this is your union card.” I still here his voice when we debated politics and baseball. He was a Giants fan and I love the Braves. My brother, Randy took several trips with me to Charleston and Drayton Hall. He saved me from being bitten by a huge water moccasin when we were by some abandoned rice fields. My friend Tristan Stubbs, who visited me in Atlanta and during breaks from the archives in Morrow became a fan of the Atlanta Braves. To Steven Goldberg, a co-worker at Delta Airlines, who over breakfast in Madrid lectured me on finishing my writing and on many trips listened to my ideas about eighteenth-century Charleston. To, Giuseppe Bellotti, for his unwavering support and encouragement. Dr. Linda King, for her comments and encouragement in my writing. Dr. Mark Barnes, who introduced me to Drayton Hall, and Jim Cothran who assigned me to do a research project on Drayton Hall’s landscape and garden history. Richard Laub first introduced me to Historic Preservation, and I am eternally grateful for his support and encouragement. Katherine, who always listens to my musings on southern history.

Finally, I want to thank Dr. Wade Lawrence, former Assistant Director of Drayton Hall, who gave me the Drayton Paper’s Collection. This was a newly digitalized version of all the Drayton family papers from 1700 up until 1973 when Drayton Hall was sold to the National Trust for History Preservation. Having ready access to this material has been invaluable. Dr. Lawrence also gave me disks of his many photos and images taken at Drayton Hall. Without his help this work would have not been possible.

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1 INTRODUCTION



Figure 1 - Drayton Hall 2019 Photo Barbara Spence Orsolits

This work is a narrative history of the Draytons of Drayton Hall, who, in the mid-eighteenth century, was one of the wealthiest and influential rice planter families in the British Atlantic World. Thomas Drayton Jr. immigrated from Barbados in the late seventeenth century to Carolina and settled on the Ashley River at Magnolia plantation. In 1752, John Drayton, Drayton Jr.'s youngest son, completed Drayton Hall, a Georgian-Palladian mansion, which was his vision of a gentleman's country estate. In 1758, the *South Carolina Gazette* described Drayton Hall as "Drayton's Palace and Gardens."

The anthropologist, W. Lloyd Warner in his work *The Living and the Dead: a Study in the Symbolic Life of Americans*, describes “how a house like Drayton Hall with its architecture and landscaping is at the very heart of the technical and symbolic apparatus necessary for self-regard in the upper-class personality.” Drayton Hall would become the house, which symbolized the Drayton family’s wealth and influence. It would never produce large amounts of rice or indigo due to the high salinity in the swamps and marshes, as well as the Ashley River. Instead, Drayton Hall would serve as the management center for the Drayton family’s many plantations located throughout the Lowcountry.

This work will define the life and times of the Draytons of Drayton Hall, for their story reflects the history of Charleston and South Carolina, as it evolved from a small settlement in the late seventeenth century to one of the largest urban centers in colonial North America. The Draytons, like other rice planters across the Lowcountry, were active participants in Charleston’s mercantile economy. This study will detail John Drayton’s exports of rice and indigo to London and timber and cattle to the Caribbean, which enabled him to import luxury goods, the most beautiful English fashion, elegant furniture, and foods and fine wine. By the late 1750s, John Drayton owned over 76,000 acres of land and 2,000 slaves. Drayton’s role as a rice and indigo planter, as well as a slaveholder, will be examined in detail.

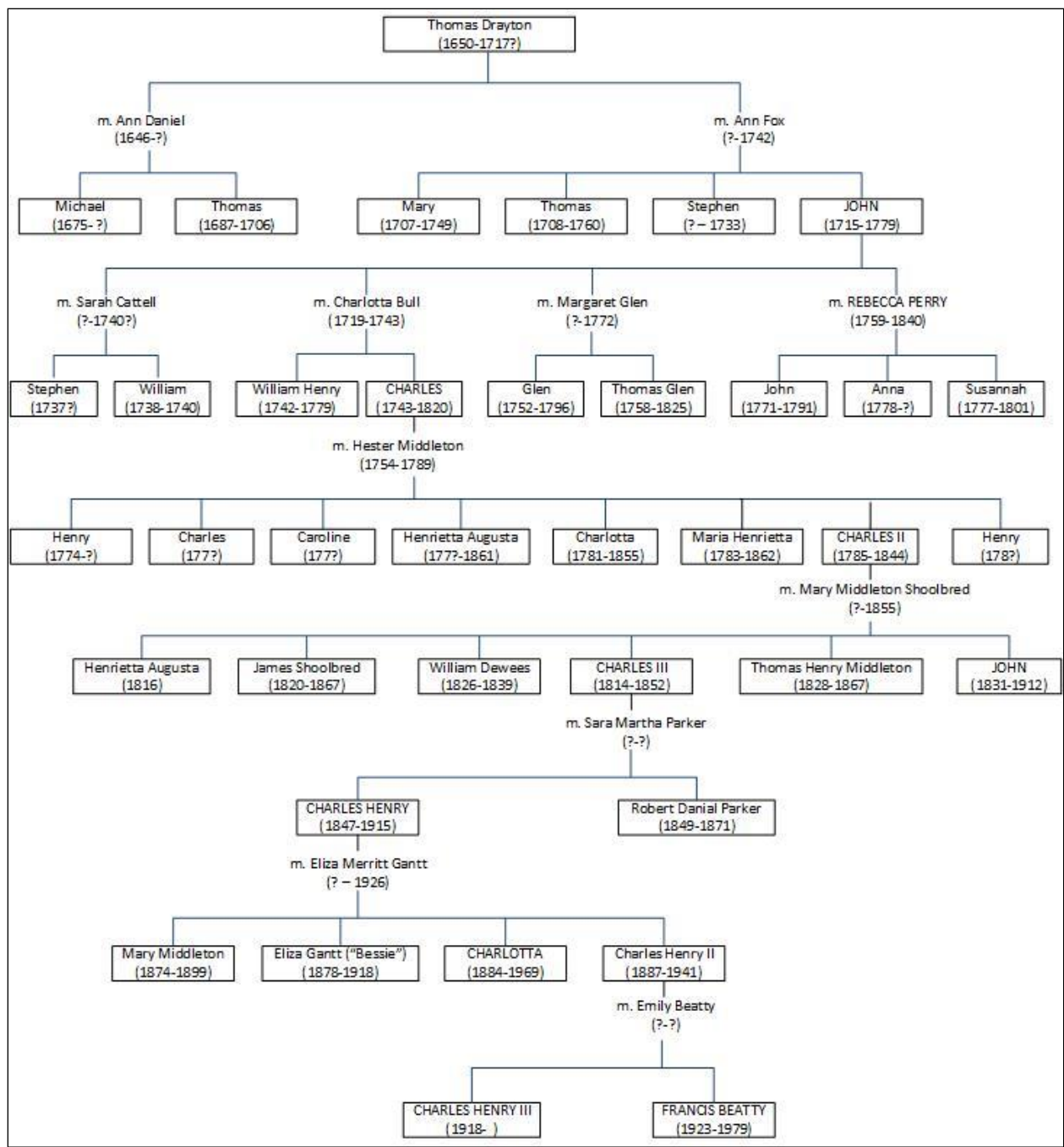


Figure 2 - Drayton Family Tree by Barbara Spence Orsolits

One of the keys to Drayton’s wealth and power was kinship networks. This work will chronicle how Ann Drayton, the matriarch of the Drayton family, realized from her own experience the importance of interrelationships for her sons to succeed as rice planters. Through

her role as a plantation mistress, Ann would conduct business with some of the most influential and wealthy owners of plantations on the Ashley River. In the 1730s, she arranged marriages for her two sons, Thomas and John, to daughters of wealthy rice planters. The Draytons kinship network would expand over the next forty years and include the Cattells, Bulls, Middletons, Pinckneys, Fenwicks, and Rutledges. These relationships eventually served as the foundation for the economic and political successes of each family, which would continue up until the end of the Revolutionary War.

The relationships between John Drayton and his sons, William Henry, Charles, Glen, and Thomas, were extremely contentious. The negative relationship between John Drayton and his sons will be examined carefully, as it had long term consequences for the family. John Drayton's anger and resentment towards his sons would manifest itself in his will, forcing his sons to use litigation and creating a division within the Drayton family, which never healed.

Editorial Note: the spelling of Charlestown changed to Charleston in 1783. To avoid unnecessary date references, this author is using the name Charleston throughout the document.

Chapter two in this work begins in 1675, with the immigration of the Draytons from England to Barbados. The seventeenth century was a period of upheaval and change, with the introduction of the staple crop sugar to Barbados and later to other islands in the West Indies. The growth of sugar as a staple crop in Barbados catalyzed the importation of slaves from Africa. The Draytons settled in Barbados, but their eldest son Thomas Jr. decided to try his luck in the new colony of Carolina. Drayton received several headright grants in areas across the Lowcountry, which were well suited to cattle herding and later the cultivation of rice. The history of rice is still an area of southern historiography fraught with controversy. This study will examine the different British Atlantic World historian's hypotheses on who introduced rice

to the Lowcountry and its method of cultivation. Lastly, as members of the early mercantile economy in early Charleston Thomas Drayton Jr. and his wife Ann, as grazers and rice planters began to export cattle, rice, and timber and naval stores across the British Atlantic World. The profits from the exports lead to their attaining more headright grants and importing more slaves. The Drayton family history in the early eighteenth century is a case study in the shift to slave labor for the cultivation of rice and the rise of a Black Majority.

Chapter three is an examination of Ann Drayton, the widow of Thomas Drayton Jr., who, upon his death, assumed the legal title of “feme sole.” The Lowcountry disease environment and the high mortality rate amongst male planters required their widows to become female planters who increased the wealth of the family estate for their children. Female planters like Ann Drayton in the period from 1700 to the mid-eighteenth century assumed the role of the female planter to uphold the male patriarchy in South Carolina. One of Ann Drayton’s most important contributions to the future of the Drayton family were the marriages she brokered with some of the wealthiest planter families on the Ashley River. With the marriage she arranged for her two sons, Thomas and John, the foundation was laid for intricate kinship networks, which provided financial, emotional, political, and familial support for the Drayton family.

Chapter four chronicles the youngest Drayton son, John, and the marriages his mother Ann Drayton arranged to very wealthy and well-connected daughters of rice planters. By the mid-eighteenth century, Charleston was the fourth largest city in British North America and imported the highest number of African slaves. John Drayton, during this period, began to identify with all things English. In Charleston as in England, class distinctions were communicated through the elegance of dress, and manners, and appropriateness of architecture and furnishings. John Drayton, as a wealthy rice planter, imported rich and opulent consumer

goods and commodities to signify his wealth and refinement as a member of the Charleston plantocracy. In the late 1740s, Drayton collected several architectural books from England, which provided the basis for the design of the main house located at Drayton Hall. This chapter will examine in detail the architectural design of Drayton Hall and the decorative elements of the first Georgian-Palladian house constructed in British North America. The completion of John Drayton's Gentleman's Country Estate denoted his elevated position in Charleston's plantocracy.

In chapter five of this narrative, John Drayton marries Lady Margaret Glen, the spinster sister of Governor James Glen of South Carolina. This marriage would prove propitious for both James Glen, who needed John Drayton's political support, and allow Drayton to claim a connection to the Scottish nobility. Drayton, during the 1750s, sent his four sons to London for classical education and to become acquainted with the sons of the English aristocracy. The classical education, which John Drayton believed would allow his sons to take their place as members of the Charleston plantocracy, actually resulted in his sons lacking the necessary knowledge to become planters. With the return of his sons from Great Britain, John Drayton cut his ties with William Henry and Glen, as well as remaining estranged from Charles. His once close friendship with Governor James Glen descends into anger and recriminations, as Drayton refuses to pay the money owed to Glen. His once close friend ends up dying virtually penniless and in considerably reduced living circumstances. John Drayton, one of the wealthiest planters in the South Carolina Lowcountry, also dies in a ramshackle tavern at Strawberry Ferry, with his young wife and children, while trying to escape the British.

Chapter six focuses on Charles Drayton, the second owner of Drayton Hall. By education and temperament, Charles was best suited to maintain the house, which was the Drayton family legacy. After the Revolutionary War, much of the Lowcountry lay in a state of

devastation, including Drayton Hall. The house sustained some vandalism but structurally was sound. The landscape and gardens laid out by John Drayton were destroyed. Charles Drayton designed a new landscape with gardens, which were ornamental but practical. The Drayton Papers Collection, which is the digitalization of all the surviving papers, letters, diagrams, and images, as well as Charles Drayton's diaries and journals, contributed to research on life at Drayton Hall during the Early National Period. Drayton was a botanist, horticulturist, and knowledgeable in advanced agricultural methods. He was a rationalist and made decisions based on empirical evidence, not just emotion. During his tenure, Drayton, made needed repairs to Drayton Hall's roof and columns on the landside of the house and added new fireplace mantles but never touched or changed the house. In 1820, when he died at Drayton Hall, the Drayton family fortunes, which Ann Drayton and John Drayton had worked so hard to buildup had dwindled. The most valuable asset left to his son Charles II was Drayton Hall.

Chapter six, Conclusion, Twilight at Drayton Hall finds Charles Drayton II attempting to grow tidal rice at the Jeffersonton Plantation on the Satilla River in Camden County, Georgia. John Drayton had acquired this property as a headright grant in 1765. From 1833 to 1837, the Draytons attempted to run a profitable rice plantation, but the Panic of 1837 cost them the plantation and their remaining assets. The Draytons retained ownership of Drayton Hall, but from this point forward, the plantation grew provisions and livestock for the family and their slaves. The Drayton family took up residence in Charleston, with Charles II and his son, Charles Henry Drayton, practicing medicine. The Civil War did not destroy Drayton Hall, but the Drayton family fortunes lay in ruin. Phosphate mining at Drayton Hall returned the family to prosperity, but they built a house in Charleston and only visited the plantation occasionally.

Finally, in 1973, the Drayton family sold Drayton Hall to the National Trust for Historic Preservation so it could be maintained and preserved.

The house that John Drayton built to signify his wealth and power remains standing in the 21st century. Drayton Hall is no longer a gentleman's country estate and is devoid of the landscape and gardens John Drayton laid out to accent the main house. It stands empty, but for visitors, Drayton Hall is a timeless representation of Georgian Palladian architecture.

The house has never been wired for electricity and lacks a furnace, air conditioning, plumbing, or running water. There is no collection of furniture "of the period" or of indeed "any period," no knick-knacks, or bric-a-brac, or curtains, no restoration to some state of another being. Miss Charlotta, John Drayton's great, great, great-granddaughter, occasionally camped out at the main house. Today, for visitors, it appears she has gathered up her things and left for good while leaving the door ajar for the curious to glance inside.

2 BARBADOS AND CHARLESTON: MIGRANTS, TRADERS, AND SLAVES

2.1 Barbados: Paradise Lost

This narrative history begins in 1675 when Thomas Drayton Sr. of Atherstone, Warwickshire, England, made a momentous decision to immigrate to Barbados. His position and status in England are unknown. Over 400,000 Britons in the seventeenth century risked their lives in dangerous voyages across the British Atlantic World, searching for new opportunities.¹ By the seventeenth-century through a series of Parliamentary Enclosure Acts, the land was no longer readily available for common use by small farmers and owners of livestock.² A decrease in plague mortality during the previous century caused a rapid increase in population, which in turn put severe pressure on the already limited amount of land. Prices rose over 250 percent while the workingman's real wages dropped nearly in half, resulting in widespread poverty across the country. Eight out of ten inhabitants in Warwickshire villages could not afford to pay their taxes.

Thomas Drayton Sr. accompanied by his wife Elizabeth Carpenter, and son Thomas Drayton Jr. sailed on the *Willing Wind* to Barbados. The most expensive item for all immigrants was the ticket for passage, which was £5 per passenger. This amount was equal to two years of wages for the average laborer.³ The tickets for the three Draytons indicates they were neither

¹ Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concepts and Contours* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 38-39. Alison Games, *Migration and the Origins of the English Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 56-57. Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans In An Age of Expansion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 8-9. Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas Eds, *The Creation of the British Atlantic World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2009), 40-44.

² J.R. Wordie, *Surveys, and Speculation: The Chronology of the English Enclosures, 1500-1914* (The Economic History Review, Second Series, Volume XXXVI, No. 4, November 1983), 483-484. W.E. Tate, *The English Village Community, and the Enclosure Movement* (Reading: The University of Reading, 1967), 86-88.

³ Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New Englands Generation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 53.

members of the English aristocracy nor members of the lower class but most likely from the middling class of yeoman farmers. During this period in English history, both the middle class and the gentry found it very difficult to provide land or capital for their sons.⁴ There is no documentation regarding why Thomas Drayton Sr. decided to immigrate to Barbados. Like many other immigrants, he may have believed it would be easier to acquire land and become a member of the planter society in Barbados versus North America. Barbados also appealed to immigrants as there were no reports of armed resistance from indigenous people and no wars against the rival colonizing nations.⁵

In the seventeenth century, Great Britain's literacy rates diverged across social groups. Almost 100% of the gentry could read, while 60% of yeoman farmers or members of the middling class, like the Drayton's, were literate.⁶ By the mid-seventeenth century, there were numerous books published about the New World. It is probable literature on the New World, and West Indies-inspired Drayton to try his fortune in Barbados. In the sixteenth century, Richard Eden's *A Treatise of the New India* reached publication to great acclaim. It contained numerous references to the West Indies "as islands with new lands, gold and silver, and pearls and other such riches." Other works by the Spanish conquistador, Antonia de Berrio, and the English adventurer Sir Walter Raleigh and John Hawkins described their search for El Dorado. Although their explorations were failures, it did not quell the public's appetite for information on the West Indies and North America. During this period, other works reached publication

⁴ J.M Martin, "The Rise In Population in Eighteenth-Century Warwickshire," *Dugdale Society Occasional Papers* 23 (1976), 9-10. D.C. Coleman, *The Economy Of England , 1450-1750* (London: Oxford University Press,1977) 13, 18-19. L.A. Clarkson, *The Pre-Industrial Economy in England, 1500-1750* (London:B.T. Tatsford, 1971), 232-235.

⁵ Hilary Beckles, *A History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 76-77.

⁶ David Cressy, "Levels of Literacy In England: 1530-1730." (*The Historical Journal*, 20: 1977).

including, Peter Martyrs *Decades of the New World*, and Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations of the English Nation 1598-1600*.



Figure 3- The British Atlantic World
By Leonard Euler

Hilary Beckles's work, *A History of Barbados: From Ameriden To Caribbean Single Market*, illustrates why the flourishing mercantile community in London with capital to invest looked westward. In 1619, Virginia's production of tobacco brought huge returns and profits to London's mercantile community. An even more lucrative colony emerged in Barbados, which

was only one hundred and sixty-six square miles, but its fertile soils and extended growing season compensated for the Caribbean island's size.⁷

In the 1620's Englishmen first settled in Barbados, cultivating and producing tobacco for export. Barbadian tobacco proved to be of such poor quality; even its colonists preferred Virginia tobacco. In the face of their failure to cultivate and produce a viable staple crop, the settlers continued their search experimenting with the cultivation and production of cotton and indigo. In the mid-1630s, the cotton industry in Barbados collapsed, leading to the introduction of cattle, livestock, and sugar on the island.⁸

During the 1640s, the Brazilian Civil War between Portuguese settlers and the Dutch mercantilists escalated. The Brazilian Civil War created a supply chain crisis on the European market, as Brazil supplied 80 percent of the sugar to Europe and Britain. It was fortuitous for Barbados, as it created the opportunity for the colony to begin large-scale sugar cultivation and export across the Atlantic World.⁹

⁷ David Watts, *Man's Influence on the Vegetation of Barbados: 1627-1800* (Yorkshire: University of Hull Publications, 1966), 22-23.

⁸ Hillary McD Beckles, *The History of Barbados: From Amerindian Settlement to Caribbean Single Market*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 16-17. Trevor Burnard, *Plantation Societies in British America: Planters, Merchants and Slaves* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2015), 12-14, 27-28. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *Caribbean Exchanges: Slavery and the Transformation of English Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 16-20. Larry Dale Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (New York; Oxford University Press, 2003), 2.

⁹ Russell R. Menard, *Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados: Sweet Negotiations* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 70-72.

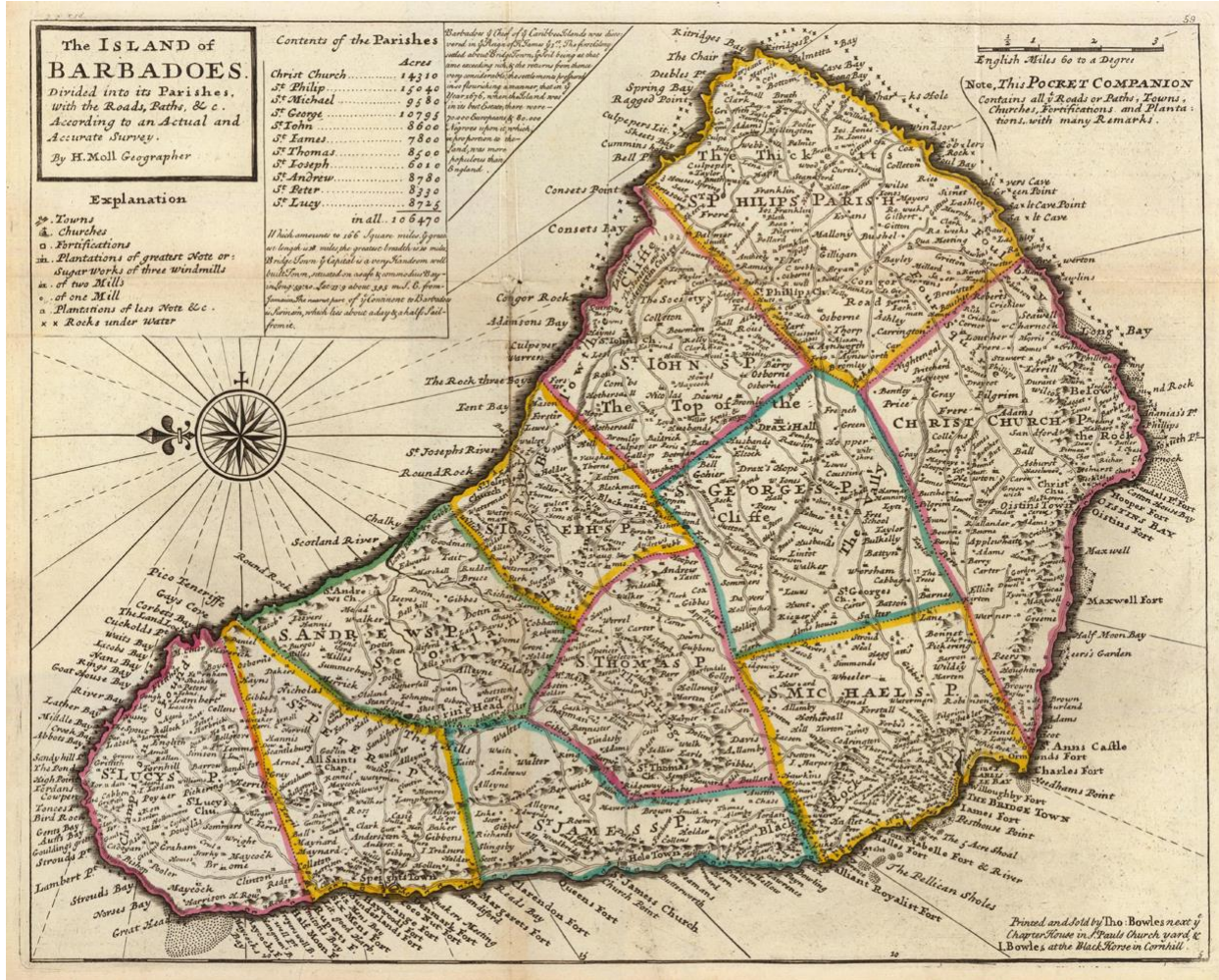


Figure 4 - The Island of Barbados Divided into Parishes by Herman Moll

In 1631, Sir Henry Colt visited Barbados on his way to St. Kitts. His stay on Barbados was brief, but in his journal, he kept a detailed account of his voyage from London and his time on the island. Sir Henry Colt's journal was one of the few early reports on Barbados. He found the island quite beautiful and marveled at the exotic fruits grown on the island, as well as the landscape. In his account, Colt displays little respect for the English settlers, which he describes as indolent and lazy. Colt was shocked by the sinfulness of the settlers, who drank heavily and engaged in fighting. Many of the islanders, either because of illness, the hot and humid climate, or inability, to adapt to such a foreign environment, refused to work.

When Colt visited Barbados, the island landscape contained large numbers of forests and many small plantations cultivating cotton and tobacco. Colt's account describes how colonists cleared the woods across the island by slashing and burning, which resulted in a significant amount of the landscape covered with half-burned trees. Colt's journal is one of the first seventeenth-century descriptions of the early colonization of Barbados and has allowed historians to establish a timetable for environmental change on the island.¹⁰

In the 1640s, the Dutch Jewish merchants needed to expand sugar production for their mercantile economy and the many sugar refineries located along the North Sea. So they began to look elsewhere across the Caribbean, with their help, after twenty years of experimentation, the British colonists in Barbados with the help of the Dutch found a profitable method of sugar cultivation. The Dutch had everything to gain by the transference of their expertise. They offered a steady supply of slaves, tools, easy credit, and transportation by sea to refineries.¹¹ Soon this island, a dot, when compared with Virginia, began cultivating and producing sugar on a large scale, which changed the course of Barbados's history. The Barbadian planters started trading, as well as engaging in exchanges with other parts of the Atlantic World. These transactions with the Dutch, Portuguese, Africans, and Native Americans included information, ideas, and goods. All too often, exchanges evolved into exploitation; as the sugar economy grew in Barbados, the demands for African Slaves from Dutch and English traders increased.¹²

¹⁰ Sir Henry Colt, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Colt to the Islands of Barbados and St. Christopher: May-August 1631* (St. Michaels: Barbados National Trust, 2002), 13-17.

¹¹ Matthew Parker, *The Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire, and War in the West Indies*. (New York: Walker and Company, 2011), 12-14. Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 27-28

¹² Trevor Burnard, *Plantations Societies in British America, 1650-1820: Planters Merchants and Slaves* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 4-5. Parker, *The Sugar Barons*, 65. Russell Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2006), 91.

In the 1640s, visitors to Barbados compared the landscape to a vast garden. The island's Atlantic coast presented a series of steep limestone cliffs, with windmills built along the top to take advantage of the sea breezes, for travelers and visitors to the island, this would be their first glimpses of Barbados landscape. The Leeward coast offered a complete contrast. There, a series of green slopes lush with tropical vegetation and fields rose above the Caribbean. The forests which once dominated the island's landscape were quickly being destroyed to make room for vast expanses of sugar fields and groves. Because of the destruction of the forests, timber was scarce, which required its import from North America to fuel the fires necessary for sugar production.¹³

The planters utilized all arable land on the island. The land not suitable for sugar cultivation became areas for the cultivation of figs, oranges, lemons, limes, and mangoes, as well as cotton. Sugar Mills dotted the landscape with African slaves providing the power to move the turnstiles blocked from the Atlantic breezes in an endless circle of toil and hopelessness. As a result of the scarcity of land, sugar planters located their estates in several different parishes. This separation maximized both efficiency and profits from sugar cultivation.¹⁴ Land divisions also included the division of slaveholdings into different settlements. It also prevented the gathering of too many slaves in one location. The fear of slave rebellions became as much a fixture of the Barbadian landscape as sugar.¹⁵

¹³ Carl Bridenbaugh and Roberta Bridenbaugh, "No Peace beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean 1624-1690." *The Beginnings of the American People, Volume 2* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 269. 290,317.

¹⁴ Barbados initially used the dispersed plantation in the cultivation of sugar using Brazil as an economic and agricultural model. This system was based on small planters, who grew sugar cane utilizing only a small number of slaves. Once the sugar was ready production it was taken to a sugar mill owned by a large planter.

¹⁵ Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar, and Slaves* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 245-248. Burnard, *Planters, Merchants and Slaves*, 54-56. Parker, *The Sugar Barons*, 151-152. Matthew Mulcahy, *Hubs of Empire: The Southeastern Low Country* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 56-57. David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 150-151.

In the early 1650s, the Barbadian planters began to import large numbers of indentured servants from Ireland and Scotland who were suited for the cultivation and production of sugar. During the 1630s and 1640s, over half the whites came to Barbados as indentured servants. The price of passage from England to Barbados and subsistence on arrival agreed to contracts from one to seven years. The white planters were confident that indentured servants could adapt and survive despite the searing heat and backbreaking work necessary for the cultivation and production of sugar.¹⁶ A shift occurred as the price of African slaves dropped, and the cost of indentured servants rose. In the 1680s, the average price to buy an indentured servants contract from his master in Barbados was £15.¹⁷ For the sugar planters with the price of an indentured servant almost equal to the price of a slave, any qualms about owning slaves disappeared.

Increasingly, fewer Englishmen were willing to sign contracts to work in Barbados. Across the British Atlantic World, many stories regarding the harsh treatment meted out by the planters to servants in order to maximize labor and maintain order proliferated. In many cases, servants were brutalized and beaten more often than African slaves. Indentured servants in Barbados, as part of their contract, were guaranteed land. The sugar planters rarely adhered to stipulations in an indentured servants contract. The contracts required the servants to work between two and four years and upon completion of their contract, receive a grant of land. They expected to make improvements in their social and economic positions. Indentured servants who arrived after 1650, instead of being granted land and money all too often they received reduced quality sugar, especially when the market was low. Many former indentured servants outmigrated from Barbados to other colonies across the West Indies, such as Jamaica, with more

¹⁶ Barbara L. Solow, Ed. "Slavery and Colonization," *In Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 21-42.

¹⁷ David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas, 150-151*.

opportunities for land. Unlike the harsh treatment indentured servants, received in Barbados, the treatment in Jamaica was more humane with adequate food and shelter.¹⁸

Richard Ligon's work, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados*, remains one of the best descriptions of seventeenth-century Barbados, as the island transitioned into one solely devoted to sugar cultivation. From 1647 to 1650, Ligon resided in Barbados. His narrative presented a far different world from England with exotic flora, fauna, and a mild climate. As the demand for sugar across the Atlantic World increased each year, Ligon, witnessed the transformation of the Barbados landscape from small-scale farms to large efficient integrated plantations.¹⁹ What was not apparent to Ligon were the ramifications of large-scale sugar cultivation and the large numbers of African slaves imported to provide labor on the island.²⁰ Barbados became one of the most densely populated territories in the British Empire. In less than half a century, the sugar planters virtually eliminated the natural environment of the island and replaced it with an ecosystem that was entirely controlled by man and intended to generate wealth for the Plantocracy, and the British Empire. In his narrative, Ligon attests to the level of wealth and opulence exhibited by planters like Drax, Walrond, and Holdip. In the 20 months leading up to 1650, the totality of Barbadian exports reached the amount of £3,097,800.²¹

After 1650, the deforestation occurred at an even faster pace than previously. This year marked the start of the most critical phases in the destruction of the thick forests across the island. During Ligon's stay, most of the plantations were located along the coast with easy

¹⁸ Parker, *The Sugar Barons*, 49-62. Burnard, *Planters Merchants and Slaves*, 71-72. Mulcahy, *Hubs of Empire*, 53-62.

¹⁹ Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of Barbados*, Ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2011), 64-68.

²⁰ See Bonham Richardson, *The Caribbean in the Wider World, 1492-1992: A Regional Geography* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²¹ Parker, *Sugar Barons*. 28.

access, while much of the interior remained as a wilderness.²² By the time Lignon put the account of his stay on the island in writing, in 1656, this was no longer the state of Barbados. After his visit, the forested areas he described in his book were felled and cleared at a high rate. By the early 1660s, the patches of forest described by Lignon had disappeared. Visitors to Barbados after Richard Lignon included Father Antoine Biet in 1654, Heinrich Von Uchteritz in 1651, Felix Christian Spoeri in 1661, and Hans Sloane in the 1690s all wrote of their observations on the environment of the island. Their accounts detail how rapidly the environment in Barbados changed, as sugar became the island's number one export. Their observations like Lignon's described life on Barbados but did not make the connection between deforestation and erosions and its impact on the planters, slaves, and small farmers.



Figure 5 - Slaves in Barbados Sugar Fields

²² David H Watts, *Man's Influence on the Vegetation of Barbados: 1627-1800* (Yorkshire: University of Hull Publications, 1966), 41. Ainsley Cray, *From Paradise to Plantation: Environmental Change in 17th Century Barbados* (2015) Graduate Thesis, Salem State University, 12.-15, 26 -30.

As Englishmen and slaves altered the natural landscape, a concurrent rise in sickness occurred, and death on the island. In 1627, the early years of the colony, the settlers found the air and climate very healthful and pleasant, but by mid-century settlers and visitors alike found an entirely different environment and landscape giving rise to endemics and epidemics. By 1640, malaria and yellow fever established themselves on the island, both imported from Africa with the rising number of slaves. Malaria was carried by mosquitos, who thrived in the island's low lying marshes and wet areas located around the sugar cane fields. Standing water in containers and vessels near the sugar mills attracted mosquitos that spread yellow fever. The inhabitants of Barbados, both free and enslaved, toiled to turn an island covered in forests into a series of well-ordered sugar plantations, located in a disease environment with totally impractical Tudor style manor homes reminiscent of England.²³

Like other immigrants, Thomas Drayton Sr. saw Barbados as a land of opportunity to better himself and his family. He believed the long voyage was worth the risk. In 1675, Drayton Sr. settled in St. Michaels Parish along with his son Thomas Drayton Jr.²⁴ His first wife, Elizabeth Carpenter, died either on the voyage to Barbados or soon after the family's arrival. He would remarry, and his second wife, Elizabeth Ridgeway would have four more sons and a daughter.²⁵ St. Michaels Parish was one of the only areas in Barbados with remaining land. He was unaware St. Michaels Parish experienced some of the highest mortality rates on the island.²⁶

²³ J.R. McNeill, *Mosquito Empires Ecology and War in the Greater Caribbean, 1620-1914*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 41, 51, 89. Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism* (Wiltshire: Redwood Books, 1997), 228. David H. Watts, *The West Indies: Patterns of Development, Culture and Environmental Change Since 1492* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 219-220.

²⁴ Parker, *The Sugar Barons*, 125-126. Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves, 18-19*. Mulchay, *Hubs of Empire*, 44-45. Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 16-17. Lignon, *A True and Exact History of Barbados*, 29-30.

²⁵ Dunn, "Census," *WMQ*, 26 (January, 1969), 5.

²⁶ Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 16-17.

Thomas Drayton Sr. had underestimated the cost of sailing to Barbados and the capital needed to purchase land for sugar cultivation and production.²⁷

According to the *Omitted Chapters of Hotten's Original Lists of Persons of Quality*, Thomas Drayton's Sr. is listed as a member of Colonel Bayley's Regimented of Foot.²⁸ Being a member of a militia in seventeenth-century Barbados was mandatory for each male resident of Barbados. Only the sizeable Quaker community escaped this requirement, as they refused to own guns or engage in warfare. A list was kept of all landholders in Barbados as members of the militia, Drayton Sr. owned four acres but there is no documentation on the number of slaves. Landholders with less than ten acres were classified as freemen, meaning they are not servants, but they could not vote or participate in politics.²⁹ In his quest for land, he was left in the same position or worse than what he experienced in Great Britain.³⁰ Either due to poor health or age, he remained in Barbados. In 1701, Thomas Drayton Sr. died at the age of 77 and bequeathed to his eldest son, Isaac, the bulk of his land and slaves. In 1723, Isaac Drayton died, and in his will, he left fifteen acres to his eldest sons Isaac Drayton and Henry.³¹

The Barbados Census of 1680, reveals there were 175 planters, who owned the most fertile and productive land. Each planter averaged 349 acres apiece. Barbadian plantations were small compared to those on the mainland, but in the seventeenth century, the island produced and exported the most significant amounts of sugar in the West Indies. Barbados became the jewel in the British Atlantic crown. The majority of planters with fifty acres and more reinvested

²⁷ Burnard, *Planters, Merchants, and Slaves*, 158-160.

Hotten's Original List of Persons of Quality is the classic work on seventeenth-century immigration to the colonies. Not generally known is Hotten only included a portion of the lists available. Nearly, two-thirds of the critical Barbados Census 1679/1680 left out the island's registers, some militia rolls, and various lists of landholders.

²⁹ Dunn, "Census" WMQ, 26 (January, 1969) 12.

³⁰ Parker, *The Sugar Barons*, 4-5.

³¹ Once Thomas Drayton Jr. immigrated to Charleston in 1675, it appears he had no contact with his family in Barbados. There are no records or letters in the Drayton Papers Collection that refer to the Draytons of Barbados.

their profits in sugar mills, boiling and curing houses, and purchased more African slaves.³² Richard Dunn classified landholders according to the number of slaves and acres they held. Landholders with 60 or more slaves fell into the category of *big planters*. This group owned the majority of the property on the island. Those that held 25 to 59 slaves and acreage between thirty and one hundred acres fell into the category of middling planters. Even before the introduction of sugar, the cost of plantations in Barbados was prohibitively high. A five hundred acre plantation sold for four hundred pounds. By 1680 a two hundred acre plantation required a capital investment of eight thousand pounds and an additional eleven hundred pounds for operating expenses.³³ Barbadian colonists in the second half of the seventeenth century were individualistic, competitive, and highly materialistic. Material success, not honor or character, was the measure of a colonist's worth. How a person acquired wealth did not matter.

In June of 1675, the Barbadian planters uncovered a plot for a slave rebellion with the intent to murder all white planters across the island. Then in August, the island was struck by one of the worst hurricanes in its history. Sugar works, dwellings, and churches were destroyed, as well as all ships anchored in Carlisle Bay. During this period, Barbados was known as the “Jewel in the British Atlantic World’s Crown,” but it was also the most populous and congested English colony in America. In 1676, the population in Barbados numbered 21,725 whites and 32,473 blacks on an island, only 21 miles long and 14 miles wide.³⁴ Barbados high-density population with a disease environment and the lack of available land and the devastating impact

³² Dunn, "Census" *WMQ*, 26, (January 1969), 11-13. Russell Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2006), 14-15.

³³ Barbados initially used the dispersed plantation system in the cultivation of sugar, using Brazil as a model. Small farmers grew sugar cane utilizing only a small number of slaves. Once the sugar was ready to be processed it was taken to a larger farmer who owned a windmill. The sugar went through several more refining processes and then was readied for export. In the 1650s there was a change and the majority of the land in Barbados was consolidated marginalizing small farmers. This allowed members of the planter elite to integrate the many dispersed farms across the island into large efficient sugar plantations utilizing slave labor.

³⁴ Beckles, *A History of Barbados*, 30-31, 48-51.

of hurricanes prompted Thomas Drayton Jr. to look further west to the new colony of Charleston. While in Barbados, Drayton Jr. learned valuable lessons for achieving success in Charleston. He saw first hand how small investments in the land if made early, could result in plantations of unimaginable wealth. He learned the techniques of plantation efficiency, such as the division of large estates into small working units and the usage of African slaves as a labor source.³⁵

2.2 Creating a Plantation Province

In March of 1663, Charles II granted the Lord Proprietors, who were royalists during the English Civil War for their services rendered, the land first extended from Virginia to St. Mary's.

³⁶ This area was called Carolina. Lord Ashley Cooper assumed the position of a de facto leader and began to put into action a plan for colonization. With the assistance of his secretary, John Locke,³⁷ Lord Ashley Cooper drew up the first of five versions of the Fundamental Constitutions, which set a priority on land as the source of wealth and power.³⁸ The Fundamental Constitutions was more than just the framework for a new government in Carolina. It was a cleverly written document designed to attract settlers. Lord Ashley Cooper and John

³⁵ Dunn, "Census," WMQ 26 (January 1969), 15. *Hubs of Empire*, Mulcahy, 87-88.

³⁶ The state of South Carolina was originally part of the Province known as Carolina. In Charles, the II's 1665 charter to the eight Lord Proprietors, the boundary of the Province stretched north 36° 30' (the southern border of Virginia) to north 29° (about fifteen miles south of present-day Daytona Beach.) From this land was carved the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, as well as the northern part of Florida. In 1635, North Carolina separated from Carolina, but the exact boundary was in dispute until 1764. In 1787, the colonists established a border between South Carolina and Georgia utilizing the Savannah, Tougaloo, and Chattooga Rivers, as markers. This narrative refers to "Carolina" instead of "South Carolina" which it focuses on the time before the establishment of the state of South Carolina.

³⁷ John Locke was a Philosopher and Physician but most importantly he was one of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers in the seventeenth century. Locke's writings and works especially the "Two Treatises" temperance of Hobbesian absolutism and the unequivocal separation of Church and State. His arguments on regarding liberty and the social contract shaped the writings of Alexander Hamilton specifically the Federalist Papers and Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and other Founding Fathers of the United States, who drafted the Declaration of Independence and the *United States Constitution*.

³⁸ Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country 1670-1920* (New York Oxford: The Oxford University Press. 1989), 19-24.

Locke included religious toleration, naturalized citizenship for aliens, property rights, land grants, and “titles of honor.”³⁹

While Charles II supported the Lord Proprietors and the colonization of Charleston, the majority of London economists waged a campaign against new settlements in the British Atlantic Worlds. In the 1660s, England went through a series of economic crises. The Great Plague of 1665 strained the resources required to finance the ongoing war against the Dutch, and the Fire of London in 1666 strained the finances and capital in the English exchequer. The English economy was in a recession, and various economic plans were presented to raise more revenue. While a small minority supported colonization to increase the English treasury, the majority of economists saw expansion as one of the critical reasons for England's economic slump. In the 1670s, English politicians denounced colonization based on the plantation complex model as an ineffective way to produce wealth and an even more significant drain on the trade of English resources. Central to the concerns of those who opposed plantation colonies were the large numbers of law-abiding and productive citizens departing England. There also existed a fear that in the future, the colonies would become independent of England and compete on an economic and mercantilist level.⁴⁰

John Locke, in his economic writings, “Two Treatise of Government,” passionately defended the economic rights of the colonial plantation in America. Locke used every opportunity to promote his case for plantation colonization. Locke also argued that “labor, rather than the quantity of land, or its richness, determine its value.”⁴¹ His argument on the

³⁹ The exception was religious toleration for Roman Catholics. The Proprietors welcomed all religions including Judaism.

⁴⁰ Roger Coke, *A Discourse of Trade in Two Parts: The Reason of Decay of the Strength, Wealth and Trade of England* (London, 1670), 10-12.

⁴¹ John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government II*, ed. Thomas Hollis (London: A. Millar et al., 1764). Par. 32, 42 and 41. Charles Davenant, "On the Plantation Trade," *Discourses on the Public Revenues and the Trade of England, Part II, Discourse III* (London, 1698), 227-228.

importance of labor came into play when the labor-intensive staple crop, rice was introduced to Carolina in the late seventeenth century. Locke stressed that although there were thousands of acres of unclaimed land in Carolina without a workforce, it was of no value. Locke's work on both the "Fundamental Constitutions" and "Two Treatise of Government" contributed to the American Declaration of Independence, focusing on classical republicanism and liberal theory.⁴² John Locke believed in the social contract theory, and he was one of its early proponents. His social contract offered protection of natural rights, such as life and property, in place of individual liberties, as they were unfavorable to the citizenry as a whole.⁴³

The Fundamental Constitutions included a slave code, which granted every freeman absolute power and authority over his Negro slaves. The Carolina Slave Code, based on the 1661 Barbados Comprehensive Slave Act, was one of the most repressive slave codes in the Atlantic World, which had no precedent in English law. The preamble represented the prevailing attitudes towards Africans, labeling them as "brutes, heathens, and dangerous people." By law, masters could punish slaves as they saw fit; there was no consequence for killing slaves, only a fine for outright murder. Slaves who assaulted their masters faced punishments of being branded, having their noses slit, and ultimately being put to death. There was no trial by jury for slaves. This code was instrumental in ensuring planters had complete control over their slaves and could force them to work under harsh and inhumane conditions. The slave code for Carolina, which John Locke supported, ensured there would be a massive enslaved labor force to

⁴¹ David Armitradge, John Locke: the "Two Treatise of Government" Political Theory, Vol. 32, No. 5 (OCT., 2004), 602-627. Barbara Arnell, "Trade, Plantations, and Property: John Locke and the Economic Defense of Colonialism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 55, No.4 (Oct 1994), 591-609.

⁴² The previous historiography claims the Lord Proprietors plan centered on Charleston becoming a colony with a very short-term agricultural plan.

⁴³ Phillip Abrams, Ed. *John Locke: Two Tracts on Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 117-181, 183-241.

work the land.⁴⁴ The Plantocracy in Carolina, like that in Barbados, continually feared slave rebellions. Like Barbados, the rising plantocracy in Carolina separated their slaves and placed them on farms across the low country. By doing this, it ensured there were never large groups of slaves in one location. The Fundamental Constitution, with its emphasis on large land grants and complete control by the plantation masters of their slaves, led to the most brutal and profitable plantation system in North America.⁴⁵

The Fundamental Constitutions made frequent references to land. The headright system of granting land to settlers was very generous. Sixty percent of the land in each county was reserved for commoners and was to be distributed by a headright system. The first settlers received grants according to the following formula: 150 acres for each free person and manservant over 16 and 100 acres for each manservant under 16 and each woman servant.⁴⁶ Also, the early settlers received a twenty-year waiver for payment of quitrents. For enterprising individuals like Thomas Drayton Jr., the ability to acquire large amounts of land was an opportunity for upward social mobility not available in either England or Barbados. The actual process of acquiring land began when a colonist petitioned the South Carolina Council for the head right specifying the total acreage and its general location. The council then prepared a warrant to the colony's Surveyor-General to survey the land and make a plat. The individual then submitted the plat to the Council to receive the official grant. The property Thomas

⁴⁴ Eugene M. Sirmans, "*The Legal Status of the Slave in South Carolina, 1670-1740*" Southern Historical Association: The Journal of Southern History, Vol. 28, No. 4 Nov, 1962, 463-465.

⁴⁵ For scholarship on the colonization of Carolina, see Converse D. Clouse, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina 1670-1730* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971); Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes: Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion*. (New York: W.W. Norton Knopf, 1974); Peter A. Colcanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670-1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989) Richard Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry, The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class:1670-1770* (Charleston: The History Press, 2005.).

⁴⁶ Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 41-44. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 54-56.

Drayton Jr. acquired through head right grants was particular in the total acreage and location. The lands were surveyed and submitted to the South Carolina Council and recognized as legal grants. The constitutional head right grant lay claim to the land so other settlers could not lay claim to Drayton Jr's property.⁴⁷

The early promotional literature on Charleston reflected the mercantile ideas of the Lord Proprietors, especially that of Lord Ashley Cooper and his secretary John Locke. In comparison to Virginia, the different literary forms promoting Carolina contained no poems, sermons, and prospectuses. The tracts did not offer moral sanctions or mention virtue, as an inducement to emigrate. Instead, the literature focused on land and trade, hoping to induce emigration by artisans, tradespeople, farmers, and unmarried women.⁴⁸ This type of promotional literature would appeal to individuals like Drayton Jr., who had no hope of attaining wealth and prosperity in Barbados. The Carolina Coffee House in London became known as the place where the Lord Proprietors, agent promoters, and prospective emigrants could gather. Here copies of literature printed tracts and other data were kept for interested parties. Information on emigration attracted Englishmen as well as French Huguenots in Holland, who were in search of religious freedom. Prospective emigrants would be informed when the ships were ready and what they must carry with them to Carolina. One pamphlet in an attempt to encourage migration by women declared "If any maid or single woman has a desire to make the voyage to Carolina, they will have a

⁴⁷ For more information on Charleston's Fundamental Constitutions and head right grants in the late seventeenth century, See Converse D. Clowes, *Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina*, Jack Greene, Rosemary Brana Schute, and Randy Sparks Eds, *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society*. *Coclanis, Shadow of A Dream*, 51-54.

⁴⁸ Hope Frances Kane, *Colonial Promotion Literature of Carolina, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey: 1600-1700* (Ann Arbor, 1948), 5-7.

dowry and if they are civil, and under the age of 50 years some honest man or another will have them as their wife.”⁴⁹

In 1670, three ships from London departed for the new colony of Charleston. Of these three ships, only the Carolina reached Albemarle Point. The Carolina brought over one hundred settlers, which included people from all social classes; the majority were small planters and members of the freeman class. On the voyage to Charleston, the Carolina stopped in Barbados in the hopes of convincing colonists with expertise in agriculture, ownership of slaves, and capital to immigrate to Charleston. The other two ships encountered ferocious storms and ended up in Bermuda and the Bahamas.⁵⁰ In 1671, the three ships returned to Barbados and began promoting the colony as a tabula rasa with a temperate climate and thousands of acres of land ready for settlement. Over one hundred settlers immigrated from Barbados to Charleston-based on these descriptions. They were experienced in staple crop production and knew how to manage plantations with African slaves. The Barbadians came to Charleston with one goal in mind, to acquire land and become wealthy. However, the majority of Barbadian settlers who came to early Charleston contrary to many historical accounts were not members of the islands plantocracy. Between 1670 and 1680, twenty-two of the known immigrants from Barbados were indentured servants. A further twenty-two were from the small planter class or freemen class. Drayton Jr. arrived from Barbados as a member of the freeman class with no capital or mercantile connections. Most immigrants who came to Charleston in the late seventeenth

⁴⁹ Edward Bland, “*The Discovery of New Brittain*” reprinted in Alexander S. Salley Jr. (Ed.) *Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York, 1911), 5-19.

⁵⁰ J.T. Thomas Jr., “*The Barbadians in Early South Carolina*” *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 31, No .2 (April., 1930), 75-79

century became members of the yeoman class, and many moved into the backcountry for more land and opportunities ⁵¹

The Lord Proprietors choose Albemarle Point on the Ashley River as the first site for Charleston. For the newly founded settlement to prosper, it required a secure and strategic area for defense. Albermarle Point 's location left the colonist in a very vulnerable position. The landscape featured many low lying areas, tidal creeks, and marshes and proved difficult to defend. Spanish missions extended from Saint Augustine, Florida to Saint Helena or Port Royal, South Carolina. Until the Spanish abandoned these missions in 1702, the area south of Charleston was the scene of intermittent warfare.⁵² The French, located to the west along the Mississippi, was a constant source of suspicion. Pirates, who terrorized the coastal areas of Carolina and were a source of well-founded fear.⁵³ Neighboring Native American tribes of the Kiawah, Etiwan, Sampa, Seewee, and Wando added to the colonist's anxiety. In 1680, the settlement moved once again to an area of high bluffs and narrow marsh along the Cooper River. This area provided strategic defense and was well suited for shipping with its location on a peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. This area was near the Wando and Stono Rivers. These four rivers in the eighteenth century would connect Charleston to the many plantations built along their banks.

⁵¹ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 207-209. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History: England's Commercial and Colonial Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), 4-5. Greene, 200-201. Weir, 65-69. Edgar, 91-98. Mulcahy, 206, 208, Richard S. Dunn, "The English Sugar Islands and the Founding of South Carolina." *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 72, No. 2 (Apr. 1971), 81-93. Richard Waterhouse, "England, the Caribbean, and the Settlement of Carolina." (*Journal of American Studies*: IX, 1975), 259-281. Jack P. Greene, "South Carolina and the Caribbean Connection." (*The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol.88, No 4 (Oct. 1987), 196-199. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974), 8-9, 15-16, 32-34. 211, 213. Michelle LeMaster and Bradford J. Wood Eds, *Creating and Contesting Carolina: Proprietary Histories* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2013), 57-60.

⁵² Charles F. Kovacik and John Wineberry. *South Carolina: Geography*. (London: West View Press, 1987), 68-69.

⁵³ Andrews, *The Colonial of Period American History*, 6-10.

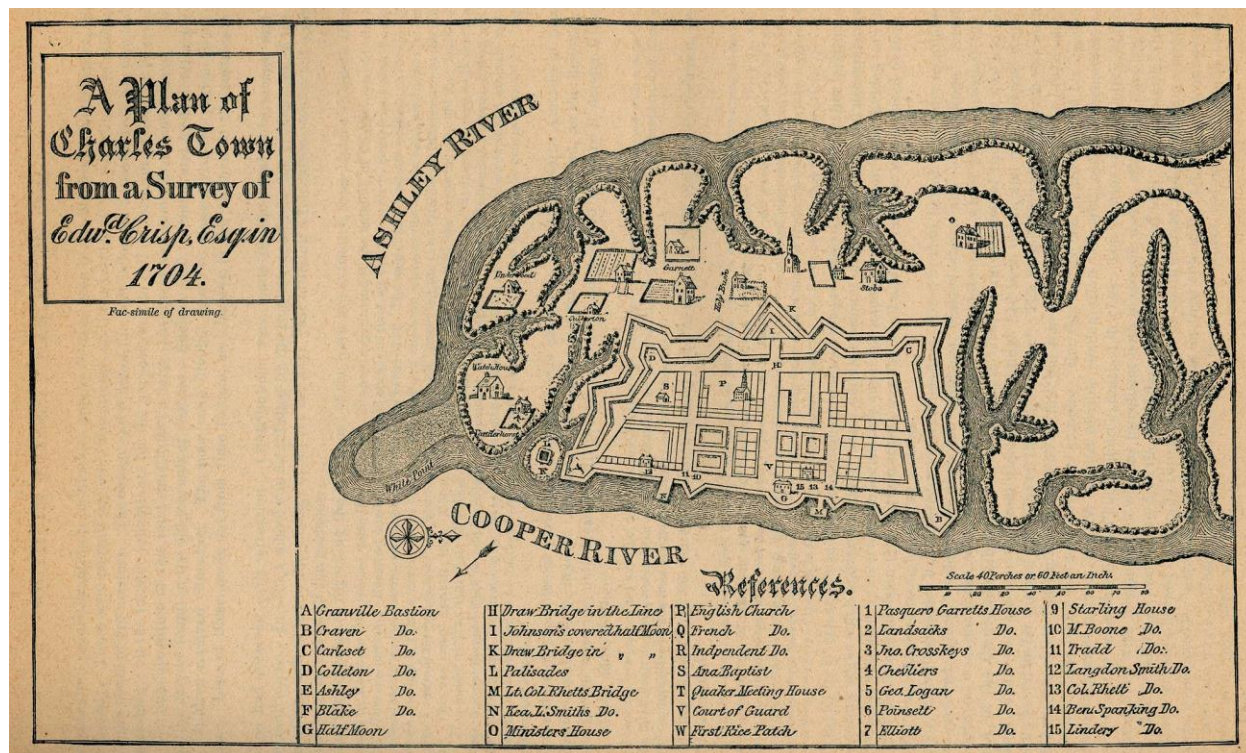


Figure 6 - Charleston Edward Crisp Map

In the 1680s, the landscape and environment of Carolina were unlike anything the immigrants from the West Indies, England, or Northern Europe had ever encountered. One of the earliest accounts by Sir Walter Raleigh described Carolina “as being much like the Garden of Eden since it was on the same latitude. He described the area as being populated with plants, flowers and berries, and the wildlife similar to that found in Europe. He presented a picture of a landscape with large numbers of palm trees growing semi-tropical climate.” In 1682, a promotional pamphlet described the colony “as a pleasant and fertile country abounding in health and, and all things necessary for the sustenance of mankind.” Many writers put forth that the new colony was a tabula rasa or blank slate with the settlers to do with as they wished. Promotional material left out the large numbers of indigenous tribes who occupied Carolina. The landscape and environment that greeted the new arrivals were neither rife with all types of

vegetation, flora, or fauna, which grew in a semi-tropical climate but instead featured thick and dense forests with underbrush. To remove the forests and brush settlers engaged in backbreaking labor necessary to make way for early horticultural experiments and cattle herding.⁵⁴

Initially, many settlers believed Carolina was a healthy environment, which was correct when contrasted with the West Indies. This belief quickly changed, by the 1680s, a famous saying exclaimed: “Those who wish to die quickly go to Carolina.” Visitors to London from Carolina stood out with their sickly, sallow complexions known as the “Carolina Phiz.”⁵⁵ The semitropical climate was a breeding ground for mosquitoes and waterborne parasites. There were other waterborne illnesses such as filariasis, which caused elephantiasis, and dengue occurred quite commonly.⁵⁶ One visitor reported he had never seen “air so unhealthful.” The colonists “had fevers all year long from which those attacked never recovered.” Malaria was especially rampant, and while not always a killer for healthy males and females, it was fatal to young children and pregnant women. Malaria was a chronic disease that weakened an individual’s immune system, making them more susceptible to measles, whooping cough, and dysentery.⁵⁷

In 1679, Charleston’s population numbered almost 1200, and by 1682 the population rose to 2200 colonists. However, in the 1680s, the St. Phillips Parish in Charleston began experiencing disease epidemics from June to the end of October. In 1682, 1684, and 1687, there were outbreaks of yellow fever and “country fevers,”⁵⁸ which shifted from occasional epidemics

⁵⁴ Robert Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 34-35.

⁵⁵ This description was one of many proverbs and sayings regarding the unhealthy environment that rice and indigo cultivation and production created.

⁵⁶ Peter McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering in the Southern Low Country* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 20-22.

⁵⁷ Joseph Ioor Waring, *History of Medicine of South Carolina Vol. I* (Charleston: South Carolina Medical Association, 1964), 10-12.

⁵⁸ “Country Fevers” included Malaria, Dengue, and Typhoid.

to becoming endemic of the Lowcountry environment. By 1684, the outbreak of epidemics and endemics contributed to the slowing of immigration, and more settlers began to leave the colony than arrived. The courts in Charleston were ordered shut down between June and October during the ‘sickly season.’ Reports of disease began to have an impact on Charleston’s reputation as a previously vaunted “Garden of Eden.”⁵⁹ For the next twenty-five years, there was a decline in population both among the colonists and their slaves. During this time, Charleston became known as a “Charnel House.”⁶⁰

Charleston’s settlers founded a walled city bounded by present-day Water, East Bay, Cumberland, and Meeting Streets. The plan of the town, known as the Grand Model, encompassed the high land from Oyster Point to Beaufain Street.⁶¹ The town’s plan was laid out around a central square and divided by several broad and wide streets arranged in a “modern grid-like” characteristic of 17th-century Irish towns colonized by the British. Charleston was a renaissance city in some ways, but the surrounding town wall and steep roofs gave it a medieval atmosphere. The construction of a walled city and a moat surrounding it offered the early settlers added security and defense. Initially, Charleston’s expansion was slow, and it acquired a reputation as an urban backwater across the British Atlantic World. Life in the walled city featured goats, pigs, sheep, cows wandering the muddy and unpaved streets. The animals

⁵⁹ St. Julien R. Childs, *Malaria and Colonization in the Carolina Low Country, 1526-1696* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1940), 30-31. John Duffy, “Eighteenth Century Carolina Health Conditions” *The Journal of Southern History*, XVIII (August 1952), 289-302.

⁶⁰ The two scourges of Malaria and Yellow Fever were like specters never going away and frequently coming back. These two diseases infected mostly visitors or colonists new to Charleston. These diseases would not be eradicated until the turn of the 19th century.

⁶¹ Carville Earle and Ronald Hoffman, *The Urban South: The First Two Centuries. The City in Southern History*. Ed. by Blaine Brownwell and David Goldfield (Port Washington N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977), 23-51.

contributed to the sounds and smells of the early settlement, as well as issues with privies and the disposal of waste. The town lacked a basic sewage system, and the water supply was brackish.⁶²

In the late seventeenth century, housing in Charleston favored the vernacular architectural designs from England. Small frame structures of oak and pine-dotted the settlement's landscape. The houses stood one or two stories high, and one room deep with steeply pitched roofs and small windows.⁶³ The settlement overall looked very similar to towns in fifteenth-century Northern Europe, giving it a gloomy and dark feel. None the less the design of early Charleston, while medieval in appearance, kept the inhabitants safe from raids by the Native Americans, French, and Spanish.⁶⁴ These impermanent structures also provided shelter for the new colony. The settlement that emerged on the peninsula after 1680 was neither a medieval town nor a gothic city. Charleston was a hybrid containing elements of both architectural styles in transition. The structures built in the 1670s were practical, being of wood and roofs of straw, but they were prone to fires. During the early period of settlement, several fires destroyed Charleston. The Lord Proprietors encouraged the colonists to build housing composed of brick and mortar, but the majority built structures for the present to husband their labor and capital for the future. There was a saying, "An ordinary house and good stock are the Planters Wisdom," which prevailed across Carolina.⁶⁵

⁶² On the problem of roaming livestock in early Charleston see Thomas Cooper and David J. Mc Cord (eds.), *The Statutes at Large of South Carolina*, (Columbia, 1836-841) VII, 5-6, 7-12, 36-37, and 47-49. On the privy question, see Cooper and McCord VII, 5-6, 7-12. On the lack of a proper drainage system in early Charleston, see Alexander Salley (Ed) *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina*, 22 vols. (Columbia:1907-1947) XIV.

⁶³ Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden Eds. *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World*, 134-135.

⁶⁴ On English vernacular architecture in the seventeenth century see Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 64-67. On American domestic architecture in the seventeenth century see Leland M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York:Harper and Row, 1979), 13-27.

⁶⁵ Cary Carson, Norman F Barka, William M. Kelso, Garry Wheeler Stone and Dell Upton, "Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol.16, No.2/3 (Summer-Autumn, 1981) Published by the University of Chicago Press on behalf of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc. 148-155.

2.3 In Pursuit of a Staple Crop: The Introduction of Rice

The Lord Proprietors, who founded Charleston, expected the settlers to begin producing a staple crop as soon as possible. They wanted a profitable staple crop, which would be in high demand across the British Atlantic World. Their expectations were based on reports, which described Carolina as a “tropical paradise.” The Lowcountry climate and environment differed considerably from Barbados. During the summer and spring, the climate was unbearably hot and humid, but in the fall and winter, the climate would go from sunny and cool days to hard freezes. The Proprietors did not invest in the new settlement to produce and export commodities such as livestock, navy stores, and timber. They envisioned planters, not graziers. For some unknown reason, the Lord Proprietors ignored the simple fact that it took almost thirty years for Barbados to discover a profitable method of sugar cultivation. It would take the colonists in Charleston nearly twenty-five years of horticultural experiments to finally cultivate and produce rice on a large scale.⁶⁶

A large number of the white planter elite made their fortunes trading with pirates and sold Native American slaves despite efforts by the Lord Proprietors to outlaw this practice. Carolina was the most heavily involved in any colony in North America in the Native American slave trade. However, the principal item of commerce for early colonists like Drayton Jr. was animal skins. European merchants clamored for white-tailed deer skins, which were in high demand by their customers. These animals provided the Native Americans with one of their most important food sources and led to artificially increasing deer herds in the wild by firing the woods. This

⁶⁶ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 144-146.

use of fire decreased the amount of underbrush and promoted the growth of grass, which in the early colonial period led to white-tailed deer roaming the savannas in large herds.⁶⁷

From 1679 to 1700, records show that the Lord Proprietors exported rice to Charleston with additional shipments arriving during the following years. These early attempts met with very little success. During this period, it would have appeared very unlikely rice culture would eventually become the most important staple crop, which drove the Charleston's economy.⁶⁸ In the interim, the settlers directed by Joseph West conducted horticultural experiments with silk, ginger, orange trees, lemon trees, vines, cotton seeds, and indigo seeds, sugar cane cuttings from Barbados and olive tree seedlings.⁶⁹ Cotton proved extremely difficult to cultivate and produce. Extracting the dye from indigo was labor-intensive, forcing the early settlers to abandon it as a possible staple crop. Although finding a profitable staple crop was essential, the Lord Proprietors realized they must provide seedlings for food crops. Once again, under the direction of Joseph West Indian Corn, Beans, Peas, Turnips, Carrots, Potatoes, leeks, parsnips, pumpkin, squash, watermelon, grape, peaches, apricots and figs. Venison, wildfowl, and fish supplemented the colonist's diets.⁷⁰

In 1690, the cultivation of rice was still in its infancy. John Stewart, a visitor to Charleston, reported that "the planters had not found the proper way to cultivate it." After numerous experiments with rice cultivation, it appeared unlikely it would ever become a staple of the Carolina economy. The first problem was the method of rice cultivation used by the

⁶⁷ Paul Sutter and Christopher Manganiello (Eds.) *The Environmental History and the American South: A Reader* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2009), 63-65.

⁶⁸ A.S. Salley Jr., (Ed.) *Warrants for Land in South Carolina 1672-1711* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), 3.

⁶⁹ Collections by the South Carolina Historical Society Vol. I "Directions to Joseph West 1671-1674 Experimental Horticulture and Land Grants." Papers in State Paper Office, London. (Charleston: S.G. Courtenay and Company, 1857), 98-99.

⁷⁰ *Collections by the South Carolina Historical Society Vol. I*, 99-100.

planters. Rice is adaptable to a wide range of environments. The early settlers had no familiarity with growing rice in England and Europe and tried to plant it in dry unirrigated fields.⁷¹ Non-irrigated rice yields were up to 53% less productive than irrigated rice, leading to the settler's experiment with other staple crops. Population growth in early Carolina was steady, but there were few laborers, or indentured servants, which hindered the amount of land cleared for agriculture. The third centered on rice culture and the need for weeding. Upland rice cultivation required laborers to weed and hoe the fields. The weeding of upland fields was very labor-intensive and required 300 working hours per hectare. The presence of weeds in the upland fields would destroy the rice seedlings. Even if the settlers could overcome these problems, another issue was the lack of shipping to export commodities.⁷²

Edward Randolph, in 1698, a visitor to the Lowcountry, commented that “planters were cultivating and husking rice, and had exported 330 tons to England.”⁷³ What was the catalyst that turned rice cultivation from an unsuccessful series of horticultural experiments to a valuable commodity? In the early years of settlement, water dominated the Lowcountry in the form of swamps, streams, rivers, and ponds. Early European explorers to the area, which became known as Carolina, noted: “there are great marshes, but most as far as we saw of little worth.”⁷⁴ These explorers did not foresee in the future of what they termed a barren landscape would one day be the source of the Lowcountry’s wealth and prosperity. During this period, settlers in Carolina

⁷¹ J. J. Lu and T. T. Chang, Edited by B.S. Lu, *Rice: Production and Utilization* (Westport CT.: Avi Publishing Company, 1980), 1.

⁷² See Hayden Ros Smith, *Rich Swamps and Rice Grounds: The Specialization of Inland Rice Culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1670-1861*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, Athens, Georgia, 2012. Directed by Dr. Paul Sutter, 39-44.

⁷³ Stewart to William Dunlop, June 23rd, 1690, “Stewart Letters,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 32 (1931), 85-86. “Randolph to Board of Trade May 27, 1700” *South Carolina Public Records IV*. 189-190. Rice in the late 1690’s. It mentions the difficulties with cultivating rice and later how it became a valuable staple crop for export.

⁷⁴ E.D. Johnson and K.L. Sloan, Eds, *South Carolina: A Documentary Profile of the Palmetto State* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 19.

discovered that the successful cultivation of rice depended on a riverine environment. There were many moist areas for irrigation across the Lowcountry with a high water table and an abundance of rainfall.⁷⁵ The swamps were dismissed as worthless now proved to be part of a landscape, “which, when cleared, opened and sweetened by Culture, yielded plentiful crops of rice.”⁷⁶

The earliest type of riparian irrigation was known as the reserve system, which allowed water to flow into low fields from a reservoir created by damming a freshwater stream. The planters adapted Inland swamp agriculture from the reserve system. The construction of inland fields was a significant undertaking requiring a careful selection of land in a wet area, preferably with a cypress swamp and a stream running through it.⁷⁷ At the upper and lower ends of the field, the settlers constructed dams. The high dam blocked the creek to create a reservoir, while the lower dam served as a barrier holding water in the field. Each dam featured a water gate or trunk that controlled the flow of water. The design of the fields included the subdivision of the field into smaller banks and ditches, which controlled the flow of water.

In Carolina, the need for labor and the lack of it stymied attempts to begin cultivating rice on a large scale. Due to a labor shortage, the planters utilized indentured servants and enslaved Native Americans as they were less expensive than importing African slaves. By 1700, with the growth of the slave trade in Charleston, prices dropped as their supply increased. Planters preferred African slaves to indentured servants and Native Americans, as chattel slaves never were released from bondage. Both Africans and Europeans participated in the enslavement of Africans and their export across the British Atlantic World. There are no records, which point to

⁷⁵ Barbara Spence Orsolits, “American Society for Environmental History and Forest History Society Conference, 2006.” *Preserving the Ashley River and Its Tidal Landscapes*, 1-2.

⁷⁶ D.O. Whitten, “American Rice Cultivation 1680-1980: A Tercentenary Critique.” *Southern Studies* 21. 1982, 5-26.

⁷⁷ Stanly South and Michael Harley, *Deep Water and High Ground: Seventeenth-Century Low Country Settlement, Research Manuscript Series 166* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology Series, 1980), 4-6, 24-35.

the African and Europeans having any concerns both morally and ethically in enslaving human beings. As the demand for more slaves grew across the British Atlantic World, slave traders were more than willing to profit at the expense of another human's loss and freedom and trauma. Slave labor became the foundation for rice cultivation and production across the Lowcountry.⁷⁸

One of the unanswered questions from the seventeenth-century centers is who introduced rice to Charleston? Before 1970, historians discounted and diminished any contributions by slaves to rice cultivation and production. Instead, the historiography focused on members of the white planter elite, who took credit for the introduction of rice and the methodology needed to grow rice.⁷⁹ Another theory regarding the introduction of rice, claims a ship from Madagascar was forced to stop in Charleston for repairs. The captain of the vessel made the acquaintance of a Landgrave Thomas and gave him a bag of rice, which was from the genus *Oryza*. There is virtually no documentation to support this argument.⁸⁰ By 1710, rice was being exported across the Atlantic World and reaped immense wealth for the rice planters across the Lowcountry. The cultivation and production of Inland rice in the swamps and streams required a large labor force. As the demand for rice exports grew, so too did the importation of slaves from Africa, who were familiar with rice agriculture.⁸¹

In 1974, Peter Wood's work *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina From 1670 to the Stono Rebellion* (1974), opened a new dialog, on the possibility that African slaves in the 1690s introduced rice to Carolina. He argues that African slaves were familiar with the

⁷⁸ David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*, 150-51.

⁷⁹ David Doar, "Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Lowcountry." *Contributions From the Charleston Museum* (8, 7-42).

⁸⁰ Duncan Clinch Heyward, *Seed from Madagascar* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 12-14.

⁸¹ Richard Dwight Porcher Jr. and William Robert Judd, *The Market Preparation of Rice: An Illustrated History of Innovations in the Lowcountry Rice Kingdom* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2014), 12-13.

cultivation and production of rice, which they imparted to the planters.⁸² In 1981, Daniel C. Littlefield published *Rice and Slaves Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*, one of the first works to make a direct connection between rice and the contributions of African slaves.⁸³ Joyce E. Chaplin's work published in 1993, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agriculture and Innovation and Modernity In the Lower South, 1730-1815*, examines how planters were interested in innovations and influenced by the enlightenment. However, modernity did not extend to doing away with slavery and utilizing free labor for the cultivation of rice.⁸⁴

In 2001, Judith A. Carney's work *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation*, presented a new theory called "The Black Rice Hypothesis," in which African slaves were directly responsible for the introduction of rice and its cultivation in Carolina. Carney turns earlier arguments on how rice came to the Low Country on its head. She asserts that Africans from rice-growing areas were the majority of slaves arriving in the Carolina Lowcountry. Carney posits that Carolina planters expressed preferences for slaves from rice-growing areas, and merchants worked to supply those desires. From extensive research, Carney argues that that African expertise was highly gendered. In some places, rice was solely a woman's crop; in others, where more elaborate forms of irrigation were required, a division of labor emerged between men and women. However, across West Africa, women were responsible for seed selection, sowing, processing, and cooking. The female expertise in rice cultivation resulted in a higher percentage of women who arrived in South Carolina than in the Caribbean. Consequently, female slaves bound for America rice-growing areas commanded higher prices

⁸² Wood, *Black Majority*, 58-61.

⁸³ Daniel Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 77-79.

⁸⁴ Joyce E. Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit: Agricultural Innovation and Modernity in the Lower South, 1730-1815* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 18-19.

than in other plantation economies. In South Carolina, according to Carney, the labor of female slaves “was valued more on a par with that of male bondsmen than in the slave markets of the West Indies.” Carney’s approach emphasizes an agricultural production system organized around the cultivation of rice. She offers an approach that puts at the center the relation between the labor process, which includes the complex and shifting relations of class, race, and gender and the natural environment.

In *Black Rice*, Carney makes the argument that African slaves, with their knowledge of rice cultivation, achieved a relative autonomy. In the early eighteenth century, the work of slaves centered around a task system. In the other colonies, which cultivated and produced staple crops, slaves were forced to work in gangs. The task system allowed slaves once they finished their work assignments as field workers the freedom to cultivate fruits and vegetables or herd cattle and livestock near the slave quarters.⁸⁵ In this interpretation, the existence of the task system supports Carney’s thesis of the primacy of African, not European knowledge in the origins of the Carolina rice economy.

David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson’s database www.slavevoyages.org use statistics and algorithms that refute the process of inferred agricultural transmissions of rice from West Africa. Some southern historians have criticized Eltis, Morgan, and Richardson’s “Slave Voyage Database,” which takes an archival approach and argues it is not as valid as Judith Carney’s “geographical perspective.” Carney’s research and writings enabled historians to construct knowledge about people who left no written records.”⁸⁶ S. Max Edelson weighed in

⁸⁵ Philip D. Morgan, “Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1800” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 39(October 1982), 563-599. Peter A. Coclanis, “How the Lowcountry Was Taken to Task: Slave Labor Organization in Coastal South Carolina and Georgia,” in *Slavery, Secession, and Southern History*, eds. Robert Louis Paquette and Louis Ferleger (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2000), 59-78.

⁸⁶ For other analysis of the “Black Rice Hypothesis” see David Eltis, Philip Morgan, and David Richardson, “Agency and Diaspora in the Atlantic History: Reassessing the African Contribution to Rice Cultivation in the

arguing one single cultural group introduced rice to Carolina. In his argument, he claims that rice culture originated as food grown by African slaves. The use of statistics, in his opinion, omits the African perspective and discounts their contributions to the successful cultivation and production of rice⁸⁷ Regardless of how rice originated, by the 1690's the settlers in Carolina had acquired rice seeds that adapted well to Carolina's environment and geography. The swamps, marshes, and low lying areas, which initially settlers viewed as unsuitable for agriculture, proved to be ideal for rice cultivation.

2.4 The Early Draytons: Land and the Introduction of Slavery

In 1679, Thomas Drayton Jr., the progenitor of the Carolina branch of the Drayton family, sailed from Barbados onboard the *Mary* commanded by Nicholas Lockwood. The lack of opportunity in Barbados, when combined with the prospect of owning large amounts of land was an important factor in influencing the son of a small farmer to immigrate to Carolina. On the voyage, to Charleston Drayton Jr. became acquainted with Stephen Fox, a prosperous tanner from Barbados, as well as his wife Phillis and daughter Ann. He would become a friend, mentor, and father-in-law. Fox brought 112 slaves from Barbados attained a headright grant of 312 acres. Thomas Drayton Jr. traveled alone to Charleston with no capital or slaves and received only a grant of 150 acres.⁸⁸

Americas" *American History Review* 112 (December, 2007), 1329-1358. Gwen Midlo Hall "Africa and Africans in the African Diaspora: The Use of Relational Databases" *The American Historical Review*, Vol 115, No.1 (February 2010,) 136-150.

⁸⁷ S.Max Edelson, "Beyond "Black Rice": Reconstructing Material and Cultural Contexts for Early Plantation Agriculture " *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 115, No. 1 (February 2010), 125-135.

⁸⁸ J. Camden Hotten, *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality; Emigrants; Religious Exiles; Political Rebels; Serving Men Sold for a Term of Years; Apprentices; Children Stolen; Maidens Pressed; and Others Who Went from Great Britain to the American Plantations 1600-1700* (New York: G.A. Baker and Company Inc., 1931), 453-455.

In the late 1670s, when Drayton Jr. and Fox arrived in Charleston, the Lord Proprietors were forced to supply the colonists with cattle and hogs from Virginia, New York, Bermuda, and horses from New England to stave off the real possibility of the colonists starving to death. Both Fox and Drayton Jr. became cattle herders and began raising hogs. They each registered for their own cattle brands, protecting animals from being slaughtered if they wandered away. The environment in the Lowcountry was ideal for raising cattle and livestock. Cattle ranching took place on the three ecosystems: upland longleaf pine communities, small stream floodplains, and low lying hardwood bottoms. This commodity only required an initial investment in animals and one or two slaves as herders. Drayton Jr.'s headright grant of 150 acres was located on Edisto Island, which allowed him to use open grazing for cattle and swine.⁸⁹ Both Fox and Drayton Jr. recognized the investment in livestock would allow them to begin exporting salt beef and pork to the West Indies, which brought both of them a handsome profit and return on their investment. They also started cultivating vegetables and produced naval stores and timber for export across the West Indies and the British Atlantic World.⁹⁰ By 1682, a visitor to Charleston commented on the economy "centered on raising livestock," and "the significant increase of their cattle is admirable. Not more than six or seven, and now they have many thousand heads."⁹¹

According to the Drayton family tree, Thomas Drayton Jr. married Ann Daniel, the daughter of Robert Daniel, a sea captain who sailed between Barbados, Jamaica, and Charleston.

⁸⁹ Clowse, *Economic Beginnings in South Carolina, 1670-1730*, 7-8, 59-60. Wood, *Black Majority*, 27-28, 106-107. Mulcahy, *Hubs of Empire*, 87-88. Paul Pressly, *On the Rim of the Caribbean: Colonial Georgia and the British Atlantic World*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013) 14-15. John S. Otto, "The Origins of Cattle Ranching in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1715," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 87 (April 1986), 122.

⁹⁰ George C. Rogers Jr., *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckney's* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1984), 9, 14-15, 24-25, Walter J. Fraser Jr., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 110-111.

⁹¹ Thomas Nash, *Carolina; or a Description of the Present State of the Country and the Natural Excellencies Thereof* (London: W.C., 1682), 19-20. "Letters of Thomas Newe from South Carolina, 1682" *American Historical Review* 12 (January, 1907), 325.

Daniel was awarded several warrants for land along the Stono River, and a lot in Charleston. He acquired land on Etiwan Island in 1696, which was renamed Daniels Island. Drayton Jr.'s kinship ties to Daniel enabled him to export commodities to the West Indies, undercutting other early settler's export costs and build up his capital. The date of Ann Daniel Drayton's death is unknown, and there are no parish records of either deaths or births of children from the marriage.⁹² Sometime between 1696 and 1700, Thomas Drayton Jr. took a second wife, Ann Fox, the daughter of his friend and mentor Stephen Fox. Thomas Drayton Jr., at the time of his marriage to, was Ann Fox was in his late forties, and she was in her early twenties. Her marriage dowery consisted of land and cattle, which became part of Drayton Jr.'s estate. The importance of Fox's connection to the Drayton family came about as the result of an initial land purchase made with Maurice Mathews. In July of 1679, Mathews conveyed to Stephen Fox 402 acres on the west side of the Ashley River. In 1696, Fox once again took out another grant for the same land to fortify his ownership of the property.⁹³ In the early period of settlement in Carolina, many colonists took out a second grant of land to fortify their original warrant. Many times, the early settlers would find their warrant for a land grant challenged, and the fortification of it ensured it would remain part of their estate.⁹⁴

Between 1698 and 1700, outbreaks of smallpox and yellow fever decimated Carolina's inhabitants. The smallpox epidemic lasted for over nine months and killed hundreds of settlers and slaves. Governor John Archdale believed the smallpox epidemic was intended by God "To thin the Indians, in order to make more room for the English."⁹⁵ In 1699, Yellow Fever, a type

⁹² <https://dihistoricalociety.com/robert-daniell-daniel-islandsnamesake/>

⁹³ H.A.M. Smith, "The Ashley River and Its Settlements," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine XX*(April 1919), 94-95. Drayton later added 260 acres to the 402 acres. Ibid., 95.

⁹⁴ Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 43-44.

⁹⁵ Peter McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering in the Southern Lowcountry* (Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2011), 23-24.

of “hemorrhagic fever” first struck Charleston, which left victims in its final throes bleeding from their gums, noses, and bowels.⁹⁶ Whole families succumbed to the disease, leaving those who survived the epidemic to collect the bodies of the deceased and bury them in mass graves. One observer claimed that the effects were far worse than those from the Great Plague of London (1665), given the much smaller population in Charleston. “Shops shut up for six weeks, nothing but carrying medicines, digging graves, and carting the dead.”⁹⁷ After 1700, there is no trace of Stephen and Phillis Fox in Charleston’s probate, tax, or parish records. It is highly probable that their sudden disappearance was related to either the outbreak of smallpox or yellow fever between 1698 and 1699, which precipitated their death.⁹⁸

In 1701, with the capital he had accumulated from commodities exports, Thomas Drayton Jr. began acquiring large grants of land in Colleton County, for the cultivation of Inland Swamp rice. Initially, the early settlers of Charleston believed the swampy, wet landscape with marshes and creeks was worthless except for cattle herding and the production of naval stores. This view quickly changed when it was discovered the “best rice land is wet deep and miry in cypress swamps,” but “the very best lands were ameliorated by laying them underwater at proper seasons.” The planters shifted from dry upland rice cultivation to inland swamp cultivation, which required fertile land and frequent movements of freshwater, which led to the planters like John Drayton cultivating freshwater swamps.⁹⁹

Once the proper soil and irrigation were determined, rice became one of the staple crops in Carolina. Before rice seed was even placed in the earth, the land had to be cleared, trees cut

⁹⁶ <https://www.coastalreview.org/2015/10/11159/> 1-2.

⁹⁷ Peter McCandless, <http://www.scencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/epidemics/> 2-3.

⁹⁸ William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina* (Charleston: McCarter & CO., 1856), 351-359.

⁹⁹ Glen, *Description*, 6.

and burned, fields laid out in squares, proportioned to the strength of the slaves, who worked them. Then within one week, the field had to be planted and hoed. Also, banks, ditches, and trenches with their accompanying watergates and sluices had to be built and maintained, because the control of the water also controlled the growth of the rice. Rice could be destroyed by excessive heat, storms bringing saltwater into the rivers which fed the fields, as well as reptiles, insects, “rice birds,” rice worms, maggots, some of these pests, and environmental conditions, could be controlled by raising or lowering the water levels.¹⁰⁰

Rice, was sown between March and May, in rows “made with a hoe” about three inches deep and kept free from weeds. It was harvested at the end of August and beginning September at the height of the breeding season for mosquitos. It was reaped, put into stacks, and threshed with a flail. Winnowing formerly a very tedious process, in the 1740s was replaced by a wind fan.¹⁰¹ The rice was ground, winnowed again, put into wooden mortars, and beaten with pestles, freeing the rice from its hull, which was the most labor-intensive part of the work. Next, the rice was sifted from flour and dust by a wire sieve or “market sieve,” which separated the broken and small rice. The rice was ready to be placed in barrels in which it was transported to Charleston and then exported to England.¹⁰²

The land Thomas Drayton Jr. acquired in Colleton Country was used for Inland Swamp rice cultivation and was divided into several small plantations on the Ashley River, Edisto River,

¹⁰⁰ David Doar, *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country*, 9-29. “When rice is ripe, it is assailed by many a small bird, which are knoww in Carolina as rice birds. Young slaves, who are constantly kept there, frighten them away: This is a better method that shooting them.” Duc De La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels Through the United States of North America, The Country of the Iroquois and Upper Canada in the Years 1795, 1796, & 1797*, (London: R. Phillips, 1799) 620. (hereafter *Travels*) Porcher Jr. and Judd, *The Market Preparation of Carolina Rice*, 48-51.

¹⁰¹ “It is afterward threshed, put into a small wooden house, which is some feet high, and rests on pillars; and in the ceiling of which is fastened a large sieve. The rice is thrown into the sieve, which separates it from the first shell that surrounds it”

¹⁰² Glen, *Description*, 9.

and on the Stono River. Roughly, thirty slaves could work these small plantations; which lead to the creation of a “task system,” which was a unit of land, measuring a quarter of an acre, and as a unit of labor, a slave had seven to eight hours to accomplish their assigned task.¹⁰³ Thirty of these “taskables,” were the “proper number” for a rice plantation. Each “working slave” could produce four and one-half barrels of rice, each weighing 500 pounds in one year. Other taskables also included artisans: coopers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, and carpenters. Other taskables included cattle, livestock, and trunk-tenders.¹⁰⁴

By 1700, with the availability of cheap land in Carolina, few men were willing to indenture themselves to another. From the founding of Charleston, a labor shortage existed, which with the introduction of the staple crop rice, became severe. Many of the early planters in Charleston believed slavery went hand in hand with rice cultivation. One of the measures of class distinctions in Carolina centered on the number of slaves owned, for it was an index not only of cash investments but cultivated landholdings. This was the basis for a planter's wealth and prosperity, which mirrored the same criteria used in Barbados.¹⁰⁵

No matter what amount of acreage planters owned in Carolina, it had no worth without the labor to work it. Many members of the plantocracy in early Carolina convinced themselves that African slaves alone could withstand the disease environment and the crushing labor of the rice fields. The planters ignored the fact that African slaves who were cultivating rice, standing

¹⁰³ Carney, *Black Rice*, 98-101. Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise*, 83-89, 108-109. Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in Eighteenth Century Chesapeake & Low Country* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 179-187. Porcher and Judd, *Carolina Rice*, 37-39.

¹⁰⁴ Philip D. Morgan, “Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Low Country Blacks 1700-1880,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, XXXIX (October, 1982) 581. (hereafter “Work and Culture”) David Doar. *Rice and Rice Planting in the South Carolina Low Country*, (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1936) 98-99. John Drayton, *A View of South Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972 [1802]). [here after Drayton, *View*.] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels*, 621.

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth Morgan, “Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston” *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 113, No. 453 (Sep., 1998) Published by Oxford University Press, 910-11.

in the mud and waist-high water, and exposure to the sun and the elements the majority of their lives were experiencing horrific mortality rates. Instead of malaria or yellow fever, African slaves contracted pneumonia and other diseases of the lungs. The morbidity rate amongst African born slaves would remain high compared to slaves born in the American colonies.¹⁰⁶

Visitors to Carolina observed that slaves working in the rice fields spread across the Lowcountry had higher mortality rates as opposed to slaves cultivating tobacco in Virginia. The widespread view that slaves were less subject to epidemics and infectious diseases working in the rice fields was bizarre. Rice thinned the populations so fast in Carolina the planters were regularly importing new slaves from Africa or the West Indies. William Dusenberre notes, that “recent demographic studies remind one of what everyone in the eighteenth century knew, slaves died more quickly in the rice region than others elsewhere across the American South.”¹⁰⁷

Sometime between 1700 and 1706, Thomas Drayton Jr. and his wife Ann assumed ownership of the 402 acres devised to them in Stephen Fox’s will.¹⁰⁸ The property was named Magnolia, after the many laurel trees (*Magnolia Grandiflora*) growing along the south side of the Ashley River.¹⁰⁹ Magnolia would serve as the birthplace of Thomas Drayton Jr. and Ann Drayton’s four children, Mary, their eldest child, was born in 1704, Thomas was born sometime

¹⁰⁶ Phillip D. Curtin, “Epidemiology and the Slave Trade.” *Political Science Quarterly*, 83 (June 1968) 190-216.

¹⁰⁷ William Dusenberre, *Them Dark Days: Slavery in the American Rice Swamps* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 50-55, 70-75, Jeffery R. Young, “Ideology and Death on a Savannah River Rice Plantation, 1833-1867: Paternalism Amidst a Good Supply of Disease and Pain,” *Journal of Southern History* 59 (1993), 673-706. Coclanis, *Shadow of a Dream*, 39-47. Wood, *Black Majority*, 80-88.

¹⁰⁸ Questions remain as to whether Ann and Thomas Drayton Jr. received Magnolia as part of a marriage dowry and if the name of Ann’s second son, Stepehn Fox, was influenced by her father, are still to be determined. Other sources claim Ann’s maiden name was Booth, as her daughter Mary named her first daughter Ann Booth and the executor of Ann’s will was Thomas Elliot, who was possibly related to the Booth family of Charleston.

¹⁰⁹ Frank S. Drayton, Jr. ed. “John Drayton’s History of the Drayton family.” (“hereafter”History”), unpublished paper, Copy at Drayton Hall; Original at South Carolina Historical Society (hereafter SCHS). Drayton edited an original manuscript written by Governor John Drayton II (1766-1822). One inaccuracy regarding the history of the Drayton’s in Charleston, is there is no documentation or sources which actually connect the family to Drayton House in Northamptonshire, England. This connection is a total fabrication.

between January and April 1710, Stephen Fox was born in either 1713 or 1714, and John Drayton was born in 1716.

The only reference to Magnolia, which has survived, was a second-hand description written in 1817 by William Drayton II, based on his father, William Drayton I 's childhood memories.¹¹⁰ It was

“a mansion house of a brick of one story high with a dorminat roof, in some respects not dissimilar from the outer front of Drayton House in Northamptonshire.”¹¹¹

The building materials used in constructing the house consisted of a wood frame and bricks. “The house had a kitchen and office on the lower level, above there was an ample hall decorated with stucco work and featured eighteen-foot ceilings. There was a “chamber” on both the first floor and in the “dormiant story.” The main floor featured a long hallway, decorated with pilasters and ornamented with stucco and eighteen-foot ceilings. A long hallway served to catch air and breezes to cool adjacent rooms on the first floor. References to Magnolia resembling Drayton House located in Northamptonshire, Great Britain are without basis. This structure is believed to date from the fifteenth century, if not earlier, and the original design featured late domestic gothic elements.¹¹² The front porch facing the Ashley River was described as having a

Large door in the center, with 2 or 3
Windows on each side and with a portico
And flight of steps of brick to the ground,
Which was a gravel walk to the garden.”¹¹³

¹¹⁰ William Drayton I was the son of Thomas Drayton, who was the eldest son of Thomas Drayton Jr. and Ann Fox. Thomas Drayton inherited Magnolia upon his twenty-first birthday.

¹¹¹ William Drayton quoted in Drayton, “History” 15.

¹¹² Emily Cole, Ed. *A Concise History of Architectural Styles* (London: A&C Black, 2006), 220-221.

¹¹³ Drayton, “History” 17.

There is no documentation or sources to corroborate that Magnolia was indeed a mansion-house. In reality, the house's design probably reflected the influence of seventeenth-century architectural elements. Middleburg built by the French Huguenot Benjamin Simons and located on the Cooper River is one of the few remaining structures in the Lowcountry from the seventeenth century. Middleburg 's original design was quite simple and well adapted to the Lowcountry environment. In the 1980s, extensive restoration revealed the original house, which suggests it was quite small. The original structure had two single rooms below and two more single rooms above heated by a single chimney. Wide porches provided shade across the front and the front and back of the house.¹¹⁴ It is more likely the original main house at Magnolia was based on a design similar to Middleburg versus Drayton House in Northamptonshire, England.¹¹⁵

It remains open to speculation as to who built Magnolia's main house. Did Stephen Fox, who owned the land for over twenty years, build the house for himself and his wife, Phillis? Did Thomas Drayton Jr. build the house, or did he inherit it with the 402 acres which were conveyed to him by Stephen Fox? A home with a large hallway and two-bed chambers could have housed Stephen Fox and his wife or Thomas Drayton Jr. along with his wife and four children. Did the name Magnolia originate with Stephen Fox, or did it change when Drayton Jr. inherited the land? There is the possibility that Fox built the original house with hall and bedchambers, and Drayton Jr. enlarged and improved upon it during his short tenancy, the portico, and other design elements added based on necessity and wealth.

¹¹⁴ N.Jane Iseley and William P.Baldwin. Jr., *Plantations of the Low Country: South Carolina 1697-1865* (Greensboro: Legacy Publications, 1985), 17.

¹¹⁵ Drayton House is located in Northamptonshire, Great Britain. In 1300, Simon Drayton built the original house. Henry Green acquired the house in 1362, which ended any connection to the Drayton name. <https://handedon.wordpress.com/2017/03/03/drayton-house-northamptonshire>. See <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101040293-drayton-house-lowick>

In 1675, when Thomas Drayton Jr. left England for Barbados, it is unlikely he ever dreamed his final destination would be Carolina. By 1715, Drayton Jr. was a successful cattle rancher, exporter of naval stores and timber, as well as a rice planter. He achieved recognition as an early member of Charleston's white planter elite society. In 1716, his third son, John Drayton, was born at Magnolia. Drayton Jr. added a codicil to his will, leaving a small portion of his estate to his newborn son. Magnolia was the first residence of the Drayton family, but it was not the house by which later Draytons would identify themselves. With the passing of Thomas Drayton Jr. in 1721, the first generation of Draytons in South Carolina came to an end. His widow Ann, whom he had schooled in plantation management and finances, would go on to add to the family's landholdings across the Lowcountry and triple the family's wealth. She would establish kinship ties with some of the wealthiest and well-connected families in the Lowcountry.

3 ANN DRAYTON

“Never Underestimate the Power of a Middle-Aged Woman”

3.1 Widowhood and Upholding the Male Patriarchy

In 1721, Thomas Drayton Jr. of Magnolia in Carolina, who was known as “The Immigrant,” died at the age of seventy-one having amassed land, capital, and slaves.¹¹⁶ His widow, Ann, at the age of forty-one, became responsible for the Drayton estate and their four children, three of whom were under the age of ten. Ann Drayton had a vested interest in protecting the Drayton family’s holdings that another relative or unrelated administrator would not have shared. Upon the death of Thomas Drayton Jr., she assumed the role of deputy planter and then stepped aside when her sons came of age. Ann Drayton like other widows in Charleston during this period assumed a role dedicated to the development of a stable and prosperous society, which had at its core strong familial bonds. They saw themselves as custodians, links between two generations of male landowners

Ann Drayton was instrumental in her family’s rise to wealth and power, which led to the family’s position as members of the Charleston plantocracy. Well known during the eighteenth century, her youngest son, John, has overshadowed his mother’s contributions to the success of the Drayton family. In reality, Ann Drayton’s financial support and education of John Drayton endowed him with the capital and experience to become a successful planter in his own right. His first two marriages to well-connected heiresses, arranged by Ann Drayton, provided the funding for the eventual construction of Drayton Hall. Previous scholarship has focused on the

¹¹⁶ Thomas Drayton Jr. was referred to as “The Immigrant.” He was born in Warwickshire County, England and then in 1675 he immigrated to Barbados with his father, Thomas Drayton Jr. but in 1679 he sailed for Carolina in search of land and more opportunities.

architecture of Drayton Hall and the influence of eighteenth-century Drayton males on the politics and economy of South Carolina. The physical evidence in both historical documents and existing properties prove and confirms Ann Drayton's influence and her role in strengthening the Drayton family legacy, which was far-reaching and significant. The Drayton legacy continues today over two hundred and seventy-five years after Ann Drayton's death.

The early men and women who settled in the colony of Carolina sought to replicate English society. They were determined to establish themselves as the equals of the English gentry. In many regards, the colonists succeeded in duplicating English society, but as a result of the Lowcountry's disease environment, they were forced to deviate from certain traditional practices. The English gentry's practice of primogeniture, which left all the family's land and wealth to the eldest son, was not practical. Unlike their English peers, Carolina planters possessed large amounts of property and wealth to bequeath to their children while still maintaining their family's status and profitability. The Lowcountry had an extremely high mortality rate, resulting in parents being uncertain if their eldest sons would survive or any of their other sons would survive to adulthood.¹¹⁷ The members of the planter class quite early in the history of Carolina discarded the custom of primogeniture as they began to consider how they would divide their estates.

Sir William Blackstone wrote in *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, regarding the influence of the English legal system in colonization, "if an uninhabited country is discovered and planted by English subjects, all English laws then in being, which are the birthright of every

¹¹⁷ From an analysis of death records in St. Philip's Parish in Charleston between 1722 and 1732, Peter Coclanis estimated that the crude death rate was between 52 and 60 per 1,000. These mortality rates were extremely high "even by pre-industrial standards." Between 1721 and 1770, deaths outnumbered births in St. Philip's Parish by almost 4 to 1: 5,398 to 1,540. See Peter Coclanis, "Death in Early Charleston: an estimate of the crude death rate for the white population of Charleston, 1722-1732," *SCHM* 85 (1984), 280-291. Coclanis, *Shadow of a Dream*, 290.

subject, are immediately there in force.”¹¹⁸ The Province of Carolina, under the rule of the Lord Proprietors, immediately adopted the English legal system and for more than a half a century after its colonization, emulated the laws and utilized precedents of the mother country. The legal position of English women-centered on the precept that “a man and woman are one person, but understand in what manner...a woman as soon as she is married, is called a covert. Her new self is superior; her companion, master, that women have no voice in Parliament. They make no laws, they consent to none, they abrogate none. All of them are, understood either married or to be married, and their desires are to their husbands.”¹¹⁹ Married women in Carolina, could not act independently from her husband in property conveyances or management (except certain circumstances such as receiving written permission from her husband.) The notion of unity between a husband and wife was one of the most significant legal precepts that affected women’s property rights in England and America.¹²⁰

Ann Drayton, as a widow under the law in colonial South Carolina, was a “feme sole.” This designation allowed her to assume the role of a planter, who controlled the family estates and its capital, oversaw finances, and made business decisions, as well as managing the white overseers and slaves. Widowhood was a woman’s only pathway to economic power and freedom. Mrs. Drayton became a dominant force as a plantation mistress, for she was free from the need to rely on men for direction or support. Many widows in colonial South Carolina chose to remain single and to conduct their affairs as they saw fit. This allowed widows to safeguard their children’s inheritance and secure it from stepfathers and half-siblings attempts to separate their sons and daughters from their patrimony. Ann Drayton, as a plantation mistress, focused on

¹¹⁸ Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Book I, 106-108.

¹¹⁹ *The Lawes Resolutions of Women’s Rights: Or, the Lawes Provisions for Women*, 1682.

¹²⁰ Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972), 340, 348.

the creation of kinship ties through marriage to wealthy and powerful Carolina families rather than establishing herself as an independent businesswoman. Her role as a “feme sole” upheld the male patriarchy in Charleston rather than undermining it.

Men in eighteenth-century Carolina made generous provisions for their widows, who were left to care for young children and needed to be financially secure in order to fulfill their responsibilities. While some Carolina widows received the property outright, others received the part of their husband’s property that remained after the payment of all debts and expenses. The remainder, which often included slaves, was the most valuable portion of the estate. Some widows only received a small bequest of money, which was to be paid to her every year she remained single. While this may initially have appeared to put widows at a disadvantage for many, this was just the opposite case. Also, men in Carolina named their wives as executrix’s of their estates, which entailed carrying out any unfinished business, such as a collection of debts due or settling debts owed. The executrix was responsible for complying with the provisions in the will and included the distribution of land and capital amongst the heirs. Widows served as the managers of their husband's estates, ensuring all buildings were in good repair, paid the taxes, and slaves either rented out or were under their direction or overseers.¹²¹

Ann Drayton, like other women in Carolina, during the early years of settlement, were educated by their mothers and sisters. Young girls learned how to read and write, as well as basic arithmetic. Mothers and sisters shared their knowledge of music, watercolors, sewing, and embroidery with their daughters and younger siblings. As part of their training in domestic skills, planter’s young daughters learned to cook, wash, sew, and nurse. Women learned practical skills, such as quilting, slaughtering animals, herbal remedies,

¹²¹ Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 15.

preserving fruits and vegetables, as well as smoking meats. Most importantly, young females acquired the skills to manage the slaves, who were integral to the running of the main house.¹²²

In 1724, Thomas Drayton Jr.'s will was proven, and it stated :

“I nominate and appoint my wife Ann Drayton as my sole executrix of this my last will and by these presets I do empower I said, Executors, that they shall and may sue for any debt in my behalf of my said children and manage my estate the best way of their discretion shall think fit for improving the same for my said children and shall, give my said children such learning as this will provides.”¹²³

With the money she received from Thomas Drayton Jr., Ann began her journey managing livestock, crop production, and thousands of acres, as well as assuming responsibility for four children all under age 18.¹²⁴ Thomas Drayton left his widow, Ann, and children an estate valued in 1725 of more than £23,000, with over one hundred slaves, and over three thousand acres of land well suited for in-land-swamp rice cultivation, all of which were to be carefully supervised and managed until her sons turned twenty-one.¹²⁵ Thomas Drayton Jr. did not bequeath any property to his widow Ann. Instead, all his lands and livestock were to be divided among his four children. Ann Drayton began receiving within two years of her widowhood, £500 a year. The money she received was in place of her dower, which by law, was one-third of her husband's property during their marriage. This amount was less than half the monetary value left his daughter, Mary, which indicates that Drayton Jr. assumed his widow would remarry. Like many widows in early Carolina Ann never remarried, although the money left to her was small, with wise investments in land and slaves it tripled in value. Common law stated that “dower lands

¹²² Lorri Glover, *All Our relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the Early South Carolina Gentry* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 35-36. Marli F. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina 1830-1880* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 28-30. Spruill, Littlefield, Johnson Eds., *South Carolina Women*, 94-95.

¹²³ “Last Will and Testament of Thomas Drayton,” *Wills of Charleston Country, Will Book 1 1722-1724*, 99. South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹²⁴ The Drayton Family Tree places her birth in 1680.

¹²⁵ Thomas Drayton Inventory. August 24, 1724, Miscellaneous Records, vol. 67, 1724-25, Charleston Public Library, 445.

were life interests which a widow could not devise or convey in any form, and there were restrictions and limitations on their ownership.”¹²⁶

Thomas Drayton Jr.’s will provided £1000 and a female slave for his eldest daughter Mary to be used as her dowry. The remainder of his land and goods were divided amongst his three sons. Thomas, the eldest son, received the four hundred and two acres of Magnolia, one-half the Drayton lands on the Stono River with its stock, all the cattle, and land at Round O Savanna, and one-half of the African and Indian slaves. Stephen Fox and John Drayton as the younger sons divided the remaining lands equally between them, one-half the remaining Stono lands plus three hundred and sixty acres, the cattle at Abram’s Savanna, and one-half the African and Native slaves. The will stated that the two younger sons could take possession of their lands at the age of eighteen.¹²⁷ Drayton, in his will, encouraged his wife to improve the estate for the children and give them “such learning as this province will afford.”¹²⁸

Thomas Drayton Jr., in his will, expressed his trust and concern for Ann in the distribution of wealth to his children. He provided well for her with the expectation that she would manage their estate for the benefit of their children. It was never a consideration by the planters in Carolina for their widows to achieve financial independence. To Drayton Jr., his bequests were appropriate based on the fact that he had no way of knowing which of his children would reach adulthood. He provided Ann Drayton as his widow the means to support herself and some degree of independence, but this was never an end in itself. Planters in South Carolina never considered the possibility of losing power to women, as women’s actions never threatened

¹²⁶ Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America*, 143.

¹²⁷ *Thomas Drayton Jr. Will, June 12, 1714, Miscellaneous Records, vol. 58, 1722-24*, Charleston Public Library, 445.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 446.

the male patriarchal social structure. Ann Drayton's actions throughout her life centered on increasing the Drayton family wealth and supporting her children in all their endeavors.¹²⁹

In April of 1718, Ann Drayton's name appears in Charleston's city records registering four cattle marks for lands at three plantations: "Reed Bank," most likely referring to Red Bank possibly located along the Cooper River in Goose Creek, "Coco Swamp," which was possibly lands in Caw Caw Swamp along the Stono River, and Round O Creek in Colleton County. Although the exact date of Thomas Drayton Jr.'s death is unknown, this document from 1718 provides evidence as to when Ann Drayton became a widow. There are no records from this period that document the purchase of these lands in her name before 1718, and the lands at Round O were part of the properties Thomas Drayton Jr. left to his sons upon his death. There is the possibility that Thomas Drayton Jr. was still alive, and he designated her as a "feme sole trader," a law developed in South that allowed individual women the right to make independent business transactions with the consent of their husband.¹³⁰ During this time, Ann, with children at ages two, five, and eight and almost eighteen¹³¹, was not only handling her deceased husband's lands, with her cattle mark for Round O, but she had also begun to establish in her right the beginnings of her wealth.

Ann Drayton would never remarry, which was the case for many widows across the South Carolina Lowcountry. Their decision to remarry was not the result of an abundance of younger marriageable females limiting older women's chances of finding spouses. In the early

¹²⁹ Cara Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World: Women, Patriarchy, and Power in Colonial South Carolina*, (London: Greenwood Press, 2002), 38.

¹³⁰ Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America*, 47.

¹³¹ The difference in ages between Ann Drayton's daughter, who was eighteen and Thomas Drayton, who was ten could be the result of the high mortality rate of infants and children in Carolina due to the effects of "country fever" either directly or by lowering their resistance to other diseases. Between, 1700 and 1750 in Christ Church Parish, 86 percent of all recorded births or deaths died before the age of twenty. H.Roy Merrens and George D. Terry, "Dying in Paradise: Malaria, Mortality, and the Perceptual Environment in Colonial South Carolina," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Nov., 1984), 542.

eighteenth century, there was an imbalance in the sex ration. Population figures in 1708 showed the ratio to be 1.5 to 1.0 or for every 100 women living the colony that year; there were 150 men.

¹³² In Thomas Drayton's will, he named Ann Drayton as executrix, which allowed her to improve and grow the family estate, but it was not hers to dispose of in life or death. This stipulation disallowed a future husband from assuming full control of the Drayton property or to men whose goal was land acquisition. This type of bequest allowed women to remain single with wealth and capital to prevent the inevitable social pressure to remarry.¹³³

In 1721, Mrs. Drayton began to let out money with interest, to acquire and sell land, and to file lawsuits to recover debts. As a bond, she received five negro men instead of judgment for £5,000; she also was awarded a conditional payment of £500 Carolina money with interest" from Jonathan Fitch, a rice planter. One year later, in 1722, Fitch's widow Susannah mortgaged four Negro women to Mrs. Drayton for £250. In eighteenth-century Carolina, as well as other colonies in the British Atlantic World, slaves served the same purpose as currency. For example, in 1728, a property transaction took place between Mrs. Drayton and a neighbor, William Harvey; he sold part of lot 160 in Charleston and a "large house thereon" for ten slaves delivered and ten slaves for future delivery by Ann Drayton."¹³⁴

Ann Drayton would be the first Drayton to begin a series of interfamilial lawsuits, which blighted the family for over one hundred years and nearly bankrupted the family estate. In 1721,

¹³² Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 206-207.

¹³³ David Ramsay, *The History of South Carolina from its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Newberry, S.C., 1858), 231.

¹³⁴ Purchases and sales included 450 acres on the north side of the Stono River in Colleton County. Langley, SCDA, vol. 1, Book BB, July 16th 1722, Thomas Farr to Ann Drayton, 29. Mrs. Drayton also acquired 150 acres on Horse Savannah in St. Paul's parish, which in her will dated May 2nd, 1741 she left to Thomas Elliott, her executor, in trust for her daughter Mary Fuller during the letters lifetime, and afterwards to be equally divided between Mrs. Fuller's children, Thomas and Ann Booth Fuller. Langley, SCDA vol. 4. Book M-3, January 18th, 1757 53. Ann Drayton also acquired 120 acres of marsh land in Berkeley County and was granted 4,000 acres at the "head of the Coosawhatchee or Port Royal River" in Granville County "adjoining the lands of Thomas Drayton.

Mary Drayton wedded Richard Fuller.¹³⁵ In her father's will, she was to have received £1,000 and one negro woman from his estate. A dispute with Fuller was stock appraised at £450, which Fuller insisted had been given by her father, Thomas Drayton Jr., during his lifetime.

Nevertheless, in March of 1725, an agreement was reached with Mrs. Drayton paying Richard Fuller £500 in currency and Fuller agreeing to consign to her all his interest in the stock. Fuller also acknowledged the receipt of the £1,000 and the negro woman.¹³⁶ The Draytons seemed to have no faith in Fuller's ability to provide for his wife Mary or to place any trust in him. Richard Fuller was not from a family with important kinship ties, or part of the network Ann wished for the Drayton children to become a part of through marriage. In eighteenth-century Carolina, daughters had more latitude in whom they married versus the sons. Their families still tried to steer their daughters towards marriages with the Middletons, Bulls, or Fenwicks. Both Ann Drayton and her son Stephen Fox in their wills, explicitly states that Fuller should have no "pretensions or claims" to Mary Fuller's inheritance and could not touch any part of the bequests.¹³⁷

3.2 Plantation Mistress: Providing for All My Slaves

Ann Drayton was a successful planter and businesswoman, but as a plantation mistress, she oversaw the day to day functions of Magnolia's main house. One of the most onerous tasks a plantation mistress performed was providing clothing for all their slaves, which went on year-round. Moreover, planter women were expected to be seamstresses, who passed their knowledge on to their house slaves. The cloth used to make slave garments varied from cotton, cotton wool,

¹³⁵ Mary Drayton married Richard Fuller on December 21st, 1721. Webber, "St. Andrews Register, " 187.

¹³⁶ Langley, *SCDA, vol. 1, Book H, March 5th, 1728*, 116.

¹³⁷ *Stephen Fox Will date February 22nd, 1732*, CPC vol. 5, 1740-1747, 103-109.

or all wool depending on the season of the year.¹³⁸ Dry goods sold to planters went by the names, “slave cloth,” “negro cloth,” or “plantation cloth,” and were always durable and inexpensive. The planters would allocate one blanket per slave and at the most two pairs of shoes yearly. These materials were used to clothe the rice field workers, cattle herders, and outside workers. Magnolia’s house slaves received better quality fabric, usually calico, cotton, and wool, to fashion garments, which denoted their elevated status as house slaves.¹³⁹

For Ann Drayton, her responsibilities encompassed household tasks, which required her specialized skills. These included making special meals, conserving jellies, and jams, making sausage, and other preserved food. Anne Drayton controlled the keys to the cupboards, storerooms, and smokehouse at Magnolia or in other words, all the food provisions and breakables. Plantation mistresses were the only ones in the main house allowed to handle fragile china and glass, as well as treasured heirlooms. Most plantation mistresses laid out their dining room tables with silver and china, and arranged flowers for the dining room. They did all these tasks as they did not believe their slaves were capable of doing delicate work or because they took pleasure in their accomplishments.¹⁴⁰ As a slave mistress, Ann Drayton appears to have managed her labor force without the need for the intervention of either the colonial Grand Council or friends and relatives.¹⁴¹ Although the actual treatment of slaves on her plantation is unknown, records provide evidence that Ann went to great lengths to ensure their literacy and

¹³⁸ Myron Stachiw, *Negro cloth: Northern Industry and Southern Slavery* (Boston: Boston National Historical Park, 1981), 3.

¹³⁹ For textile definitions, See Florence Montgomery, *Textiles in America* (New York: Norton for the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, 2007) Richard Hopwood Thornton, *an American Glossary* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1912.)

¹⁴⁰ Marli F. Weiner, *Mistresses and Slaves: Plantation Women in South Carolina, 1830-1880*. (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998), 40-45.

¹⁴¹ Affra Harleston Coming, Elizabeth Hyrne, and Elizabeth Smith, who were widows and “feme soles,” all were forced to press charges against unruly and deceitful slaves. See Cara Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World*, 56-57.

education. She purchased Bibles, spelling books, hornbooks from Savannah for the education and conversion of her slaves.¹⁴²

Because of their availability and low cost, the typical diet of a field slave was 3 ½ pounds of salt pork and one peck of cornmeal per week and supplemented with some vegetables or fruit.

¹⁴³ For both male slaves and female slaves, male slaves, their recommended caloric intake was 2,700 (kcal). In reality, male slaves (23-50 Years) caloric intake was 2,348 (kcal) in food, and for female slaves, (23-50 years) caloric intake was 2,000 (kcal). In some instances, planters would also supplement their slave's diets with sweet potatoes, honey, and molasses. Recent studies indicate that though the slaves did not feel hunger constantly, instead, they suffered from dietary deficiencies such as rickets, scurvy, pellagra, and anemia. This diet was considered inadequate by both contemporary witnesses and historians as it barely met nutritional standards, which was a catastrophe for slaves working in rice fields across the Lowcountry.¹⁴⁴

In the 1720s, rice went from being part of the many exports from Carolina across the British Atlantic World to the predominant staple crop export. Ann Drayton, like other planters across the Lowcountry, reacted by purchasing more slaves and increasing rice production but then faced a drop off in rice prices. The planters responded by stepping up rice production. The decision to boost rice cultivation, an add to crop yield, increase cost-effectiveness, and lessen overhead led to a much worse lot for the slaves and their complete demoralization. The changes to plantation life and labor in the quest for lowering costs and increased productivity reduced the

¹⁴² John C. Van Horne, *Religious Philanthropy and Colonial Slavery: The American Correspondence of the Associates of Dr. Bray 1717-1777*, (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1985), 72, 91.

¹⁴³ Richard Such, "The Treatment Received by American Slaves: A Critical Review of the Evidence Presented in Time on the Cross", *Explorations in Economic History*, Elsevier, vol.12, num.4, October, 1975, 335-438.

¹⁴⁴ Kenneth F. Kiple, King Hemmelsteib, *Another Dimension to Black Diaspora: Diet, Disease, and Racism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 95. McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering*, 33-34. Waring, Md., *A History of Medicine in South Carolina*, 96-97.

life expectancy of slaves across the Lowcountry and contributed to very low birthrates. From 1710 to 1730, the Negor population barely sustained itself. Mrs. Drayton, like other planters in Carolina, imported ever-increasing numbers of slaves to boost their labor forces.¹⁴⁵

One of the biggest concerns for Ann Drayton, as a plantation mistress, was the health of her slaves. Slaves health directly affected the economic output at Magnolia and Mrs. Drayton's other landholdings across the Lowcountry. Sick slaves who entered Magnolia might expose her family to the same diseases.¹⁴⁶ Slaves contracted parasites, bloody flux or diarrhea, and respiratory problems such as scarlet fevers, measles, and bacterial infections. Common ailments amongst the slaves, such as wounds, sore throats, bleeding noses, toothaches, and bites, would fall to Mrs. Drayton for treatment. If there were a physician in the area, they would be called to treat more severe illnesses, using "heroic means," which usually entailed bloodletting, purgatives, and vomiting to the point where slaves fell unconscious. Many slaves preferred treatment by one of the other slaves familiar with West African healing traditions.¹⁴⁷

The distances between plantations led to visitors enjoying planter hospitality sometimes for weeks, months, or years. Most plantations had a separate building for cooking and baking ruled by a cook, who, if she was talented in the culinary arts, was one of the most valuable members of the plantation household. The dining room table at Magnolia and other Lowcountry plantations offered a wide variety of foods to their guests. A typical mid-day meal served from this period might include an asparagus soup, brisket of beef, scalloped oysters, roast pigeons, sweet potatoes stewed, sliced apple pudding and raspberry cordials, and ginger beer. From the

¹⁴⁵ Wood, *Black Majority*, 152-154. See Peter Coclanis, *Shadow of a Dream*, 64-65. McCandless, *Slavery, Disease and Suffering*, 48-49, 155-156.

¹⁴⁶ Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia*, (Urbana and Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1981), 56-57.

¹⁴⁷ Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery* 50-54.

earliest periods of colonization after the meal, the men would remain at the dinner table smoking cigars and enjoying a port or Madeira. The women would withdraw to the parlor and have tea.¹⁴⁸ Planters across the south were known for their sumptuous meals and hospitality to visitors and friends. It was a sign of a wealthy planter who could entertain and accommodate visitors. Anne Drayton, in her role as plantation mistress, was expected to be a model hostess, who never turned anyone away from Magnolia.¹⁴⁹

3.3 Ann Drayton: Business Woman and Land Speculator

As a widow, Ann's land purchases were quite extensive. In 1719, one year after registering her own cattle marks, she purchased 400 acres "on an inland plantation, known as Horse Savanna" in Colleton County.¹⁵⁰ In 1725, Mrs. Drayton bought property in Butlertown, a small hamlet, also known as Ashley River Ferry Town, which consisted of 450 acres fronting the north and south side of the Stono River. During this period, Ann created a new design for her deceased husband's barrel brand, making it all her own. This new design confirms she was involved in the production and exportation of goods. In 1723, the Carolina government passed "An Act for the settling of Fair and Markets in the Ashley Ferry Town in Berkley County for the better improvement of the said Ferry, it being a principal Ferry leading to Charleston." The

¹⁴⁸ Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife or Methodical Cook: A Facsimile of an Authentic Early American Cookbook* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), VII-XII.

¹⁴⁹ Eugene Dominic Genovese, *The Sweetness of Life: Southern Planters at Home* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 3-11. Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Random House, 1982), 176-177.

¹⁵⁰ "Memorials of Seventeenth and Eighteenth South Carolina Land Titles, 1731-1775," *Vol.1, Microfilm ST 0088, 486*. SCDAH.

acquisition of land near the Ferry advanced Ann's economic standing, but most importantly, this investment allowed her to sell her crops at a site near her plantations.¹⁵¹

During the 1720s, Ann dwelt with her family at Magnolia.¹⁵² The land purchases and business activities of Mrs. Drayton are proof that she was never idle. As a single mother and a widow, Mrs. Drayton did more than serve as a "deputy husband." Ann Drayton "crossed gender boundaries, performed traditional male tasks, and acted within the socially prescribed definitions of female responsibility." She was industrious and assertive in acquiring the land and capital needed to gain entrée to Charleston's Plantocracy. On March 6th, 1729, instead of merely maintaining the integrity of Magnolia, she added more land to the plantation. Ann purchased 260 acres on the west side of Magnolia, one-half for herself and the other for second eldest son Stephen Fox.¹⁵³

By the 1730s, Mrs. Drayton proved herself as more than capable, acting as a trailblazer and female pioneer in a decidedly patriarchal society. She had entered an aspect of her society where very few women had gone before. Ann handled business and managed her family estate alongside some of the most powerful and wealthy men in South Carolina, becoming part of a network of the patriarchal elites. Maps and plats substantiate that she called men such as William Cattell, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Elliot, and Isaac Holmes, her neighbors, and friends. From 1733-to 1737, she profited from loaned funds in the form of bills and bonds and the letting out of several tracts of land. Announcements in the *South Carolina Gazette* point to her precise

¹⁵¹ A letter from John Sheppard to Ann Drayton on October 9th, 1721 refers to Sheppard's attempts to sell Ann's produce in Charleston, such as leather and slat. "John Sheppard to Ann Drayton" Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 4 Box F F-01. Records of the Register of Mesne Conveyance (RMC), Deed Book E., 80. Deed Book BB,39.

¹⁵² In Thomas Drayton's will, it stipulated Ann Drayton had use of Magnolia until her eldest son, Thomas came of age.

¹⁵³ Smith, 'The Ashley River: Its Seats and Settlements,' 96.

accounting mandates to those that owed her money. In addition to those who wished to lease her barns, dwellings, and fertile land in Ashley Ferry Town and Horse Savanna.¹⁵⁴

In 1733, Mrs. Drayton agreed to help General James Oglethorpe in establishing the settlement of Georgia. Her eldest son, Thomas's father-in-law, William Bull, was close friends with Oglethorpe and had enlisted members of Charleston's plantocracy to assist in the construction of the new colony. She sent two sawyers to work in the colony for one month to cut down trees and construct huts, the £60 value of their toil part of an individual subscription from the parishioners of St. Andrews Parish.¹⁵⁵ Drayton Street in Savannah was designated in Mrs. Drayton's honor for her efforts to assist and build one of the first houses in Georgia.¹⁵⁶

There is no existing documentation of how the Drayton children lived or what type of education they received. Before the 1750s, most South Carolina planter's sons received an education at home with a tutor or attended school in Charleston.¹⁵⁷ While Thomas Drayton Jr. in his will asked his widow Ann to provide an education for their sons, it is unlikely he intended for them to receive an education outside of Charleston. Thomas Drayton, as the eldest son, was raised to be a gentlemen planter, and as the second son, Stephen Fox read law with a barrister in Charleston.¹⁵⁸ It is not clear if Thomas or his brother Stephen Fox received private tutoring or

¹⁵⁴ Alton T. Moran, *Genealogical Abstracts from the South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1735*, Maryland Heritage Books, 1987. 101. (2/15 1735, 2/22/1735, 6/8/1737)

¹⁵⁵ Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (London: Macmillan & Co., LTD., 1901), 164-165.

¹⁵⁶ "How the Streets of Savannah Were Named," *Kiwanis Bulletin*, Georgia Historical Society, vol. 3 (June, 1939), No page numbers.

¹⁵⁷ The exception was Royal Governor William Bull Jr., who in 1710 was sent to Leiden, Dutch Republic to study medicine. He graduated with a medical degree but never practiced medicine in South Carolina.

¹⁵⁸ Ann Drayton's will refers to "all the law books that was my son's Stephen Drayton," *Ibid.*, The inventory of Stephen Fox Drayton, dated February 4, 1734, mentions a parcel of books in England the value unknown." CPC Book 1732-1736, 187. This suggests one of two things: That Drayton had been educated in the law in England, and his law books somehow remained in England, or that he had ordered books in order to study law in the colony which was never delivered. It should be noted there is no record of Stephen Fox Drayton at the Inns of Court, London, and 1720-1730.

went to the Charleston Free School.¹⁵⁹ John Drayton, as the youngest son, seems to have received only a primary education, which was not of the highest quality.¹⁶⁰ There is some evidence John Drayton as a young boy, kept a book of sketches of colorful and rare birds. As the youngest child, John received only a modest inheritance from his father, Thomas Drayton Jr. To make up for her youngest son's lack of capital and land, Ann Drayton devoted herself to teaching him the business and management skills necessary to become a successful rice planter.

In 1729, the first documentation connected to the Drayton sons commenced when Ann Drayton and her nineteen-year-old son Thomas made a formal request to the Honorable Arthur Middleton that Thomas Drayton was “desirous of taking into his possession the “ slaves and stock to be ordered and administered by himself.” Middleton appointed five men, including Drayton’s future father-in-law William Bull I “ to appraise and value and value share allot and divide” the slaves and stock of Thomas Drayton deceased, into four equal parts: two equal parts to Thomas Drayton, and one quarter each to Stephen Fox Drayton and John Drayton. The distribution of assets allowed each male Drayton to create his estate and family, as well as leave his mark on the Lowcountry landscape.¹⁶¹

In 1733, shortly before his twenty-first birthday, the life of Stephen Fox ended.¹⁶² In April of 1730, he acquired for £1,800 currency a 400 acre inland plantation situated on the southwest side of the Ashley River, adjacent to the lands which he inherited from his father.

¹⁵⁹ The sons of Thomas and Mary Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas, Charles and William, received “early tutorial education “at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel school when it opened in 1711, under the Reverend Dr. William Guy. The Pinckney sons later attended the Charleston Free School.) Francis Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family: The Pinckney’s of South Carolina* (New York & London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), 6.

¹⁶⁰ There is documentation that John Drayton’s wives assisted him with his writing and correspondence this will be explored latter in this chapter and also the next chapter.

¹⁶¹ Miscellaneous Records, vol. 62-A, 1729-1731, 142. The petition was dated April 22nd, 1729.

¹⁶² Drayton’s Will was proven January 9th, 1734, CPC, Book 1732-1737. 117-119.

Also, he paid Arthur Hall £863.12.6 currency for principal and interest on a mortgage.¹⁶³ His plantation was on the northernmost branch of the Stono River. He cultivated rice, was a cattle rancher, and owned twenty-eight slaves. At the time of his death, his estate's value was £12,383, which speaks to his skills as a planter and rancher. In his will, he conferred to his "Honored" mother, Ann Drayton during her lifetime used his Stono lands, and the main house during her lifetime, and seven slaves. To his Brother Thomas Drayton he bequeathed 130 acres and 500 acres at 'Caccaswamp.'" Stephen Fox gave to his youngest brother, John Drayton, his Stono lands on the death of their mother and all the remains of his estate. To his mother and brothers, Stephen Fox Drayton left in trust for his sister, Mary Fuller £1,000, which negated the chance of her husband gaining controlling of this considerable sum.¹⁶⁴ He also bestowed his name, the name of his family's benefactor, to the next generation of Draytons.

3.4 Ann Drayton and the Beginnings of Drayton Kinship Ties

Thomas Drayton, as the eldest son, established himself almost immediately after receiving his inheritance. In 1730, he married Elizabeth Bull, the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William Bull I.¹⁶⁵ The marriage of Thomas Drayton to Elizabeth Bull was the beginning of kinship ties, which would link the Drayton's to a very tightly knit network composed of the members of the South Carolina plantocracy. Ann Drayton was instrumental in arranging the marriage between Thomas and Elizabeth. She would go on to establish a network

¹⁶³ Langley, SCDA, vol. 1, Book I, April 17th, 1730 148. Ibid, Book I, May 6th, 1731 150. All further references to monies will be in South Carolina Currency unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁶⁴ Stephen Fox Will, 117.

¹⁶⁵ Henry Desaussure Bull, *The Family of Stephen Bull of Kinghurst Hall, County Warwick, England and Ashley Hall, South Carolina 1600-1900* (Georgetown: The Wynah Press, 1961), 5. (Hereafter Bull Family) John W. Raimo, *Biographical Directory of American Colonial and Revolutionary Governors 1607-1789* (Westport Ct: Meckler Books, 1980), 433.

of familial ties as she arranged marriages for her son John Drayton. Devotion, Cooperation, and exclusivity formed the core of the plantocracy's values. The kinship networks established by Ann Drayton in the middle of the eighteenth century would continue and grow over future generations. With this union, Thomas officially received his father's estate at Magnolia Plantation, which his Ann mother had expanded as plantation mistress.

The Bull family was one of the original families to settle in Carolina. In 1670, Stephen Bull arrived to the newly formed colony with nine servants. He was the scion of the Bull family of Kinghurst, England, and was highly esteemed by the Lord Proprietors. He served as a member of the early Carolina Grand Council Bull was a specialist in Indian affairs and accumulated wealth and capital through the early Indian trade. From 1670 to 1776, the Bulls wielded more political clout than any other family in South Carolina. Stephen Bull's son, William Bull, created a solid political base with an enduring place in the government of the colony for his family. Both William Bull and his son Dr. William Bull II, served as Lieutenant Governors of South Carolina for very extended periods. In this position, both father and son at different periods in South Carolina's history served as the chief executive in the absence of the Governor.

Dr. William Bull II and his brother Stephen attended Westminster School in London, which was where the majority of the sons of the English nobility received their educations. The Bull brothers were one of the first members of the Charleston plantocracy to attend school in London. William Bull II later attended the University of Leyden and received a medical degree. During this period, he possibly traveled across Europe and may have visited Italy. Dr. Bull may have shared his knowledge of the work of the seventeenth-century Italian architect, Palladio,

with his brother-in-law John Drayton. This scholar conjectures Dr. Bull may have influenced Drayton's design of the landside portico at Drayton Hall.

The wealthier older families like the Bulls were quite particular about whom their sons and daughters married. The members of the plantocracy wanted their offspring to marry into families who were their social and economic equals.¹⁶⁶ This was a compliment to the Drayton family, as the Bull family, one of the wealthiest in South Carolina were more concerned regarding marriage and kinship ties than the majority of other planters.¹⁶⁷ William Bull's three daughters married sons of the white planter elite: one married Henry Middleton and two married Draytons with the alliances continuing into the next generation. The Middletons and Draytons, in particular, were valuable in-laws because they shared the political interests of the Bulls."¹⁶⁸

Marriage in eighteenth-century Carolina was so closely associated not only with social aspirations but also with political ones. It is not surprising that Thomas Drayton entered into the service of the crown in 1736. In that year, he was elected to replace William Elliott in the Commons House of Assembly and was a St. Andrews Parish delegate from November 1736 to June 1739.¹⁶⁹ On March 27th, 1740, Thomas Drayton was once again elected as a replacement delegate. He did not serve from 1742 to 1744, but in 1745 he was again elected as a delegate to the Commons House of Assembly. Drayton served continuously as a replacement delegate until 1754. During this period, he went to England with his eldest son William, to put him in school. Most members of the white planter elite in Carolina sent their eldest sons to England for

¹⁶⁶ Sirmans, "Politicians and Planters" 36.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 35.

¹⁶⁸ Sirmans, "Politicians and Planters" 37.

¹⁶⁹ Thomas Drayton had already served as Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County in 1734 and 1737. *SCG.*, June 15, April 2nd, 1737.

schooling but, most importantly, to develop into cultured gentlemen with a level of sophistication not possible if they remained in Carolina.¹⁷⁰

Elizabeth Bull and Thomas Drayton had ten children together, but only five survived to adulthood: William born March 21st, 1733; Mary born on December 21, 1738; Stephen, born April 28th, 1736; Henrietta-Charlotta, born August 1st, 1743; John born August 28th, 1745.¹⁷¹ Life in eighteenth-century Carolina could be brief. Over half of all women died in childbirth or childbed disease. Malaria, which is a chronic disease, left many women with compromised immune systems. Unsanitary conditions centered around childbirth left both the mother and child at risk. Thomas Drayton and Elizabeth Drayton experienced the death of many of their children soon after they were born, which was all too common, especially in the Lowcountry. If a child attained the age of eleven, they had a much better chance of survival. One of the practices in Colonia America was to name a newborn baby with the same name as a brother or sister who predeceased them.¹⁷²

Thomas Drayton, as the eldest son of Thomas Drayton Jr. and Ann Drayton, was educated at Magnolia by a tutor, and possibly he attended a private school in Charleston.¹⁷³ For his eldest son William, he decided to send him to London for higher education and the opportunity to become acquainted with members of the English aristocracy. Thomas Drayton accompanied his son, William, to London and arranged for his room and board. In October of

¹⁷⁰ Walter B. Edgar, ed., *Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives*, vol. 11, Sessions Lists 1692-1973, (Columbia: University South Carolina Press, 1974) 77, 86, 88-102, 197 (hereafter BD/SCHR.)

¹⁷¹ Mabel L. Webber, "St. Andrews Register, "Other children born to Thomas and Elizabeth Drayton: Thomas bap. Oct. 27; died Nov 10, 1731, 105, Thomas, bap. February 26, 1737, 215. Buried October 19th, 1739, 219, Elizabeth, bap. Sep 9th, 1740, 221; buried Nov. 9th, 1740 SCHGM, XIV(January, 1913, 20. Charles christened Aug 31st, 1741; buried Nov 10th, 1741, p. 21, Henry, bap. Nov 28th, 1748; buried June 1st, 1749, p. 90.

¹⁷² <https://lifeintheamericancolonies.weebly.com/average-life-span.html>

¹⁷³ Mabel L. Webber, St. Andrews Register Typescript, SCHS p.87. "John Peneyman schoolmaster at Thomas Drayton Esquire's, buried December 15th, 1745," p. 87.

1750, William entered the Middle Temple for training as a lawyer. Curiously, Thomas Drayton, took up residence in sons chambers, eating, drinking, and “whats more than all,” sleeping there.”¹⁷⁴

Peter Manigault, also sailed with the Drayton family to London for training as a lawyer. Manigault kept in touch with his family in Carolina through regular correspondence. His letters contained frequent references to Thomas Drayton’s coming and goings, which at times were an annoyance to him. Manigault mentions in one letter that Drayton would have departed for Carolina after entering William in school if he could have gotten Billy inoculated, but it seems the doctors would not inoculate him in the middle of September.”¹⁷⁵ Regardless, the younger Drayton became infected with smallpox. It is unknown if this was the result of inoculation.

By October of 1750, he seems to have recovered. On the first of November, Drayton was ready to depart for Carolina, but not before Manigault wrote some other observations of him.

“He is a very odd mixture of a man.
When he is sober,
which is almost every day till eleven
o’clock in the forenoon, he is in the pip.
He seems to be good-natured in everything, but
he can never speak well of anyone, and though he
allows a man to be a good man, yet must tell all the faults
he is guilty of and does not spare even his relations.¹⁷⁶
Drayton could not sit down to a meal without “quarreling
with it,” or being foolishly squeamish about his victuals.”¹⁷⁷

In March of 1751, Thomas Drayton returned to Charleston, and in November, his first wife Elizabeth Bull Drayton succumbed to a “country fever after a lengthy illness.”¹⁷⁸ In 1753,

¹⁷⁴ Peter Manigaults’s Letterbook, SCHS, October 10, 1750. William Drayton was called to the bar June 13th, 1755. SCHGM, XXXIII (April, 1932, p.149.

¹⁷⁵ Drayton seems to have had his sons inoculated immediately on their arrival in England. “Peter Manigault’s Letters” SCHGM, XXXII (April, 1732), 149.

¹⁷⁶ Peter Manigault’s Letterbook, SCHS, November 1st, 1750.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ “Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Drayton Esq., buried per ye Rev. Mr. Coots Nov 6th, 1751 Webber, “ST. Andrews register,” p.148. A “country fever,” was term used for Malaria.

he gave his daughter Mary in marriage to Edward Fenwick. This marriage was another advantageous marriage for the Drayton family and added to their network of kinship ties.¹⁷⁹ Fenwick, the son of John Fenwick and Elizabeth Gibbes, inherited nearly 13,000 acres, including Fenwick Hall on Johns Island and owned more than seven plantations and five hundred slaves. Fenwick was a member of the Commons House of Assembly and the Royal Council, but his interest in politics was slight. Fenwick had no interest in entering the political arena. The majority of his kin and fellow planters across the Lowcountry saw politics as a way to control the colony's economy and trade. Mary Drayton and John Fenwick were to have fifteen children. In July of 1775, Fenwick was in poor health and traveled to New York in an attempt to recover his health. There he died most likely from complications related to malaria. Mary Drayton Fenwick chartered a boat to bring his body back to South Carolina for burial.

Widowhood, according to the scholar Catherine Clinton, “often meant the breakup of the home and the breakdown of the family.”¹⁸⁰ As a dominant female in a male-centered society, Ann's wealth and success met with opposition within the patriarchal environment in which she flourished. Unfortunately, this opposition most often came from her family members. In 1734, Ann's eldest son, Thomas, revoked her ownership of land on the Stono River that was given to her by her son Stephen Fox at the time of his death a year before.¹⁸¹ Thomas asserted that twenty-year-old Stephen Fox, who had already built a home and enlarged his inventory of livestock and slaves on this land, which he inherited from his father, had no right to these lands,

¹⁷⁹ Thomas Drayton called in his unpaid debts in the SCG March 11th, 1751. Mary married Edward Fenwick on February 27th, 1753. SCG, March 19th, 1753.

¹⁸⁰ Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress*, 76.

¹⁸¹ “Last Will and Testament of Stephen Fox Drayton, “Wills of Charleston County, Will Book 1732-1737, 192-195. South Carolina Room, Charleston County Library.

as he had yet reached 21 years-of-age.¹⁸² Thomas added the Stono River land to his estate. Despite her son's opposition to her growing wealth, Ann's continued to enlarge the Drayton family estate, and her devotion to her family never wavered. She successfully filled the gap between two generations of men with distinction and meticulousness, and as a "Feme Sole" crossed the traditional gender lines present in a patriarchal society with no hesitation.

3.5 The Death of the Drayton Matriarch

Ann's death in 1742 brought an end to a dominant matriarchal presence within the Drayton family after nearly three decades. Her final requests provided for several conditions which would forever affect her family tree. Like many members of the planter elite, Ann was determined to keep her land and estate holdings in the hands of the immediate Drayton family. In the eighteenth century, widows and daughters most often inherited personal, rather than real, property to prevent any man they married in gaining lands to the family estate.¹⁸³ Ann Drayton had a deep mistrust of Mary's husband, Richard Fuller, and left an "estate in trust," a condition of colonial law that protected the landholdings and assets of married females. Ann made a special provision in her will demanding that the property bequeathed to Mary, which included her lands at Horse Savanna, her lots in Ashley Ferry Town, livestock, household goods, clothes, linens, and over a dozen, was "for her sole and separate use."¹⁸⁴

Ann stipulated that Richard Fuller shall have nothing at all to do with any part of Mary's inheritance. Although Mary died seven years after her mother, she became a part of the Drayton

¹⁸² "Last Will and Testament of Thomas Drayton," Wills of Charleston County, 100; "Stephen Fox Drayton Inventory and Appraisement," Wills of Charleston County, Will Book 1732-1737, 96; RMC Charleston, S.C> Deed Book S, 52.

¹⁸³ Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property in Early America*, 158.

¹⁸⁴ "Last Will and Testament of Ann Drayton," Wills of Charleston County, 139.

legacy and carried the land under her name. Ann Drayton, as a dedicated businesswoman, taught her youngest and favorite son, John, practical problems in arithmetic and natural science.¹⁸⁵ Her updated will of May 2, 1741, left her son John a tract of land on Hogg Island, a parcel of law books “that belonged to her deceased son, Stephen Fox Drayton,” the remainder of the “Coosawachie” lands not given to her eldest son Thomas, all the lands on Caw Caw Swamp and “shoemaker jack” for three years. Her lot in Charleston was equally divided between her two sons, with “part of the building” to John Drayton and the other part to Thomas Drayton. She included a specification that Thomas Drayton’s part of the property should go to his son Stephen on Thomas’s death, one of several ways she indicated a preference for her dead son’s namesake. Thomas and John Drayton also divided between them her Red Bank lands, as well as the remaining horses, cattle, and slaves. The remainder of her estate not left to Thomas Elliot was in trust for her daughter Mary Fuller.

It is my Will and Desire that all my bonds
Notes and Book debts when called in and
all the legacies paid, then the remainder
of the money to be put into interest by my
Executors, and my sons Thomas Drayton and
John Drayton to have the interest yearly and no other.¹⁸⁶

The future interest she reserved for the heirs of her two sons, to be paid to the boys when they turn twenty-one, and to girls when they turned eighteen. To her eldest son, Thomas, she left 400 acres on the Coosawachie and her lands at Horse Savannah. To her “daughter Fuller,” she left stock, the interest on £2,500, silver plate and “Six Silver Teas Spoons” and also a chair and chest for “her sole and separate use,” with which her husband, Richard Fuller “shall have nothing

¹⁸⁵ *Drayton Drawing Book, Folder 41*, Drayton Hall. Original in the possession of Charles H. Drayton; microfilm SCHS.

¹⁸⁶ *Ann Drayton Will, May 2, 1741, CPC, Record of Wills, vol. .5, 1740-1747, 108-109.*

to at all to do with any part of it.” Ann Drayton left £1,000 to her granddaughter Ann Fuller; she also left her a negroe girl. To her grandson, Thomas Fuller, she left £500, breeding cattle, and 200 acres on the Coosohatchie, it “being part of my thousand acres to him and his heirs forever.” Ann Drayton felt very strongly about shielding her daughter and her grandchildren, even going so far as to set her grandson up as a planter. Ann Drayton protected her daughter, Mary’s bequest, by leaving it to her executor, Thomas Elliot, in trust.¹⁸⁷ It consisted of £2,400, thirteen slaves, the work of the carpenter Kitt, 150 acres on Horse Savannah, two lots at Ashley Ferry, and all her “close linen, and household goods.”¹⁸⁸ Ann Drayton’s will was tightly drawn and specifically allocated to ensure long financial protection for her children and especially her grandchildren, providing that the interest, not the principle, be paid to them.¹⁸⁹

In her will, Ann requested an annual income to her slaves Iona Weadon, Old Seboy, and Shoemaker Jack. Upon their deaths, their annual wages were to put towards Ann’s church and in “the paying of poor peoples passages that come into the province. From receipts and bonds found by her son John Drayton after his mother’s death, she provided poor protestants with passage to Carolina.¹⁹⁰ Ann Drayton furthered the legacy of not only her children and family but of nameless others as well. Although she was one of the most significant female landholders of her time, her intentions and goals never strayed from those of other Lowcountry women. As a widow and “feme sole,” she upheld the Lowcountry’s male patriarchy, as well as earning the title

¹⁸⁷ Thomas Elliott was the son of Quaker Thomas Elliott who immigrated to Carolina in 1695 from Cornwall, England. He received a land grant in Colleton County on the North branch of the Stono River and built a plantation known as Long Point. His eldest son, Thomas was bequeathed Long Point by his father upon his death.

¹⁸⁸ *Ann Drayton Will*, 103-109.

¹⁸⁹ While planters daughters were allowed to marry a man they loved, Sons were expected to marry a woman that helped establish kinship ties and keep wealth amongst the family.

¹⁹⁰ “Last Will and Testament of Ann Drayton,” Wills of Charleston County, 139, “Three bonds belonging to the recently deceased Ann Drayton, found by John Drayton amongst the papers of his father Thomas Drayton, d. 1724 (Ann’s husband.) Bonds relate to passage of foreign Protestants” Drayton Family Papers, Box Folder 1.

of an “inveterate businesswoman.” Because of her tenacity and determination, she enabled her two surviving sons to reign as powerful landholders and members of Carolina’s plantocracy.

In July of 1754, Thomas Drayton returned to England this time in search of a wife, as Elizabeth Bull Drayton had died in November of 1751.¹⁹¹ Once again, Thomas Drayton stayed while in London with his son Billy, in his Middle Temple lodgings. Peter Manigault reported to his mother that all of his acquaintances, who had abandoned Carolina for a more pleasant climate, have arrived, including Thomas Drayton. Unfortunately for Peter Manigault, when Billy Drayton was not in his lodgings, Thomas Drayton’s would “plague” Manigault to play “Back Gammon” with him. Manigault found Thomas Drayton at least as disagreeable as reading Lord Coke.” After being bothered “five or six times,” Manigault gave strict instructions to his “Man William” to say that he was out.¹⁹²

Drayton’s youngest son, John and his daughter Mary Fenwick were also in London at this time, Mrs. Fenwick was recuperating from a miscarriage. She and her father, Thomas, “were both out of conceit with England,” reported Manigault, and the whole family, including William, talked of returning to Carolina in the Spring. Evidently, in London, the Drayton’s were not treated as members of the white planter elite from Carolina but instead were looked upon as provincials. For the Carolina white planter elite, who identified with all things English, this would have been a terrible affront.¹⁹³

During a visit to Oxford, however, the Draytons decided to extend their stay in England. William Drayton asked Peter Manigault to have lodgings prepared for him in London. Also, William requested that Manigault's man William “lookout amongst his acquaintances for a sober

¹⁹¹ “Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Drayton, Esq. buried per ye Mr. Coats, Nov 6, 1751.” Webber,” St. Andrews Register,” 148.

¹⁹² “Peter Manigault’s Letters,” *SCHGM*, XXXIII (April, 1932) 148.

¹⁹³ “Peter Manigault's Letters” *SCHGM* XXXIII (April, 1932) 148.

fellow” for his father, as Thomas Drayton’s “present gentleman will not do.”¹⁹⁴ This statement certainly would have been amusing to Manigault. During April of 1755, the Draytons were still in England, while Peter Manigault had returned to Carolina. Drayton spent the month of March in Bath, where he had been recommended by Eliza Lucas Pinckney, who was an enduring and supportive friend to a “middle-aged lady.” Instead, he decided to court the lady’s youngest daughter, which was a foolish act on the part of Thomas Drayton. The family banned him from their house and would have nothing more to do with him.¹⁹⁵

In addition to looking for a second Mrs. Bull, on December 21st, 1756, Drayton put forward a “Petition of the Merchants, Traders, Planters, and Others Interested in the Trade and prosperity of South Carolina and Georgia,” requesting Royal consideration’ and “protection” for the said merchants. Drayton, William Middleton, Miles Brewton as well as some London merchants who were involved in import and export trade with Charleston all signed the document. The Draytons, Middletons, and Brewton all had kinship ties amongst their families, as well as with the mercantile community in London. While in London, Drayton was appointed by King George III to the Royal Council of South Carolina, in which he served until his death in 1761.¹⁹⁶

3.6 Drayton Kinship Ties to the Scottish Nobility

In 1757, the culmination of Drayton’s last visit to England was his marriage to Lady Mary MacKenzie. Lady Mary was a member of the Scottish nobility. She was one of ten

¹⁹⁴ William Drayton, Cheltenham, to Peter Manigault , London , August 31st, 1754, Manigault Papers, Box 1, South Carolinian Library (hereafter SCL.)

¹⁹⁵ Thomas Corbett, London, to Peter Manigault, Charleston, April 2nd, 1755. Thomas Drayton either was not aware or did not care, that his actions were looked upon with amusement or annoyance.

¹⁹⁶ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, November 18th, 1766.

children of George MacKenzie, the third Earl of Cromartie, a Scottish lord who chose the wrong side during the Stuart rebellion in 1745. The Earl was found guilty of treason in August of 1746 but was spared the ax through the entreaties of Lady Isabel, his wife. The Earl received a pardon, but the crown confiscated all of his property, and he was forbidden to return to Scotland. The MacKenzie family was left homeless and in financial distress, and could provide little money for their three eldest daughters, Ladies Isabel, Mary, and Anne. Of the three sisters, Mary did the best she could to provide for herself. On July 14th, 1750, out of desperation, she married Captain Robert Clarke, who unknown to her was a bigamist and thief.¹⁹⁷ Leaving her marriage to Captain Robert Clarke behind, she resumed the MacKenzie name and at the age of thirty-four and accepted the suit of Thomas Drayton, a man twenty years her senior.

Thomas Drayton's marriage to an impoverished Scottish noblewoman would not be the first time during the eighteenth-century a Drayton would marry outside Charleston's kinship network. His Brother, John Drayton, would also marry an Englishwoman, whose brother was James Glen, the Governor of Carolina. For the white planter elite in Charleston, wealth and privilege were dependent on the preservation and careful dispersal of family wealth and property. One of the best ways to guarantee the continuation of wealth within each family was by making careful marriage choices.¹⁹⁸ It is very doubtful; Ann Drayton would have approved or encouraged her eldest son Thomas's marriage to Lady Mary MacKenzie.

By marrying only within the network of the white planter elite, families like the Drayton's avoided diluting their resources. This practice ensured a group cohesion and inclusiveness, this deterred competition amongst the group and possible threats from those

¹⁹⁷ Mabel L. Webber, "Extracts from the Journal of Mrs. Ann Manigault 1754-1781," SCHGM, XX (January 1919), 140.

¹⁹⁸ Lorri Glover, *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds Among the South Carolina Gentry*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2000), 104-106.

outside the network. As planters and merchants married to defend or broaden family wealth, they bound themselves more closely into one tightly knit elite class. By 1775, it was almost impossible for newcomers to Charleston to start up a new business or purchase land if they had no connections to the white planter elite's network.¹⁹⁹

It was unusual for a member of the plantocracy to marry outside the kinship networks in Charleston during this period.²⁰⁰ There are several explanations; as to why Drayton took Lady Mary as his bride. Possibly, he not successful in finding a bride in Carolina. By marrying a member of the nobility in Great Britain, even an impoverished one from Scotland, he attained a higher social status, or he was very in love with Lady Mary.

On August 3rd, 1757, Drayton sent the following invitation to Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Charles Pinckney:

Dear Sir:
 I believe Ld. Moreover, Lady Cromartie will wait on
 You, and Mrs. P this morning. They were
 Prevented yesterday by the rain. The time
 Draws near for execution. I hope you will
 Be present to see my exit, from this, from this,
 To a better state. I am
 Yours Obediently,
 Thomas Drayton
 Please to send the stockings
 Wednesday morning, I wish for Thursday.²⁰¹

Thomas Drayton and Mary MacKenzie married on August 4th, 1757. A month later, Thomas Drayton gave a promissory note to William George Freeman in London for £560 sterling, to finance his wedding trip (Drayton's .) He never repaid it, and his estate was sued.²⁰²

¹⁹⁹ Cara Anzilotti, *In the Affairs of the World: Women Patriarchy and Power in Colonial South Carolina* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2002), 96-97.

²⁰⁰ Glover, *All Our Relations*, 108-109.

²⁰¹ Elise Pinckney, Ed. *The Letter Book of Eliza Lucas Pinckney, 1739-1762* (Chapel Hill; University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 93 (hereafter *Letterbook*.)

²⁰² *Judgment Rolls, Charleston County, 17-3, 1790 301A, SCDAH*. The non-payment of the loan makes no sense as Thomas Drayton was quite wealthy.

From this time forward, there emerged a pattern of the male Draytons not repaying their debts, which continued into the nineteenth century. It appears none of her sons or grandsons inherited Ann Drayton's business acumen and in the quest to keep up appearances, were always near insolvency.

In 1758, the Thomas Drayton returned to Carolina, accompanied by Lady Mary's young brother, John, and her sister, Anne MacKenzie²⁰³ The Pinckney's, who had made the crossing with the new Drayton entourage, was fond of both young people. During Charles Pinckney's last illness, his concern for the boy's welfare led them to suggest to Lady Mary, that her brother should study law. The Pinckney's asked John to become a member of their family. The Pinckneys had left their own two sons in England and saw the boy as a replacement son and companion for their daughter Harriot.²⁰⁴

From all accounts, Lady Anne MacKenzie, who traveled to Charleston with the Draytons, was a "pious and sensible young woman." She resided with the Pinckney's until her marriage in Charleston to Edmond Atkin on May 1st, 1760.²⁰⁵ Mrs. Pinckney, like Lady Mary and Lady Anne, were all married to men considerably older, and this seems to have facilitated a very close friendship between the three. After Mrs. Pinckney's husband's death, Charles, Lady Mary, provided support and comfort. Harriott Pinckney was quite fond of Lady Mary and described her as elegant but not handsome, very intelligent, and witty. Moreover, a staunch and constant friend.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ "Master MacKenzie" was Lady Mary's son by her "irregular" marriage to Captain Clarke. Wilcoxon, 7. *Charleston Evening Post*, July 17th, 1786.

²⁰⁴ Eliza Pinckney to Lady Mary Drayton, June-July, 1758, *Pinckney Letterbook*, 137.

²⁰⁵ Eliza Pinckney to Miss Varier, February, 1760 *Ibid.*, 137.

²⁰⁶ *Middleton Place Notebook*, vol. 6 (Fall, 1984) No page number.

In July of 1759, after only being married two-years, news of Lady Mary Drayton's illegal marriage to Captain Robert Clarke became known in Charleston. A scandal ensued with Charleston society believing Lady Mary, cuckolded her new husband, Thomas Drayton.

Mrs. Pinckney refers to it in a letter dated July 16th, 1759, where she stresses that

Mr. D has had a great injustice done to him;
For he is extremely fond and tender of
His Lady and has ever been so. She is
Now pretty near to lying in.²⁰⁷

The news referred to John instead of being Lady Mary's brother; he was her son. The "great injustice" became moot, for on November 11th, 1760, within a year of the birth of his son Thomas, the elder Drayton was dead. The obituary which appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* on November 15th, 1760 makes no mention of Lady Mary Drayton:

On Tuesday died the hon. Thomas Drayton, Esqr.
One of the members of his Majesty's Council for
This province; whose death makes six vacancies
on the council.

Thomas Drayton had amassed a large estate, even by South Carolina Standards. He built on his inheritance from his father, and as a result of his mother's business acumen, the estate had tripled in value under her stewardship. At the time of his death, Drayton's total acreage, most of it acquired during the 1730s, was over 4,800 acres, primarily in Colleton County, which was well suited for both rice cultivation and cattle herding.²⁰⁸ He inherited from his father-in-law

²⁰⁷ Pinckney, Letterbook, 123.

²⁰⁸ Drayton's lands included thirty- three acres on the Ashley River, February 17th, 1733; two tracts (300 and 500 acres) on the Southside of the Coosawatchie River in Granville County, 1735-1736; 350 acres in Granville County on Yeuhaw Island, in 1759, *Combined Alphabetical Index, SCDA* 10050-10053. Drayton also purchased from the heirs of William Wragg for £600 sterling 12,000 acres on the "Southern most Barony on Yemasee Land in Granville County," also on Coosawatchie Creek. Langley, SCDA, vol.3, Book QQ, September 25th, 24. Drayton's largest property sale occurred several months prior to his death, when he sold a 1,809 acre plantation in Colleton County, to James Skirving for £5,000. Deed Book WW. July 11th, 1760, SCDAH, vol. 3, 47.

Willaim Bull Jr. twelve lots in the town of Radnor,²⁰⁹ and property on King Street in Charleston, as well as two deepwater lots on White Point.²¹⁰ At the time of his death, Drayton owned over one hundred slaves, large numbers of stock, and thoroughbred English Horses.²¹¹

To his twenty-seven-year-old son and heir, William, he left specific lands on the Ashley River, his Pon Pon estate in St. Bartholomew's Parish, the cypress swampland and a tract of 675 acres joining the Ashley Ferry River Road. The St. Helena lands he ordered divided by survey and divided equally among Stephen, age twenty-four, John, and infant Thomas. The slaves and horses, hogs were to be divided among his four sons. As his executors, he named his brother, John, his sons William and Stephen, and his wife, Lady Mary.²¹²

The required division of Drayton's property occurred through a Decree of the Court Chancery. Ordered sold were his plantation in the Indians Lands called Oakhampton, all the stock, a two hundred acre crop of rice, seventy acres of corn, and 4,500 bushels of corn in addition to various plantations tools. Also sold was Drayton's Littlebury Plantation of one hundred and seventy-two acres near Ashley Hall, 485 acres on the Edisto River, the two lots on White Point, and pew No. 50 in St. Michaels Church. Already sold were Drayton's thirty-three-acre plantation of rice and corn on Horse Savanna in St. Paul's parish, with a good "two-story dwelling house, good barn, a machine with a good house on it," and other necessary out-buildings²¹³. The lands in St. Helena and Prince William Parishes contained three tracts, divided into five lots. The lots were drawn in December of 1768, by their cousin William Henry Drayton and distributed among Stephen, John, and Thomas Drayton. Stephen Drayton drew lot # 1, a

²⁰⁹ H.A.M. Smith, "Radnor, Edmundsburg and Jackson Borough" *SCHGM, XI (January, 1910)*, 42.

²¹⁰ *South Carolina Gazetteer and Country Journal*, July 19th, August 16th, 1768 (hereafter SCEG&CJ); Langley, SCDA, Vol. J, Book A-3, August 4th, 1763, 208.

²¹¹ SCG, January 9th, 16, 23, 1762.

²¹² Thomas Drayton Will, Charleston County Wills, Typescript, vol.9, 1760-1767, SCDAH, 78.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

river lot which included part of the Oakhampton tract; since it was considered an “inferior” tract, he also received Mikel’s Island. The child of Lady Mary and Thomas Drayton drew lots #3 and #5, which included 3,750 acres of pine barrens and 300 acres of swamp, part of the Oakhampton tract, and one half of the 3,450 Cowpen Tract. The other portion of the Cowpen tract and the other 3,750 acres of pine barrens fell to John Drayton.²¹⁴

Although Lady Mary deceived Thomas Drayton, he was quite generous in the land and wealth he bequeathed to her upon his death. She received the King Street property, the Magnolia property, twenty-four head of the “best milch cows as she shall choose.” As well as the use of all his furniture, plate, horses, riding chair, carts, and oxen at Magnolia, “during the continuance of her widowhood,” and four “aged and faithful slaves” instead of her dower rights. At Lady Mary’s death, everything would pass to the eldest of Elizabeth Bull’s sons, William.²¹⁵

Lady Mary did not remain a widow for long. In June of 1763, she married John Ainslie of Charleston and St. George’s Parish, Dorchester County. As the Drayton’s continued to establish kinship ties, so did Lady Mary. Ainslie was a member of the Commons House of Assembly from St. George’s Parish from 1754-1761. He was a Captian in Colonel Thomas Middleton’s regiment of provincials in the Cherokee Campaign of 1760-1761. After his marriage to Lady Mary Drayton, Ainslie received an appointment in 1764, to the Council of East Florida. For some unknown reason, he decided not to serve in the government of James Grant and returned to South Carolina withdrawing from politics.²¹⁶ Ainslie died in January 1774, leaving an estate, exclusive of real estate, valued at £74,895, over £65,000 was invested in

²¹⁴ CPC, *Miscellaneous Records, Book NN, 1765-1769*, SCDAH, 423-424.

²¹⁵ Thomas Drayton Will, 77-79.

²¹⁶ “On Thursday last John Ainslie Esq.’ Was married to the right honorable Lady Mary, One daughter of the Right Honorable Earl of Cromartie, and Relic of the Hon. Thomas Drayton Esq., deceased.” SCG, June 19th, 1762. Edgar, BD/SCHR, 26.

slaves. His daughter, by his first marriage to Mary Childs, Hannah, the wife of William Moultrie, received the bulk of his estate. To Lady Mary, he left the plantation called Maroons in St. Pauls Parish, and “All I had from the late estate of her husband, Thomas Drayton.”²¹⁷

After John Ainslie’s death, Lady Mary took a fourth husband, who was her best choice from a social and economic standpoint. She married on January 3rd, 1776, the Honorable Henry Middleton of the Oaks and Middleton Place. Middleton was Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, member, and president of the Royal Council, and later President of the Continental Congress. He was born at The Oaks in 1717 and educated in England. Middleton received The Oaks plantation and other Carolina properties, as well as large estates in England and Barbados. Through his marriage to heiress Mary Williams, Middleton acquired property, which became known as Middleton Place. His second marriage was to Maria Henrietta Bull, Thomas Drayton’s sister-in-law. Middleton’s third marriage was to Thomas Drayton’s, widow Lady Mary. Langdon Cheves described Henry Middleton as one of the most successful and influential planters in the Lowcountry. He had amassed over 50,000 acres, twenty settled plantations, and 800 slaves.²¹⁸ The importance of the Middleton connection to the Drayton’s continued into the next generation and beyond. On Henry Middleton’s death in 1784, Lady Mary received his house in Charleston at 69 Broad Street, mortgage bonds, and a pew in St. Michael’s Church, all for use during her lifetime.²¹⁹

In 1764, the English Parliament restored the Cromartie estates, to John MacKenzie, Lady Mary’s eldest brother. In July of 1786, Lady Mary, accompanied by her son Captain

²¹⁷ CPC, *Will Book TT, 1774-1778*, 43. Witnesses to this will were John Parker, Arthur Middleton and Dr. Charles Drayton, two of whom, were Lady Mary Drayton’s relations.

²¹⁸ Langdon Cheeves, “Middleton of South Carolina,” Middleton Place Foundation, Occasional Essays, vol. 2, No 2, 239-240.

²¹⁹ Cheves, “Middleton of South Carolina,” 241, 243.

MacKenzie, and one of her relatives, sailed to England to settle the estate.²²⁰ She wrote to one of her stepsons, who was living in Scotland in January of 1787, of her ill health and her plans to take the waters at Peterhead. She delayed her departure for Carolina as the social season did not start in London until the fall, and she wished to forestall a winter voyage. For an unknown reason, Lady Mary did sail for Carolina in the winter, and it killed her. Lady Mary died at sea on November 21st 1788.²²¹ In her will dated October 23rd, 1788, which she made just before sailing, she left bequests of £2,000 each to her friends Eliza Lucas Pinckney and Harriott Pinckney Horry. After a small bequest to a MacKenzie relative, she left the rest of her estate to Edward Rutledge, husband of her stepdaughter Henrietta Middleton, to hold in trust for her son Thomas Drayton.

The two youngest sons of Thomas Drayton of Magnolia never realized their full potential, and both died outside the family's kinship ties. Thomas Drayton was the child of his father's old age and grew up with two stepfathers, each with children of their own. Born in October of 1759, he was seventeen when the Revolutionary War began and joined as a cadet and served in Francis Marion Lee's cavalry with the highest spirit and gallantry." Drayton ended the war with the rank of Lieutenant.²²² In 1784, he incurred debt while of sound mind, but by 1786 he was declared insane and a lunatic.²²³ His older brothers William and Stephen were

²²⁰ *Charleston Evening Post*, July 17th, 1786.

²²¹ Died, November 21st at sea, on board the *Britannia*, Captain Kerr from London to Charleston, Lady Mary Middleton, daughter of the late Earl of Cromartie, and relic of the late hon. Henry Middleton of this state. During a residence of nearly thirty years in this state, to which she came after her marriage in England with the late Thomas Drayton. Her amiable qualities, as wife, a parent, and a friend endured her to the numerous acquaintances she made here. December 24th, 1788, Elizabeth H. Jervy, "Death Notices from the *State Gazette of South Carolina* of Charleston, South Carolina, *SCHMG*, LI (April, 1950), 169.

²²² "Tom Drayton (Lady Mary's son) to the surprise of everyone came out and joined Marion, and I have from some eye witnesses on whom I can depend that in several skirmishes he has behaved with the greatest spirit and gallantry." Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Arthur Middleton , Joseph Barnwell, "The Correspondence of the Hon. Arthur Middleton," *SCHMG*, XXII (January, 1926.)

²²³ On Friday a Jury called by the Sherriff to enquire into the state of mind of Mr. Thomas Drayton, returned, and he appeared incapable of taking care of himself or of his estate , and that his insanity was

responsible for him. In 1788, his brother returned his estate to him, and he was responsible for the £2,000 sterling debt. The war had depleted his mother's estate due to financial depreciation leaving him in straitened circumstances.²²⁴ In the eighteenth-century, families with an insane member would keep them out of the public view by locking them in a room at the main house with a slave to attend to them. In the case of Tom Drayton, his family sent him to Beaufort to live on a 600-acre plantation called Crowfield. He was referred to as "Crazy Tom" or "Crowfield Tom." He died in 1801, unmarried, and cut off from the rest of the Drayton family. He was only forty-two years old.

John Drayton, the youngest child of Elizabeth Bull and Thomas Drayton, was born on August, 28th 1745, at Magnolia, dying unmarried at the age of twenty-eight on October 27th, 1773.²²⁵ The younger John Drayton was in ill health during adulthood. He did not actively enter politics as his elder brothers William and Stephen but served only as a Justice of the Peace for Berkley County. Drayton left the bulk of his estate to his nephew Jacob, son of his brother William, and Edward Percival and Augusts, the two sons of his brother Stephen, with a bequest of 300 acres adjoining his Coosawhatchie Swamp plantation to his brother Stephen. His executors who sold his estate lands, stock and negroes the next year, were his brother William, his cousin, Stephen Bull of Sheldon, and Alexander Rose. John Drayton, the younger passes from his family's history.

heightened by his drinking. *Charleston Morning Post*, February 4th, 1786, found in the Weber Collection, Drayton Folder4, SCHS.

²²⁴ "A List of Property in which Thomas Drayton is concerned" Edward Rutledge's account leaves Thomas Drayton a balance due his trustee, Rutledge, of £5. Drayton certified on the document itself this was correct. *Pinckney Papers*, SCHS.

²²⁵ Salley, *Register of St. Phillips*, 367. John Drayton's godmother was Sarah Middleton, second wife of the Hon. William Middleton of Crowfield, St. James, Goose Creek.

4 JOHN DRAYTON: IDENTITY AND ENGLISH CULTURE

4.1 Charleston: Material Culture and Matters of Taste

In 1734, when John Drayton turned eighteen, he received as his part of the Drayton estate land on the Stono River and the cowpen, the stock at Abraham Savanna, a plantation in Colleton Parish and one-fourth of the negro and Indian slaves.²²⁶ From 1734 to 1738, John Drayton made improvements to the land left to him in his father, Thomas Drayton's will. Both tracts of land contained wetlands, which were ideal for the cultivation of Inland Swamp rice. During this period, he accumulated capital to expand his property holdings and purchase more slaves to cultivate rice. There is some speculation John Drayton may have visited England during this period, but there are no ship's records or announcements from the *South Carolina Gazette*, which mention any departure or voyage undertaken by him.²²⁷

In 1735, Charleston had evolved from a small walled town into one of the most significant urban areas south of Philadelphia. Charleston was a center for culture, taste, and refinement in the Colonial South. It had become one of the economic centers in the British Atlantic World with exports of rice, deerskins, naval stores, and foodstuffs to London and the West Indies.²²⁸ Charleston during the mid-eighteenth century exported 70,000 deerskin, which equaled £252,000 in South Carolina currency and 55,000 barrels of rice, which totaled £681,750 in currency, in addition to furs, naval stores, resin, pitch and tar used in naval stores.²²⁹ Ships returned from Bristol and London laden with imports of silk, brocade, chintz, calico, household

²²⁶ Thomas Drayton Jr. Will, June 12th, 1714, *Miscellaneous Records*, vol. 67, 1724-1725, CPL, 445.

²²⁷ *The South Carolina Gazette throughout the eighteenth century always reported on members of the Charleston plantocracy who sailed to London and across the British Atlantic World.*

²²⁸ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness: The First Century of Urban Life in America, 1625-1742* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1939), 303. (hereafter *Cities*)

²²⁹ James Glen, *A Description of South Carolina* (London: R&J Dodsley, (1761), 57-58, 50, and 54. (hereafter *Description*) All references to money will be in South Carolina currency unless otherwise indicated.)

furniture, medicine, flour sugar, wine, rum, cordials, tea, oil, mahogany, quicksilver, and gunpowder.²³⁰ All of these items from Great Britain were worn, eaten, drunk, and used to signify the wealth of those who could afford them. Carl Bridenbaugh estimated that by 1742, trade between England and Charleston surpassed that of the northern colonies by six to one, and the trade with the West Indies was twice as much as that of the northern colonies.²³¹ For planters like the Draytons, the slave system made possible their wealth and power. Early in settlement of Carolina, the Lord Proprietors recognized large grants of land were worthless without sufficient labor to cultivate and produce staple crops.

By 1739, South Carolina had a total population of 59,100 people, 20,000 were white, and 39,155 were black. A large number of slaves and the isolation of the plantations across the Lowcountry lead to many planters fearing an insurrection. On the night of September 9, 1739, in the area near the Stono River Bridge, slaves began to gather and then proceeded to plunder a store and gather up ammunition and arms. Ann Drayton and John Drayton owned acreage in the area along the Stono River. The slaves went on a killing spree murdering any white people they encountered and burning their property. Lieutenant Governor Bull encountered the insurrectionists, as he traveled north from Granville County. He barely escaped, and then he called out the Ashley River Militia, who attempted to suppress the slaves.²³² The slaves caught by the militia the day of the insurrection were shot. It would take almost one month to capture all the slaves involved in the Stono Rebellion, and the punishment was death by hanging.

²³⁰ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities of the Colonial South* (New York, 1968), 99-115. The Cultures of Early Charleston (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 1942, 8, 94. George C. Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of Pinckney* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1980), See Charlestown from an English Perspective, *London Magazine* (June, 1762), reprinted in the *Charleston Year Book* (1882), 341-342.

²³¹ Bridenbaugh, *Cities*, 332. Peter Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream*, 106-109.

²³² Forty-one slaves were either killed or executed as result of the insurrection. Robert Pringle, *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, April 2nd, 1737-April 29th, 1745. SCHS.

In the aftermath of the Stono Rebellion, on April 5th, 1740, an act was passed by the Commons House of Assembly, which placed a very high duty on the importation of slaves. The prohibition on slave imports was an attempt to have more control of the slaves in South Carolina by limiting their numbers. The Commons House of Assembly enacted stricter regulations regarding how the planters could treat and punish their slaves. Ultimately, this act sought to “protect the planters from their slaves and vice versa but society as a whole from both.”²³³ Along with this act, stricter regulations went into effect for slave passes. Any slave caught away from their plantation without a pass would be dealt with by Slave Patrols, whose job was to ferret out any potential threats of another rebellion.²³⁴

The merchants of Charleston dominated not only trade in the eighteenth-century city but banking as well, selling bills of exchange, or two and three-party drafts to their European counterparts. The colony itself dealt primarily in paper money or currency, first issued in 1703 so that by 1739, £800 in currency equaled £100 sterling.²³⁵ The interest rates also varied, with from eight to ten percent charged on open accounts, which compounded if not paid yearly.²³⁶ If a planter like John Drayton could maintain a favorable balance with his factor and through him the London merchants, and if a planter could “command long term credit,” he bought the desired

²³³ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 194-195.

²³⁴ Walter B. Edgar, Ed., *The Letterbook of Robert Pringle*, 2 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), vol. 175. The duty was £100 per adult “and so young ones in proportion.” Pringle went on to add in a letter to Samuel Sanders in London that the bill was “not yet passed but will be very soon, so there is time to import pretty more negroes before said act commences, in case it is not repealed at home.” Robert Pringle to Samuel Sanders, April 2nd, 1740, *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 175. In the Drayton Papers Collection, a document dating from John Drayton’s ownership of Drayton Hall lists the Slave Patrols Rules.

²³⁵ Joseph W. Barnwell, “The Correspondence of Arthur Middleton,” *SCHGM*, XXXVIII (April, 1927), 139.

²³⁶ “If anyone is fortunate enough to obtain a loan, he must pay ten percent interest per year to Englishmen...and fifteen percent to Jews.” Gilbert P. Voigt, “Swiss on South Carolina,” *SCHGM*, XXI (July 1920), 102.

English goods. The need to purchase luxuries and necessities from England was encouraged by British laws that discouraged manufacturing in the colonies.²³⁷

South Carolina quickly became known as the colony with the “Black Majority.” According to a 1720 census, St. Andrews Parish, where Drayton’s plantation, Magnolia was located contained 197,168 $\frac{3}{4}$ taxable acres, 210 taxpayers (white planters), and 2,493 slaves.²³⁸ By the 1730s, the importation of African slaves had become an essential component of the mercantile economy in Charleston. With increased production and profitability in rice and indigo planting, the slave trade offered high returns to the merchants who dealt in the import of slaves. It is estimated that 93,000 slaves were imported into the province between 1706-1775, with roughly 35,000 entering Charleston before 1750, and 58,000 being imported up until 1775.²³⁹ This was a small number of slave imports in contrast to the numbers imported to the Caribbean and Jamaica but a much larger number than that of the other twelve colonies in North America.²⁴⁰ In the next twenty-five years, the slave population and reproductive levels continued to remain low, even with a surplus of births over deaths occurred.²⁴¹ Initially, planters traded rice for slaves, but by the late 1730s, a credit system emerged by which the factors allowed planters eighteen months credit, with the stipulation of prompt repayment to protect the factors credit.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, an additional staple crop emerged, which became an integral part of Charleston’s mercantile economy. In 1741, Eliza Lucas first

²³⁷ Coclanis, *Shadow of a Dream*, 104-05. See Richard W. Waterhouse, *A New World Gentry: The Making of a Merchant and Planter Class in South Carolina, 1670-1770*, 53-55.

²³⁸ Wood, *Black Majority*, 146-147.

²³⁹ Joseph Wragg arrived in the Colony from England in May of 1733, advertising in the *South Carolina Gazette* (hereafter SCG) June 16th a sale of “a choice parcel of negroes.”

²⁴⁰ Kenneth Morgan, “Slave Sales in Colonial Charleston” *The English Historical Review* (Oxford: Oxford University Press) Vol. 113, No. 453 (Sep., 1998), 905-906.

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, 906.

introduced indigo on her father's Wappoo Plantation in St. Andrews Parish. Colonel George Lucas had returned to Antigua in 1739, leaving his youngest daughter Eliza in charge of his Carolina lands. Lucas sent his daughter all types of fruits and seeds for her to plant as a form of amusement.²⁴² After two unsuccessful attempts, indigo finally flourished, and even after her marriage to Charles Pinckney, she continued her experiments. By 1747, other planters began experimenting with the cultivation of indigo, discovering a profitable method of extracting the indigo dye, which quickly became a staple amounting to £117,353 export crop.²⁴³ Indigo was the first cohort to rice because it grew on high dry land, which was the reverse of Inland Swamp rice, which required wet and low-lying conditions. Indigo was a dye crop, which could be planted along with rice in the spring. Slaves harvested the plant once in July and then obtained another cutting from the same plants in August. Indigo harvesting and the dying process occurred during slack times in the rice schedule. From 1750 to the American Revolution, indigo and rice were the two most important staple crops produced in Carolina.²⁴⁴

The identity of South Carolina colonists was a hybrid of English culture and the Lowcountry colonial environment. The root of this hybrid society was the reality that life in the Lowcountry centered on a tiny white population, abundant land, slavery, high child mortality, and early death. The hedonistic behavior of Carolinians was based on the recognition of the fragility of life, and the concept that they should enjoy their wealth while they could. As early as 1706, a minister who had just come from the West Indies and Virginia reported: "For gentility

²⁴² McCrady, *SC/RG* 268-269; Wallace, *Short History*, 189. S.Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 111-112, 159-160. (hereafter Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise*.)

²⁴³ The method used for extracting indigo was to steep in vats of urine and then bricks were made out it to dry in the sun. The strong smell of fermenting indigo attracted a large number of insects which contributed to the disease environment for slaves.

²⁴⁴ Glen, *Description*, 9. Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise*, 122-123.

and politeness and a handsome way of living the colony exceeds what I have seen.”²⁴⁵ Eliza Lucas, in a letter to her brother, described Charleston as “a pretty neat place” with polite inhabitants, living in a “very gentle manner, the streets and houses regularly built; the ladies and gentlemen gay in their dress.”²⁴⁶ In eighteenth-century Charleston, the dress and manner bespoke “all things English.” The ladies enjoyed tea parties, dancing, dressing in luxurious silks with hoop skirts, and the gentlemen enjoyed hunting, horse racing, and cockfighting, both enjoyed concerts and the theater. In 1755, the *Gentlemen’s Magazine* reported that “South Carolina was one of the most flourishing of all our colonies in America.”²⁴⁷ Another traveler thought the “manner of life, dress, equipages, furniture, everything denotes a higher degree of taste and love of the show, and less frugality than in Northern colonies,” and that the wealthy planters and merchants “think and act precisely as do the nobility in European countries.”²⁴⁸

Depending on the season of the year, the number of people who lived in Charleston fluctuated considerably. The constant threat of yellow fever and malaria brought planters and their families into the city in the early spring, and many remained until the first hard frost.²⁴⁹ During the winter social season in Charleston private events dominated. The majority of planters like John Drayton had houses in Charleston to escape the disease environment of their plantations and enjoy the social season.²⁵⁰ Charleston proper featured a sandy soil and higher

²⁴⁵ Francis Le Jau to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 2 December 1706, as quoted in Francis Le Jau: *The Carolina Chronicle of Francis Le Jau, 1706-1717*, edited by Frank Klingberg (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956), 18.

²⁴⁶ Eliza Lucas to Thomas Lucas, May 22nd 1742, *Pinckney Letterbook*, 40. The eighteenth century defined genteel, as elegant, graceful, civil and polite.

²⁴⁷ *Gentlemen’s Magazine* 25 (January, 1755), 581-583, as transcribed in South Carolina itmes in the *Gentlemen’s Magazine* (London) 1731-1792,” TMs, SCHS, 90-93.

²⁴⁸ Johann David Schopf, *Travels in the Confederation. Edited and translated by Alfred J. Morrison, 1788, Reprint*, (Philadelphia: William Campbell, 1911), 168.

²⁴⁹ Edward McCrady, *the History of South Carolina under the Royal Government, 1719-1776*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1901), 525 (hereafter SC/RG) McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering*, 41-43.

²⁵⁰ John Drayton’s Charleston house was located on Ladson Street.

elevation than the many plantations across the Lowcountry. Generally, diseases such as malaria and country fevers were less prevalent. Many planters during this period began to suspect that the low lying, swampy areas around their plantations were not healthful. In the winter, after the fall harvests and before rice planting season began, Charleston came alive with public and private balls, races, and concerts. At Christmas, the planter families, including the Draytons, retired to their plantations to oversee their slaves, who received rum and extra food as presents for the holiday. Also, the winters across the low country were quite pleasant, and the fear of country fevers subsided.²⁵¹ At the end of Christmas, the social season in Charleston once again resumed lasting until late spring.

4.2 Patterns of Kinship Ties

Charleston's plantocracy included three groups of immigrants. The first group was seventeenth-century settlers from the Greater Atlantic World and especially the West Indies. This group helped found Charleston and received large land headright grants. This group comprised the Allstons/Alstons, Balls, Bulls, Draytons, Heywards, Izards, Middletons, and Pinckneys. These families generated vast fortunes from the cultivation and production of rice and indigo, as well as naval stores, livestock, and deerskins. The second group consisted of French families who were Huguenots and came to Charleston in the late 1790s. Many Huguenots started as traders and members of the mercantile community. Eventually, this group, the Horrys, Hugers, Laurenses, Manigaults, Ponsetts, Ravenals, and Simons, would gain entrée to Charleston's plantocracy as they shifted their profits to large scale investments in rice and indigo plantations. The third group was eighteenth-century immigrants from England, France,

²⁵¹ Johann David Schoep, *Travels in the Confederation (1783-1784)*, two vols. (Philadelphia, 1911), 167.

Scotland, which consisted of the Frasers, Grimkes, Kinlochs, Pringles, Russells, Rutledges, and Shoolbreds. They acquired their fortunes as professionals or mercantilists but later invested their profits in estates and became planters.²⁵² Increasingly through intermarriages, Charleston society became a stratified and exclusive society with tightly bound kinship networks. Charlestonians took pride in their stratified society, “The possession of an inferior population, and various castes, makes us, to a certain extent, an aristocracy. We would not wish them to be otherwise.”²⁵³

In 1736, Ann Drayton arranged John Drayton’s marriage to Sarah Cattell, the daughter of William Cattell, a wealthy planter and neighbor, who resided on the Ashley River.²⁵⁴ Throughout the eighteenth century, the Drayton family, as well as the Bulls, Fullers, Middletons, and Cattells, congregated in a family-based neighborhood adjacent to the Ashley River. By 1750, the Charleston plantocracy would grow so accustomed to living surrounded by kin that they saw isolation and independence as troubling. After his marriage, John Drayton likely resided with his wife at her father’s plantation, Cattell Bluff. On October 31, 1737, nine months from the day of his parent's marriage, Stephen Fox Drayton was born. On December 24th, 1738, a son, William, was born.

²⁵² Fredric Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston Chicago and Los Angeles (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982)*, 318. In Charleston throughout its history there have only been ninety families that compose the upper-class, and seventh percent of these families descended from the colonial patriarchy.

²⁵³ “Domestic Improvement,” *Southern Literary Journal*, n.s. 3, (January 1838), 2-3.

²⁵⁴ John Drayton and Sarah Cattell, Spinster, married 17, February , 1737, St. Andrews Register Transcript, SCHS, 62. John Drayton’s first marriage to Sarah Cattell would be the foundation for a Drayton family kinship network with a number of other families who were members of the Charleston Plantocracy.

The following year an advertisement appeared in Lewis Timothy's *South Carolina Gazette*:

TO BE SOLD a plantation on the Ashley River 12
Miles from Charlestown by water, formerly
Belonging to Jordan Roche, containing 350 acres
Of which 150 of it is not yet clear, with a
Very good dwelling house, kitchen and several outhouses,
With a very good orchard consisting of all sorts of Fruit-Trees.
Any person inclined to purchase the same may treat with John
Greene or Lewis Timothy, Printer in Charlestown.

The advertisement ran weekly from December 15th, 1737, to January 12th, 1738. Here for sale was a plantation on the Ashley River adjacent to Magnolia, which would give the Drayton family all of the land on the south side of the Ashley River, extending from Magnolia, through the Drayton property, to the Fuller land below it, belonging to Drayton's nephew, Thomas Fuller. From 1678 to 1738, nine owners occupied the tract of land.²⁵⁵ On March 2nd, 1738, John Drayton purchased from John and Phebe Green for £3,500 all the land and buildings advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette*, which became known as Drayton Hall.²⁵⁶ On March 2, 1739, John Drayton was ready to follow the pattern established by his eldest brother, Thomas: he now had a wife and heirs and land located on the Ashley River. The property included "an excellent

²⁵⁵ March 7, 1738, Bill of Sale, Deed Book T, SCDAH, 446-449. H.A.M. Smith traces the property to a warrant first issued to Nicholas Carteret for 750 acrs on January 30, 1678, and to a warrant issued to Edward Mayo on August 10, 1678. This last warrant was followed by an order to give to Edward Mayo the 750 acres previously laid out to Carteret. Mayo received a formal grant on August 9, 1679 for 750 acres on the Ashley River. Mayo and his wife transferred the tract to Joseph Harben of Barbados. H.A.M. Smith, 'The Ashley River and Its Settlements,' SCHGM, XX (April, 1919), 91-92. Smith does not know how the land passed to Alexander Skene, but it is to Skene that Drayton's deed traces the chain of the title when Skene was granted the 750 acres on the Ashley River. Bill of Sale, Deed Book T, 17391740, SCDAH, 446. The land was laid out northwest on Thomas Drayton and Samuel Page, southwest on Samuel page, southeast James Stanyarne and northeast on the Ashley River. On June 17, 1718, Skene and his wife Jemma sold part of the land to Francis and Lydia Yonge, who in their turn sold 350 acres to Jordan and Rebecca Roche on October 9, 1737. The Roches sold the 350 acres on October 9, 1737, to John and Phebe Greene. 446-447.

²⁵⁶ Previous scholarship has claimed Drayton Hall's main house was built between 1738 and 1742. Recent testing on the wooden eaves in the attic of Drayton Hall points the construction occurring after 1747. With the return to escalating rice sales John Drayton would have possessed the capital to begin building Drayton Hall.

Dwelling House, kitchen, and several outhouses,” not to mention “ an “orchard with many fruit trees.”²⁵⁷ Archaeological studies conducted by Lynne G. Lewis for the National Trust for Historic Preservation located the foundation for the dwelling house to the west of the landside entrance of the present-day Drayton Hall. The dwelling is believed to date back to the late seventeenth-century.²⁵⁸

Drayton purchased the acreage on the Ashley River for its proximity to Charleston as he prepared for a political career, as well as providing a dwelling place for his rapidly growing family. The three reasons for purchasing the property combined into one: a gentleman’s country seat. By Christmas Day of 1740, his wife Sarah Cattell and their two sons were dead. The two boys died on the same date one year apart, Stephen Fox died on September 9, 1739, and William on September 9, 1740. Three months later, on December 24, 1740, Sarah Cattell Drayton died at the age of twenty-eight.²⁵⁹ Her exact cause of death is unknown, but women in Charleston who had pregnancies close together were more susceptible to both malaria and dysentery, both endemic diseases which weakened the immune system.²⁶⁰

Infants and small children in the 18th century across the Lowcountry had very little chance of survival. They died not only from the ravages of smallpox, measles, diphtheria, intestinal worms, and periodic fevers during teething but also from premature weaning and accidental smothering. The high rate of infant mortality affected both the parents and their surviving children. Charlestonians followed the practice of giving a newborn the name of their recently dead brother and sister. The Draytons, in particular, followed this practice, John

²⁵⁷ SCG, December 15, 1737, through January 12, 1738.

²⁵⁸ Lynne G. Lewis, *Drayton Hall: Preliminary Investigation at a Lowcountry Plantation*, (Charlottesville: Published for the National Trust for Historic Preservation by The University Press of Virginia.) 7-8.

²⁵⁹ Webber, *St. Andrews Register Transcript*, 83-84.

²⁶⁰ Stephen J. Kunitz, “Disease and Mortality in the Americas since 1700.” *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* Ed. Kenneth F. Kiple. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.) 328-334.

Drayton's two son's were named after dead relations and of living cousins. The Draytons continued this tradition for five generations which offered a sense of continuity for the family but a great deal of confusion for succeeding children, as well as historians and biographers.²⁶¹

For women in the eighteenth century, childbirth presented apparent dangers. In a period when the best contraceptive measures were thought to be breastfeeding, a woman could anticipate a birth every twenty-four to thirty-six months; some in the case of Sarah Cattell could expect a birth every twelve months.²⁶² When there were longer intervals between births this was often the result of "fetal wastage through miscarriages, stillbirths, and induced abortions."²⁶³ Childbirth was complicated by ignorant and poorly trained midwives who could accidentally maim or kill a child during the delivery, while inadequate sanitation could almost ensure childbed or puerperal fever for the mother.²⁶⁴

With the death of his wife Sarah and his sons Stephen Fox and William, 1740 would not be a good year for John Drayton. At this point in John Drayton's life, he may have begun planning for a new main house on the land he bought adjacent to the Ashley River, but it is very doubtful much progress occurred.²⁶⁵ What would have slowed or stopped the construction of what was to be Drayton Hall was the Charleston fire of November 18, 1740. The fire began at two o'clock in the afternoon; it burned "the most valuable part of the town," an area from Broad and Church Streets down to Granville's Bastion. The fire burned unchecked until eight that

²⁶¹ Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800, abridged edition* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1979), 55-56.

²⁶² Stone *The Family* "Lactation, which normally lasted for eighteen months or more, induces amenorrhea in most cases lasted six months for well fed women. It therefore serves as an effective contraceptive, while some women in more literate classes may have followed radical advice against a lactating woman having sexual intercourse." 52.

²⁶³ *Ibid*, 52.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 64.

²⁶⁵ Smith, *The Plantations*. 110-11.

night, destroying some three hundred houses, stores, and wharves.²⁶⁶ In December of 1740, the Assembly passed an act for fixing the maximum rate of wages charged by workers, and setting prices for building materials such as lime, cypress, and pine, which would have been necessary for the construction of Drayton Hall.²⁶⁷ John Drayton owned many slaves, but their labor was required at inland swamp rice plantations some distance from Drayton Hall. Any work on the main house would be limited to the months after the harvesting of rice and indigo. After the Stono Rebellion in 1739, an embargo was placed on slave imports to Charleston, which reduced the possibility of Drayton adding additional slaves. For most of the 1740s, Europe was the site of the War for Austrian Succession. King George's War is the name given to the military operations in the northern colonies. As a result of the prolonged fighting, the price for shipping and insurance skyrocketed, resulting in a drop in the demand for rice across the British Atlantic World.²⁶⁸

4.3 Kinship Ties: The Bulls and Draytons

On November 14th, 1740, John Drayton remarried a second time, not quite one year from the death of his first wife, Sarah Cattell. South Carolina colonists remarried quite quickly after the death of their spouses, all too aware of the fiscal and physical necessity of maintaining and adding new kinship ties. In England during this period, after the death of spouse widows and widowers were discouraged from remarrying by their family's who feared a dispersion of their

²⁶⁶ SCG, November 20, 1740, Also announced in that issue was the fact that James Glen had, "procured and Honorable and Lasting Establishment for himself" as governor of South Carolina and was expected to 'set out' for his government" shortly.

²⁶⁷ Alice R. Huger Smith and D.E. Huger Smith, *The Dwelling Houses of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York: Diadem Books, 1917), 35-36.

²⁶⁸ In 1739, the War of Jenkin's Ear broke out between England and Spain, mostly over questions of trade, and the merged with a European war over the succession to the Austrian throne. Lasting until 1738, King George's War in South Carolina as it was known in the American colonies, effected both the economy and the treaties and affairs with the Indians in the Southeast. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History, 117-119*.

estates. His second wife was twenty-one-year-old Charlotta Bull, who was the fourth child of Lieutenant-Governor William Bull and his wife, Mary Quintyne.²⁶⁹ John Drayton was already related to the Bulls of Ashley Hall through his elder brother, Thomas's marriage in 1730 to Elizabeth Bull.²⁷⁰ In September of 1742, William Henry Drayton, John and Charlotta Drayton's first son, was born at Ashley Hall, her childhood home. The second Mrs. Drayton died on December 30, 1743, the cause; childbed fever, seven days after the birth of her second son Charles. She was buried St. Andrews churchyard in an elaborate stone tomb, as befitted the daughter of Lieutenant-Governor William Bull.

In 1742, John Drayton added to his 350 acres on the Ashley River by purchasing a 132-acre tract from Benjamin Stanyarne for £1,172, adding to it again in 1747 with 117 acres granted to him by Governor Glen, which also adjoined his lands and Benjamin Stanyarne.²⁷¹ Drayton's second piece of town property (the first being a one-half left to him by his mother), was "sold" to him on December 10, 1746, for a token price of £10.00 by his former father-in-law William Bull. It was on this lot at #2 Ladson Street that John Drayton built his townhome. Documentation points to the house being a Georgian double house.²⁷²

A collective family effort was required in the land purchase Drayton made in December, of 1747, when he bought from Stephen Bull for £5,000, five tracts of land totaling 1,262 acres on the west bank of the Ashley River. The witnesses to the deed were Thomas and Elizabeth Bull Drayton, and Henry Middleton was the Justice of the Peace.²⁷³ Also, in July of 1748, Drayton

²⁶⁹ "John Drayton Jr. and Charlotta Bull married November 14, 1741" "St. Andrews Register," *SCHGM*, XIV (January, 1913), 23.

²⁷⁰ See Chapter II, 23-24.

²⁷¹ Langley, SCDA, vol.2, Book V, December 13, 1742, 51. *Cumulative Alphabetical Index of Deeds*, May 15, 1747, 10035, (hereafter CUM Alpha Index.)

²⁷² The lot measured 117 feet by 9 feet. Charleston Deeds 1746-1747, Book CC, SCDAH. 262-262.

²⁷³ Langley, SCDA, vol.2, Book DD, December 15, 1747, 164-165. 1,640 acres were in Berkley County, 631 acres in Craven and 533 acres in Colleton County. Cum Alpha Index 10035. These properties were all prime locations for rice and indigo cultivation.

purchased from George Freeman for £4,000, paying a little less than £750 per acre, the Pickpocket plantation on Charleston Neck.²⁷⁴ Drayton later sold the property in 1757 to Andrew Fesch and Peter Guinad, for a £1,000, having offered it for sale in parcels as early as 1750.²⁷⁵

4.4 John Drayton: James Glen A True and Constant Friend

John Drayton's next move was to begin his political career. He became a churchwarden at St. Andrews Church in 1742 and as Justice of the Peace for Berkley County. Next, he won the election as a delegate to the Commons House of Assembly on September 4, 1745, and taking the oath and qualifying on December 6, 1745.²⁷⁶ Drayton also served on the 15th, which met from September 1, 1746, to June 13, 1747. From his two years of service in the Commons House of Assembly, Drayton realized the key to power and influence in Charleston was to become a member of the Royal Council. In order to do that, he had to be directly appointed by King George II, or by his Majesty's Royal Governor, James Glen.

James Glen was appointed Royal Governor in the fall of 1738, following the death of Colonel Samuel Horsey, but spent the intervening five years in England petitioning for an equitable salary and points on his instructions, which totaled twenty-three pages. Finally, almost five years from his appointment as Royal Governor, on December 17, 1743, James Glen arrived in Charleston.²⁷⁷ Born in Linlithgow, Scotland, the eldest son of Alexander Glen and Marion Graham of Longcroft, James Glen was educated at the University of Leyden and later practiced

²⁷⁴ Langley, SCDA, vol. 3, Book WW. , July 18, 1748, pl 57; Book SS, September 15, 1757, 58; Book M-3, July, 1762, 52.

²⁷⁵ "To be sold, together or in parcels, not less than then acres, the plantation up the path formerly belonging to Charles Hill, Esq., and after to Mr. Freeman, a mile and a from Charleston. Enquire of John Drayton." SCG, December 10 and 24, 1750; January 28, March 11, 1751. The path referred to King Street.

²⁷⁶ J. H. Easterly, ed. , *The Colonial Records of South Carolina: The Journals of the Commons House of Assembly*, Sept. 10, 1746 to June 13, 1747, vol. 7 (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department, 1958) 9. (hereafter SCAD).

²⁷⁷ SCG, December 19, 1743.

law.²⁷⁸ Glen sailed to Charleston with his wife, Elizabeth Wilson Glen, his brother Thomas and his youngest sister, Margaret, who was a spinster.²⁷⁹

On March 15, 1744, John Drayton sold property and livestock to Stephen Bull, his cousin-in-law, for £8,000 currency or £1,100 sterling. These transactions occurred in 1744, during King George's War, when the price of rice for export in Charleston took a severe downturn. Drayton sold to Bull "all the stock and stock of horses and cattle ranging and being to eastward and westward of Pon Pon and the South Edisto River is known or called by the names John Drayton's Red Bank and Coosawhatchie "along with horses, hunters, and provisions currently on the property." On December 15, 1747, Bull sold the same stock, which now ranged on "Stephen Bull's Red Bank and Coosawhatchie" back to Drayton. Stephen Bull sold this property bought three years earlier for £8,000 back to his brother-in-law John for only £5,000.²⁸⁰ John Drayton's financial setbacks demonstrate the importance of cooperation and support amongst members of his kinship network. Stephen Bull believed great family prosperity trumped personal gain. In 1745, rice exports to Great Britain yielded 2.29 shillings sterling per hundredweight, but in 1748, with the end of the King George's War, rice profits had escalated to 6.44 shillings sterling per hundredweight.²⁸¹ In 1748, Drayton was able to begin the planning and design of Drayton Hall, putting his financial difficulties behind him.²⁸²

²⁷⁸ J. G. B. Bulloch, M. D. *A History of the Glen Family of South Carolina and Georgia*, privately printed, Georgia State Archives. John W. Raimo, *Biographical Directory of American and Colonial and Revolutionary Governors 1607-1789*. (Westport CT: Meckler Books, 1980), 434-435.

²⁷⁹ Bulloch, *Glen Family*, 9

²⁸⁰ The Red Bank and Coosawhatchie lands had been left to Drayton in his mother, Ann's will. Thomas and Elizabeth Drayton were witnesses for the sale. CPC, Miscellaneous Records, Book FF, March 15, 1744, 269.

²⁸¹ Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream*, 106-107.

²⁸² By the 1740s, South Carolinians believed they had turned a desolate and harsh landscape into a fertile and abundant colony with a refined and aristocratic white planter elite. The French and Indian War brought Carolinians in close contact with the English, who made no secret of their contempt and viewed them as backward.

On February 25, 1752, John Drayton indeed became a leading member of the Charleston plantocracy with his marriage to Margaret Glen, “a lady of Celebrated Beauty and Refinement” who was also the thirty-nine-year-old sister of the Royal Governor James Glen.²⁸³ Margaret was the eighth and youngest child of Alexander Glen and Margaret Graham both members of the Scottish gentry. The Glen’s owned land and a house in Linlithgow, a country estate known as Longcroft, and a life rent by royal charter to Bonnytune, another country estate. The marriage, as so many were in the eighteenth century, was not based on love but access to more wealth or power. By 1752, Glen as The Royal Governor was losing his power base with the Board of Trade, who grew increasingly concerned regarding his conduct, as Glen ignored his written instructions from the Board of Trade in London, which lead to his infringement of prerogatives.²⁸⁴ Also, although Glen had support in the Assembly, he was prevented from sitting on the Council. Glen had alienated William Bull, who was the most powerful individual in South Carolina. As a peace offering, Glen nominated Charles Pickney a protégé of Bull as a Chief Justice. He also appointed Bull’s son William Bull Jr. to a critical Indian Mission. Glen also gave Bull’s former son-in-law, John Drayton, his sister Margaret Glen in marriage.

As Machiavellian as it may appear, in helping himself achieve a new power base, Glen was helping his sister by providing her with economic security through marriage. Margaret Glen had received no marriage offers during her ten years residence in Charleston. Glen provided a £5,000 dowery and membership in the Royal Council to John Drayton. Both brother and sister benefited from the marriage, as well as John Drayton Jr. Margaret Glen brought not only more

²⁸³ “Last Thursday, John Drayton was married to Miss Glen, sister to his Excy our Governor, a Lady of Celebrated Beauty and Merit, an endowed with every Qualification that can render the nuptial state a Happiness.” *SCG*, March 2, 1952.

²⁸⁴ W. Stitt Robinson, *James Glen: from Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996), 46-47.

social prestige but critical political ties. She gave Drayton Jr. two more sons and polished his grammar and spelling, and brought refinement and polish to other aspects of his life.

5 THE GEORGIAN PALLADIAN IDEAL

5.1 The Charles Drayton Library Inventory

In 1749, with the economy of Charleston improving, John Drayton Jr. finally began construction on a house that would define his vision of himself as a member of Charleston's plantocracy.²⁸⁵ The second quarter of the eighteenth century was a period of great house and garden construction on plantations across the Lowcountry, as the planters sought to display their wealth and express their relatively new but well defined collective identity. The design of Drayton Hall was conceived by Drayton Jr. through his imagination, aided by pattern books of architectural designs, which were available in Charleston before 1740. With a dearth of surviving records and documentation related to John Drayton's life, Drayton Hall is the only significant record of the man who dominated its conception, construction, and conservation. Drayton's original purpose of the design was so compelling as to impress itself on seven succeeding generations of Drayton's, who never renovated or changed the original design except for the addition of three fireplaces by the third owner, Charles Drayton.

"Plantations across the south were a self-supporting world, with the main house as its center which was intended to bring everything into focus."²⁸⁶ John Drayton built his main house as a statement of his place in the social order, and the house itself orders the society within its control.²⁸⁷ Drayton Hall featured a ground plan of over thirty-six hundred square feet, which made it the largest plantation house constructed in the Lowcountry during the mid-eighteenth

²⁸⁵ Drayton Hall utilized Denderchronology to determine when the main house was constructed. According to their findings testing the wooden eaves of the attic construction began in 1749.

²⁸⁶ Guy Cardwell, "The Plantation House: An Analogical Image" *The Southern Literary Journal*, 2 (Fall, 1969), 3.

²⁸⁷ Quoted in Cardwell, 15. Lawrence Stone in his examination of the country gentry, sees the English country house serving the functions of administration, authority, and hospitality. Lawrence Stone and Jeannie C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540-1880*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 249.

century. A neighbor across the Ashley River at Jerico Plantation, when he advertised his property for sale, described it as having a view of “John Drayton Esqr’s Palace and Gardens.”²⁸⁸

Many architectural books, histories, and studies mention Drayton Hall, for it is Georgian-Palladian design. It is a National Historic Landmark and also is on the National Register of Historic Places. However, in many ways, Drayton Hall is an enigma. Previously, there were no known extant records from the Drayton Papers Collection, mentioning architectural pattern books. In 2009, researchers discovered in the Drayton Paper’s Collection a library catalog written by Dr. Charles Drayton, the third owner of Drayton Hall. The list of books offers new insights into the design of Drayton Hall. The Drayton Library Inventory, as it will be called going forward, includes some of the most influential architectural books of the eighteenth century.²⁸⁹ Several of these books mentioned in the designs of some of the grandest houses in England and the British Atlantic World colonies.²⁹⁰

The oldest architectural book in the Drayton Library Inventory is John Evelyn’s *A Parallel of Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, published in 1664. Before Leoni published his translation of *Quattro Libri*, Evelyn’s book was the only one detailing Palladio’s orders with English commentary.²⁹¹ Before his death in 1729, Colen Campbell published, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the second-oldest book listed in the Drayton Library Catalog. Sponsored by Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, a great patron of the arts and champion of the Palladian

²⁸⁸ H.A.M Smith, *The Historical Writings of Henry A. M. Smith: Articles from the South Carolina Historical and (Genealogical) Magazine*. 3 vols. Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Published in Association with the South Carolina Historical Society, 1988, 114-115.

²⁸⁹ See Helen Park, *A List of Arcitiectural Books Available in America Before the Revolution* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1973). Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1987), 290.

²⁹⁰ South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Charleston County Deed Book, 1884 A-30, 117. Charleston County Courthouse, register Mesene Conveyance, Deed Book V 105, 203-204.

²⁹¹ Eileen Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 469.

movement, *Vitruvius Britannicus* is considered the first significant publication on “English Palladianism.” The work presents reproductions of classical revival buildings by Campbell in addition to works by Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, John Webb and, Sir John Vanbrugh.²⁹² In 1738, a new edition of the *Quattro Libri* was published by Isaac Ware to build on Leoni’s version, which was considered too rococo for current eighteenth-century taste. Colen Campbell began work on the series, but he died before he could complete the final three books. Ware carried on where Campbell left off before his death, and in 1738, published the definitive edition the same year John Drayton purchased Drayton Hall.²⁹³

In 1738, it was unlikely John Drayton had a coherent architectural design in mind when he began planning for the building of his house. Fiske Kimball describes John Drayton Jr. as a “cultivated owner,” who possibly was a “gentleman” but not an “educated gentleman,” at least not to the point that architectural design or line drawing was part of his education. Drayton Jr.’s cultivation lay in his ambition to establish himself and his family solidly and impressively through several precise socially approved methods, one of which was to be the building of a structure that would improve his social, economic, and political position in his community.²⁹⁴ John Drayton knew his mind and what he wanted in a house. Over the next thirty succeeding years, he never changed or altered what he had created.

Another important work in the Drayton collection is Halfpenny’s *1725 Art of Sound Building*; Halfpenny believed that the grand volumes that dominated the available literature on Palladian style, were useless for the average builder who wanted to construct a building faithful

²⁹² Helen Park, *A List of Architectural Books*, 115.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, 139.

²⁹⁴ “Architecture inevitably reflects the deeper beliefs of an age; it bears witness to current feelings about nature, about society, and the possibilities of human improvement.” Marion Page, *Historic Houses Restored and Preserved*, (New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1976), 33.

to the prescribed proportions of Palladio's work. To explain the reasoning behind his book, Halfpenny said:

“Those Orders being divided in the works of the architects, according to 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 Design they are to execute ; for they were obliged to work upon some determinate Scale, and the Proportions of the several members of design 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 labor and hindrance to those well acquainted with Arthimetick, and to those who are not ready and expert at it, makes those Treatises little better than useless.”²⁹⁵

To correct this oversight, Halfpenny devised a system in *Practical Architecture*, 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 it abounds with examples of Palladian proportions.²⁹⁶

In 1734, William Salomon introduced a book, *Palladio Londinensis*, intended to be of aid to the average builder. While Halfpenny tried to devise a system of calculating the module, or diameter of a column by dividing into equal parts, Salmon had devised a new method. While Salmon commended Halfpenny's work, he questioned it, saying “the best of all works and all the rules he knew were “very troublesome and intricate if not obscure” because they resulted in huge numbers and “awkward fractions.”²⁹⁷ Salmon realized that scales like Halfpenny's were useless unless one knew how to calculate the module of a column.²⁹⁸ In his 1734 book *Palladio Londinensis*, Salmon included geometric figures, orders, staircases, chimneypieces, and roofs, to make it easy for novices to properly execute Palladian ideas by teaching them to determine a

²⁹⁵ Harris, *British Architectural Books*, 218.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 218.

²⁹⁷ Emily Cole Ed., *A Concise History of Architectural Styles* (London:A&C Black, 2003), 280.

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 281.

“just proportion.” The book was intended to be used for the construction of private dwellings and included all the information needed for the construction and decoration of a house except for plans. Unlike previous architectural books, Salmon designed it on a smaller scale so that it could be used at the building site.²⁹⁹

In 1728, James Gibbs published one of the most important architectural books following *Vitruvius Britannicus and the Four Books*, because it included simple, straightforward designs and well-illustrated plates that met the needs of colonials like John Drayton. Gibbs's facades depart from traditional English Palladianism in several ways. His work follows the design elements of Sir Christopher Wren, with facades featuring uncharacteristic ornamentation, including quoins, heavy rustication, pilasters, and balustrades that lend a brooding quality to the stately Palladian style. Gibb's influence is readily apparent in late Georgian structures in the United States. Drayton Hall's design is a transition between early and late Georgian design. Although most of its features on the riverside entrance are early Georgian, the two-story portico on the land front is more common among late Georgian-Palladian houses.³⁰⁰

The final book in the Drayton Library Catalog is Batty Langley's publication *The London Price of Bricklayers Materials and Works*. This work was published in 1748 after the construction of Drayton Hall was completed. Possibly, John Drayton Jr. used this book when he designed and constructed the landside entrance at Drayton Hall, which contains late Georgian-Palladian design elements. The book offered valuable information for the average master

²⁹⁹ Park, *A List of Architectural Books*, 118.

³⁰⁰ Cole, Ed., *A Concise History of Architectural Styles*, 275-276. William Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects*. Vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1986), 114. Leland M. Roth, *Understanding Architecture: Its Elements, History and Meaning*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), 341-343.

carpenter to establish fair prices for materials and labor, thereby avoiding overcharging and maintaining a favorable reputation in Charleston's building trade.³⁰¹

The consensus among architectural historians is that the “vast majority of Georgian-Palladian houses were planned by their owners, using pattern books like those listed in the Drayton Library Catalog with the assistance of master carpenters.” The house that John Drayton Jr. built was a reflection of his taste but was indicative of his culture. In *The Architecture of Colonial America*, Harold Eberlin finds that “if ever the architecture of a region or period reflected the personality and manner of the life of the people of the people,” it was the Georgian architecture found in the South.³⁰² Also, because of time and place, the eighteenth-century Charleston culture itself added a required modification to the Georgian form: a piazza, veranda, or portico, as the result of needing to modify a northern European dwelling to Carolina's subtropic climate and environment.³⁰³ The British Barbadians, who were forced to adapt to Barbado's hot and humid tropical climate and environment, brought this feature with them to Carolina as part of their cultural tradition. The adaptations Drayton Jr. used in the design of Drayton Hall were influenced by Palladio's architectural designs for the Villa Cornaro and Villa Pisani.³⁰⁴

5.2 The Exterior

The façade of Drayton Hall was a rectangular mass, 52'-3" by 70'-3", set on a high basement two rooms deep, rectangular windows, a central hall, and a stair hall, the same plan

³⁰¹ Harris, *British Architectural Books*, 44.

³⁰² Harold Eberlin, *The Architecture of Colonial America*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927) 157. Thomas T. Waterman, *The Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 3.

³⁰³ Roth, *Understanding Architecture: its Elements, History, and Meaning*, 398-399.

³⁰⁴ James S. Ackerman, *Palladio*, (New York: Harmondsworth and Middlesex, 1966), 54. The adaptations included the landside portico, which allowed for air circulation throughout the main house.

being repeated on the second floor,³⁰⁵ topped by a double-hipped roof: which was often found in Georgian architectural designs. Drayton's house contained over 7,680 square feet, making it one of the largest colonial houses of the mid-eighteenth century. The next closest in size was the Miles Brewton House in Charleston, built after 1765, containing 5,376 feet. Middleton Place contained 2,100 feet, and Hampton on the Santee contained 3,168 on the first floor. Drayton Hall was three sections wide and three deep with a regular fenestration pattern, highlighted by flat bricks arches on the upper two levels of the northern and southern sides. Located on the east and west sides of the house were the two main entrances. The riverside entrance was 650 feet from the Ashley River, and the landside entrance 3,168 feet from the Ashley River,³⁰⁶ with the corners of the house sited on the cardinal points of a compass.³⁰⁷

The construction and building of Drayton Hall were intended to last for future generations of Draytons. The foundation was three courses wide with an area of brickbats, laid flat and regularly, at the base, the whole measuring 1 ½ by 3 feet. The structure consisted of brick laid in Flemish bond with dressings in rubbed and gauged brick with a slightly contrasting color around the door and window facings.³⁰⁸ The windows were twelve panes over twelve

³⁰⁵ Charles E. Chase and Kevin Murphy, "The Drayton Hall Project," an unpublished paper written for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1977. Copy at Drayton Hall.

³⁰⁶ Lynne G. Lewis, "Interim Report: Drayton Hall Archaeological Project, Phase II," unpublished paper for the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Services Development Project, 1981, 14. Copy at Drayton Hall. "It is difficult to draw comparisons between Drayton Hall and other South Carolina houses of the same period because so few have survived."

³⁰⁷ "The true north/south axis runs through the corners of the house, an orientation termed the "Indies Orientation" which was specified in the "The Laws of the Indies" 1573." Lewis, "Interim Report," 7.

³⁰⁸ Lynne Lewis, Personal Interview, August 3, 1982, Lewis, "Interim Report," 84. Flemish bond is the laying of brick in a pattern which alternates headers(short end) and stretchers (long side) in each course. Drayton family lore contends that the brick for Drayton Hall were brought over from England as ballast in ships. Simple common sense rules this out there were "not enough "English Brick to build all the brick houses in eighteenth-century colonial America." Eberlin, *American Colonial Architecture*, 240. William Fudge, Visitor-Services Coordinator at Drayton Hall, believes that the bricks at Drayton Hall were of local manufacture, either from existing brick factories in the Charleston area or from an on-site kiln.

panes, with flat brick arches above.³⁰⁹ Corresponding with the first and second floors were two belt courses projecting out from the brick façade. Flanking the double hip roof were two interior double chimneys built back to back, providing heat in the basement, as well as on the first and second floors.



Figure 7 – Riverside Photo Barbara Spence Orsolits

The image Drayton wished to present to the world through Drayton Hall was a gentleman's country estate, which would rival any found in England. The riverside entrance with its Georgian influenced design of form, symmetry, and style presents to the world how Drayton Jr. viewed himself as a controlled, balanced, and stable individual.³¹⁰ John Drayton design limited direct access to his house through the Georgian riverside entrance, which used by

³⁰⁹ 12 panes is the common number in finer and later dwellings. For the chief windows, twelve lights were used in the "1730s." Kimball, *Domestic Architecture*, 106. In the eighteenth-century the majority of glass used in public buildings and private residences was imported from England.

³¹⁰ Drayton Jr.'s future life and history calls this into question.

invited guests and family.³¹¹ The façade that fronts the Ashely River was three sections wide with a tall, imposing double door flanked by fluted Doric pilasters projecting slightly from a wall. The pilasters do not support the door but are used as a decorative feature. Placed above the door were frontons, which is a small ornamented surface, which in the case of Drayton Hall was triangular. The frontons used in the design of Drayton Hall were constructed of Portland limestone and function to raise the elevation fo the door and soften the hard, straight line of window and belt course.³¹² The black cypress pilasters of the door are repeated in three windows above it: two with peaked pediments on either side of the central window, which is highlighted by an arched pediment.³¹³



Figure 8 - Kelmarsh Hall –Northamptonshire, England Courtesy Kelmarsh Hall Trust

³¹¹ Henry H. Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United State* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), 170.

³¹² Portland limestone is quarried on the Isle of Portland in Dorset, England. It has been used in the construction of buildings of both private and public buildings in England and also in North America. Drayton Hall features Portland limestone in the design of the river front façade. Cole, *Architectural Styles*, 275.

³¹³ The design of the windows on the landside second floor are very similar to designs in Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, translated by Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge: Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2002) bk. 2, *Plate V. (hereafter Palladio, The Four Books)*.

Another possible influence on the design of Drayton Hall is Kelmarsh Hall in Northamptonshire, England. In 1727, James Gibbs built the house, whose pattern book would have been available in the colonies after 1730. The first-floor fenestration pattern (A general term used to denote the pattern or arrangement of windows), of Kelmarsh Hall with its alternating arched and peaked pediments is similar to riverside Georgian façade of Drayton Hall, as is the first-floor plan with rooms opening off of a central hall. Like Kelmarsh, Drayton Hall was designed to be flanked by two separate buildings. The flankers, John Drayton, designed and built at Drayton Hall, twenty years after the construction of the house, were never as elegant or as imposing as those at Kelmarsh.

A double flight of stairs dressed in Portland Limestone with wrought iron stair railings leading to the ground and the basement.³¹⁴ “The door to the basement on the riverside was constructed of vertical wood with strap hinges and wood sills; the lintels were segmented in brick arches with wood fillers.”³¹⁵ For the next twenty years, the basement served as a kitchen for the storage of foodstuffs, wine, and as the overseer’s office. The room featured two large fireplaces for heat and cooking. There were five doors located throughout the basement, which served as entrances for the cooks, house slaves, and workers at Drayton Hall.³¹⁶

The architectural design for the landside entrance of Drayton Hall influenced by the work of Palladio, as well as adaptations to Palladian designs by James Gibbs.³¹⁷ The landside façade featured an unexpected variation, which the house would become known for and recognized up

³¹⁴ Cole, *A Concise History of Architectural Styles*, 277-282

³¹⁵ Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American Engineering Record. “HABS/HAER Review.” Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Drayton Hall Project, Revised and Edited by: Druscilla J. Null, Historic American Buildings Survey, July, 1982. HABS No. SC-377. 3-4. (hereafter HABS SC-377).

³¹⁶ HABS-SC-377, 9.

³¹⁷ See James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture, Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments*, 1728. Colen Campbell, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1715.

to the present day. Twenty years before it became the fashion, Drayton Jr. designed the landside façade of his house with a Palladian two-story half-recessed pedimented portico of Portland Limestone. The design for the portico represented Drayton Jr.'s arrogance and imagination, reflecting an individual who was willing to build a temple to himself. It was fronted by four columns in width, with the Doric order beneath and the Ionic order above. Drayton framed the doors and windows in black cypress, with double Portland limestone stairs leading to the ground, where the single basement entrance had a quoin surround, all of which picked up and accented the theme of the riverside façade.



Figure 9 – Landside Photo Barbara Spence Orsolits

Drayton Hall's portico draws from many of the architectural elements found at the Villa Cornaro and the garden entrance to the Villa Pisani, both in Veneto, Italy. They are examples of the work of Palladian designs for villas with two major stories. Neither villa has extensions for outbuildings or attics for grain storage commonly found in Palladio's designs for farm villas. Villa Cornaro and Villa Pisani feature two halls in the center of the building, one on each of the principal levels, much like the design at Drayton Hall.³¹⁸ One of the main differences in the design at Drayton Hall was Drayton built the main house as a gentleman's country estate, not a working plantation.



Figure 10 - Villa Pisani, Montagnana, Italy

³¹⁸ Palladio, *Four Books of Architecture*, bk 2, plate V.

5.3 The Interior: Public and Private Spaces

Guests and family entered the house on the riverside via the Stair Hall, which was calculated to impress by its separation from the downstairs Great Hall. The Stair Hall measured 27 feet high, 15'-10" deep and 29.'-11" wide.³¹⁹ Rising on either side of the Georgian entrance was a double stair, or C design with a balustrade, balusters, and the rails capped in mahogany. The material for the fully paneled walls was bald cypress, and the chair rails were painted a cream color. Overall, the original colors for the entire house were cream-white paint for major wall surfaces and tones of brown, which created a marbled effect and green for the rest of the decorative elements.³²⁰ The cornice had a cushioned frieze, an egg, and dart, molding with acanthus leaf modillions. The east wall featured two sliding sash windows with pulleys, cords, and counterweights. The ceiling was in white plaster, with the underside of the second-floor landing decorated with a scroll and flower design: its elegance preparing the visitors for the ceilings in the Great Hall and the parlor.³²¹

There was one major flaw in the design and construction of Drayton Hall. After the load-bearing walls were in place, Drayton Jr. added an alteration that extended the length of the Great Hall to the east by forty-two inches, thus truncating the Great Hall and causing the windows to fall below the stair landing. This design change resulted in the windows falling below the stair landing and the heavy cypress paneling on the two floors above to rest only unsupported beams and, or joists.³²² Guests would not notice this inherent structural weakness of the house, which

³¹⁹ Chase, "Drayton Hall Project," 52.

³²⁰ Kimball, *Domestic Architecture*, 70.

³²¹ The Stair Hall's design at Drayton Hall is very similar to the Stair Hall design at Coleshill, Oxfordshire, England, which was built by the architect Sir Roger Pratt in the mid-seventh-century.

³²² The original architectural plan for Drayton Hall stipulated that the Stair Hall and the Great Hall were to be the same size. Sometime before Drayton Hall was completed, John Drayton Jr. made an alteration, the interior wall of the Stair Hall and the Great Hall were extended forty-two inches toward the river. This resulted in the house not resting on the load-bearing wall in the basement. The great two-story frame wall has very little

was present from the very beginning. The defect was not crucial to John Drayton; what mattered to him was the style and tone set by the size and elegance of the Stair Hall, which directed the flow of guests into the interior of the house. Next guests entered the Great Hall or the family's private chambers on the second floor. The Great Hall was imposing even before Drayton Jr. extended its size to an unbalanced 29'-9" by 23'-8".³²³

Once John Drayton extended an invitation to friends or family to visit his house, there was uninterrupted access from room to room, either publicly using the Great Hall or, privately by the use of smaller passages or closets which connect the four rooms on the first floor. This continuous flow, reinforced by two side entrances from the Palladian façade into the northwest and southwest floors of the first floor, suggests a spirit of openness and community, which can still allow for privacy. The Charleston plantocracy in the eighteenth century was an extraordinarily hierarchal and rigid social structure. Drayton tightly controlled the rules governing social interactions at Drayton Hall, with his design for the main house.

The walls, which covered the entire two upper floors in the Stair Hall, were fully paneled in bald cypress extending up to the twelve-foot high ceilings and painted the same cream color as the doors. The chair rail molding, pilasters, and their triglyphs and capitals, the firebox surround and the carved doorway arch, are all painted in cream with a brown overglaze simulating marble. Grey paint accented the baseboards.³²⁴ Throughout Drayton Hall, the heart of pine floors splined together tightly with wooden keys appeared to guests as highly polished hardwood. Full pilasters or engaged decorative columns rose to the ceiling in the Stair Hall, Drawing Room, and Great

support, resting on joists. The joists were not designed to bear the weight of the walls and beams. This has affected the foundation of Drayton Hall up to the present day.

³²³ Chase, "Drayton Hall Project," 25-26.

³²⁴ Matthew Mosca's paint analysis of Drayton Hall is contained in Chase, "Drayton Hall Project," 78-79.

Hall. This decorative element was costly, but John Drayton was determined to spare no expense in the designs for the interior of the house.³²⁵

The decorative feature which dominated the Great Hall was a fireplace and overmantle, influenced by William Kent's "*Designs of Inigo Jones.*"³²⁶ Doric fluted pilasters carry a lintel with a crucial Greek doubling back on itself, which was surmounted by an egg and dart molding framing the fireplace. Above and on either side of the chimney were carved acanthus leaf modillions, which carried a guilloche (a circular raised pattern formed by two bands twisted over each other in a continuous movement with circular openings), which had round ornaments topped by a carved shell. The console, or decorative bracket, was lined with an egg and dart molding and festooned with flowers and fruits carved from yellow poplar. At the top of the fireplace was a broken pediment decorated with a shell containing a fox head. Drayton used the finest Italian marble in the construction of the hearth.³²⁷

The design of Drayton Hall served two purposes, as a public building, open for the conducting of business, and as a private residence. By 1745, many architectural designs for the homes of the Charleston Plantocracy featured a Dining Room, which was located immediately to the right of the Stair Hall entrance.³²⁸ The decorative elements for the Dining Room were quite simple; there were no elaborate carvings which would indicate the room was semi-private and functioned as a room for family dining and small numbers of guests dining *en famille*. The Drawing Room located on the southeast corner of the Great Hall featured elaborate wood carvings and entablatures with scrolled capitals, based on the Ionic order. The Drawing Room

³²⁵ Morrison, *Early American Architecture*, 311.

³²⁶ The overmantle is based on Plate 64 in William Kent's *Designs of Inigo Jones* (London, 1727). In reality, there is more difference than similarities. Drayton's overmantle design is free of any feminine shapes and instead the fox's head surmounting the fruits and blossoms of the pediment replaces Jones's devil head and waves.

³²⁷ George Boan, Curator, Aiken- Rhett House, Charleston Museum, taped tour of Drayton Hall, January 15, 1982. (hereafter tour.)

³²⁸ Chase, *DHP*, 49.

provided the Drayton's with space for more intimate conversations, music, or games. The room was "16'-1" by 29'-8 ¾." " with a heart pine floor. The walls were a fully paneled bald cypress with a chair rail and baseboard, each painted a cream, while the chair rail had a grey-green glaze. There are two pedimented doors on the northern interior wall, one to the hall and one to a blind door, which was a recess in the wall having the appearance of a door to add balance and symmetry to the Great Hall door. Both doors initially had broken pediments, and cushioned frieze decorations with Ionic side pilasters and hand-carved capitals of yellow poplar. The pediments at some point were removed, but their outlines are still visible.³²⁹

The two doors on the west wall of the Drawing Room had molded jambs and opened to the connecting passage, which could also have functioned as a closet. There are five sash windows: two on the east wall, which are flanked by fluted Ionic pilasters and surmounted by hand-carved mahogany floral swags. On the south wall, the windows feature the same fluted ionic pilasters and mahogany swags. Each of the window openings was fitted with a three-panel shutter and had a deep window seat, as do all the other rooms in the house.³³⁰

The ceiling cornice is a variation of a bead and reel molding, a semi-round raised molding decorated with pattern disks alternating with round or elongated disk. The ceiling's decorative elements included a series of geometric designs accented with native plants and flowers. The ceiling plaster was sculpted when still wet, the artist or master craftsman shaping the design into wet plaster, molding the intricate designs by hand. The large overmantle was framed in egg and dart molding and had a central panel with a vase and flower motif, which mirrored the rooms ceiling corners. The pediment of the overmantle projected out into the

³²⁹ Boan, Tour, Fudge, Tape.

³³⁰ *Drayton Hall: The Creation and Preservation of an American Icon*, Drayton Hall Preservation Trust (Charleston: The History Press, 2018), 54-55.

Drawing Room, signifying the elaborate nature of the carvings and the opulent elegance of the room.³³¹

From both the Drawing Room and Dining Room, small passages and closets connected the two remaining rooms on the first floor. The room to the rear of the Drawing Room served as Library. The room connected to the Dining Room served as a First-Floor Chamber, which was for private domestic usage. Each small fully paneled room contained a sash window with shutters and window seats on the exterior wall and two doors with simple molded surrounds. The connecting passages were almost identical in size and allowed family members and house slaves to move about the first floor unobserved.

A private circular wooden stair ran from the basement to the first and second floors and secured by joists attached to the unfloored attic. The stairs had cypress treads and risers and were placed in a vertical shaft of 5'-6" by 5'-6" which finished in a smooth white plaster on all three levels.³³² These stairs provided the only total access to all levels of the house, with entrances at the basement, first and second floors, and the attic level. This design indicates only the house slaves had interior access to all parts of the house. It also implies that no adult family member could have or would want direct access to the basement service area. The private stair at Drayton Hall is on the north side of the Great Hall with access to the dining room from the basement. The food would have been prepared in the basement and brought up the private stair to the family Dining Room.³³³ The family could have dined privately or with several guests with no difficulty, but large scale dining would have taken place in the Great Hall, which because of

³³¹ Chase, "DHP", 35.

³³² Chase, "DHP," 48.

³³³ *Drayton Hall*, 64-65.

its size and the free circulation of air, would provide for space for both the house slaves and guests.

The second floor of Drayton Hall consisted of the Great Drawing Room and four chambers, all fully paneled in bald cypress with fourteen-foot ceilings. The pattern of the door openings is the same as on the first floor: two doors on the south wall and two on the north. The doors in the various rooms on the second floor would remain closed when the Great Drawing Room was in use for a ball, or musical concert was to the Drayton family's private chambers. Closets and passageways connected each of the rooms on the second floor which flanked the Great Drawing room.

The two front chambers on the second floor were the largest and located over the first-floor Drawing Room and Dining Room. These chambers served as the two principal bedchambers.³³⁴ The southeast chamber, above the Drawing Room, is the only formally decorated private chamber, having an elegantly carved overmantle. It contains a dog eared central panel flanked by flowing scrolls, two acanthus leaf medallions carry the egg and dart pattern and is considered the best carved in the house. The surround and the hearthstone were gray marble with a wooden lintel painted grey.³³⁵ The walls were paneled in bald cypress from the pine to the beaded edge board ceilings, which were initially plaster. There are three doorways, one on the north to the Great Drawing Room, and one on either side of the fireplace on the west wall: one leading to the closet/passage and the other leading to a shelved closet with plaster walls. The four window locations are the same as those in the Drawing-Room on the first

³³⁴ The northeast room measures 16'-9" by 26'-3"; the southeast room measures 16'-8 1/4" by 26'-3" Chase, "DHP," 63.

³³⁵ Chase "DHP," 64. "In most fine houses, the less formal wood work in this bedroom would be quite handsome enough for the drawing room." Samuel Chamberlain and Narcissa Chamberlain, *Southern Interiors of Charleston, South Carolina*, (New York: Hastings House, 1956), 161. 64

floor. The window seats are much shallower than those on the first floor, as the exterior brick wall becomes less than ten inches thick at the roofline. This room, with its elaborate carvings, view of the Ashley River, and size points, suggests it served as a bedchamber for the master of the house. John Drayton would have slept here, with a large comfortable bed and chair, and perhaps a table.

The other large room on the second floor in the northwest chamber, which at some point in the early nineteenth century, was partitioned. Two small “rooms,” measuring 8’-6” by 8’-9” and 6’-6” by 6’-8” were created out of the larger room, each partitioned room containing a window that faced the Ashley River, white plaster walls with a protective wood paneling applied to the lower wall above the baseboard, and fully doors, painted on the exterior side.³³⁶ This room was never altered or changed in keeping with Charles Drayton’s death bed wish that “the house was never to be touched.” The two remaining private chambers on the back or Palladian façade were identical to each other except for the private stair, which opens to the northwest room. Neither of the second-floor back rooms contains an overmantel, over each fireplace are two inset panels which serve as modest decorative elements.³³⁷

John Drayton received very little encouragement either from the custom or from the law in eighteenth-century South Carolina to construct such a house as Drayton Hall. John Drayton Jr.’s incentive to build came more from those elements inherent in his personality and character: the pride, energy, and ambition, which were to find symbolic yet tangible representation in a

³³⁶ Chase believes that the partition was added in the late eighteenth century or early nineteenth, but does not indicate how he arrived at that time frame. Chase “DHP” 72. In Dr. Charles Drayton’s Will, he clearly states upon his death, Henrietta Augusta, who never married could choose two rooms in Drayton Hall for her personal use for the rest of her life. The second floor northwest chamber connected to the hidden house slaves stairs and also was connected to the Great Drawing Room, which she partitioned into a small room for her private use.

³³⁷ See Fudge, Personal Communication, March 1, 1985 regarding fireplace dimensions for the second floor private chambers.

house. The spirit which created Drayton Hall was unique to Drayton born of his drive to power, creation, and control. Choosing the acceptable, solid, masculine Georgian form, adding to it the innovative openness of a temple façade, John Drayton created in brick, embellished in wood and fitted in mahogany, the seat of an English country gentleman. Adhering to the governing architectural principles of time, place, and function, John Drayton's statement of whom he perceived himself was Drayton Hall.³³⁸

³³⁸ Guy Cardwell, "The Plantation House: An Analogical Image," *The Southern Literary Journal*, 2(Fall, 1969), 3.

6 THE DRAYTONS: AN ATLANTIC FAMILY

6.1 Lady Margaret Drayton: A Woman of Substance and Refinement

John Drayton's second wife Charlotta Bull Drayton, died on December 30, 1743, leaving two sons William Henry Drayton and Charles Jr., in his care. It is unknown what life was like for the two boys with no mother and a father preoccupied with achieving wealth, status, and power. Most fathers in the eighteenth century were indifferent to their children and often sent them off in their formative years to live with relatives or close friends. William Henry and Charles Drayton likely spent their early years with their maternal Grandfather at Ashley Hall and Magnolia with their Uncle Thomas Drayton and Aunt Mary Drayton along with their many cousins. In 1752, with the construction of John Drayton's country seat complete, he and his third wife Lady Margaret began their married life at the house, which became known as Drayton Hall. With Lady Margaret as their step-mother, both boys began to experience life with a kind and loving woman who brought polish and refinement into their lives. The boys would always refer to Lady Margaret as Mama in the English way, but she also brought significant changes with her.

Within one year of their father's marriage, in 1752, to Lady Margaret Drayton a third son, Glen Drayton, was born in November of 1753. John and Lady Margaret Drayton had their second son, Thomas, born October 5, 1758, baptized twice once at the Congregational (Circular) Church in Charleston on October 23, 1758, and then again at St. Andrews Parish Church on August 31, 1759.³³⁹ Governor James Glen and Mrs. Glen stood as God Parents to their nephew, Glen Drayton. For the rest of his Glen's life, his uncle, James Glen served as a surrogate father

³³⁹ Mrs. R.W. Hutson, copyist, "Register Kept by Reverend Hutson of Stoney Creek Independent Congregational Church and (Circular) Congregational Church of Charlestown, S.C, 1743-1760," *SCHM XXXVIII* (January, 1937), 35.

and as a friend and advocate for the other three sons. Thomas Drayton of Magnolia and his wife, Aunt Mary, were godparents to Thomas baptized in August of 1759.

In January of 1752, James Glen nominated Drayton for a position on the Royal Council. Nothing came of Glen's nomination, but instead, on October 9, 1753, Drayton Jr. was appointed to serve as an Assistant Judge of the Court of General Sessions. The Court of General Sessions was presided over by a Chief Justice and four Assistant Justices who served without pay. The Assistant Justices who sat on the Court of General Sessions were not required to have any legal training and experience. James Glen most likely arranged this political appointment to appease Drayton Jr. for not being appointed to the Royal Council. Finally, on August 22, 1754, Drayton Jr. was appointed to the Royal Council, but official confirmation did not occur until January 9, 1762. With the Crown's formal acknowledgment of Drayton Jr.'s position, as well as the political base, which he established by serving as an Assistant Justice and as a Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County, Drayton increased the size of his estate with major land purchases between 1760-1765.³⁴⁰ The completion of Drayton Hall, which was one of the largest plantation houses in British North America signified John Drayton's wealth and power as a successful rice and indigo planter. Through his acquisition of land in South Carolina, Georgia, and Kentucky, as well as two politically advantageous marriages, Drayton became one of the most influential members of Charleston's plantocracy.³⁴¹

³⁴⁰ Drayton purchased 500 acres in Granville County on February 5, 1765 and 1,085 in St. Paul's, July 15, 1765. DH Deeds.

³⁴¹ Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South*. (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan Press, 1989), 18. Waterhouse, *The New World Gentry*, 114-116.

³⁴¹ SCC, April 9, 1753; Harriot Horry Ravenel, *Charleston: The Place and its People*, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1906), 148.

6.2 Education and A Fractured Family

In 1753, John Drayton decided to send his two eldest sons, William Henry, age ten, and Charles Drayton Jr., age nine, for advanced education in England. For the next ten to eighteen years, the two boys remained in Great Britain removed from their father's influence and discipline. John Drayton's sons received a classical education and the opportunity to associate with the sons of the English aristocracy. Their father believed his sons would be prepared to take their positions as members of Charleston's plantocracy. In the eighteenth century, Charleston sent more of its sons abroad for an education than any other colony in British North America, those in London included Ralph Izard, Thomas Lynch, Paul Trapier, Edward and John Rutledge, Jacob Read, John Hume, John Moultrie, Arthur and Thomas Middleton, Thomas Heyward, John Faucheraud Grimke, Alexander Garden, and Benjamin Stead.³⁴²

During this period, Charles Pinckney decided to take his family to England and enroll his two sons Charles Cotesworth and Thomas, in school. On April 5, 1753, the Honorable Charles Pinckney sailed for London accompanied by his wife, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, his two sons, and under his protection William Henry and Charles Drayton Jr.³⁴³ The Drayton's cousin William was already in London, having been sent to London in 1750 to study law. Within the year, their Uncle Thomas arrived from Charleston, offering support and guidance to the two young boys. There is very little information related to the William Henry and Charles before their admission to Oxford University in 1761 other than a few references to them in the letters of Eliza Lucas Pinckney to her sons also in school there. The widowed Mrs. Pinckney was back in Carolina and always sent her affections to the two young boys in her letters to her sons. In return, William

³⁴² Maurie D. McInnis and Angela D. Mack *In Pursuit of Refinement: Charlestonians Abroad 1740-1860* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 11.

³⁴³ Henry Bouquet to Col. John Forbes, February 1, 1756, quoted in M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina, and a Political History 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 308.

Henry and Charles sent her kind and affectionate letters.³⁴⁴ Mrs. Pinckney's sons attended Mr. Gerrard's Academy in Camberwell and later studied with Mr. Longmore in Kensington. She selected Westminster as the public school for her son Charles Cotesworth Pinckney because he "should be removed to a publick school" that would "fit" him for the University.³⁴⁵ Although there are no documents regarding William Henry's and Charles Jr.'s early education in England, one could conjecture that the senior Charles Pinckney had placed the two Drayton boys with Mr. Wright, a tutor, who is referred to in Mrs. Pinckney's letters. Some records indicate both William Henry and Charles Jr. attended Westminster as preparation for Oxford.³⁴⁶ At Westminster, the older Drayton sons studied "Latin and Greek as well as reading classical history, oratory, and mythology, and the examination of modern European history."³⁴⁷ The sons of the Charleston plantocracy sent to England for their education also received social and cultural training, which prepared them for their roles as the future governing class of Carolina.

Money and obedience first combined to trouble John Drayton and his sons in their early years in London. At that time, Eliza Pinckney was asked by Drayton to use her influence with nineteen-year-old William Henry to correct some now unknown flaws in his character and conduct. Drayton received a letter from the young man who, according to Mrs. Pinckney, "was not written in the manner generally used to write." Mrs. Pinckney chided William Henry: there was "too much warmth" toward his father, "and something like abrading."³⁴⁸ Whether the

³⁴⁴ Eliza Lucas Pinckney to Thomas and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, February, 1759; May, 1759, quoted in Elise Pinckney, ed., *The Letterbook of Eliza Lucas Pinckney 1739-1762* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972), 111-112. (hereafter *Letterbook*)

³⁴⁵ Eliza Lucas Pinckney to Mr. Longmore, August 31, 1760, *Ibid.*, p. 156; Eliza Lucas Pinckney to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, February 7, 1761; *Ibid.*, 158.

³⁴⁶ The first five years of Billy's and Charles Jr.'s education only cost John Drayton Jr. £50 sterling a piece. John Drayton to James Glen September 10, 1773, James Glen's Papers, *SCL*. The Oxford University Admissions Register that in the boys records for admission they attended Westminster.

³⁴⁷ Quoted in John D. Carleton, *Westminster School: A History* (London: Rupert Hart Davis, 1765), 31.

³⁴⁸ Eliza Pinckney to William Henry Drayton, April 16, 1761, in Pinckney, *Letterbook*, 169.

problem was related to some debts by William Henry is unknown, although his son, John Drayton II, later suggested as much in his biography of his father. James Glen, on several occasions, augmented the boy's allowance, an indication that as excessive as the amount seemed to Drayton, others considered it inadequate. William Henry wrote a letter of thanks to his step-uncle for the addition to his allowance and assured Glen that he would not throw it away in any “improper manner but would make the most advantageous use of it” that lay in his power.³⁴⁹

In 1761, once James Glen retired to England, he assumed the role of advisor and counselor to the two oldest Drayton Jr. sons. Upon his arrival in England, their step-uncle reacquainted himself with the two young men, now nineteen and eighteen, and began sending suggestions regarding their futures to Drayton Jr. In his correspondence, Glen posited, that William Henry Drayton, was ready to either come back to Carolina under the tutelage of Ralph Izard, then in England to be married, or go on to Oxford University. Drayton Jr. responded that he “should be glad” for “Billy” to go to college “for Eighteen months or two years” to allow him to carry himself like a gentleman and become a member of English society exhibiting class and elegance.³⁵⁰

Appearance and polish were of primary importance to John Drayton, not scholarship or ability, most notably when it came to his eldest son. William Henry, in his father's eyes, was destined to be the inheritor of a vast estate, the master of Drayton Hall, to rule one day in his father's place, to assume his position as a member of the plantocracy. What Drayton believed was influential in the education of his eldest son in the future proved to be lacking. William Henry Drayton was an elegant and stylish young man with an aristocratic bearing, but he lacked

³⁴⁹ William Henry Drayton to James Glen, March 11, 1762, Papers Relating to the Drayton Family 1762-1802, Scottish Record Office.

³⁵⁰ John Drayton Jr. to James Glen, October 11, 1761, *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

knowledge in managing his finances, plantations, as well as the agricultural expertise to cultivate and produce rice and indigo.

As for Charles, John Drayton wrote at the same time that “he may go with his brother, or he may be directed as you please otherwise, so he comes out not in an awkward or disagreeable light.”³⁵¹ Charles was a second son, but as a Drayton, he was expected to possess a “Gentle behavior and carriage.” One of the ironies in Drayton's insistence that his sons possess the characteristics of the English aristocracy was what was lacking in his carriage and bearing. Their step-uncle James used his influence, and the boys enrolled in Balliol College, Oxford University. They matriculated on October 10, 1761, the day before Drayton wrote of his preferences concerning his son's futures to Glen.

At Oxford, the Drayton boys were titled Commensals', or Gentlemen Commoners, and put under the guardianship of a tutor who had been approved by the heads of the college. The function of this tutor was to set an excellent example for the boys, to plan their time, inspect their writing, and to attend to their discipline, conduct expenditures and health.³⁵² While enrolled at Oxford University, as Gentlemen Commoners, they could use the Bodleian Library, join clubs, give private balls, gamble, and bet on horses at the many races held across England.

Poorer students called servitors cleaned the Drayton shoes and carried their meals into Balliol Hall. The boy's studies included the classical authors, Terence, Xenophon, Cicero, Homer, Euripides, and Horace; Logic; Aristotle's ethics, with an added interest of Blackstone

³⁵¹ John Drayton to James Glen, October 11, 1761 *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

³⁵² There is no record of who tutored William Henry and Charles, while they were enrolled at Oxford University but he failed in instilling discipline and overseeing their expenditures much to the chagrin of John Drayton.

who was lecturing at Oxford University on English law.³⁵³ William Henry also had a music master and took violin lessons.³⁵⁴

Jeremy Bentham an English philosopher, jurist, and social reformer, who attended Queens College in 1760, wrote that at ten o'clock he had a "lecture in logic and then went to morning prayers, and next cleaned ourselves and had our hair dressed, and at half an hour after twelve we dined, which took up almost the whole morning. On Thursdays, we attended a four o'clock lecture on Geography and exercise on Saturdays and the classics at night."³⁵⁵ In the Eighteenth-Century, the examination for entry or degrees consisted of oral exams, which were useless in determining a student's level of knowledge.³⁵⁶ When the two Drayton's attended Oxford University, it had acquired a reputation for its students drinking and carousing in addition to its inferior scholarship. The substandard education the South Carolina elite received in England was not a concern as long as they possessed the carriage and refinement of a gentleman.

John Drayton was never afforded the opportunity for an education in London, as he was the youngest son of Thomas Drayton and Ann Drayton. Instead, he received an education from his mother; Ann Drayton centered on plantation management and a grounding in finances. While John Drayton believed it was important for his four sons to be educated and assume the airs and comportment of the English aristocracy, the costs of educating his sons in London were always to rankle him. The initial sum which he provided to his brother-in-law in mid-1761 for his son's use was gone by May of 1762, with an over-balance of £203.8.0. With William Henry and Charles at Oxford, and "Glennie" at school at St. Andrews in Scotland, the majority of these

³⁵³ C.E. Mallet, *A History of the University of Oxford*, vol. III: Modern Oxford (New York: Longman's, Green & Co., 1928), 62,66,67,127,135.

³⁵⁴ William Henry Drayton to James Glen, March 11, 1762, Papers Relating to the Drayton Family, 1762-1802, Scottish Record Office.

³⁵⁵ Jan Morris, ed. *The Oxford Book of Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 158-159.

³⁵⁶ Mallet, 148.

funds paid for tuition, pocket-money and incidental expenses, such as William Henry and Charles's "music master," from whom they both learned to play the fiddle. Medical care seems to have accounted for most of Glen's incidental expenses, for he was ill with worms before leaving Carolina and acquired smallpox on his arrival in England.³⁵⁷

John Drayton's social and educational background was lacking compared to those of the established Charleston plantocracy like the Pinckneys, Bulls, Manigaults or Middletons. Also, Drayton, despite his architectural design of Drayton Hall, lacked a sophisticated knowledge of the world which a gentleman would have acquired on a Grand Tour of the Continent.³⁵⁸ The rough social edges, though not gently rounded by education in England, seem to have been smoothed by his Carolina social connections and marriage alliances. One of the most civilizing influences was from Lady Margaret Glen, who assisted Drayton with his letter writing. The letters John Drayton wrote to James Glen in 1761, upon his return to England, show a marked improvement in his sentence structure and grammar, which was when Lady Margaret was in residence at Drayton Hall. When she returned to England due to health issues, there was a marked deterioration in Drayton grammar.³⁵⁹

6.3 John Drayton and James Glen: Politics and Money

A significant change that affected the Drayton family occurred on January 23, 1755, with the appointment of William Henry Lyttelton to replace James Glen as Royal Governor of South Carolina. Lyttelton remained in London for over eighteen months after his appointment, and when he finally arrived in May of 1756, Glen was in the backcountry of Carolina conducting

³⁵⁷ Glen Drayton Account, May 20, 1762; *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

³⁵⁸ Lawrence Stone & Jeanne Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 258.

³⁵⁹ DPC Disk 4 Box F F-03 John Drayton to Thomas Drayton, January 12, 1773.

business with the Cherokee Indians. The former Governor returned post haste to Charleston to welcome his replacement and turn over the government to him. Then Glen retired to his 1,566-acre plantation in Colleton County to enjoy “more happiness than he ever knew in the hurry of business.” How long Glen remained at his plantation in South Carolina is unknown, but on February 14, 1760, he arrived in Charleston from New York on board the *Scarborough*, commanded by John Stoll.³⁶⁰ None of the newspapers in South Carolina recorded Glen departing on a voyage to London or sailing to New York. In all likelihood, it seems probable Glen may have traveled to New York overland to seek another position in South Carolina, as he felt a deep connection to the colony.³⁶¹

Glen remained in the colony for another year, but by 1761 he was preparing to leave Carolina for good. Like many other colonists, the disease environment had severely impacted his overall health.³⁶² Glen advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette*, asking that “all those to whom he was indebted to send him their accounts, “that they may be paid off.” James Glen was very attached to South Carolina, but he lacked the business acumen and agricultural knowledge necessary to become a successful planter. He attempted over five years as a rice and indigo planter to become wealthy and powerful like his brother-in-law John Drayton Jr., but he was never able to accumulate enough wealth to pay off his ever-increasing debt. Glen was a gentleman and always made every attempt to fulfill his financial obligations. He refused to leave

³⁶⁰ “On Thursday arrived here His Majesty’s ship *Scarborough*, John Stoll, Esq., commander from New-York. In said ship came passenger, “James Glen, our late Governor.” SCG, February, 16, 1760.

³⁶¹ “You say, I shall do well to give you the earliest notice of any Post that becomes vacant in Carolina; -- First there is Saxby’s post the Kings receiver general of the quit rents- Secondly, the Government of Carolina and I suppose to, the Lieut. Governor will be both vacant in a short time. The Treasury. If one could be appointed from home, that is an immense post.” John Drayton to James Glen, February 6, 1773, *James Glen Papers*, South Carolina Library. (hereafter SCL).

³⁶² Joyce Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, 78-79., Peter McCandless, *Slavery, Disease, and Suffering*, 30-31.

behind unacknowledged or unpaid debts when he returned to England on June 20, 1761.³⁶³

Before his departure, Glen and his brother-in-law made an arrangement whereby Drayton would manage Glen's business affairs in Carolina, and Glen would oversee the welfare and education of Drayton's sons in Great Britain. Over fifteen years, the two men corresponded regularly, which reveals the personality, character, and business skills of each man.³⁶⁴

During those fifteen years, John Drayton steadily improved his position economically and politically, developing his estate to an impressive size and refining his house. Drayton Hall was considered a "Palace," a brilliantly conceived and extravagantly executed country seat where Drayton Jr. was to live elegantly and well.³⁶⁵ The first and primary function of Drayton Hall was as a country seat and administrative center for Drayton's outlying plantations and his slaves. A 1775 Wells Almanack, containing notations in John Drayton handwriting indicates that Drayton Hall was producing corn grown in "the field," the "garden," and the "swamp" field. In 1776, more corn planted in "deer the field," the "Rye" field, and the "De Costa" field, with potatoes also being grown in the Decosta and Rye Fields. There is a possibility that John Drayton grew both oats and cotton on the property.³⁶⁶ The small Almanack records that John Drayton was administering four plantations from his seat at Drayton Hall from 1775-1777 when he was in his sixties: Bear Swamp, Long Savannah, Bob Savannah, and Mount Pleasant, which was composed

³⁶³ "In the fleet which sailed from this bar last Sunday, are gone passengers for England, James Glen, Esq, who was Governor-In-Chief of this province and, Rev, Mr. Charles Martyn, Rector of St. Andrews Parish." SCG, June 27, 1761.

³⁶⁴ From the correspondence between John Drayton Jr. and James Glen it becomes very clear, Drayton Jr. had a habit of not repaying his debts even when he was quite wealthy. This would have far reaching consequences. See W. Stitt Robinson, *James Glen: From Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996.)

³⁶⁵ "From this house [Jericho]you have the agreeable Prospect of the Honorable John Drayton, Esq.'s Palace and Gardens" SCG, December 22, 1758.

³⁶⁶ This record shows that Drayton Jr. produced 274 bushels of corn (61 at Drayton Hall), in October of 1775, and planted 38.5 bushels of corn in 1776. He produced a total of 345 bushels from the four plantations with the largest of 163 bushels harvested at Mt. Pleasant. Drayton Jr. also harvested 419 bushles of oats in November of 1775. *Wells Register: Together with an Almanack, 1775* (Charleston: Robert Wells, 1775), Copy at Drayton Hall.

of his Cosswatchie Lands. According to notations in the Alamanack, only Long Savannah, and Bear Swamp produced rice: one hundred barrels in 1775 and eighty-five and a half barrels in 1776. There are limited references to the quantities of livestock and poultry raised, as well as the overseers employed on each of the plantations.³⁶⁷

The secondary function was equally as important. Drayton Hall functioned as a “showplace for the display of authority, “but also built to impress both by its size and opulence. The main house served as a center of hospitality, hospitality, which was, in part, the function of sociability and in part, a method to display John Drayton’s generosity. The previously examined “two faces,” which Drayton Hall showed to the world, are indicative of this function. The Palladian façade represented absolute control, and the Georgian façade mirrored social gentility show that the design for the house, as well as its function, centralized authority, and hospitality. John Drayton, through hard work, advantageous marriages, shrewd business decisions, and political connections, ruled over his many plantations like an English Lord. Unlike his contemporaries in England, Drayton owned men who were his slaves, and their lives belonged to him exclusively. He could, when he chose, impose his will in matters related to the life and death of his slaves with impunity. Drayton Hall in both its design and function made clear the control John Drayton exercised over his land and the slaves who worked it.³⁶⁸

In 1755, Drayton Jr. began advertising in the *South Carolina Gazette* for overseers, which indicates he had enough producing land to warrant this added expense.³⁶⁹ From 1760 to 1777,

³⁶⁷ Drayton Hall pastured 118 of Drayton’s 411 cattle in 1775; the majority of his were kept at Mount Pleasant. 79 fowles were accounted for at Long Savannah after the departures of the overseer in November, 1775.

³⁶⁸ Archeologist Lynne Lewis believes that given the high percentage of decorative and personal possessions over utilitarian articles, “for a large part of its history, Drayton Hall was used as a business and entertainment center for the family.” Lynne G. Lewis, “The Planter Class: The Archeological Record at Drayton Hall,” an unpublished paper written for the Office of Historic Properties of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Copy at Drayton Hall.

³⁶⁹ SCG, September 19, 25, October 2-28, 1755. “Three or four overseers well recommended will meet with encouragement by applying to John Drayton,” SCG, *December 9, 1759*.

Drayton Jr. purchased a total of 6,270 acres, primarily in Granville County, for approximately £18,850 currency. He also purchased part of #165 on Broad Street for £6,100, which made a combined expenditure of £24, 950. In the same period during which Drayton purchased the Broad Street lot, in April and July of 1760, in addition to three major land purchases of 1,170 acres. He also acquired several land grants during this same period: two grants totaling 1391 acres adjoining his St. Andrews property, one grant for 1,500 acres in Granville County, and another for 1,085 in St. Paul's, both adjoining lands which he already owned. Also, Drayton received a grant for 2,000 acres on the Great Satilla River in Georgia. His total by 1772 was over 16,000 acres, with a cost of well over £43,000 in currency.³⁷⁰

It is estimated that Drayton Jr. planted one-third of his South Carolina lands in In-Land Swamp rice, giving him approximately 5,000 acres under cultivation. This assessment of the acreage divided into twenty-five 200-acre units or plantations would have required approximately forty slaves per plantation for a total of 720 slaves.³⁷¹ Unfortunately, since the amount and quality of rice would vary from year to year, as did the price, which could range from thirty-five to sixty shillings per hundred, there is no way to estimate Drayton's income from the production of rice.

On September 25th, 1762, an article in the *South Carolina Gazette* mentioned John Drayton's success as a planter of indigo. He had at least five plantations and 200 slaves devoted to its production. Based on an estimate of £35 to £40 sterling for the cost of each able-bodied slave, Drayton would have realized approximately £13,000 sterling from just his indigo crops.³⁷² None of this would be a clear profit as there were expenses for the care and the upkeep of both

³⁷⁰ *Cumulative Alphabetical Index*, 1765, microfilm (SCDAH), 10037.

³⁷¹ These figures are based on a two-hundred-acre rice plantation with forty slaves. In 1756, Dr. Alexander Garden calculated that a planter made between £15 and £30 pounds for every slave employed in the field.

³⁷² Morgan, "Work and Culture," 576.

the slaves and of the indigo fields would have been staggering, but Drayton continued to purchase land until 1776. During this period, John Drayton's estate included sixteen to twenty thousand acres of land, as far away as Kentucky. He owned more than nine hundred slaves, including those who tended to his townhouse on Ladson Street and his country seat at Drayton Hall. Also, during this period along with his brother-in-law Dr. William Bull, Drayton acquired 2,000 acres of land on the Satilla River in Georgia

Indigo flourished on high land where In-Land Swamp rice did not. Like rice, it was very labor-intensive to cultivate and produce. The plant needed little tending in the field, but the processing of indigo was a laborious process and more complicated than rice. When the leaves were harvested, slaves carried them to a series of enormous vats, filled with human urine. The leaves went through a fermentation process, as the slaves kept up a continuous pumping, stirring and beating. The rotting indigo, "emitted a putrid odor and attracted clouds of flies that only slaves could be forced to tolerate."³⁷³ The leaves were removed, and the bluish liquid drained into a series of vats, where the slaves beat the liquid with paddles. This process was repeated several times before the liquid was set with lime at just the right moment, requiring great skill. Once the sediment had settled to the bottom, the liquid was drawn off, leaving a blue mud. The mud was then strained, dried, cut into blocks, and dried again for shipping.³⁷⁴ Archaeological studies at John Drayton's plantations at Ashley Wood and Jericho discovered five sets of indigo vats and the remains of indigo fields.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America 1685-1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 148.

³⁷⁴ Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone*, 148.

³⁷⁵ Christopher Epenshade and Marian Roberts, *An Archaeological and Historical Overview of the Drayton Hall Tract*, (Charleston: Brockington and Associates, 1991,) 19.

There is very little information on how John Drayton treated his field slaves, but his treatment of James Glen's eight slaves indicates he was well aware that the productivity of his land depended on the productivity of his slaves. The Glen slaves worked on Drayton's lands under his supervision. Their debts and credits were balanced against his accounts in England and Scotland, which paid for the education of his sons William Henry and Charles Drayton as well as his younger sons, Glen and Thomas. In two financial reports sent to his brother-in-law, one for the years 1761-1764, and the other for the years 1765-1766, Drayton indicates he purchased "suits of clothes," and shoes for each slave each year, and a blanket every other year. Broad hoes were also purchased each year.³⁷⁶ If Drayton's accounting is accurate, it is significant that these slaves received tools to be kept in their possession, which was expected to last from one year to the next. Charles Drayton, the second owner of Drayton Hall, used this same management technique, making each of his slaves responsible for his or her equipment.

By 1764, William Henry had completed his education abroad and returned to South Carolina. Charles and Glen were still in school, with Thomas yet to come in 1770. The two boy's tuition alone cost James Glen, anywhere from £110 to £160 sterling per year, With an accumulation of tuition from 1764 to 1767 amounting to £510, and Drayton's other debts to Glen primarily Drayton's annuity payments to Glen as a part of Margaret Glen's marriage settlement, and a bond of Drayton's held by Glen, Drayton's total debt to Glen by 1767, was over £1,986.³⁷⁷ After graduating from Oxford University, Charles remained in England enrolling at the University of Edinburgh as a medical student. From 1767 to 1770, Charles's tuition and

³⁷⁶ Glen Rice Account, 1761-1764; 1765-1766, *James Glen Papers*, South Carolina Library.

³⁷⁷ Glen Drayton Account, 1764-1767, *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

expenses, while at the University of Edinburgh, amounted to over £350, which became a financial drain on his father, John Drayton.³⁷⁸

Frustrated by Charles's prolonged stay and his refusal to write, Drayton wrote harshly to Glen on December 24, 1769, ordering Charles home by Christmas. Charles refused, and he remained in Scotland, multiplying expenses. In the spring of 1770, John Drayton registered his fury in a letter when Charles feigned illness and did not take his final exams at the University of Edinburgh. He then traveled to London for the summer. In John Drayton's view, "Charles and the rest of his sons did not know or appreciate the many hot summer days I spent in the fields broiling my head, while they lived a life of ease and pleasure in England."³⁷⁹

James Glen attempted to excuse Charles's expenses by suggesting that he was spending part of his inheritance from his mother, Charlotta Bull, which appears to have been bound up in slaves and land. Drayton denied this assertion saying that Glen must be "joking," as the "slaves he inherited were old, and the profits from his land were quite small, not enough to pay for his education and expenses while in Scotland." The exact number of slaves Charles owned is not known, but Drayton assured Glen that for the past several years, they had only produced at the most forty barrels of rice and some years twenty barrels or less. Drayton believed that when Charles came back to South Carolina, the younger slaves with his supervision would produce more rice on his land holdings and turn a profit. Drayton believed his son's lengthy stay in England and Scotland was a waste of his money, and the "opportunities for Charles to marry a

³⁷⁸ James Glen carried £375 of Drayton's money with him, and Drayton enclosed a bill of exchange April 5, 1768 letter for £94,19.7 for a total of £470. John Drayton to James Glen, April 5, 1768, James Glen Papers, SCL.

³⁷⁹ John Drayton to James Glen December 24, 1769, *James Glen Papers*, SCL. Drayton had written in July that it was "high time" for Charles to think of "returning to his native country to exercise that knowledge" which he had acquired at such length and expense, and that he expected Charles home by Christmas 1769. John Drayton to James Glen, July 3, 1769, *Ibid.*

Charleston girl with a fine fortune had faded, for presently there were none in the marriage market.”³⁸⁰

John Drayton viewed his marriages and his sons as a business contract, all that Drayton expected from his investment in his four sons' educations were strategic marriages to wealthy heiresses, who were members of the Charleston plantocracy. John Drayton's mother, Ann, arranged his first two marriages to Sarah Cattell and Charlotta Bull, whose families were members of the Charleston plantocracy. From his experience, he knew how valuable kinship ties were in his boys achieving wealth and power. Drayton became very annoyed with his son Glen, who, while in England, turned down the opportunity to marry a very wealthy English heiress. The lady in question's mother was not a member of the English aristocracy and was a chambermaid before her marriage.³⁸¹ John Drayton's most significant irritant continued to be his second son Charles, who in 1769 was twenty-seven years old and had been away from Carolina since he was ten-years-old. Despite his father's harangues and threats of cutting off his expenses, Charles remained in England and Scotland for another two years, returning to Charleston as a physician in 1771.

By 1766, at the age of fifty-three, Margaret Drayton had arthritis and a persistent eye infection.³⁸² Charleston's hot climate and high humidity contributed to her malaise. Her health was always a concern of her brother, James Glen, who wrote to her in February of 1766, encouraging her to travel to Bermuda or the Northern Colonies to take a respite from

³⁸⁰ John Drayton to James Glen, July 3, 1769, *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

³⁸¹ John Drayton to James Glen, February 6, 1773, *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

³⁸² The ailments Margaret Glen suffered from were chronic and there were no cures for arthritis or her eye infection. Generally, one could speculate that her quality of life was quite poor. Like many other colonists in Charleston a geographical cure in England was preferable to remaining in South Carolina.

Charleston's disease environment.³⁸³ He also suggested she make a trip to England, as it had been twenty-three years since she left its shores.³⁸⁴ Plantation business would keep Drayton in South Carolina, but he encouraged his wife to take a trip to England in the hopes of repairing her health. Reluctantly, she agreed to leave her seven-year-old son Thomas with his father. On June 4, 1766, Lady Margaret Drayton sailed for England on board the packet boat, *Hillsborough*, Captain Leslie commanding.³⁸⁵

While in England, Lady Margaret Drayton did not recover quickly from her ill health and could not return to South Carolina until January 1769.³⁸⁶ Her sojourn in Charleston was to be quite short as she continued to suffer from debilitating arthritis, and this time with "Tommie," she sailed for England via Lisbon, along with the former Rector of St. Andrews, the Reverend Charles Martyn, and his family. Lady Margaret would never see Carolina again. She did not wish to make this second trip, but Drayton persuaded her by saying their youngest son Thomas would have to sail without her. She did not wish to be separated once again from her youngest child and agreed to the voyage with misgivings.³⁸⁷

³⁸³ James Glen to Lady Margaret Drayton, February 27, 1766, Dr. Charles Drayton Jr. Drayton Hall, copy of original at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁸⁴ James Glen to Lady Margaret Drayton, February 27, 1766, Personal Notes, Drayton Hall. These personal notes were taken from handcopied notes based on the original document at Historic Charleston Foundation.

³⁸⁵ "On Monday last sailed for Falmouth, his Majesty's Packet-boat the Hillsborough, Captain, Leslie Grovein whom went passengers, Lady Margaret Drayton, William Blake, Miss Rebecca Izard, Mr. Heyward, and Mr. Huger. *Georgia Gazette*, June 4, 1766. Note: Passengers in colonial newspapers were usually listed in order of social and political importance.

³⁸⁶ Lady Margaret Drayton's ill-health seems to have derived from arthritis and an eye complaint. There is a high probability she suffered from chronic malaria. John Drayton to James Glen, March 1, 1767, James Glen Papers, SCL. Lady Margaret Drayton arrived here from London in the *Little Carpenter*, Captain Richard Maitland. SCG.

³⁸⁷ Drayton Jr. initially had not wished his wife to make the second trip to abroad, indicating as much to James Glen in the July 3, 1769 letter. John Drayton Jr. to James Glen, July 3, 1769 James Glen Papers SCL. "The morning sailed for Lisbon, the ship *London*, Capt. Curling, having onboard as passengers, the Rev. Charles Martyn (late rector of St. Andrew's Parish) and family, and Lady Margaret Drayton and son, Thomas, who intend from thence to England." SCG.

In March of 1771, Glen wrote to Drayton that his goodness to Lady Margaret demanded his “sincere and hearty thanks.” Glen believed that Drayton's actions in sending his sister to England saved her life. Even so, she was still quite sickly, but the purse her husband provided was quite generous, allowing her to live in comfort while in England. Glen told Drayton Jr. that “such behavior [generosity] from husbands to wives is unfashionable in England.” Instead, Glen commented on there being “constant disputes between man and wife, disgusts, divorces, and separate maintenances.”³⁸⁸ Within a year, Drayton’s “generosity” would change with unfortunate results.

Glen Drayton, who showed so much promise as a boy, never realized his full potential, and of all, Drayton’s sons ended up with no money or means doomed to failure. He was the most talented and also the most infuriating: a joy to his mother, Lady Margaret Drayton, and Uncle James Glen and the most aggravating to his father and brothers. Glen received tutoring like his older half-brothers and then attended St. Andrews University in Scotland from 1769 to 1771. Drayton was expelled from his school in Scotland based on an accusation that he fathered a child with a chambermaid.³⁸⁹ John Drayton described Glen as “wild and ungovernable.” He despaired that even his “Governor” had “no control or sway” over his behavior. “He will never make a scholar,” Drayton wrote James Glen in December of that year, “He makes balls and assemblies.”³⁹⁰

John Drayton, in regards to his son's behavior, did not hold James Glen responsible but instead berated Lady Margaret for Glen’s conduct, both social and economic. Drayton could not

³⁸⁸ James Glen to John Drayton Jr., March 27, 1771, Dr. Charles Drayton Jr. Folder, Drayton Hall; Personal Notes Drayton Hall.

³⁸⁹ Student Borrowing Register, St. Andrews University Library, Glen Drayton, November 1, 1769 to January 11, 1771.

³⁹⁰ John Drayton to James Glen, December 24, 1769, *James Glen Paper*, SCL.

understand how she could be in Britain for four years, and not see “all this coming upon our son and not inform me of the truth.” He lamented, ‘Oh, how hard is my fate to live and see my sons turn out all bad and extravagant to the last degree.’ Drayton seemed to be in denial regarding Lady Margaret Drayton’s health, making it almost impossible for her to supervise a willful and disobedient teenage son.³⁹¹ He even threatened to sell his estate, complaining about “all the sweat and toil that went into creating Drayton Hall and the Drayton estate for his ungrateful sons.” He declared that he would “Sooner leave it to a stranger.”³⁹²

John Drayton’s purpose in sending his sons to England for education was to ensure they became gentlemen and were ready to take their place as members of Charleston’s plantocracy. However, he never ceased complaining about the costs of providing an education for his sons, which was significant. Many Carolinians educated their sons in England during this period, and they too complained about the costs, but the majority of them were only educating one or two sons.³⁹³ All four Drayton sons while in London were expected to become acquainted with the sons of the English aristocracy. Very quickly, Drayton’s sons discovered “to do things one must have money,” which left them always asking their father for more funds.³⁹⁴ John Drayton never visited Great Britain and never grasped how expensive it was to live as an upper-class member of society. The “extravagances” of living in London as a student could be quite shocking, it cost two guineas “entrance” and two guineas a month just for dancing lessons. When the Drayton

³⁹¹ Lady Margaret Drayton’s two sons, Glen and Thomas were born to her when she most likely had given up on having children. As far as their mother was concerned they could never do any wrong.

³⁹² John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, July 30, 1772, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall.

³⁹³ Peter Timothy, publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette*, in 1765, estimated that planters and merchants educating their sons abroad took £2000 out of the colony annually. Found in Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), 101.

³⁹⁴ The sons of the Charleston Plantocracy, who were sent to Great Britain for a classical education all too often were treated like provincials. The treatment they received while in school abroad as outsiders played a role in many of their decisions to support the Revolutionary War. Examples of Charlestonians who were leaders in the fight for Independence are, Arthur Middleton, William Henry Drayton, Jame Moultrie, Thomas Lynch and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Seminar Early American History, University of Georgia, October, 2003 Jack Greene.

sons stayed in a country house, they found that tipping servants there would exceed a three-day stay “in any tavern in London.”³⁹⁵

In 1772, even with his two eldest sons back in South Carolina, Drayton still had two sons, Glen and also Thomas, being educated abroad, and they too were spending his hard-earned money. Lady Margaret Drayton was in a very weakened state of health. Despite her poor state of being, John Drayton continued to hold her responsible for their son's actions and spending. In July of that year, Lady Margaret wanted to return to Carolina, but Drayton refused to allow it. He admonished her that she was to turn to James Glen for help and keep a close account of the two boys spending.³⁹⁶ In September of 1772, Drayton attempted to settle his affairs in Carolina and travel to England to be near his wife, as her health was deteriorating. “I am endeavoring to make my affairs so I can go to England,” he wrote her, and if you come here it will not only give me the most considerable unease but prevent me going to England to repair my shattered health and constitution and will also be a means of cutting off some years of my life.”³⁹⁷

John Drayton increasingly became more querulous and critical with his family, including Lady Margaret Drayton. For example, Drayton made oblique threats against his sickly wife for not sending Glen home to Carolina because of his bad behavior. “You seem not to regard my orders; I shall be obeyed whether you will or not, I have the means in my hands.”³⁹⁸ The economic threats John Drayton made towards his wife were meaningless because in August, before he even wrote the letter, Lady Margaret Drayton had died in England two months short of

³⁹⁵ *Peter Manigault Letterbook, June 25, 1750; August 28, 1750; February 20, 1751, SCHS.*

³⁹⁶ John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, July 30, 1772, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall.

³⁹⁷ John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, September 9, 1772, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall.

³⁹⁸ John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, September 9, 1772, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall.

her fifty-ninth birthday.³⁹⁹ The one steady influence in John Drayton's life was gone leaving him a widower with four sons he despised.⁴⁰⁰

John Drayton's factors in London at the time of Lady Margaret's death were Graham & Clarke. He claimed the factors had assured him that his wife could draw on them for whatever monies she needed beyond what reserves were in Drayton's account. John Drayton asserted he had sent his wife funds but instead in a fit of pique over his two youngest sons spending in England; he left his wife in straitened financial circumstances. Because Drayton kept that year's rice crop out of the market, holding it back for a better price, he had no current balance with his factors, Graham & Clarke. With Drayton's shrewd business sense, it is highly unlikely he was not aware of the zero balance in his account.⁴⁰¹ Lady Margaret Drayton was forced to appeal to Clarke for an advance of £110, but he made it clear there would be no more money forthcoming. Drayton would later insist on Glen that Clarke had deceived him, "promising to advance whatever sums of money she needed." If Clarke had not made such a promise, Drayton wrote to Glen in February of 1773, Drayton would have "sold the shirt on his back to ensure she had no money worries."⁴⁰² This last letter highlights Drayton's propensity to absolve himself of the financial need, which marked Lady Margaret's final days. Once again, Drayton revealed his concern was for his economic good, which in this case was the holding back of his rice from the market in England for a better price. Not only did John Drayton refuse to accept responsibility for the repercussions in his financial dealings with Graham & Clarke, but he attempted to paint

³⁹⁹ John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, September 9, 1772, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall.

⁴⁰⁰ "Died: Lady Margaret Drayton, Wife of the Honourable John Drayton, Esq. & Sister of his Excellency James Glen Esq., and Late Governour of this Province, a Lady possessed of many amiable and valuable Qualities." SCG, October 13, 1772.

⁴⁰¹ Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream*, 108-109.

⁴⁰² Although the September 29, 1772 letter is not available, there is reason to believe that in it Drayton threatens to cut off his wife's own funds if she persisted in giving them to Glen. John Drayton to Lady Margaret Drayton, Personal notes, Drayton Hall.

himself as the wronged party. He ignored the fact that his ill wife was married to one of the wealthiest men in Carolina and died in need of money, away from her family and friends and the comforts of Drayton Hall.

With a touch of irony, Drayton requested that James Glen put up a “monument to the memory of his dear wife,” and “mourning rings” for Glen, Lady Margaret Drayton’s, Brother Thomas Glen, her two sisters, and her sons Glen and Thomas.⁴⁰³ In the accounts which James Glen sent to John Drayton, there is no mention of a monument or the rings in memory of his deceased wife. James Glen was a very patient man who, as he had done many times before, paid for these things himself and did not include them in the accounts, which he sent to his brother-in-law.

6.4 John Drayton and Atlantic World Material Culture

In the eighteenth century, Charlestonians followed English styles influenced by the French. Ordering full suits of clothing, accessories, and fabrics from English merchants through their factors in London. The planters would specify, styles, fabric, trimming, and color, and then rely on the merchants to send goods which meet the planter’s “high standards of taste.” Considerable time could elapse between the order and the delivery. Charleston merchants and shopkeepers would stock “carefully selected merchandise,” including the most current fashion dolls, dressed in the latest styles for those unwilling to wait for English imports. Local dressmakers and tailors could compete with their English counterparts by producing finished goods quite quickly, and dry goods merchants would keep the necessary materials on hand for

⁴⁰³ John Drayton to James Glen, September 10, 1773. *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

the selection and production of locally made-to-order garments.⁴⁰⁴ Between 1770 and 1774, John Drayton purchased from Charleston merchants, plain and figured lawn, silk, lace, and dimity, Irish linen, gown patterns, papers of pins, threads, worked lace, a quilted woman's coat, and a scarlet hooded woman's cape. Lady Margaret Drayton was in London from July of 1770 until her death in July of 1772, and John Drayton had no daughters. He would remain a widower until 1775, leaving unanswered who received the clothing.

Women in eighteenth-century Charleston in their quest to emulate the gentry in London wore skirts and petticoats over hoops so full; they had turn sideways to enter buildings. Favorite fabrics for women were light and dainty: taffeta, damask, satin, corded silk, and lawn, all in plain or striped material with delicate floral patterns in pastel shades. Decorations were of floral, lace, and ribbon. In the summer months, on less formal occasions, Charleston women replaced their wigs with light caps, and the sacque style and negligee replaced the formal gowns with their stays and hoops skirts.⁴⁰⁵

The male members of the Charleston plantocracy wore richly embroidered coats, with turned-back cuffs, elegantly worked waistcoats over stiffened shirts and breeches. In the hot, humid Carolina summers, a gentlemen's wig gave way to a turban, and a linen shirt and a light vest replaced the more cumbersome formal attire. Wealthier men, such as John Drayton during the summer months, wore a banyan robe: a loose and lightweight garment worn a light shirt and breeches. Gentlemen during the colder seasons in Charleston wore wigs, but in spring and

⁴⁰⁴ Gail Gibson, "Costume and Fashion in Charleston, 1769-1782," *SCHMG*, 82 (July, 1981), 226-227.

⁴⁰⁵ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Looking at Eighteenth Century Clothing", <https://www.history.org/history/clothing/intro/clothing.cfm>. Gibson, 230, 232-234. Chris Tilley and Webb Keane eds. *Handbook of Material Culture*, (London: Sage Publications LTD,

summer wore a tricorne felt hat with silver-topped canes or a sword completing their ensemble. The South Carolina elite dressed in clothes that mirrored their opulent lifestyles.⁴⁰⁶

In keeping with John Drayton's image as a gentleman planter, the furnishings at Drayton were of the English styles. Many undocumented pieces are attributed to this period of Drayton Hall and are believed to be of English or Irish manufacture. These pieces include several chairs, a settee, a pier table, whose Greek meander design would have complimented the fireplace over mantle on the first floor, Great Hall. These pieces are typical of the late Georgian period when Thomas Chippendale's furniture dominated.⁴⁰⁷ Between 1770 and 1774, Drayton purchased furniture locally from Charleston cabinet maker Thomas Elfe, a mahogany bed for his son, Charles, a mahogany dining room table, a pier table, a sideboard table, two sofas, four-armed chairs, nine mahogany tables, three chests of drawers, a library table, floor carpets, and sizeable gilt-framed mirror.⁴⁰⁸ These pieces were formal and masculine, precisely what would have appealed to John Drayton. One of the most puzzling items John Drayton ordered from Elfe was "a coffin blacked for a child."⁴⁰⁹

On June 22, 1773, Drayton Hall was broken into by a group of slaves, whose leader was named Ceasar. None of these slaves belonged to John Drayton. In addition to stealing 'candles, wine, sugar, rum, bacon, soap, and a bale of cloth, the vandals damaged several pieces of mahogany furniture, which included a dining room table, tea table, and six chairs. In 1772, John Drayton purchased these same items from Thomas Elfe, and he mended and replaced them for

⁴⁰⁶ Children were dressed in the same clothing as adults only in miniature. Gibson, 236.

⁴⁰⁷ Simon Swynfen Jervis, Furniture History, Vol.42 (2006), *Furniture In Eighteenth- Century Country House Guides*. The Furniture History Society

⁴⁰⁸ Miscellaneous Records, Bill of Sale, Charles Drayton to Rebecca Drayton, September 10, 1783, Book 7-2, SCDAH 471-478. Thomas Chippendale's Gentlemen's and Cabinet Maker's Directory was published in England in 1754. Tilley and Keane, *Material Culture*, 67-68.

⁴⁰⁹ There is no record of a Drayton child having died in 1774. Thomas Elfe Account Book, January, 1772; February 13, 1775; August 10, 1774, SCHS. Generally, this type of coffin was used for the burial of a favorite slaves child.

the same price on June 30, 1773.⁴¹⁰ Once again, Drayton Hall was broken into on June 10, 1775, by a slave named Andrew, who was not owned by John Drayton, but there is no record as to what he stole.

John Drayton not only purchased furniture intended to showcase and compliment Drayton Hall's decorative elements, but also, including the most fashionable high-quality tableware, and a collection of Chinese export porcelain. In the late 1760s, Drayton changed to newer creamware, primarily found in plates, platters, and soup plates. There was also a set of Old Feather Edge style tableware and a smaller breakfast set. Archaeological studies indicate the Drayton's had extensive glassware: wine glasses, tumblers, plates, bowls decanters, and candlesticks, all of lead crystal.⁴¹¹ The silver used at Drayton Hall as tableware is not known, but the present-day Drayton family has in its possession a gold-wash over silver Georgian tea service, which dates from this period.⁴¹²

It is open to speculation if Drayton Hall ever contained window hangings, but there are existing pieces of toile, in cream with printed mulberry pastoral scenes, which could be attributed to the house during this period.⁴¹³ It is unknown what type of carpet John Drayton used during his ownership of Drayton Hall. There were several carpet styles available in Charleston during the colonial period, "painted floor carpets, woolen rugs, floor carpets, cotton carpets, woven carpets, India carpets, or Turkey carpets."⁴¹⁴ Drayton Hall's lighting consisted of candles set in candlesticks, sconces, chandeliers, and glass lamps available after 1750.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹⁰ *Thomas Elfe Account Book, May 30, 1772; June 29, 1773.* SCHS.

⁴¹¹ Lynne Lewis, "Preliminary Archeological Investigation at a Low Country Plantation." 107, unpublished paper at, copy at Drayton Hall.

⁴¹² Lewis, *Interim Report*, 13-15.

⁴¹³ Tom Savage, Lecture to Historic Charleston Foundation Docents, February, 1982, transcript. Drayton Hall.

⁴¹⁴ Anna Wells Rutledge, "After the Cloth was Removed," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 4 (1968), 51.

⁴¹⁵ Mary H. North end, *Colonial Homes and their Furnishings* (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1912), 76, 166-167.

John Drayton decorated several of his fireplaces with delft tiles, which were hand-worked ceramic designs of blue in a variety of patterns made in Holland. The tiles made the second-floor bedchambers, which had no over mantels more attractive and kept the more simply decorated fireplaces the center of the focus of the room. John Drayton's use of blue delft tiles added refinement even to his private rooms.

One of the most unusual support buildings constructed by John Drayton was a seven-seat outdoor privy, which is the only surviving structure from the original construction in 1749. It features the same decorative quoins at its corners, as does the basement level of the main house.⁴¹⁶ Inside the privy, there was a wooden rail running the length of the wall, which has seven evenly spaced rectangular notches hinting at the placements for the seven seats. What makes the privy unusual is a drainage system to ensure all the waste flowed way from the structure. Drayton's privy may be one of the first septic systems in the colonies. The seven-seat privies sizes ranged from large to small to accommodate adults and children. Young men and servants used the privy, while family members had a commode chair in their rooms with pottery receptacles. House slaves, as part of their duties, had the unenviable and dirty job of cleaning the pottery receptacles using the private stairs.⁴¹⁷

Like the majority of planters, John Drayton owned horses and kept at least one carriage. He had smaller conveyances a "chair," such as on a vehicle with two large wheels and a single seat pulled by two geldings.⁴¹⁸ As a planter, Drayton rode and hunted, which were a necessary part of his life. In 1775, an account of mares and other horses sent to Drayton's various

⁴¹⁶ Kate Ragged, *American Architecture I: Fall 2011. November 18, 2011*. "Seen but Dismissed, Designed but Disguised: Outhouses at Single-Family Dwellings in the American Atlantic.", 5-7, 21-25.

⁴¹⁷ Lynne Lewis, posits that the drain was added before 1760. Lewis, "Interim Report," 13, 14, 18.

⁴¹⁸ SCG, October 6, 1759; SC&AGG, June 10, July 15, 1774.

plantations across the Lowcountry, lists by color or by name twenty-two horse.⁴¹⁹ John Drayton was also interested in horse racing, which was considered a hobby by members of the plantocracy. In 1754, the New Market racecourse was laid out on the Charleston Neck, adjacent to Drayton's Pickpocket property, and races took place there for the first time in February of 1760. In March of 1762, Drayton imported from England Pharaoh, "a Horse of high blood as any in England," not to race but to put to stud. John Drayton was never a gambler and instead chose the more economically sound method of breeding and pursued it as a business. He charged five guineas per mare and with a guarantee if "any mare not with foal could be sent back the next season or spring following."⁴²⁰

In addition to transportation by land, John Drayton had constructed a dock on the Ashley River, where he kept canoes to navigate the rivers and creeks adjacent to his land. Drayton used boats to send supplies to, and remove crops from his Stono lands, his Coosawatchie lands, his Wateree lands, his Edisto lands, and his Cawcaw and Cypress Swamplands. He also owned two schooners, the "Diligence" used for inter-plantation freight and the "Dispatch," a fourteen-ton coastal schooner built-in 1761.⁴²¹

The most up to date fashions, furnishings, and equipages, as well as Drayton Hall's architectural design, created an air of opulence that impressed travelers like Josiah Quincy and Johann Schoepl, one a colonial, and the other a European. John Drayton's life mirrored other members of the Charleston plantocracy, who entertained on a lavish scale. The finely carved and embellished decorative elements served as a backdrop for the many amusements of the ladies

⁴¹⁹ *Wells Almanack*, December 2, 1775.

⁴²⁰ *SCG*, March 6, 1762. While John Drayton preferred the more economically sound method of breeding his two sons, William Henry and Glen gambled excessively and found they owing large amounts of money for their horse racing debts.

⁴²¹ *Wells Almanack* February 6, 1776; George C. Rogers, Jr., ed, *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vol.5 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1979), 257. "In the gale of the 19th past a Schooner belonging to the Hon. John Drayton , Esq; blown off is got to save into Cape-Fear." *SCG&CJ*.

and gentlemen who were guests, which would include, tea, cards, dancing, and small concerts. The conversations centered on slaves, rice, and the British by men and the house slaves, fashion, and children by the women. Elegant four-course meals would include the native game, turtles, puddings, “nick-knacks, jellies, preserves, and sweetmeats,” all served with fine and varied wines.⁴²²

Drayton Hall’s landscapes and gardens were designed by John Drayton to serve as an accent to the main house and signify his wealth and position as a member of the Charleston plantocracy. There is no documentation in the Drayton Papers Collection regarding the landscape and gardens during John Drayton’s ownership. It appears that the design for the landscape and gardens at Drayton Hall were inspired by works of the seventeenth-century landscape architect, Le Notre whose designs featured elaborate parterres, ornamental canals, topiaries, and sculptures.⁴²³ Although John Drayton owned over 800 slaves, it is doubtful; he would have employed them for labor-intensive landscape designs. One design by Le Notre, the avenue – one main axis speeding from the house to the horizon, influenced the layout of Drayton Hall’s allee lined with live oaks. The allee located on the land side of the main house ran from the entrance of the Ashley River Road to the Palladian Portico. In the eighteenth as Palladian architecture became popular in England, William Kent introduced the picturesque landscape garden design, where previous linear arrangements, were replaced by serpentine routes.⁴²⁴ The picturesque design was adapted to Carolina’s climate and featured ha’s to control the movements and grazing of livestock and wildlife with irregular asymmetrical elements and occasional

⁴²² Quincy, 445, 450; Bridenbaugh, 77.

⁴²³ James R. Cothran, *Gardens of Historic Charleston*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) 22-23.

⁴²⁴ Remnants of a Serpentine walkway were discovered in 2002, by Barbara Spence Orsolits in researching the Landscape and Garden History at Drayton Hall.

statuary.⁴²⁵ In an advertisement on December 22, 1758: the *South Carolina Gazette* made references to the landscape and gardens

Charles Fauchard, advertising the sale of his property “Ashley Wood and Jericho” directly across from Drayton Hall “from the house at Jericho that one had an agreeable prospect of Drayton Hall and the Honorable John Drayton Esq. Palace and Gardens.”

Historic landscape researchers, including this scholar, have conjectured that in the 1760s and 1770s, Drayton Hall had the equivalent of a Deer Park, an area in which specific plants were grown to provide a feeding ground for deer.⁴²⁶ This type of landscape would have been easy to cultivate and maintain. The Drayton family and guests could walk in the park and admire grazing animals just as the British aristocracy did in the big country houses of England. Near the Ashley River stands the remains of an Orangery built soon after the completion of Drayton Hall. In the eighteenth century, much of the earth was experiencing what became known as the Little Ice Age. Temperatures in Carolina were colder than anticipated resulting in lemons, limes, oranges, fruit trees, and tender plants freezing when grown outside. The Orangery served as a greenhouse but also as a garden room in the winter months. The remains of the Orangery are still visible and located near the Ashley River.⁴²⁷

An anecdote appeared in the 1885 edition of *Harper's Magazine*, in which “many persons in Charleston remember the stories told by their fathers and mothers of dinner parties and other entertainments given at Drayton Hall when carpets were laid down over the broad flights of stairs at both entrances and out to the carriageway, that the ladies might alight and enter

⁴²⁵ Drayton Hall Historic Master Landscape Plan, Van Valkenburgh and Associates, 2003, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Copy at Drayton Hall.

⁴²⁶ Carl R. Lounsbury Editor, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape*, (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 110. (hereafter, Lounsbury Ed. *An Illustrated Glossary*.)

⁴²⁷ Lounsbury Ed. *An Illustrated Glossary*, 247.

without endangering the satin of their robes.”⁴²⁸ This description may be fanciful, but during John Drayton’s ownership of Drayton Hall, few Carolinians could match his show or splendor.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Lawrence Stone believes the only responsibilities incumbent on the landed gentry were the holding of office and to pass on intact their house and estate to a “responsible appropriately educated son who would succeed him.”⁴²⁹ By 1762 John Drayton had achieved his goal of becoming a member of the Royal Council, but the goal of achieving fiscal prudence for himself would become an ongoing challenge. Three of his sons, William Henry, Charles, and Glen, were a constant drain on his resources, as they had never learned how to budget and manage their finances while in Great Britain. Drayton continually carped about his son's expenses and disobedience to anyone who would listen. James Glen always stood up for the Drayton boys and provided them with funds when they were in need. James Glen would prove to be a generous and constant figure to the boys as they grew into manhood. He would always offer words of encouragement, unlike their hypercritical father.

The cost of building Drayton Hall, even over ten or twenty years, would have been enormous. Between 1755 and 1765, John Drayton’s land purchases amounted to more than £18,000. These expenditures would have been a constant drain on Drayton’s resources. Although no accounts exist in England, the average cost of building a unit, or 100 square feet of living space, was £40 until 1780. Given this number, the amount for just the shell of Drayton Hall would have cost £30,721 sterling.⁴³⁰ John Drayton would have been able to use some slave labor to construct the shell of Drayton Hall, but master craftsman executed the overall design and plan, as well as the decorative elements. The fittings for the main house and the furnishings, as

⁴²⁸ *Harper’s Magazine*, LII (December, 1885), 5.

⁴²⁹ Stone, *An Open Elite*, 267-269.

⁴³⁰ Stone, *An Open Elite*, 356.

well as the design and upkeep for the landscape and outbuildings, would have resulted in an ever-increasing outlay of money.

In 1765, John Drayton added two flanker buildings to Drayton Hall. This period marks the most significant and continual drain on Drayton's finances. Consequently, the flanker buildings were much smaller and less solidly built. Each of the two-story flankers was approximately 1,222 square feet, and much smaller than the one-story flanker at Roswell in Virginia (1,400 square feet), or the two-story flanker at Carter's Grove also in Virginia (2,400 square feet) all of the same period as the construction of Drayton Hall.⁴³¹ The flankers at Drayton Hall, according to Palladian design elements, as seen at Kelmarsh Hall, provided balance to the main house. The two structures stood to the north and south sides of the Palladian façade, located on the landside. A low brick wall connected the flankers to the main house. The first floor of each flanker was raised above ground level with an entrance from the outside, via three-tiered brick staircases.

The south flanker's design featured a foundation two courses wide, with an additional one-half course, for support. Running east to west, this flanker had two rooms on the first floor with a central fireplace opening only to the west room. Archaeologist Lynne Lewis, who has conducted extensive studies and research at Drayton Hall, believes that this flanker served as a kitchen, which is supported by the faunal materials recovered near the flanker.⁴³² A well to the southwest of the main house situated near the flanker, which would have been convenient for cooking.

⁴³¹ Lewis, Personal Interview; Lewis, "Interim Report," 13-15

⁴³² Archeological evidence indicates that servants threw garbage out the door of the flanker. This flanker was destroyed in the 1883, hurricane and was subsequently razed.

The north flanker, also no longer standing, was a two-story brick structure with a central fireplace and with a foundation of two courses that sat directly on the ground, indicating that this structure was built more quickly at a reduced cost. The main house, privy, and the south flanker have “deeper, more well-built foundations.”⁴³³ The flanker ran east to west but was on the north side of the house. From existing artifacts, Lewis believes the south flanker was built first, with the one on the north being built quickly afterward for Georgian balance. Excavations also revealed that the north flanker served for domestic functions such as washing, sewing, weaving, or housing for Drayton’s slaves.⁴³⁴

6.5 William Henry Drayton: The Prodigal Son Returns

The 1760s was a period in John Drayton’s life when his aspirations for wealth and power came to fruition. With the addition of the flankers to the main house, Drayton Hall was complete and fulfilled Drayton’s dream of gentleman’s country seat, which rivaled any structure in Britain. He was now in a position to reap the benefits of his hard work, as a member of the Charleston plantocracy, and his many possessions, which in Drayton’s mind included his sons. In middle age, John Drayton began to react with rage and contempt towards his sons and to belittle them. These years should have been his happiest, but instead, he became impatient and angry when he did not receive the treatment due to him as their father. In his dealings with other members of the Charleston plantocracy, he began to acquire a reputation for being extremely difficult and overbearing.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ Lewis, “Interim Report,” 20, 34.

⁴³⁴ Ibid, 20-21. According to the Drayton family the 1886 earthquake destroyed the north flanker. Given the shallowness of the foundation, it is very likely the foundation collapsed then.

⁴³⁵ These traits are consistent with a narcissistic personality, which in John Drayton began to develop as a young man.

In June of 1763, William Henry Drayton returned to Charleston with an English education and the bearings of a gentleman and aristocrat. John Drayton made arrangements for his son to marry Dorothy Golightly, the daughter of Culcheth Golightly and Mary Butler Elliot, “a very amiable young lady, and an heiress of great fortune and merit.”⁴³⁶ Culcheth Golightly married Mary Elliott on March 30, 1746, and they had two daughters before his death on December 23, 1749. In his will of December 17, 1749, Golightly left an estate valued almost £20,000 to his daughters Dorothy and Mary.⁴³⁷ “Dolly Golightly” was born March 29, 1747, at Fairlawn, her parents Ashley River plantation. In 1753, her family moved to Charleston, where Dorothy and her sister Mary boarded at Miss Sarah Simpson’s school. Later, the girls received tutoring at home, with lessons in French, geography, and the Harpsichord.

Eliza Pinckney was a close friend of the Golightly family as well as a friend to the Draytons. She cared for William Henry Drayton and Charles while she was in England with her family. Having known Dorothy and William Henry since they were children and was a friend to both families, Mrs. Pinckney played a role in arranging the marriage between twenty-year-old Drayton and sixteen-year-old Dorothy Golightly. Their marriage was what John Drayton envisioned for his eldest son on his return from London. Dorothy Golightly was an heiress and brought £40,000 with her to the marriage. The Golightly’s kinship ties across the Lowcountry allowed William Henry Drayton to make both political and social connections in his own right.⁴³⁸ Through Drayton’s marriage, he acquired the Golightly plantation at the Horseshoe, a

⁴³⁶ On the Thursday last *William Henry Drayton, Esq;* son of *John Drayton, Esq;* was married to *Mrs. Dorothy Golightly, SCG*, March 31, 1764.

⁴³⁷ Drayton Bible, Merriweather Papers, SCL; Inventory of the Estate of Culcheth Golightly, 1749-1763 copy courtesy Elias Bull.

⁴³⁸ Drayton-Golightly Marriage Contract, Copy at Drayton Hall. In order to gain control of his wife’s estate, Drayton sued the Directors of the estate in February of 1765. *William Henry Drayton & Wife V. Exerts of Culcheth Golightly* February 25, 1765, Miscellaneous Records, Book NN, SCDAH.

tract of 1,076 acres with three settlements producing rice and indigo, and a lot at the corner of Tradd and Church Street in Charleston, where he constructed a town residence.

In October of 1765, William Henry Drayton, with the encouragement of his father and Uncle Glen were elected as a Justice of the Peace for St. James Parish. In 1767, his fellow rice planters in Berkeley County voted for him to serve Justice of the Peace. Drayton also represented St. Andrews in the 27th Royal Assembly of the House of Commons. Just like his father, John Drayton, William Henry found service in the Commons unrewarding. He realized this position would not serve as a path to achieving political power and influence.⁴³⁹ Instead, between August and December of 1769, William Henry Drayton began an essay war with Christopher Gadsden and John Mackenzie. The Freeman debates grew out of the Townsend Acts of 1767 when the British Parliament placed a tax on several goods imported to the colonies from Great Britain, including tea and glass. In mid-1769, South Carolina adopted a Non-Importation-Agreement, in which planters and merchants agreed (1) to encourage and promote South Carolina manufactured goods, as well as North American manufactured goods; (2) There would be no imports of Great Britain, European or East Indian manufactured goods, except negro cloth, planter's and workmen's tools, nails, guns, and armaments; (3) To use no mourning goods or scarves; (4) to import no Negroes after July 1, 1770; and (5) to import no wines after July 1, 1770. The Non-Importation-Agreement called for the ostracism of all who refused to comply with the agreements. The movement found overwhelming support amongst the majority of the Charleston plantocracy, but none of the Draytons, Bulls, Pinckneys, or Middleton families signed it.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁹ William Henry Drayton's son John Drayton II believed that William Henry Drayton's "ardent mind would not permit him to move in a common sphere." Drayton, *Memoirs*, vol 1, XVI.

⁴⁴⁰ SCG, July 20, 1769.

Beginning in August of 1769, William Henry Drayton's published a series of essays attacking the Non-Importation-Agreement, published in the *South Carolina Gazette* with the signature of "Free-Man." Drayton and his ally William Wragg, a respected planter and politician, argued that the association was an "illegal decree," which constituted an unlawful confederacy damaging men (who did not sign it) both economically and socially. The "Free-Man" essays in a letter form were short and satirical. They allowed Drayton to express his disapproval while ridiculing his outspoken opponent Christopher Gadsden continuing until December of 1769.⁴⁴¹ During this period, Drayton was not serving in the Commons House, but he directed a petition to Peter Manigault, the speaker of the body, asking for legal redress against the last resolution of the July 22 Non-Importation Agreements, forbidding non-subscribers from selling and exporting rice and indigo to Europe. Manigault refused to allow the petition to be read before the house. Drayton then took his argument to the public; the *South Carolina Gazette* published the petition on December 14, 1769.

While in school in London, William Henry Drayton was introduced to the chief eighteenth-century amusements of the English upper class: cards, billiards, and racing, all of which involved wagering. Games of chance were the undoing of several southern young men who believed "the anticipation of a payout always justified the wager." From 1764 to 1770, at his Horseshoe plantation, Drayton bred horses for racing, and one in particular, a roan named Adolphus. In January 1769, Adolphus ran at the New Market Races, and Drayton's luck came to an end. His horse lost, and William Henry Drayton found himself in debt, owing £1000.

⁴⁴¹ Such articles were generally signed with a pseudonym in order to avoid the charge of libel or treason, but in the second letter of September 21, Drayton identified himself as "the person who bears the names to which W.H.D. are the initial letters." *Ibid.*, September 21, 1769.

Initially, a wife worth £40,000 Drayton in the early years of his marriage did not have to work. Instead, with too much leisure time and no focus, Drayton almost ruined himself and his family.

Like other Drayton wives, almost nothing is known about Dorothy Drayton, other than the births and deaths of her children. On Jun 22, 1767, Dorothy bore her first child, a son, named after his grandfather, John Drayton. Her second son died in October of 1769, just one month before the birth of her last son, who was named William Henry. Just eight months after the death of her second son, the seventeen-month-old William Henry died and was buried on May 13, 1700, while his father was abroad in England. Her fourth and last child, Mary, was born on March 1, 1774.⁴⁴² Dorothy Drayton cared for her children and houses but was in ill health. Her close friend from childhood, Harriet Pinckney Horry, described her “as being confined to her chambers much of the time and looked piteously.”⁴⁴³ Horry’s mother, Eliza Lucas Pinckney, once again stepped in looked after Dorothy Drayton as her health failed and provided financial support. In their relationships with kin, members of the Charleston plantocracy valued shared cooperation and balanced reciprocity. They expected relatives to step in and help one another no matter what. The Drayton’s kinship network, which consisted of the Middleton, Bull, and Elliott families in the wake of William Henry Drayton’s failure to fulfill his familial obligations stepped in to fill the void in Dorothy Drayton’s final days.⁴⁴⁴

Unlike his father, William Henry Drayton did not receive a practical education.⁴⁴⁵ While in London, he was schooled in Latin and Greek, not in finances or buying and selling staple

⁴⁴² Drayton Bible, Merriweather Papers, SCL; “May 13, 1770 was buried William Henry (son of William Henry and Dorothy Drayton), A.S. Salley, ed. Register of St. Phillip’s Parish, Charleston, South Carolina.

⁴⁴³ Harriot Horry to Mrs. Blake, Harriot Horry Letterbook, 1763-1771, Steward Collection Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁴⁴⁴ Glover, *All Our Relations*, 56-57.

⁴⁴⁵ John Drayton received an education on plantation management and finances from his mother, Ann Drayton. Throughout his life, Drayton felt in order to become a gentleman one must travel to London for an education. This had the opposite effect on three of his sons and lead to his estrangement from William Henry Drayton, Charles Drayton, and Glen Drayton.

crops.⁴⁴⁶ By October 1769, he had lost a significant amount of his wife's inheritance, which resulted in legal steps to protect the little that remained. William Henry Drayton, in October of 1769, was forced to sell his Horseshoe land, which totaled 1,076 acres, to his friend and supporter Eliza Lucas Pinckney for £20,000. Four days later, Pinckney sold the plantation to Dorothy Golightly Drayton for £20,000. In December of 1770, Mrs. Drayton sold the property to her brother-in-law Benjamin Huger for £20,000. On January 1, 1770, William Henry Drayton agreed to settle the purchase money for the benefit of Dorothy and her issue, and he would secure the payment by charging his estate. As security, Drayton gave Dorothy's mother Mary Hyrne Golightly one hundred slaves.⁴⁴⁷ No actual money changed hands, indicating that the £20,000 given to Dorothy Golightly Drayton and her heirs by her marriage contract of 1764, was being insured by having the sum paid directly to her brother-in-law Benjamin Huger, who was solvent. William Henry Drayton was unable to provide financial support for his wife and children. By putting Horseshoe plantation in her name only, she could sell the property and be financially independent of Drayton.⁴⁴⁸

In 1770, with large debts incurred from gaming and unable to sell his staple crops because of the Non-Importation-Agreement, William Henry Drayton undertook a risky winter passage across the Atlantic and sailed for London on January 3, 1770. He left behind his twenty-two-year-old wife, who had recently lost a son and would soon lose another. Also, his creditors were about to take legal action to seize his property. Drayton needed assistance, and it was not forthcoming from his father, John Drayton, who claimed he did not know about his financial

⁴⁴⁶ John Drayton's desire to educate and groom his sons to take their place in Charleston's plantocracy through an education in London proved to be the family's undoing. Only Charles Drayton with his medical degree from the University of Edinburgh possessed the knowledge to manage the Drayton estate.

⁴⁴⁷ As early as July of 1767, William Henry Drayton attempted to sell his Horseshoe plantation, when the South Carolina Gazette of July 3, 1767 offered for sale "a tract of land on the Horseshoe."

⁴⁴⁸ "William has run through a great part of his fortune which I was always afraid of though closely taxed him with several times he denied." John Drayton to James Glen, March, 14, 1770, *James Glen Papers*, SCL.

troubles. He turned to his Uncle Glen, who never gave up on his nephews, and as in the past, provided as much assistance as possible. While in England, he was introduced to the Court of George III and became acquainted with Lord Sandwich and other members of the British nobility. In January of 1771, Drayton published his “Freeman” essays in a London newspaper to establish his loyalty to the King and the constitution.⁴⁴⁹

Drayton was unsuccessful in attaining a royal appointment in South Carolina, but from the efforts of his uncle, Dr. William Bull II tried to arrange for his appointment as an Assistant Judge of the Superior Court of South Carolina. Drayton lacked any legal training. Despite Bull’s attempts to persuade the Earl of Hillsborough, the British Home Secretary for the Colonies, to appointment his nephew to a judgeship, his nomination was denied. The British Ministry did not want to alienate Bull, who was loyal to the Crown. Instead, the Board of Trade approved Bull’s nomination of his nephew to a seat on the Royal Council. With this preferment and £800, which he acquired by mortgaging his 1,700 acres Ponds plantation to London merchant Benjamin Stead Drayton returned to South Carolina in late April 1771.⁴⁵⁰

Drayton hoped to rebuild his political career as a member of the Royal Council, but he waited a year so he could concentrate on getting his finances back in order. He altered his behavior and stopped gambling. On April 22, 1772, Drayton was sworn in as a member of the Royal Council and took his seat with Sir Egerton Leigh, John Knox Gordon, John Burns, Thomas Skottowe, Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, Daniel Blake, Barnard Elliott, and John Drayton. Of, these only the last four and William Henry Drayton were native South Carolinians;

⁴⁴⁹ John Drayton II, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 9.

⁴⁵⁰ William Henry Drayton, to Benjamin Stead, Lease and Release by Mortgage, February 4, 1771, Langley, SCDA, vol.4, 197.

the rest were English placemen.⁴⁵¹ During the August of 1773 session of the Royal Council, Drayton precipitated a confrontation when the Royal Council came into direct opposition with the Assembly and Lieutenant Governor Bull, who was in charge of the government in the absence of Governor Lord Charles Montagu. A piece of legislation that the Commons sent to the Royal Council was a bill to prevent the counterfeiting of paper currency or other money in South Carolina. Drayton, his father, and the members of the Council who were native South Carolinians lobbied for the enactment of this bill, but the English placemen voted them down and postponed the bill. Drayton believed that the failure to act could be seen as rejection, as well as cause a further division between the two bodies, the Council packed with the King's men, the Common House with angry English colonists. He viewed the schism between the two groups harmful to the King's service and the public good. Drayton entered a public protest into the Council Journals on August 25, 1773. He then gave a copy to the Timothy Powell, the publisher of the *South Carolina Gazette* for publication. Drayton's actions infuriated the Council, who turned on him. A series of legal maneuvers ensued, creating more acrimony between the Commons and the Council. Drayton almost lost his seat on the Royal Council, which was supposed to be the basis for his political career in South Carolina.

6.6 John Drayton: Disinheritance and Re-Marriage

John Drayton was an indifferent father, but he believed his children should be obedient, submissive, and follow his rules at all times.⁴⁵² Drayton was continually disappointed in William

⁴⁵¹ SCG&CJ, April 14, 1772; Governor Charles Montague to the Earl of Hillsborough, April 27, 1772 in Davies *Documents*, vol.4, 77, 79.

⁴⁵² See John Locke, *Second Treatise of Civil Government John Locke* (1690.) Chapter VI. Of Paternal Power. Section 52-76. This section deals with the rights and obligations of father's to their sons. Obviously, John Drayton was not familiar with John Locke and his writings or simply did not care.

Henry Drayton, never more so, when his daughter-in-law Dorothy's fortune disappeared due to his son's mismanagement and debts from games of chance. His father had threatened numerous times to cut his son out of his will, but William Henry never took him seriously. In 1767, John Drayton drew up his will and disinherited his three eldest sons, William Henry, Charles, and Glen. From Drayton's perspective, his sons had no respect for him and ignored his suggestions and wishes. John Drayton believed his children, wives, and slaves were his possessions, and he alone could dictate their behavior and actions. On July 8, 1767, John Drayton updated his will, titled "A few reasons I offer to my Children why I made my Will as I have done," he stated:

"I had no fortune with my second wife, W.H., and Charles's mother. That lady's fortune was left many years after her decease by an old friend Governor Bull, father of Charlotta, my second wife, and mother to my two eldest sons. The other lady, my third wife, Lady Margaret Drayton, and mother to Glen and Thomas, her fortune was paid down immediately to me at marriage from which I made great improvements and advantages of it for many years Moreover, as I had no use of the mother's fortune, it is entirely just that the other two sons have more of my estate than W or C, for be it known William and Charles have each a number of Negros given them by their Grandfather Bull.⁴⁵³

John Drayton justified cutting William Henry out of his will because "he has undutiful and behaved extremely amiss to me in sundry matters which his mother, Lady Margaret, is well acquainted with much uneasiness he gave me. I, therefore, determine to let him reap the fruit of his disobedience by cutting him short of [that] which I intended him."⁴⁵⁴ This decision by John Drayton would have far-reaching implications for his children and result in long drawn out litigation which almost bankrupted the Drayton estate after his death.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵³ This explanation is dated April 8, 1767, in Drayton, "John Drayton's History of the Drayton Family of South Carolina," 56-58.

⁴⁵⁴ There is an indication that this explanation by John Drayton was written to directly to his son William Henry.

⁴⁵⁵ Barbara Spence Orsolits, *The History of Drayton Hall*. 2002 Unpublished Article.

In 1775, John Drayton resigned from public office for on March 16, 1775; and he took a fourth wife.⁴⁵⁶ Rebecca Perry was a wealthy heiress, the daughter of Benjamin and Susannah Perry of St. Paul's Parish, and she was young. Born on February 19, 1758, Rebecca Perry had just turned seventeen when she married fifty-nine-year-old, John Drayton. Rebecca delivered on December 12, 1775, her first daughter, followed in the next three and one-half years by another daughter, Anne, and a son, John.⁴⁵⁷ By marrying Rebecca Perry, this served to make permanent the breach which already existed between Drayton and his son William Henry. The marriage provided John Drayton with additional heirs, including a new son, the birth of whom reduced the inheritance of his older children. John Drayton's marriage to a much younger woman and the steps he took to disinherit his older sons in the future would lead to ongoing litigation and almost bankrupt the Drayton family estate. Drayton's actions in marrying a much younger woman and his treatment of his sons strained the family's relations with their kinship network, especially the Middletons and Bulls.⁴⁵⁸

6.7 The Revolutionary War: The Division of Family and Friends

It is not relevant for this work to examine William Henry Drayton's entire political career, but it is pertinent to examine his "political "conversion" as Henry Laurens termed it, from "loyalty to King and constitution to a deep and abiding commitment to the independence of the American Colonies." Over time, Drayton realized the validity of the rights of free English colonists, which he believed were being denied by Great Britain. William Henry Drayton had

⁴⁵⁶ "Last Thursday the Honourable John Drayton, one of the members of his majesty's was married to the amiable Miss Rebecca Perry, Daughter of the late Mr. Benjamin Perry, of St. Paul's Parish," SCG, March 27, 1775.

⁴⁵⁷ "Between 1& 2 in the day Mrs. Drayton delivered of a daughter." *Wells Almanck*, December 12, 1775, copy at Drayton Hall. No births for John Drayton's other children, Anne or John were found in the St. Andrews Register, SCHS.

⁴⁵⁸ Glover, *All Our Relations*, 97-99.

sought political preferments from the crown and approval from his father. When he attained neither, and he became convinced that his interests were no longer being served and were, in fact, betrayals, he looked elsewhere to commit his loyalties.

Arthur Middleton, the eldest son of Henry Middleton, was born a few months before Drayton at Middleton plantation on the Ashley River next to Drayton Hall on June 26, 1742. Henry Middleton was Drayton's uncle through marriage, and the two family's close kinship ties. Middleton and Drayton attended school in England, and both returned to Charleston in 1763. A few months after Drayton's marriage to Dorothy Golightly, Middleton married Mary Izard on August 19, 1764. Like William Henry Drayton, he fulfilled his obligation as a large landowner, he became a Justice of the Peace and served on the Commons House of Assembly. He, too, returned to England in 1770, but unlike Drayton, Arthur Middleton was a gentleman of wealth and leisure. While Drayton fought for his political and financial future in England, Middleton, and Mary Izard, his wife toured Southern Europe and studied fine arts in Rome. By 1773, both men were back in South Carolina, with Drayton serving in the Royal Council and Middleton in the Commons House. In 1774, Middleton was sufficiently close to Drayton to know of his financial difficulties, and Middleton served as a witness when Drayton mortgaged the Ponds property to Benjamin Stead in London.

By 1775, Drayton and Middleton had become close friends with Arthur Middleton, considering himself William Henry Drayton's "Second in Command" and "Friend & Servant to command in the usual and Lordly acceptation of the term." It is unknown what moved Arthur Middleton, a reserved, intelligent, and perceptive Middleton to consider himself subservient to William Henry Drayton? Middleton must have had complete confidence in Drayton's belief in and devotion to the cause which they both espoused: American Independence. Middleton, by

this time, would have become familiar with Drayton's views concerning the many philosophical and practical issues involved. It is highly probable that Middleton played a significant role in reshaping Drayton's mind to the revolutionary cause. Both men allied themselves to a course of action, which ultimately challenged both their fathers and King George III.

The American Revolution caused Drayton to turn away from both his father, John Drayton, and King George III, whom he perceived as being uncaring and one-sided authority figures. Drayton believed they denied him fulfillment or happiness, a term defined by John Locke in 1690, as the "Basis of Liberty."⁴⁵⁹ During the American Revolution, Drayton matured emotionally and recognized and accepted his permanent estrangement from his father. He developed self-control and abandoned one form of gaming for another: statesmanship and strategy. As a patriot and statesman, Drayton earned the respect of his peers and the esteem of such men as Arthur Middleton. The Revolution provided William Henry Drayton with a purpose for his life, but in the end, his patriotism resulted in his untimely death at the age of forty-four, while attending the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia.⁴⁶⁰

One of John Drayton's closet friends was his brother-in-law, Governor James Glen, who had funded much of William Henry, Charles, Glen, and Thomas Drayton's English educations without complaint. After his sister, Margaret Drayton's death in 1772, Drayton refused to repay the money he owed to Glen, who was in straightened circumstances. A kind and trusting man, Glen seems to have spent a good deal of his wealth as he entered old age. By 1776, John Drayton's debt owed to Glen totaled £1,295, but he had only paid back £208.⁴⁶¹ James Glen wrote to Drayton in May of 1775, accusing him of being cold and unfeeling. Glen went on to

⁴⁵⁹ Arthur Middleton to William Henry Drayton, August 22, 1755, in Joseph Barnwell, *The Correspondence of Arthur Middleton*, SCHGM, XXVII (July 1926) 134-136.

⁴⁶⁰ Stone, *An Open Elite*, 161.

⁴⁶¹ John Drayton to James Glen, December 8, 1774; James Glen to David Erskine, November 23, 1776.

remonstrate, Drayton, saying, “nor are you at pains to make any tolerable excuse for keeping me out of my other money, one year you kept your rice for a better price, and accordingly got it.” “I, must suffer hardships and put to a considerable expense that you may gain a little, then no bills are to be got and then a short crop, and if I take steps to procure payment, it will be worse for my nephews.”⁴⁶² Glen accused Drayton of purchasing land and slaves with funds that should have gone to him and continuing to promise payments that never came. Glen detailed the state of his finances, declaring he could not even afford coal until he paid a bill in arrears, and expected the same treatment from every other person to whom he was indebted. “All this, Glen wrote, “is owing to your treatment.” He gave Drayton until May of 1776 to pay the debt in order to accommodate Drayton, stating, “if you agree to repay the debt punctually, we could preserve or friendship.”⁴⁶³ The final falling out occurred when the war between the American Colonies and Great Britain broke out, which resulted in a complete break in communications between Drayton and Glen. The reasons for the rupture between Drayton and Glen revolved around the extreme differences in their personalities; Glen was very open and generous, almost to a fault, which allowed his friends and relatives to take advantage of him, Drayton was a narcissist who throughout his life sacrificed everything and everyone to build and maintain his gentleman’s country seat and his wealth. Glen admitted that before 1774, he had shown no regard for money in his dealings with Drayton, who continually took advantage of his brother-in-law’s generous

⁴⁶² James Glen intended to leave part of his estate to his nephews, Glen and Thomas Drayton. John Drayton’s refusal to honor his debts directly impacted his two younger sons, who only received a small pittance of money from the estate.

⁴⁶³ John Glen to James Glen, December 8, 1774; James Glen to David Ersken, November 23, 1776. Drayton had also purchased a total of 2,621 acres from his cousin William Drayton and Stephen Bull in 1774. W. Stitt Robinson, *James Glen: From Scottish Provost to Royal Governor of South Carolina*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1996) 129-130.

nature. Glen's fifteen-year acceptance of Drayton's procrastination in not paying his debts shows a trusting nature, which verged on the gullible.⁴⁶⁴

John Drayton never seems to have had any problem with using Glen's trust and generosity time after time for his gain and benefit, borrowing and making endless excuses, as long as it suited his needs. Drayton's expenses were as impressive as Drayton Hall, which he built and maintained. Drayton chose to live at Drayton Hall, educate his four sons in England, and if his brother-in-law were willing to finance all of this, Drayton, who had an entitlement mentality, was willing to accept his assistance. John Drayton, like a large number of South Carolina planters, was never a wealthy man in the sense he had ready money available at a moment's notice. Drayton's wealth lay in his lands, slaves, and sons, although he never understood or appreciated their talents and abilities. Throughout his life, he could never see beyond his own immediate need for obedience and affection. Drayton's primary focus was on Drayton Hall, his lands, and his slaves. In old age, Drayton found himself alienated from his sons and cut off from James Glen.

James Glen appealed to John Drayton to purchase a commission for Glen and to be more patient with him. In June of 1775, Glen obtained a commission from the Provincial Congress in preparation for war with England. He began organizing a regular army officered by gentlemen. Once he was chosen by the Provincial Congress, and his commission paid for on June 16, 1775, Glen Drayton attained an appointment in First Lieutenant in Christopher Gadsden's Regiment.⁴⁶⁵ Much to the surprise of his father, John, Glen did well in the army, as it provided the discipline that he lacked. In 1776, he received a promotion to Captain, and he served with the First

⁴⁶⁴ Ibid, 136-137.

⁴⁶⁵ Glen Drayton was listed as a Captain 9, 1776, "The Order Book of John Faucheraud," SCHGM, XIII(July, 1912, 90, 76, 135-142.

Regiment at Fort Moultrie and Charleston from December of 1777 until April of 1778. Drayton remained in the army until his father's sudden death in September of 1779, precipitated by the British overrunning Drayton Hall.

The first decades of Glen Drayton's life in Charleston were good years. He had come into his inheritance from his mother, Lady Margaret, married well, was a father, and began a life in politics. On May 29, 1781, he married Elizabeth Elliot Sanders, a woman of means and connections amongst the plantocracy. They were to have three children: Eliza Elliot, born May 6, 1782; Margaret Glen, born June 24, 1783; and Glen, born December, 22, 1788.⁴⁶⁶ He was a Justice of the Peace in the Beaufort District and served as a member from St. Helena to the newly formed South Carolina State House of Representatives. Once he returned to the Ashley River in St. Andrews Parish in 1783, he was to serve in the General Assembly as a representative of that parish from 1785 to 1791. He also served in the state constitutional convention in 1788, voting for the ratification of that document.⁴⁶⁷

With John Drayton's death in September of 1779, Glen Drayton inherited some of his father's Coosawatchie land near Beaufort. His inheritance provided him with valuable land for the cultivation of rice, but it was much smaller than the land and capital left to his youngest brother, Thomas. In March of 1783, Drayton purchased from Abraham Ladson for £1,393, a 330 acres plantation in March of 1783, which he called Glen Field. With this purchase of a country seat, Drayton moved from Beaufort to Berkeley County. He still planted his Coosawatchie lands, but he lived with his family and thirty-four slaves at Glen Field on the Ashley River until

⁴⁶⁶ Lauren Tenny Mills, *A South Carolina Family: Mills –Smith* (Privately printed, Leila Mills Hawes and Sarah Mills Norton, 1960) 68. John Laurens North Bible (Philadelphia: Toward and Hegan, 1830).

⁴⁶⁷ A.S. Salley, Jr., ed., *The Journal of the General Assembly of South Carolina : September 17, 1776-October 20, 1776*, (Columbia: The State Company, 1909), 92, 131.

1793, when the lawsuits began.⁴⁶⁸ From March of 1785 until June of 1796, over sixty judgments for debt were filed against Glen Drayton. Also, he had borrowed from his mother-in-law Eliza Elliott, a sum of £6,700, for which he mortgaged twenty-two slaves out of John Drayton's estate as security. Drayton lost his Coosawatchie lands, and the land on the Ashley River, as well as an additional 500-acre tract called Boggy Gut and Stony Run.

In 1796, his slaves and furnishings, as well as large tracts of land, were sold to this brother Thomas for the protection of his children and so besieged by debt Drayton, assigned his brother Thomas his expected inheritance from his uncle James Glen, which he had depended upon for the education and support of his children.⁴⁶⁹ Unknown to Glen Drayton, his legacy was to have been paid out of money due to James Glen by John Drayton. Such monies were never paid, by Drayton or his executors, either in Carolina and Scotland. Elizabeth Elliott Drayton died at the age of thirty on May 17, 1795, leaving a grief-stricken husband and children. Glen Drayton had a debilitating stroke in October of 1792 and died on June 5, 1796; intestate. He was buried next to his wife in the St. Helena Churchyard in Beaufort. He was only forty-one. Drayton's three children were reared in Charleston by Mary Foster, to whom Drayton left a house for her to live in, teach in, and take care of the three children.⁴⁷⁰ The two youngest children died before their twenty-fifth birthdays, but Eliza Elliott Drayton survived and married John Laurens North and resided in Pendleton up until her death on August 30, 1866.⁴⁷¹ Like several Drayton's, Mrs. North filed a legal suit involving the disposition of her father Glen's estate.

⁴⁶⁸ H.A.M. Smith, "The Ashley River and its Settlements," SCHGM, XX (April, 1919, 98.

⁴⁶⁹ Miscellaneous Records, Bill of Sale, Glen Drayton to John Drayton

⁴⁷⁰ Mary Foster, was Mary Weyman, widow of John Brewton, a nephew of Miles Brewton, and the wife of Thomas Foster a Charleston merchant. *South Carolina Genealogies: Articles from the SCHGM, vol. 1.: Alston-Colcock* (Spartenburgh : The Reprint Company., 1983), 153-154.

⁴⁷¹ Thomas Drayton, administrator of Glen Drayton, vs. John Laurens North and Wife, Eliza Eliott Drayton North, October 25, 1820, Exhibit C&D Charleston Chancery Court records, 1825-1849, SCDAH.

Thomas Drayton was the last of John Drayton's sons to be educated abroad. He had accompanied his mother, Margaret Drayton, on her final trip to England in July of 1770. The Reverend Charles Martyn, the former rector of St. Andrews Church, supervised his education and his behavior in London society. Lady Margaret Drayton was in her final illness and "hardly knew what school Tommy had been put in." In 1772, after Lady Margaret Drayton's death, Drayton put Tommy into the hands of his Uncle James Glen and the Reverend Charles Martyn. Drayton left it entirely up to Glen and Martyn to determine how long his son should remain at his schooling and when he should return to South Carolina.

Thomas refused to learn any Latin or French at school despite his Uncle Glen's admonishments that they were useful in writing English correctly and with spelling. Like his older brother's Thomas displayed a stubborn and willfulness, surrounding his studies. His son's scholarly pursuits were not the primary concern of John Drayton. His concern centered on his son returning with the comportment of a gentleman, self-disciplined, and possessing a strong work ethic. In the final analysis, all he asked of his youngest son's education in London was that he return to Charleston as "a learned and sensible planter." Drayton abhorred the very thought of another willful and obstinate son, who would disgrace and embarrass him.⁴⁷²

On January 13, 1774, Thomas returned to Charleston, a positive and steadfast man, who became a gentleman planter. He became a Justice of the Peace for Charleston district and a member of the Charleston Library Society. Drayton did not marry a wealthy heiress, but he married a woman, Miss Mary Wilson, from a well-respected family in Charleston. John Drayton left his youngest son, Thomas, a town lot in Charleston on Meeting Street adjacent to his property on Ladson Street. Property on the Coosawatchie, called Ocean, and Magnolia the

⁴⁷² John Drayton to Thomas Drayton, January 12, 1773, Charles Drayton Folder, Drayton Hall; *Ibid.*, Personal Notes, Drayton Hall.

Drayton family ancestral home a few miles above Drayton Hall on the Ashley River. Thomas Drayton never sired any sons, and upon his death in 1825, he willed his estate to his daughter Sarah Drayton Grimke's sons on the condition they assume their mother's maiden name of Drayton.⁴⁷³

In 1778, William Henry Drayton was chosen by the South Carolina General Assembly to be a member of the Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia. Although Drayton did not lead direct attacks on the British, he legislated attacks on them. On July 19th, he introduced a motion to the Continental Congress ordering the Continental Navy to burn and destroy towns in Great Britain and the British West Indies for enemies pillaging and plundering defenseless towns in Connecticut. Congress not only addressed Drayton's proposal but also adopted it. While in Philadelphia, he devoted his complete attention to Congressional business and remained a very committed and vocal patriot. Drayton's health was severely impaired, making him susceptible to disease. Drayton contracted a fever believed to be typhoid in August of 1779 and lingered until September 4. Because of the nature of his illness, and extreme heat in Philadelphia he was buried that night in Christ's Churchyard, Philadelphia, with the members of the Continental Congress and other dignitaries in attendance. William Henry Drayton was well-liked and respected by his peers and remembered as an "honest, independent patriot and an upright and candid gentleman."⁴⁷⁴

In South Carolina, Major general Augustine Prevost, commander of the British forces in Florida, made a raid into South Carolina. General Benjamin Lincoln, Commander of the Armies in Southern Colonies, was in Savannah, Georgia, and believed that Prevost's invasion was an

⁴⁷³ Barbara Orsolits, *The History of Drayton Hall*, unpublished article, 2002.

⁴⁷⁴ W.Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Wates, eds., *Journals of the Provential Congress of South Carolina 1775-1776*, (Columbia: South Carolina Archives Department), 5. Keith Krawczynski, *William Henry Drayton: South Carolina Revolutionary Patriot*, 316-318.

attempt to lure him out of that state. He remained in Savannah, leaving Charleston defended only by Colonel Moultrie and his small force of regulars. Unable to hold Prevost's forces back, Moultrie retreated on the border of South Carolina and Georgia across the Coosawatchie and Ashepoo Rivers to Dorchester, arriving at Charleston on May 9, 1779.⁴⁷⁵

Prevost pursued Moultrie through Saltketchers, the Horseshoe, and crossed Parker's Ferry on May 8. Prevost's army quartered on Drayton property above Rantowle's Bridge on May 10 and crossed Ashley Ferry two miles above Drayton hall on May 11. "It is impossible for me to describe to you what I felt," a Bull relation of the Draytons wrote after Prevost's May occupation of St. Andrews Parish, "while the British were on this side of the Ashley-Ferry, we never went to our beds at night, had candles always burning and were alarmed at every noise we heard." "As soon as we saw them taking things about the house," Mary Lucia Bull wrote in June "we went into our chamber, had the window shut and stood against the door, (for it would not lock)." Like a "parcel of Indians," the British came "bolting" into the house. "One man came and turned the brass but did not push it hard enough to find out it was not locked."⁴⁷⁶

John Drayton, one of the wealthiest planters in the South Carolina Lowcountry, fled from Drayton Hall with his young wife and children to Strawberry Ferry on the eastern side of the Cooper River. In a filthy and rough tavern on May 31, 1779, Drayton died of a stroke estranged from his older sons and leaving Drayton Hall in the hands of the British. The only lasting epitaph to John Drayton was written by William Henry Drayton's son, John Drayton II, who labeled his grandfather "a man of indifferent education, a confined mind, proud and stingy." Resentful and angry at being deprived of his rightful inheritance, John Drayton II, at every opportunity throughout his life, vilified the name and memory of his grandfather. He called

⁴⁷⁵ Weir, *South Carolina: A History*, 328-330.

⁴⁷⁶ Mary Lucia Bull, June 14, 1779 quoted in "Historical Notes," *SCHGM*, X (April, 1909), 25.

Drayton a “Tyrant in his family among his sons, so they had little to do with him after they grew up, and could never retain no matter what they did his affection and attention, or trust.” His grandson wrote that John Drayton “lived in riches without public self-esteem,” and that he died in a tavern, but without commiseration.”⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁷ Drayton, “History,” 23.

7 CHARLES DRAYTON: A NATURALIST AND SCIENTIST

7.1 The Scottish Enlightenment and Edinburgh, Scotland

In 1784, Charles Drayton assumed ownership of Drayton Hall. He purchased Drayton Hall from Rebecca Perry Drayton, the young widow of John Drayton, who was either unwilling or unable to become the plantation mistress of Drayton Hall. Charles Drayton attended medical school at the University of Edinburgh based on his interest in medicine, science, and botany but also to delay returning to Charleston. Of all John Drayton's sons, Charles was the most successful both in medical school and then as the owner of Drayton Hall. He struggled with moments of indecision, but unlike his father, he did not feel the need to continually remind all those around of his brilliance, power, and wealth. Charles's goal as the owner of Drayton Hall was to turn the plantation into a working farm and serve as the management center for the estate's many satellite plantations.⁴⁷⁸ He focused on the practical instead of the spectacular.

In the eighteenth century, Edinburgh was one of the dirtiest, foul-smelling, and overcrowded cities in Europe. With a population of over 35,000, the upper class and the lower-class lived-in proximity to face-to-face relationships, often in the same tenements but on different levels. Social intimacy was an element of community life in Edinburgh. Daily contact with all of the classes of people in Edinburgh was the exact opposite of life amongst the Charleston plantocracy. The University of Edinburgh provided neither dormitories or dining halls, requiring students to take lodgings in the city. Charles Drayton had quite a degree of latitude in choosing his classes, as well as setting his hours.⁴⁷⁹ By the 1760s, the University of

⁴⁷⁸ Charles Drayton like Thomas Jefferson and George Washington believed a plantation could produce vegetables, fruits and meats as well as provide a decorative backdrop for the architecture of the main house.

⁴⁷⁹ Fredrick A. Pottle, *James Boswell: The Earlier Years, 1760-1769*, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1966), 14.

Edinburgh had become one of the most prestigious medical schools in the world.⁴⁸⁰ Drayton attended classes from 1763 until 1770, taking classes in Chemistry 3, and Anatomy and Surgery 2 in 1765-66; Theory and Practice of Medicine, Materia Medica, Botany, and Clinical Lectures in 1767-68; and in 1769-70, he took a final course in the Practice of Medicine. The records kept by Professor William Cullen indicate that Drayton was a student in his chemistry classes in 1763-64 and 1764-65.⁴⁸¹

William Cullen, who received his medical degree from the University of Glasgow Medical School, was a brilliant Scotsman, who was one of the leading British physicians of the eighteenth century. He mastered more than the practice of medicine.: he was a chemist, a botanist, a physicist, and a master of the science of Materia Medica. He attracted students like Charles from South Carolina due to his clearness of perception, sound reasoning, and judgment.⁴⁸² Of the seven South Carolinians who attended Cullen's chemistry classes between 1760 and 1770, only three were to graduate: Charles Drayton, Isaac Chandler, and Thomas Tudor Tucker.⁴⁸³ Physicians trained in the eighteenth century were educated as "rationalists," men who emphasized logical inference or "reasoning," and who interested themselves not only in the treatment of diseases but also the causes. Instructed in the theory as well as treatment, if a physician were to ask sound questions and if his reasoning were correct, he, through the process of theoretic evaluation, would have complete control over the disease. Rationalists did things because there was a good sound reason for doing them.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ Lester S. King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, (Huntington, New York: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, Inc., 1971), 29.

⁴⁸¹ Special Collections, University of Edinburgh, Medical School Records: Charles Drayton. From 1768-1769, there are no records of Drayton's course schedule. It is possible he toured Europe, as there are a number of drawings in the Drayton Papers Collection, which date from this period. Barbara Spence Orsolits, 2004.

⁴⁸² King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, 139. John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860*, (London: Wallierd, Tindall and Cox, 1927.) 202-203.

⁴⁸³ Waring, *A History of Medicine*, 338.

⁴⁸⁴ King, *The Medical World of the Eighteenth Century*, 139.

William Ball, a medical student at the University of Edinburgh thirty years after Drayton, wrote to his brother Isaac that he rose between seven and eight, dressed “as quickly as he could in the twilight,” and went to hear a lecture on *Materia Medica* from eight to nine at the college. From nine to ten, he attended a lecture on the Practice of Physic and from ten to eleven, one in chemistry, after which he would go home to breakfast and “spruce” himself up “a bit,” by which time it was noon. The hospital hour was from noon until one, after which time Ball would either go home or “walkabout” until three. He then returned to the hospital “to write up cases,” which would occupy him until four, when, on Tuesdays and Fridays, he attended clinical lectures delivered on cases in the hospital, after which time he was a “free man,” until next morning.⁴⁸⁵ There is no reason to believe, given the nature of the university as an institution, that Charles Drayton’s schedule of studies differed significantly from this one.

In the 1760s, Edinburgh, Scotland, was the center for the Scottish Enlightenment, and the milieu was urban. The scene was convivial and social but also intimate enough for students and professors to meet casually and regularly. For Drayton, who was expected to return to Charleston and marry within the Drayton family kinship network and become a rice planter, his life as a medical student, appears to have been challenging but also intellectually rewarding. He would have had opportunities to debate and discuss new ideas and theories over a bottle of wine in the taverns, in which intellectuals gathered. The most characteristic, expression of conviviality and dynamism was the club or society formed during the eighteenth-century, some short-lived dining and drinking clubs, some evolving into scientific and medical bodies that still exist in the twenty-first century. Some of the societies, which could have appealed to Drayton Jr., were the Honorable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture, the Society for

⁴⁸⁵ William Ball to Isaac Ball, December 16, 1807, Ball Family Papers, SCL.

the Improvement of Medical Knowledge, The Philosophical Society, the Newtonian Club, and the Royal Medical Society.⁴⁸⁶

Finally, Drayton could no longer postpone his return to Charleston, when he returned in 1773, Drayton attempted to steer a middle course as tensions increased between Great Britain and the American Colonies. He refused to support calls for independence from Great Britain, led by his friend Arthur Middleton and his older brother William Henry. In May of 1773, Charles declined to serve as a representative of St. Helena's parish in the twenty-third Commons House of Assembly.⁴⁸⁷ Neither the Assembly, the Council, or the Governor could cooperate, and the hopes of a reconciliation dashed when another placer man, Lord William Campbell, was appointed Governor.⁴⁸⁸ Charles Drayton watched as both governments remained divisive and uncooperative each body jealous of its prerogative. During this period, he kept to the middle in his dealings with both the British and the Patriots. Throughout the Revolutionary War, he would attempt to remain attempted to steer a middle course depending on how events were unfolding in Charleston.⁴⁸⁹

On February 24, 1774, Charles Drayton married Hester Middleton, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Henry Middleton, and sister to Arthur, the close friend of William Henry Drayton.⁴⁹⁰ One of John Drayton's goals for all his sons was to make advantageous marriages and expand the family's kinship network. This marriage increased the bonds between the two families and

⁴⁸⁶ Special Collections, University of Edinburgh, Medical School Records, Charles Drayton. Barbara Spence Orsolits, 2004.

⁴⁸⁷ SCG, May 17, 1773.

⁴⁸⁸ Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolutionary War 1775-1780, Classic Reprint*, (New York: Forgotten Books, 2018) 700-707.

⁴⁸⁹ Unlike his treatment in England at Oxford University, as a provincial from the colonies, Drayton found himself on equal footing with both the students at the University of Edinburgh, the townspeople, and his professors.

⁴⁹⁰ Hester Middleton was born September, 15, 1754 the daughter of Henry Middleton and Mary Williams. "Charles Drayton, Esq., M.D. to Miss Hester Middleton, daughter of Henry Middleton, Esqr." SCG&CJ, March 1, 1774.

created a greater sense of cooperation while advancing the exclusivity of the Charleston plantocracy. With his marriage to Hester Middleton, Charles Drayton had established kinship ties with one of South Carolina's most prominent families, which John Drayton heartily approved. For unknown reasons, Drayton, upon his return to Charleston, never established a medical practice. He did, however, attend friends, relatives, and their "servants" in Charleston, where he lived with his growing family. Charles Drayton's first son Henry was born ten months to the day after his parent's marriage on November 24, 1775. His wife, "Hesse," bore another son, Charles, and a daughter Caroline, both of whom died in infancy.⁴⁹¹

Henry Middleton had five daughters: Sarah married Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, William Henry, and Charles's youthful traveling companion to London, on September 28, 1773; Henrietta married Edward Rutledge on March 1, 1774; Mary married Peter Smith on November 1, 1776; Susannah married John Parker on December 24, 1786. Also, Drayton's new father-in-law was to become an uncle, when Henry Middleton married Lady Mary, widow of Thomas Drayton and John Ainslie, in January of 1776.⁴⁹²

The kinship ties which connected the Drayton's, Middleton's, Rutledge's, Pinckney's, Parkers, and Bulls began to fray with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Three of Charles Drayton's brothers-in-law, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Edward Rutledge, and Arthur Middleton, were at the forefront in the fight for American Independence. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, born February 14, 1746, the eldest son of Charles Pinckney and Eliza Lucas Pinckney read, the law in England. He was to serve as a Colonel in the Continental Army and was in

⁴⁹¹ Caroline was baptized September 29, 1779, D.E. Huger Smith and A.S. Salley, Jr., eds. *Register of St. Phillips Parish*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), reprint of Walker, Evans and Cogswell Co., 1904), 97.

⁴⁹² "Miss Hester Middleton marries." *Journal of Mrs. Anne Manigault, 1754-1781*, *SCHGM*, XII (April, 1920), 67.

command of Fort Moultrie when it fell to Henry Clinton in 1780.⁴⁹³ Edward Rutledge was born on November 23, 1749, and was the youngest son of Dr. John Rutledge and Sarah Hext. Rutledge read law in England and returned to South Carolina in 1773. A representative to the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Rutledge was a colonel of the Charleston Battery of Artillery and, at the fall of Charleston, was sent as a prisoner to St. Augustine. Upon his exchange in July of 1781, Rutledge returned to South Carolina and served at Jacksonburg, where the state assembly met during the occupation of Charleston.⁴⁹⁴

John Parker, Peter Smith, and Charles Drayton Jr. were considered by their three revolutionary brothers-in-law, to have questionable loyalties. Parker, the son of John Parker and Mary Daniel, was born June 24, 1759, and was to be Charles Drayton's attorney after the war. His younger brother Thomas Parker was to marry William Henry Drayton's daughter Mary in 1791.⁴⁹⁵ Peter Smith, the son of Thomas Smith of Broad Street, claimed illness and overall poor health remaining apart from the Revolutionary movement residing in Goose Creek, South Carolina.⁴⁹⁶ Three of the most influential men in Charles Drayton's life, William Bull II, Dr. Alexander Garden, and James Glen were loyalists, while his brother William Henry Drayton was a fervent patriot willing to risk all for Independence from Great Britain. Drayton appears to adopt a position initially as a neutralist,⁴⁹⁷ embracing the beliefs of both the patriots and the loyalists.

⁴⁹³ Joseph Barnwell, "The Correspondence of the Honorable Arthur Middleton," SCHGM, XXVII (April 26, 1926), 67.

⁴⁹⁴ Walter Edgar, *Biographical Directory of the House of Representative of South Carolina*, vol. 11, 574-575.

⁴⁹⁵ *Cheeves Papers*, Parker Family, SCHS.

⁴⁹⁶ Joseph Barnwell, *Correspondence*, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney wrote to Arthur Middleton on February 14, 1782 that Peter Smith had escaped confiscation of his property "from his insignificance," although Smith is "still with the enemy or at Goosecreek, which is nearly the same thing."

⁴⁹⁷ Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History*, 321-323.

As long as the war remained in the North, and there was no threat to life or property in Charleston, Drayton's indecisiveness in supporting independence did not become an issue. In August of 1775, as the prospect of war with Great Britain became a reality, he was forced to alter his position, and he applied to the Provincial Congress, headed by his brother William Henry Drayton, to form a voluntary company of foot soldiers. During the fall of 1775, Charles Drayton was in contact with William Henry Drayton, who was in the Ninety-Six District, attempting to sway the loyalties of the "disaffected." He congratulated him on his "military behavior" and cautioned him "to avoid any situations which might harm him." It does not appear that William Henry Drayton had any reason to doubt his younger brother's loyalty or his reliability towards the revolutionary movement. From their correspondence, Charles Drayton's feelings towards his brother were affectionate and amiable.⁴⁹⁸ Drayton, became a captain in the 4th Regiment of Artillery on November 14, 1775, in which he served at Haddrell's Point and in Charleston from 1775 to 1776. He chose to serve as a captain and not as a surgeon to his military battalion.⁴⁹⁹

Between 1777 and the fall of Charleston, Drayton attended his Fenwick relations, which included Sarah Fenwick Campbell, and his Middleton in-laws, especially Henrietta Rutledge and Mary Smith. He also attended his cousin Stephen Drayton and his wife, and between August and November of 1778, he visited, at Drayton Hall, Miss Nancy, and a twenty-month-old infant suffering from worms.⁵⁰⁰ Drayton was patient and acute in his observations and evaluations, but also quite candid regarding the causes of his patient's ill health. For example, he concluded that Mrs. Robert Smith's symptoms were the result of her inactive life and her fixation only on

⁴⁹⁸ Charles Drayton to William Henry Drayton, September 16, 1775, cited in Barnwell, 136-137.

⁴⁹⁹ Journal of the Council of Safety for the Province of South Carolina, *Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society* (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1858), vol. III, December 22, 1775, 35.

⁵⁰⁰ Charles Drayton Medical Journal, *The Drayton Paper's Collection*, Courtesy of The National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2002.

herself. He suggested, “she take up her attention with her mother and son instead of herself.” Charles Drayton was described as an “intelligent, energetic, highly motivated man,” and well respected for his knowledge in the sciences, but “he preferred not to think of himself as a doctor.” He only had a small number of patients and refused to accept payment for their treatment.⁵⁰¹

The British Prevost raid into South Carolina seems to have left Charles Drayton unable to determine precisely where his loyalties stood, with 1779 and 1780 being challenging years for him. During the May of 1779 occupation of St. Andrew’s Parish by the British and the threat to Charleston, Drayton Jr. sent his wife to Daniel Horry’s Hampton plantation on the Santee River, under the hospitable protection of Harriot Pinckney Horry, the related wives of the revolutionary elite were out of danger. On May 17, 1779, Eliza Pinckney wrote to her son Thomas that “Mrs. [Mary Izard] Middleton, Mrs. E. Henrietta Rutledge and Mrs. Charles [Hester] Drayton were all at Hampton with their ‘little ones,’ and that “Mrs. D. Huger” and “Mrs. William Henry [Dorothy] Drayton and children” had just left that morning.⁵⁰²

When Charleston fell on May 12, 1780, Charles Drayton once again changed his position. A copy of the Return of Prisoners by the British listed eight captains of the South Carolina Artillery but did not include their names. On May 18, when the captured American officers were sent as prisoners to Haddrell’s Point, only two captains were listed. Four officers from each line were allowed to remain in Charleston to tend to the sick and wounded, and possibly Drayton was one of this number.⁵⁰³ Just before Christmas of 1780, Charles Drayton, who had lost his only

⁵⁰¹ Diane M. Sydenhm, *Practitioner and Patient: The Practice of Medicine in Eighteenth Century South Carolina*, (Johns Hopkins University, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1979.) 68.

⁵⁰² Eliza Pinckney to Thomas Pinckney, May 17, 1779, quoted in Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Life of General Thomas Pinckney* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1895), 59.

⁵⁰³ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, vol.2 (New York: David Longworth, for the author, 1802), 114.

remaining son in September, with his brother Glen and twenty-eight other “prominent” citizens of Charleston, signed a petition “praying to be restored to the Rights of Subjects” under the British crown. Drayton removed himself to Goose Creek, and on January 2, 1782, he purchased 446.5 acres of land for £652 and waited out the end of the war.⁵⁰⁴

The distinction between a patriot and a loyalist during the occupation of Charleston was blurred, as individuals such as Charles Drayton often shifted sides, depending on their family ties and as an effort to protect their property. In the case of Drayton, it appears he supported both the War of Independence and Great Britain. He was not alone in his ability to maintain a balance between self-interest and public interest, to resolve the conflicting demands of the state and the family, and, at the same time, to maintain the rights of liberty and property. Possibly, Charles was willing to sacrifice liberty in order to secure his property under British rule.⁵⁰⁵ In June of 1779, Charles Drayton, his brothers, his step-mother Rebecca Drayton and her children had come into John Drayton’s estate valued at £100,00 sterling. He had a great deal to lose, but instead of linking himself to the British, who now occupied Charleston, he remained in Goose Creek.

The South Carolina Assembly, meeting in Jacksonburg in February of 1782, enacted two measures for the confiscation or banishment of loyalists. These measures were divided into six categories (1) Subjects of the British Crown; (2) Addressers of General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot on June 5, 1770; (3) Those who had voluntarily served in the Royal Militia; (4) Congratulators of General Cornwallis on September 19, 1780; (5) Those holding commissions with the British government; and (6) Those who, after having taken allegiance with Great

⁵⁰⁴ Francis B. Heitmn, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of Revolution, April 1775 to December of 1783*, rev. ed. (Washington: rare Book Shop Publishing Company, Inc., 1914), 204.

⁵⁰⁵ Robert M. Calhoun, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution 1760-1781* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1973), 86. Chaim Rosenberg, *The Loyalist Conscience: Principled Opposition to the American Revolution*, (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2018), 100-102.

Britain, had shown by their conduct to be in real sympathy with the British cause. Charles Drayton ostensibly fell into categories one and six, which left open a high probability of the confiscation of his property and a fine.

Drayton's revolutionary brothers-in-law in no uncertain terms disapproved of his constant tacking on both sides, which Drayton appeared to believe was a sure game, bringing down the wrath of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, who considered his actions "dishonorable." In February of 1782, Drayton's decision to remain in quietly Goose Creek during the British Occupation resulted in his name on the sequestration list. According to Edward Rutledge, Drayton was "written to repeatedly about the matter, but all to no purpose, he stays home and returns no answer." Rutledge believed that his brother-in-law "deserved to suffer," but understood there would be no sequestration. With the passage of the confiscation act, Charles Drayton escaped with his property intact. The South Carolina General Assembly realized it was impractical to punish upwards of seven hundred loyalists. Instead, those removed from the confiscation list like Charles Drayton received fines of twelve percent of the value of their property.⁵⁰⁶

Throughout 1782, Charles Drayton remained mostly at Goose Creek with occasional trips to Charleston, and according to Edward Rutledge, "doing nothing for the good of the state." Rutledge found Drayton's conduct "strange," and categorized him as a member of the "Protection Gentry," men who "if the enemy got back in the country, they can do what you and I cannot do, that is they can turn back again and live as easy under one government as another." Although Rutledge issued a "Curse on such Politics and such Principles," Drayton's tactics

⁵⁰⁶ Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to Arthur Middleton, January 5, 1782, Edward Rutledge to Arthur Middleton, February, 14 1782, 4-5, Edward Rutledge to Arthur Middleton, February 26, 1782. 8. Cited in Joseph Barnwell, *Correspondence*. See Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987.) Robert W. Barnwell, *Loyalism in South Carolina, 1765-1785*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Duke University, 1941)

ensured the protection of both his family and his property, at least until the fall of 1793.⁵⁰⁷

Charles Drayton was now, in his mind, at least the heir to Drayton Hall, and as such, he was willing to forgo the temporary disapproval of his contemporaries to achieve his inheritance.

In September of 1779, William Henry Drayton, while serving as a member of the Continental Congress, died, and then in 1780, his wife Dorothy Golightly passed away, leaving their two children, John II and Mary orphaned. At the end of the war, in March of 1784, Charles Drayton, as executor of his brother William Henry's estate, placed John II with the Reverend Robert Smith in Charleston, where he remained for one year.⁵⁰⁸ In February of 1785, John II left Charleston to complete his education in France and England, arriving in Le Havre on May 8. From there he continued to Caen where he was to remain until October of 1786, mastering the arts of fencing, dancing, and the French Language. On October 2, 1786, the seventeen-year-old traveled to London, where he remained until July of 1789 when he completed his education.⁵⁰⁹

Upon his return to Charleston, John II asked to read law in the offices of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Drayton's brother-in-law, and a "highly regarded gentleman and lawyer, who was his father's friend and schoolmate in England." His interest in law possibly stemmed from the fact that his father, William Henry Drayton, the eldest son of John Drayton of Drayton Hall was denied his inheritance. Usually, members of the Charleston plantocracy through their wills demonstrated a broad definition of family and a strong sense of interdependence and cooperation with kinship groups. In John Drayton's will made in May of

⁵⁰⁷ Edward Rutledge to Arthur Middleton, April 14, 1782, *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵⁰⁸ John Drayton, Carolina Florist, (Charleston, 1798) Introduction, Merriweather Papers, SCL, (hereafter "Florist"), 14. Dorothy Drayton to Henry Laurens, December 19, 1779, Governor John Drayton Papers, SC. Guardianship of John Drayton and his sister, Mary was granted to Dorothy Drayton on January, 28, 1780. Miscellaneous Records, Letters of Guardianship, Books S-2, SCDAH, 321; Drayton, "Florist" 14-15; Charles Drayton Diaries, March 28, 1784. Drayton paid "Smith" fifty guineas per annum on July 22, 1785, for boarding his nephew John.

⁵⁰⁹ John Drayton II, "The Gentleman's Complete Memorandum Booklet" (British Register, 1779); Sarah M. Drayton Folder, Charleston Museum.

1779, which disappeared, he unequally distributed his estate valued at £100,00 sterling, among his wife Rebecca, his two young daughters, Susannah and Ann, and his five sons, William Henry, Charles, Glen, Thomas, and infant John.⁵¹⁰ Drayton bequeathed more to his infant son John than any of his other children. In the end, unlike other members of Charleston's elite, Drayton ignored one of the tenants of kinship networks, that one should bequeath money and property to the next generation, but also ensure their attachment to their kin. Instead, his actions set in motion years of litigation between his son, Charles Drayton, and his nephew John Drayton II, which came close to destroying the Drayton family legacy.⁵¹¹

When William Henry died in September of 1779, he was intestate. In 1791, the infant John died. Under the terms of John Drayton's will, on the death of William Henry and the infant John, his three surviving sons, Charles, Glen, and Thomas were entitled to all of the Drayton estate. Believing themselves to be the owners of their father, John Drayton's estate, they advertised the property for sale in February of 1786, but there were no serious bidders. Charles, Glen, and Thomas Drayton then purchased the property, "at large prices," but in the future, the three would claim they were bidding to promote the sale, and "not with any view to becoming purchasers."⁵¹² The brothers were advised by Charles Drayton's brother-in-law, Edward Rutledge, who was a very able and well-educated lawyer. Rutledge's reading of John Drayton's will concluded: "that they were entitled to all of the property, of the deceased infant John, to the exclusion of the children of William Henry Drayton." This exclusion, the brothers and their

⁵¹⁰ John Drayton married Rebecca Perry, when she was only seventeen in all likelihood with the intention to start a brand-new family. In the 1760s, Drayton threatened to cut off his older sons, which he followed through on with his final will.

⁵¹¹ *John Drayton for himself, & as friend of his sister Mary Drayton, an infant, Vs. Charles Drayton & others, Executors of John Drayton, deceased, Case LXXXIV, March, 1793, cited to William DeSaussure, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Chancery of the State of South Carolina, from the Revolution to December 1813, Inclusive.* Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Robert H. Small, 1854), 330-331. *Tobias Bowles, & Susannah his wife Vs. Charles, Thomas, and Glen Drayton, executors of John Drayton, Case CXII, July, 1796, Ibid, 492.*

⁵¹² DeSaussure, Case LXXXIV, Answer, 326.

attorney, Edward Rutledge, believed was supported by two clauses in John Drayton's will which state (1) that "provided if I said son John Drayton should die during minority, I give all money arising from the sale of the Mount Pleasant Plantation to be equally divided among three surviving sons or the survivors to them" and (2) that "I direct all of his, the infant John's estate shall be equally divided amongst his surviving brothers." It was this clause that the Drayton's and Rutledge excluded the children of William Henry, contending that William Henry was not a "survivor" of the infant John, but had predeceased him.⁵¹³

The property John Drayton had left to his youngest son, infant John included: 631 acres in the Great Swamp; 850 acres on the north side of the Pon River, Drayton's Red Bank Property inherited from Ann Drayton; 1,000 acres at the foot of Buck Head branch in Saltcatchers, St. Bartholomew's Parish; 921 acres on the Cossawatchie and Tualpiny Swamps in Granville County; 1,300 acres of pineland near Bee's creek in Granville County; seventy-five acres near Statesburgh; 3,300 acres on the Coosawatchie Swamp in Granville County, Drayton's Mount Pleasant Plantation, which had four settled plantations; the 460 areas of Gimbald Hill a mile and half from the town Cooswatchie; 500 acres in Granville County called Boggy Gutt and Stoney Runn; "an eligible mansion house, with the necessary outbuildings and a garden" on the corner of Broad and Orange Street, Charleston, Pew #34 in St. Michaels Church "in the south aisle nearly opposite the south door," and fifty "country born" slaves.⁵¹⁴ It was these lands which the Drayton brothers offered for sale, bid for and then purchased themselves from the estate. It was, even when divided three ways, a large inheritance and speaks to John Drayton's financial skills

⁵¹³ Thomas Drayton, Administrator of Glen Drayton, Vs. John Laurens North & Wife: Answer October 25, 1820, Chancery Court Records, 182501849, SCDAH. John Drayton, Et. Al., Vs. Charles Drayton, et. Al, March, 1793, William Loughton Smith, Case determine in the Constitutional Courts at Charleston, 1795-1805 (Columbia: 1795-1805), Smith Paper, SCL, 17, 57. DeSaussure, Case LXXXIV, 325.

⁵¹⁴ *South Carolina State Gazette & Timothy and Mason's Daily Advertiser*, November 26; December 1, 3, 8, 12, 17, 18, 25, 31, 1795. (Hereafter SCSG)

and management of his estate. Whatever the exact inheritance of the estate for Charles and Thomas, William Henry and Glen, Charles came to own Drayton Hall, and Thomas came to own Magnolia. Glen, according to his brother Thomas inherited only “several tracts of inferior land,” and seventy or eighty slaves, before the division of infant John’s lands.⁵¹⁵

Throughout his life, it would always infuriate John Drayton II that his uncle had come into possession of what he considered to be his father, William Henry Drayton’s, and his birthright. At the age of twenty-one, Drayton attempted to set aside his grandfather’s will and “to claim his inheritance at law.” According to Drayton, there were good grounds for his suit because “the will was drawn up at a time of great chaos during [John Drayton’s] last illness, and his signature appeared forged.” The court agreed with Drayton’s assessment, observing that the will appeared “unskillfully drawn, by one who was not familiar with legal expressions,” and that some of the bequests were not introduced in a coherent legal style. The court ruled that the elder John Drayton received no professional assistance, and the will was drawn up “when he was in extremis.”⁵¹⁶

John Drayton II did not succeed in breaking his grandfather’s will, because the witnesses were from his grandfather’s fourth marriage to Rebecca Perry. Unwilling to give up, in March of 1793, he filed a second lawsuit against John Drayton’s estate, this time arguing that he and his sister Mary did not receive their share of the Drayton estate, as a result of the sale of the infant John’s estate to Charles, Glen, and Thomas Drayton. This time John II won, which speaks to his skill as a lawyer and his determination to regain what he viewed as his rightful share of the

⁵¹⁵ Thomas Drayton Vs. John Laurens North, October 25, 1829, Chancery Court Records, SCDAH.

⁵¹⁶ DeSaussure, Case LXXXIV, 329. One could speculate that John Drayton’s will was drawn up with the help of his fourth wife, Rebecca Drayton, who had fled with him and their children from Drayton Hall with the approach of the British.

Drayton estate.⁵¹⁷ The court decreed on September 25, 1794, that the Mount Pleasant lands, purchased by the three Drayton brothers, be resold and the other parts his father's estate which infant John had inherited be divided "by three persons chosen for that purpose," into four equal shares, and that "one such part or shares" be given to John Drayton II "for the benefit of the estate of William Henry Drayton." Also, the executors were instructed to pay the estate of William Henry Drayton "a fair and reasonable sum of money" for the use of the land that Charles, Thomas, and Glen Drayton had purchased in 1786, "from the time of purchase." John Drayton II was also awarded "a reasonable allowance for the work and labor of the slaves" on these lands, to be computed from the death of the infant John to the time when "the division shall be made."⁵¹⁸ These final two decisions resulted in the bankruptcy of Glen Drayton and reduced Charles Drayton and Thomas Drayton from gentlemen of considerable substance to gentlemen with limited means.

On November 1, 1783, Charles Drayton entered into an agreement with Rebecca Perry Drayton for the sum of £6,856 sterling in exchange for her rights to Drayton Hall.⁵¹⁹ On January 12, 1784, Charles sent an overseer to his newly claimed estate and three days later began his residency at Drayton Hall.⁵²⁰ According to court records, Charles refused to pay Rebecca the sum in full for Drayton Hall, perhaps feeling he had an undeniable right to his father's estate. It would not be until 1818, over thirty years after the initial agreement, that Rebecca received payment for Drayton Hall in full.⁵²¹ In January of 1784, Rebecca Perry Drayton, along with her

⁵¹⁷ DeSaussure, Case LXXXIV.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Decree, September 25, 1794, 250.

⁵¹⁹ "Rebecca Drayton v. Dr. Charles Drayton," Judgement Roll, Microfilm Roll #91, #144A, 226A-1.

⁵²⁰ January, 12 1784: "The Overseer Sent to Drayton Hall." Charles Drayton Diaries, transcript, 8. Drayton Family papers. Special Collections. College of Charleston Library.

⁵²¹ "Rebecca Drayton v. Charles Drayton," Judgment Roll, Microfilm Roll #91, #144A, 226A-5.

children, moved to Charleston. She never married and, as a feme sole, would become a very successful businesswoman who owned significant property in Charleston.

Finally, on January 15, 1784, Dr. Charles Drayton took up residence at Drayton Hall along with his wife Hester and their two-year-old daughter Charlotte.⁵²² His other surviving children to be born at Drayton Hall were: Henrietta Augusta born on August 14, 1783, Maria, and finally Charles born on December 5, 1785. The last son, Henry, died with his mother on November 10, 1789.⁵²³ The death of Hester Middleton Drayton served to bind him more closely to his Middleton kinship network of Middleton Place and Cedar Grove. Mary Izard Middleton of Cedar Grove, the widow of Arthur Middleton, who was only forty-five when he died on January 1, 1787 fostered this closeness between the two families. “Aunt Middleton” would serve as a surrogate mother for the four Drayton children following their mother’s death. She would take an active interest in the four Drayton children for the rest of her life. Her actions are representative of the close ties that bound together kinship networks as members of the Charleston plantocracy.⁵²⁴ In return, Charles Drayton was appointed one of the appraisers for Arthur Middleton’s estate in February of 1793, and who attended Thomas Middleton, his last Middleton brother-in-law, during the latter’s final illness on Sullivan’s Island in 1797. Charles Drayton’s early diaries continually refer to the visiting back and forth between Drayton Hall and Cedar Grove. Throughout his life, he would maintain his close connection to the Middleton family.⁵²⁵

⁵²² Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 5, Boxes H: *Charles Drayton Diaries, January 15, 1784*. (National Trust for Historic Preservation. 2002.) (Here after Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 5, Boxes H.

⁵²³ *Ibid*, November 10, 1789.

⁵²⁴ John Drayton II after his numerous lawsuits against his granddaughter’s estate and his uncles found himself and his family ostracized from the Drayton kinship network. He eventually married Hester Rose Tidyman the daughter of Philip Tidyman, who was a tradesman and silversmith in Charleston.

⁵²⁵ Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 5, Boxes H. December 25, 1789; February 1-12, 1793, March 7, 11, 21, 28, April 19-22, August 20, 1797.

Charles Drayton, the third owner of Drayton Hall, was a gentleman, well-educated and resourceful, and a hardworking planter. Throughout his life, Drayton exhibited curiosity and interest in nature and science and he continued his pursuit of knowledge for the rest of his life. Trained as a scientific observer while in medical school, his interests ranged widely from the life of the Ashley River Bridge (wormed destroyed the bridge for twenty months) to the raising of silkworms at Middleton Plantation and Cedar Grove. He was interested in hot air balloons, as well as the longevity of animals based on the family cat, Old Tom, brought to Drayton Hall as a kitten in 1784 and dying twenty years and three months later in 1803.⁵²⁶

While at the University of Edinburgh Medical School, Drayton studied astronomy. Drayton observed and noted two comets that appeared in 1807 and another in 1811 during his summer visit to Sullivan's Island to escape the disease environment at Drayton Hall. He wrote to the *Charleston Courier* that "on Thursday evening, September 12, 1811, riding along Charleston Harbor, I beheld in the northwesterly part of the heavens, an unusual circular luminous vapor, which I concluded to be the nucleus of a comet." Arriving back at his "observatory" at his summer home, Drayton observed the phenomenon through an "ordinary telescope," but could see nothing more. The evening of the thirteenth, again with the aid of his telescope, he "plainly perceived the cause of light. It was a comet, almost amid its Nucleus, though the greater body tended to the North Polar Star."⁵²⁷ Drayton also observed with great interest two earthquakes, noting the number of quakes and the precise time of their occurrence, as well as the damage incurred: clocks stopping, beds trembling, and chickens falling from their roosts.⁵²⁸

⁵²⁶ Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 5, Box H, February 29, 1792; October 25, 1795; November, 25, 1794, August 16, 1803.

⁵²⁷ Ibid, September 27, 1807; September 12, 13, 14, 16, 1811.

⁵²⁸ Ibid, December 16, 1811; January 23, February 7, 1812.

7.2 A Ferme Ornee or Ornamental Farm

The landscape and gardens laid out by John Drayton earlier in the century would have been at their full maturity when Charles Drayton assumed ownership of Drayton Hall in 1784. His father, John Drayton's design of the landscape, was intended to be an accent to the main house elegant and formal design. Charles Drayton had another vision for Drayton Hall. He began almost immediately to develop Drayton Hall along the lines of a "ferme ornee" or an ornamental farm. Drayton rejected the concept of formal gardens accented by miniature temples and follies with parterres and terracing popularized by the English landscape architect Capability Brown. In Charles Drayton's diaries, there are many references to the work of the English architect Humphrey Repton, the successor to Brown, who favored natural landscapes. Drayton's design for Drayton Hall mingled the fields, flowers, and vegetables with a pleasure garden serving as an ornamental walkway through and around the divisions of farm and kitchen gardens.

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Although the legal battles against Charles Drayton had concluded, the resulting financial settlement brought against him by his nephew John II meant all the Drayton properties, including Drayton Hall, had to be income-producing or provide provisions. Census records from 1790 show there were 41 slaves at Drayton hall, but by the next census in 1800, this number had increased to 172. Although never to produce the staples of rice and indigo, as did his other plantations of Long Savannah and Jehossee, Drayton Hall produced considerable plantation provisions. In the vegetable garden at Drayton Hall, Charles planted peas, lettuce, cabbage,

⁵²⁹ The "ferme ornee" represented a complete shift from the work of the mid eighteenth-century English landscape architect Capability Brown, who reformed and reshaped natural landscapes across England resulted in gardens being displays of modish designs with no art. See John Dixon Hunt, *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2000.) 80-81. Rudy J. Favretti and Joy Putnam Favretti, *Landscape and Gardens for Historic Buildings*, (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1997) 24-26.

radishes, turnips, corn, and sweet potatoes.⁵³⁰ He sowed wheat and planted the bowling green with hay, the orchard with rye, and the octagon with broadleaf spinach, the park was set aside for peas, and hemp seed planted by the peach orchard fence. Later in this area, Charles planted cauliflower and asparagus along with strawberries. From 1790, Drayton's significant crops were corn, peas, and potatoes, grown primarily as provisions for both his family and his slaves.⁵³¹ From his orchards and gardens, Drayton harvested figs, melons, peaches, and plums, and although he carefully tended the 118 olive stones sent to him by Thomas Jefferson, none survived.⁵³² Between 1789 and 1811, he experimented with a variety of cotton seeds and breeding merino sheep.

After the Revolutionary War, rice planters, instead of rebuilding inland-swamp rice fields, which were destroyed by the British, began to use a new agricultural method for the cultivation of rice utilizing tidal cultivation. One of the most significant issues with inland swamp cultivation was the decrease in soil fertility. In the late 1780s, Charles Drayton shifted to tidal rice cultivation at his plantations, Long Savannah and Jehossee Island. A tidal rice plantation was a "huge hydraulic machine," constructed of levels, floodgates, trunks, canals, banks, and ditches of the most extensive kind, requiring skill and a unity of purpose to keep in order." This system of rice cultivation provided fertile rice fields created by tidal surges. It also allowed rice planters greater control over the landscape and environment necessary for rice cultivation and production.⁵³³

⁵³⁰ Charles Drayton Diaries, *Drayton Papers Collection*, Disk 5, Boxes H. (Hereafter CDD) February 3, 12, August 16, October 26, 1784; May 7, 1784; June 25, 1789.

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, June 18, 1791; July 4, 1793; February, 3 1795.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, April 11, 1797; January 11, 1811.

⁵³³ Mart Stewart, "What Nature Suffers to Groe," *Life, Labor, and Landscape on the Georgia Coast 1680-1920*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 98-99.

7.3 Drayton Hall and the Michaux Connection

All his life, Charles Drayton's natural interests extended to the pursuit of botany. One of his annotated botany journals survives with a list of plants growing naturally at Drayton Hall in 1785. This journal indicates that Drayton was sufficiently schooled in botany to identify as a nova, and if he could find no genus for them, he was sufficiently well trained to make a definitive diagnosis and, in many cases, to insert a sample of the plant into the journal for future reference. He was also well versed in the Linnaean system and classified his plants accordingly.⁵³⁴ Throughout Drayton's diaries, there are constant references to plants, their acquisition, and their blooming.

Charles Drayton became friends with Andre Michaux, a Frenchman, who trained as a botanist under the celebrated Bernard de Jussieu at the Trianon located at Versailles. The foremost French botanist of the late eighteenth century, Jussieu developed the natural system of classification still used today. Later, Michaux moved to Paris to study at the Jardin des Plantes with Andre Thouin and other leading scientists of Paris. With the completion of his botanical studies, he was appointed to join a mission in 1782, to the Middle East. The journey occupied Michaux for three years, as he worked his way across Persia from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean. In 1785, he returned to Paris with the seeds and plants and other objects collected on the mission.⁵³⁵

Within a year, Michaux was selected to lead a scientific mission to the United States. America welcomed a French scientific mission to study American forests, and gather plants which would strengthen the ties to France. The primary goal of Michaux's mission was to

⁵³⁴ *Charles Drayton Plant Journal*, Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 5, Boxes H: Diaries.

⁵³⁵ Henry Jr. Savage and Elizabeth Savage. *Andre and Francois Michaux*. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1986.) 75-76. Marguerite Duval, *The King's Garden*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 1982.) 131-132. Alice M. Coats, *The Plant Hunters* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1969), 120-125.

search American forests for new species of trees with which to rebuild the forests of France. For almost a century, France fought in a series of wars with England. This extended conflict fought on both land and sea and had stripped the best timber from France's forests. The renewal of forests was a source of state power, and France needed to rebuild her forests quickly.⁵³⁶

Appointed the King's Botanist, Michaux departed immediately and arrived in New York in 1785. Over the next year, he established a thirty-acre garden near Hackensack, New Jersey. The temperatures in New Jersey were too extreme for a successful botanical garden. In September of 1786, Michaux, accompanied by his son, Francois Andre, left New Jersey for Charleston, South Carolina. There Michaux established a more extensive garden on 111 acres in Goose Creek. This garden became his base of operations for the next decade. Charleston, in the late eighteenth century, was a large city with wealth and a French culture influenced by its Huguenot community. The French botanist received a warm welcome and was offered assistance with his work. Michaux developed a garden and became acquainted with the leading citizens in the area. Two of the families he visited were the Drayton's at Drayton Hall and the Middleton's at Middleton Place.⁵³⁷ Besides, shipping plant specimens back to the Jardin des Plante's in Paris, Michaux introduced new plants to America. The mimosa or silk tree, *Albizia julibrissin*, the crape myrtle *Lagerstroemia Indica*, the tea plant, and the camellia are only a small number of the plants he received credit for bringing to America.⁵³⁸ Besides, Michaux's work at the French Botanical Garden, he made several explorations deep into the American frontier. On one of his expeditions in the Carolina piedmont, he found a new species in bloom,

⁵³⁶ Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan Eds. *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.) 29-34. 70-74.

⁵³⁷ Charlie Williams, *Andre Michaux: A Biographical Sketch for the Internet*, Andre Michaux International Symposium. 5-6. (Hereafter, Williams, Andre Michaux)

⁵³⁸ *Ibid*, 5. Barbara Orsolits, *Magnolia: Bulletin of the Southern Garden History Society*, "Drayton Hall and the Michaux Connection." Spring, 2003. Vol. XVIII. 4.

which he named the *Magnolia macrophylla*. Also, while exploring the headwaters of the Catawba River, he discovered a new evergreen shrub with purple blossoms, which he named *Rhododendron catawbiense*.⁵³⁹

Property maps from the late eighteenth century show that Charles Drayton's Goose Creek plantation was adjacent to Michaux's French Botanical Garden. Charles Drayton's diaries show the significant influence Michaux had on the landscape and gardens at Drayton Hall during this period. The first reference to Andre Michaux in the Drayton Paper's collection is an entry from Charles Drayton's diary dated February 17, 1793. It describes a visit to the French Garden and describes it being near the ten-mile house. The plants listed were yellow jasmine, chicksaw, plums, judas or redbud in bloom and *Viburnum Tinus*, and green tea.⁵⁴⁰ The Drayton Papers Collection contains a list of plants and shrubs that Michaux gave to Charles Drayton that are titled "Catalogue of Seeds Sown in Nursery." This list demonstrates Michaux's generosity but also the wide variety of plants and shrubs he introduced at Drayton Hall. Charles Drayton, in his diary on November 10, 1794, refers to a visit by Michaux to Drayton Hall, and the death of his horse, which Drayton replaced to Michaux, could continue on his journey. As a gesture of appreciation, Michaux sent nine rare plants to Drayton Hall. In an entry dated February 23, 1795, Charles Drayton mentions going to Michaux's French Botanical Garden and returning with *Viburnum Tinus*, yellow jasmine, woodbine, and flowering almond.⁵⁴¹

Michaux's French Botanical thrived from 1786 to 1796, but after the French Revolution, the new Republican government refused to provide financial support. Michaux was ordered to terminate his work and put the garden up for sale. By August of 1796, Michaux had left the

⁵³⁹ Williams, *Andre Michaux*, 8-9.

⁵⁴⁰ *DPC*, Disk 1, Box B B-21.

⁵⁴¹ *DPC* Disk 1 Box B B-20.

Charleston area and returned to Europe. His fortunes depleted he joined an expedition to the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. He left the expedition and continued to Madagascar to study plant life. Michaux, accustomed to a busy pace in his previous explorations, did not heed warnings regarding Madagascar's unhealthy tropical climate. Worn out and far from home, Michaux succumbed to a malarial fever and died in 1802. His great work on the oaks of America, *L'Histoire des Chenes d'Amerique*, was published in 1801. Along with his other work, *Flora Boreali-Americana*, Michaux established a reputation as one of the most influential botanists in North America during the late eighteenth-century.⁵⁴²

After Michaux departed Charleston, a neighboring planter, maintained the French Botanical Garden. Charles Drayton, from an entry in his diary from May of 1801, provides one of the oldest detailed descriptions of the garden after Michaux departed for France. He describes several young trees bearing pale red flowers that he identifies as *Rhododendron maximum*. He says, "Michaux sent me him a specimen of the rhododendron, but it perished." Besides the *Rhododendron*, Drayton mentions pines or firs, the *Kalmia* (mountain laurel), *Pinckneya pubens*, and *Viburnum*.⁵⁴³ In 1802, Charles Drayton recorded a visit from Michaux's son Francois to Drayton Hall. Francois had been sent to close and dismantle the French Botanical Garden by Napoleon's administration. He oversaw the site to a private individual on behalf of the French government. Charles Drayton's diary describes several other visits to the French Botanical Garden, the last being in March of 1808. From his descriptions, the gardens had become overgrown, but there were still remnants of its former collection of ornamental flowers and shrubs.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² DPC, Disk 1 Box A A-37.

⁵⁴³ DPC, Disk 1 Box A A-38.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 6.

7.4 The Landscape of Slavery and Staple Crop Production

Drayton planted rice using the task system: the method whereby each slave (Drayton designated them either by the name of their work implement or by the term taskable) was assigned a specific task to be accomplished within a specific time. Tasks were set for almost all operations, from clearing new ground or hoeing (1/4 to 1/2 an acre per taskable) to the weekly tasks of two sawyers (generally 600 feet of pine or 780 feet of cypress).⁵⁴⁵ Each fieldworker had his or her tools issued to them, for Drayton records that the plows or hoes were given to specific individuals, or that certain slaves received certain tools at a specific time. Archaeologist Lynne Lewis's studies indicate a surprising absence of tools in the excavation areas near the house. Tools issued to individuals would have been kept by that individual, who became responsible for the safety and care of that item, probably in the slave quarters.

In the early nineteenth century, cotton replaced indigo as a crop suitable for cultivation on high ground. Planters across the Lowcountry, including Charles Drayton, reaped profits similar to those derived from tidal rice. The first post-revolutionary cotton exported from Charleston to Liverpool, England, took place in 1785. By the 1790s, Sea Island cotton was being grown by Charles Drayton on Jehossee Island. The development of the cotton gin to remove seeds made the production of the staple crop less labor-intensive and profitable for the planters.⁵⁴⁶ The diversification of staple crops grown at Jehossee Island and Drayton Hall allowed Drayton to utilize all land for profit or provisions for the Drayton family and slaves. By 1810, Charles Drayton would become even more focused on maximizing all his plantations and

⁵⁴⁵ Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3D Series XXXIX (October, 1982), 574.

⁵⁴⁶ Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*. 270. DPC Disk 7, Box I I-02. Drayton's Patent Cotton Press.

his land for profit. The costs of maintaining Drayton Hall began to be a drain on his capital, as well as the beginnings of a permanent economic downturn in Charleston.

Drayton Hall also had specialty workers: carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, grooms, and cooks. In 1790, there were only forty-one field slaves at the plantation, but by 1800 that number had grown to one hundred and seventy-two.⁵⁴⁷ Drayton kept his carpenters busy: Cimon, Quash, and Toby repaired trunks, fences, canoes, and schooners, the wheels for Drayton's "chair" (a one-horse, two-wheeled conveyance), and they built a house for the overseer on Drayton's Jehossee plantation. Like Drayton's other slaves, they, too were assigned work by the task. For example, each carpenter was assigned to split and draw five hundred shingles a day.⁵⁴⁸

Drayton kept very detailed records relating to the slaves on the Drayton Hall property. He treated their illnesses, inoculated their children, punished their inappropriate behavior, and mourned their deaths. Most notably among all the workers were Caesar, Drayton's grandfather William Bull Jr.'s principal bricklayer in the building of the main house at Sheldon and Butler, George, Drayton's longtime deputy whose death three years before Drayton's left a space in his life. One of the most important to Drayton Hall was Affy, who had been one of William Henry Drayton's slaves, and who came to be an important member of Charles Drayton's family. She cared for his house, his children, and his grandchildren, and during her last illness, she was in Charleston caring for the home of Charlotte Drayton Manigault. Joseph Manigault sent her back to Drayton Hall in his chair to die at home.⁵⁴⁹ Drayton was a firm task-master, but he was fair. When slaves ran away as they frequently did from Drayton's two working plantations, they knew

⁵⁴⁷ 1790 and 1800 census records at Drayton Hall.

⁵⁴⁸ CDD, September 28, 1784; January 25, 1790; September 3, 1790; April 14, 1791; June 21, 1789.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1784; August 30, 1799; May 26, 1819.

to solicit a letter of intercession from one of Drayton's friends or neighbors to help put them back into Drayton's good graces.⁵⁵⁰

Drayton's working plantations Long Savannah and Jehossee Island were adjacent to the Edisto River in Colleton County. Each week Drayton journeyed by schooner from Drayton Hall staying for a few days to check on the operations there. After the Revolutionary War, and as planters adopted tidal rice cultivation, agricultural activities moved from Charleston's original core settlements, which included Drayton Hall to the peripheries stretching from Georgetown to the Savannah River.⁵⁵¹ The overseers on both plantations continually frustrated and angered him with their incompetence and unreliability. Drayton hired a T.G. Zwickel, a Dutchman, to work the Savannah plantation in 1807, for \$40.00 a year, two milk cows, 300 pounds of meat, twenty pounds of coffee, thirty pounds of sugar and a boy not fit for fieldwork. Within two months, the overseer was forced off the plantation by two slaves who robbed him at gunpoint and threatened his life if he did not leave. The next overseer that Drayton hired misused the slaves neglected his duties and was generally dishonest. The one following him was a thief who fled with Drayton's property. On one occasion, when Drayton was away from home, an overseer at Drayton Hall got drunk and frightened the children forcing them to go to their Uncle Thomas Drayton at Magnolia for protection.⁵⁵²

Jehossee Island, a tract of 3,500 acres near the mouth of the Edisto River about thirty miles south of Charleston, was the largest tidal rice-producing plantation owned by Charles Drayton. The island was a combination of tidewater marsh and timber swamp. Drayton initiated

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid., June 22, August 28, December 17, 1807; December 19, 1803.

⁵⁵¹ S. Max Edelson, *Plantation Enterprise in Colonial South Carolina*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.) 136-138.

⁵⁵² CDD, March 31, 1794; October 7, December 17, 1807; December 19, 1803. , 1821-1834," *Journal of Southern History*, 63 (1997) 753-802, Eugene D. Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Fatal Self-Deception: Slaveholding Paternalism in the Old South*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. 50-53.

a reclamation process, which brought seven hundred acres of prime tidal rice land under cultivation. In a massive expenditure of labor, Drayton's slaves dug canals twelve to fifteen feet wide to serve as the main flooding and draining channels for the plantation. The canals divided the plantations into fields of fifteen to twenty acres each, depending on the elevation of the land for flooding. Also, there was an array of smaller ditches in checkerboard fashion cutting the fields into plots of a quarter-acre each to quicken the flooding and draining process. Banks and levees of varying sizes paralleled the canals and ditches to keep unwanted tidal waters off the fields and at the same time, hold floodwaters on the field for the desired period. The plantation also contained five hundred acres of improved upland for growing provisions such as corn, oats, and potatoes. The remainder was pasture land for cattle herding and reclaimed swamp. The majority of the Drayton slaves lived at Jehossee Island, and many ran away, and this was where they went for punishment.⁵⁵³

Drayton rarely sold slaves. He did give a slave family to his favorite daughter Maria as a gift on March 1, 1813: Nella, a cooper and driver, his wife, and their children. He was compelled because of finances, however, to sell some of his slaves in March of 1818, in order to assist his son, Charles, who was in financial difficulty at Jehossee Island, where he lived after 1814. This "melancholy circumstance" caused Henrietta Drayton to take to her bed and brother Charles Jr. to experience twinges regret stating that "My father by settling me has done injustice to himself." For his father, the thirty-three-year-old Charles, who was neither a successful physician or planter, was reminiscent of his Uncle Glen, who died a pauper.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵³ CDD, August 28, 1790; May 22, 1792, April 30, 1793; August 1, 1797, May 18, 1795; April 19, 1804. Joyce E. Chaplin, "Tidal Rice Cultivation and the Problem of Slavery in South Carolina and Georgia, 1760-1815" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (Jan., 1992) 33-35; 39-42.

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1813; Charles Drayton. to Henrietta Drayton, March 3, 1818. Middleton Place Collection Drayton Papers, 1810-1820; CDD, March 6, 13, 1818. It is possible that only a few of the slaves were sold.

7.5 Plantation Life: Family and Kinship Networks

Charles Drayton entertained many guests at Drayton Hall, one of the most notable being Francois Alexander, Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, the traveling French nobleman who dined with Charles Drayton on April 12, 1796, along with Dr. Alexander Baron and Dr. John Julius Pringle. The Duc termed Drayton Hall “an ancient building, but convenient and good,” and remarked that the garden was “better laid out, better cultivated and stocked with many good trees” than any other he had thus far seen in America. Of the Duc, Drayton was to comment on the former’s fall from riches and position after the French Revolution, partially analogous to Drayton’s position: his nephew’s lawsuit against the estate of John Drayton had been won only two years before.⁵⁵⁵

Charles Drayton, throughout his life at Drayton Hall, maintained close kinship ties with the Middletons, Izards, Parkers, Manigault’s, and Gibbes. Drayton never remarried and raised his children with the help of the Middletons. With his straightened circumstances after the settlement of the lawsuits against John Drayton’s estate, it would be reasonable to assume Charles would remarry based on fiscal concerns. Members of the Charleston plantocracy remarried quickly after the death of a spouse, unlike in Great Britain, where there was a protracted mourning period. When John Drayton remarried a fourth time to the seventeen-year-old Rebecca Drayton, members of his kinship network voiced their disapproval. Their concerns came to fruition with the birth of a son and two daughters from this union. At the time of his death, John Drayton put his young children ahead of his children from his previous three marriages in his will. It is possible; Charles remained a widower after his experiences with John Drayton’s fourth wife and the impact on the Drayton estate.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Liancourt, *Travels*, 591-592, CDD April 4, April 12.

⁵⁵⁶ See Glover, *All Our Relations*, 54-55.

After living abroad for eighteen years, Charles Drayton seldom traveled far from home. In July of 1806, he did venture to Philadelphia to place his only son Charles, then twenty-one in medical school. The Drayton's sailed to Philadelphia on a schooner bound for Baltimore. Thomas Middleton and two of their Drayton cousins, Jacob and Sarah, accompanied them on their voyage. In Philadelphia, Charles Drayton Jr. was put in school under the supervision of Dr. Benjamin Rush, noted physician and teacher. From Philadelphia, the remainder of the party traveled to New York. After visiting New York, Drayton traveled through New Jersey, Virginia, and North Carolina, reaching South Carolina in his private carriage in November. While on this trip, Drayton made precise sketches of bridges and barns, continually fascinated by the new and different and the successful. Always interested in architecture, he appreciated the country houses he visited and sketched" Montallo near West Point, and Hamilton outside of Philadelphia. He was fascinated by the construction of the capitol building in Washington, D.C., and on November 30, he arrived safely back in Charleston.⁵⁵⁷

The Drayton family summered on Sullivan's Island, to escape the hot and humid disease-infested environment at Drayton Hall during the summer. Sullivan's Island offered a respite for the members of the Charleston plantocracy seeking cooler and purer air. From 1801 to 1817, Charles Drayton and one or more of his children and their families and friends stayed on the island between August and November, or until the first hard freeze removed the danger of fevers. A schooner filled with household goods, provisions, and house slaves would proceed with the family, who would generally break up the trip by spending the night in Charleston. Then, throughout the four months stay, the schooner would again make the trip from Drayton Hall to the rented house on the island, bringing rice and potatoes and other foodstuffs. While on the

⁵⁵⁷ CDD, Journal of a Northern Tour, July 27-November 30, 1806.

island, the Drayton's would visit with their friends and members of their kinship network and join in the many parties and festivities held on the island. In July of 1817, Drayton even planted corn at the house he rented for the season. Drayton's youngest daughter Maria was married on Sullivan Islands on July 25, 1809, to Lewis Ladson Gibbes.⁵⁵⁸ Once winter came to the Lowcountry, the furniture, goods, and house slaves returned to Drayton Hall aboard the schooner. Preparations began for Christmas at Drayton Hall, with friends and family visiting for the many holiday festivities.

As a respected member of the South Carolina planter elite, Charles Drayton was expected to assume the responsibilities of public office, but no doubt would have preferred to spend his days at Drayton Hall. He served locally on the St. Andrews Vestry Committee and as a commissioner of public roads in St. Andrew's Parish.⁵⁵⁹ His primary public service was in the South Carolina State House of Representatives, and that was where his real political interest lay. Drayton's diaries, which are so exact and thorough concerning his activities at Drayton Hall make no references to his involvement in political life and instead concentrate on the cost of travel to and from Columbia, with occasional comments regarding his one-time friend, Edward Rutledge. In 1797, the two men became estranged over a lawsuit Rutledge brought against the heirs of their mutual father-in-law Henry Middleton, which Drayton believed was without merit. Their friendship cooled and ended with Rutledge's death in January of 1800.⁵⁶⁰

Throughout the eighteenth century, a few interrelated families: The Bulls, Middleton's, Pinckney's, Rutledge's, Parkers, and Smiths monopolized political life in South Carolina.

⁵⁵⁸ The Drayton's summered on Sullivan's Island 1801-1803, 1808-1813, 1815, 1817; CDD, July 25, 1809; July 19, 1817.

⁵⁵⁹ DPC, CDD, April 12, 1784; April 12, 1813.

⁵⁶⁰ Charles Drayton to Edward Rutledge, February 1, 1797, Charles Drayton Papers, SCL, CDD, December 13, 1796; February 4, 1797.

Drayton was elected Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina on February 11, 1785, and after a delay “on account of his indisposition,” he was sworn into office on March 22, 1785. He was elected to the State Assembly from St. Andrews Parish in 1777-1788. Drayton attended the convention, which ratified the federal constitution from May 12 to May 23, 1789.⁵⁶¹ The political empires created by Charleston’s plantocracy rarely faced challenges from outside their ranks. Any rivals to the political power of Charleston’s plantocracy and their shared interests would be immediately silenced. By the early National period, the political dominance of South Carolina by interrelated kinship networks made it virtually impossible for citizens of the backcountry to achieve political parity. In 1786, the state capital of South Carolina, located in Charleston moved to Columbia, but this did little to wrest political control from the Charleston plantocracy. Kinship ties continued to dominate all levels of politics in South Carolina for the next sixty years. Eventually, the elaborate systems of kinship, the commitment to kin and class solidarity, and the conservative parochial agenda, which ensured the success of the white elite in the eighteenth century would contribute to their undoing in the antebellum period.⁵⁶²

Charles Drayton’s allegiance was always to rest with the Middleton’s. Henry Middleton had co-signed a bond with William Henry Drayton on August 1, 1772, so that the latter could obtain a loan from Edward Fenwick. Because of William Henry’s straitened financial circumstances or lack of interest, Middleton’s heirs had been forced to pay considerable sums on the bond. Charles Drayton agreed, on September 7, 1796, almost twenty years after his brother’s death, to assume responsibility for his brother’s note and to reimburse the Middleton heirs.⁵⁶³

⁵⁶¹ A.S. Salley, Jr. ed, *Journal of the Convention of South Carolina Which ratified the Constitution of the United States, May 23, 1789*(Atlanta: Foote& Davies Co., 1928), 1, 2, 13, 15, 23, 28, 36, 41, 49, 51.

⁵⁶² Glover, *All Our Relations*, 136-139.

⁵⁶³ Charles Drayton to the Executors of Henry Middleton, Covenant to Indemnify, September 7, 1796, Charles Drayton Papers, SCL.

While he never attempted to deal fairly or honestly with William Henry's son, John II, or his daughter, Mary, he would not allow the heirs of Henry Middleton to shoulder the debt.

7.6 A Loving Father and Friend

Charles Drayton was a loving father who spent time with his four children and encouraged them. His parenting was totally unlike his father, John Drayton, who was indifferent and highly critical of his sons. In his letters to “Netta,” as he called Henrietta, which forms the bulk of the Drayton Collection in the Middleton Place Papers, he appears as a concerned patriarch who on occasion quotes Swift gives an extended definition of the term “P.S.” in a letter, requests more precise instructions regarding purchases he was to bring to Drayton Hall from Charleston. In what was to become a family joke, he cautions Henrietta “to take care of yourself and avoid sitting in the windows and being out too late in the evenings.”⁵⁶⁴

Drayton always paid careful attention to his children’s health and behavior. When Henrietta was in Newport, Rhode Island, for her health with her Uncle Thomas and Aunt Mary Drayton, Charles Drayton advised her on her diet and conduct. He also required that she not borrow from her friends: unlike what her grandfather John Drayton had instructed his children. Her father, Charles, also warned her to make every effort to be independent: that is, if you cannot gratify your desire with your means, do not depend on others to do it.⁵⁶⁵ Charles Drayton’s three daughters Charlotte, Maria, and Henrietta grew up to be kind and thoughtful women. Charles II, as an adult often found himself in debt and failed as a rice planter. Although he received a

⁵⁶⁴ Charles Drayton to Henrietta Drayton, October 4, 1798, February 27, October 3, 1795, Middleton Place Collection, Drayton Papers, 1790-1800; Charles Drayton to Henrietta Drayton’ September 21, 1796.

⁵⁶⁵ Charles Drayton to Henrietta Drayton, September 22, 1800.

medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania, he was pampered and spoiled as the only son, the heir to Drayton Hall. He never seemed to believe or trust in himself or to stand alone.

The Charles Drayton diaries are silent regarding the education of the girls, except to indicate that they took dancing lessons from an M. Placide at Mrs. Izards. A Common-Place book still survives, which was kept by Maria Drayton. It shows the girls took lessons in character, conduct, and literature by *Lord Chesterfield's Letters*, Blairs' Sermons, Plutarch, Petrarch, and by their father, Charles Drayton. In the section dealing with benevolence and charity, Maria notes that "Father on this subject of charity sees *Payley's Moral Philosophy*, Book 3d, and Part 2d," as superior, although she did study *Logan's Sermons*. She learned about Happiness from Aristotle, Memory from Maria Edgeworth's *Practical Education*, and Positiveness from Dr. Franklin's *Life*.⁵⁶⁶

On May 27, 1800, nineteen-year-old Charlotte Drayton married Joseph Manigault, the son of Peter Manigault, who, before his death, was the wealthiest planter in the Lowcountry. Joseph Manigault's first wife was Maria-Henrietta Middleton, who had been Charles Drayton's aunt. The marriage of Charlotte to Joseph provided a financial advantage to the Drayton's of Drayton Hall, as well as reinforcing connections to an increasingly closed white plantocracy. In many instances, the financial motives for marriage resulted in frequent marital turmoil amongst Charlestonians, but this does not appear to be the case for Charlotte and Joseph Manigault. They were to have five children: Joseph, Ann, the twins Peter and Charles Drayton, and Gabriel. A literate and sophisticated woman and a loving and gentle mother, Charlotte lived primarily in Charleston at the house designed by her brother-in-law Gabriel Manigault in the style of the English architect, Robert Adam. Along with everyday household duties, Charlotte was active

⁵⁶⁶ DPC, CDD, December 30, 1796; Maria Drayton Common-Place Book, Gibbes Gilchrist Collection, SCHS.

with the Charleston Orphan House and often gave of her time and support. She was also an accomplished artist and enjoyed sketching and painting the buildings and landscapes which surrounded her daily life. Joseph Manigault owned two plantations in Georgetown, South Carolina, White Oak, and Ogilvie, but the family only resided at White Oak occasionally.⁵⁶⁷

Maria, Charles Drayton's favorite, was to marry Lewis Ladson Gibbes, her father's planter friend. Drayton and Gibbes had known each other over the years and shared mutual interests. Gibbes studied at the Sorbonne in France and at Eton in England during his youth. Possibly, Drayton arranged the match because he was so fond of both of them. They were to have eight children: Lewis Reeves, Charles Drayton, John, Esther Marie, Nathaniel Bowen, Wilmont, Thomas Middleton, and Louisa Izard. Maria's second son, "Charlie" born during 1812, earthquake on February 7, was to become the favorite of his grandfather and aunt Henrietta. The Gibbes relocated to Pendleton, South Carolina, in the upcountry and built Ashtabula, which became their year-round residence. Maria Gibbes shared her father Charles's interest in science and botany.⁵⁶⁸ Her oldest son, Lewis Reeves, became a physician and later taught mathematics, chemistry, and physics at the College of Charleston. A second son, Charles, would move to California where he did survey work and drew maps in the gold-mining region. Maria Gibbes died in 1826 and her husband Lewis in 1828. The fate of their six younger children is unknown. Two of the children died by the age of twenty-two, and the rest likely moved to Mississippi or Alabama.⁵⁶⁹

⁵⁶⁷ Journal of Charlotte Drayton Manigault located at the *South Carolina Historical Society* (<http://www.southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org/>); The Charlotte Manigault Papers, 04601.01.07. Accessed August 4, 2019.

⁵⁶⁸ Henry Holmes, compiler, "Governor Robert Gibbes and Some of his Descendants," SCHGM, XII (April, 1911), 89. CDD, February 27, 1812; August 27, 1813.

⁵⁶⁹ www.draytonhall.org/ashtabula-and-the-women-of-drayton-hall/

On May 12, 1813, Charles Drayton II married Mary Middleton Shoolbred, the daughter of James Shoolbred, a wealthy planter who owned half of Kiawah Island. His marriage to a Shoolbred was an example of a strategic marriage, quite common amongst Charleston's plantocracy to safeguard both the kinship network and provide family members like Charles Drayton II with a financial safety net and support in the event of failures. In the future, Mary Middleton Shoolbred Drayton's connections and wealth were the sole support for the family.

Henrietta Drayton was born in 1779, at Charles Drayton's plantation on Goose Creek. Her mother, Hester Middleton Drayton was the daughter of Henry Middleton of Middleton Place. She was never to marry and lived at Drayton Hall until her father's death in 1820. Henrietta enjoyed botanizing with her father, Charles, and shared his interests in science and horticulture. Henrietta was a witty and amusing writer entertaining member of the Drayton kinship network with her letters. She was an accomplished pianist and often played for guests on her grand fortepiano. Netta was a surrogate mother to her younger brother Charles II who viewed her with hostility both as a child and as an adult.⁵⁷⁰ His animosity towards his sister would lead to her losing her inheritance and rights to occupancy at Drayton Hall.

Upon their father's death, Drayton Hall passed to Charles II, but his father Charles Drayton included in his will a codicil that his daughter Henrietta "should have an asylum at Drayton Hall and right and free ingress and egress," and that she should have "any two particular rooms in the house with suitable furniture." Henrietta selected her bedchamber and the second-floor Great Hall, which she divided into two heavily paneled rooms. The weight of the paneling caused the floor to sink and the richly ornate ceiling in the first floor Main Hall. This mistake

⁵⁷⁰ See the early correspondence to Henrietta Drayton, Middleton Place Collection, Drayton Papers 1790-1800; CDD, February 19, 1819; Charles Drayton, Jr. to Henrietta Drayton, February 28, 1800, Middleton Place Papers, Drayton Collection, 1790-1800.

temporary through it was, would be only the significant structural change at Drayton Hall between 1820 and 1950.⁵⁷¹

When her sister Maria died at Pendleton, South Carolina, in April of 1826, Henrietta went to live with the Gibbes family and take care of the eight children. She later moved to Charleston to keep house for her nephew Lewis Reeve Gibbes, the botanist, scientist, and artist who was to make many sketches of Drayton Hall and its furnishings sometime during the 1840s. Henrietta Drayton's life in the last ten years of her life resided in a boarding house in Charleston, where the 1860 Census listed her as being insane. She was to die the next year, on January 11, 1861, at the age of seventy-nine.

7.7 “Endemic Vice”

After 1800, the inhabitants of Charleston were even more inclined to luxury and less to frugality than their northern counterparts and continued to lead an indolent and for many an aimless existence. Dr. David Ramsay observed many members of Charleston's plantocracy, especially their sons were plagued by slothfulness, as well as drunkenness that he termed an “endemic vice.” Planters had the disposition to contract debts and had no problem managing their rice plantations partially on credit. “The common custom of making almost daily long sittings at meals, smoking cigars, and the hot, humid climate leads to inactivity and a lack of energy.” There is, concluded, Ramsay, “a painful vacuum in the life an unemployed man.”⁵⁷²

None of these characteristics applied to Charles Drayton: he was a man of energy and action, even though frequently affected by “fevers,” which were caused by the Lowcountry

⁵⁷¹ Charles Drayton, Charleston Wills and Inventories, July 15, 1820, SCDAH. Josephine Manigault to Anne M. Taylor, November 1, 1855. Charleston Museum.

⁵⁷² David Ramsay M.D., *Ramsay's History of South Carolina, From Its First Settlement 1670 to 1808*. (Newberry, South Carolina: W.J. Duffie, 1858), 217-223.

disease environment. He suffered from falls, broken fingers, and later in life, a debilitating swelling of the feet, quite probably gout. Generally, he treated himself, but occasionally he would turn to Dr. Alexander Baron, who had trained at the University of Edinburgh Medical School with Drayton. Dr. Baron had a “masterful bedside manner” and an “able and desirable consultant.” Whenever Drayton summoned Dr. Baron to Drayton Hall, all the children knew their father was quite ill. Drayton recorded many of the symptoms and treatments of the illnesses himself, his children, and other family members from 1790 to 1819, reinforcing the argument that Charleston had a “sickly” climate, with men and women continually in pain.⁵⁷³

Charles Drayton was not indolent, which is clear from the entries in his diary. He admonished himself against procrastination, negligence, and leaving any business undone. Drayton visited his two plantations regularly until his sixties when he slowed his pace slightly. He would leave his vacation home on Sullivan’s Island to check on his agriculture because he felt the master’s eye was always needed.⁵⁷⁴

Unlike his father, John Drayton, Charles was an introvert. During his early years at Drayton Hall, he appears to have enjoyed visiting back and forth with his brother Thomas at Magnolia and his Middleton kin, as well as other neighbors, who lived on the Ashley River. However, Drayton did not join the many clubs and societies in Charleston. He did start a veal and lamb club. He or one of the other members of the club, which included his brother Thomas, Mrs. William Fuller, and Thomas Middleton would kill a lamb on a particular day of the week and a young calf on another. They would then divide the lamb or veal among the others in the club.⁵⁷⁵ The uneventfulness at Drayton Hall was occasionally broken. In 1813, there was a

⁵⁷³ CDD, January 6, 1799; November 16, 1801. Charlotte Manigault to Henrietta Drayton, July 20, 1805, Middleton Papers, Drayton Collection, 1805-1809.

⁵⁷⁴ CDD, Cover page, 1801 Diary; October 20, 1813.

⁵⁷⁵ CDD, April 11, 1789, March 5, 1802.

hurricane, which took down the bridges, drove ships ashore, and significantly damaged the crops. The waters at Drayton Hall rose higher than at any time since 1752. According to Drayton, “it rose to the foot of the pigeon-house,” so that a “broad river seemed to flow between the dwelling and the hill.” Also, “the roof on the house was damaged,” and “many panes of glass were broken.” When Charleston burned again in 1796, the flames could be seen at night twelve miles away, at Drayton Hall.⁵⁷⁶

Drayton, like his father, was a builder. However, for all his interest in the new and practical, he never made any significant changes in John Drayton’s house. Drayton made alterations to the house, but never changed it structurally. Beyond replacing the original Georgian mantles for Adam ones in the downstairs public rooms in 1802 and 1804, and adding a door to the private stair in May of 1803, he strove to maintain his father’s house exactly as he left it in 1779. Drayton did furnish it according to his tastes ordering Bourideau & Chollett in London and receiving in 1802, books, saddles, Henrietta’s Grande Fortepiano, “a Barberini Vase, a mahogany table, two bamboo cane chairs, and two caned stools covered with a beautiful canvas, a sofa bed and Chinese screen leaves.” He was to satisfy his building impulses outside the house, constructing or repairing the dovecote, the magazine, the loom house, the poultry house, the “garden barn,” a cotton barn and cotton stove, a reverberating furnace, a wash house, a pigeon house, stables and a large barn down by the Ashley River. He also added a rustic bridge and a ha-ha, or invisible ornamental sunken ditch, to the garden.⁵⁷⁷ The repairs to the house centered on the roof, which was in continual need of repair, first in May of 1801, again in

⁵⁷⁶ Quoted in Lewis, “Interim Report,” 100. CDD, August 27, 30, 1813; April 19, 1810.

⁵⁷⁷ Lynne G. Lewis. “The Planter Class: An Archaeological Record at Drayton Hall.” Unpublished paper, Drayton Hall, 8. National Trust for Historic Preservation. CDD, December 8, 1802; December 13, 1804; July 21, 1789; August 13, 1794; October 13, 1794; August 24, 1795; February 7, 1797; November 18, 1707; June 18, 1804; May 8, 1801; June 20, 1808; January 30, 1809; January 8, 1817.

January of 1805, and again in 1813 and 1817. One of the columns on the landside portico was unstable and was taken down in May of 1815, and replaced. Plaster and slate work was done between December of 1817 and June of 1818 when the architrave over the portico was replaced. New ceilings were added to the front bedchambers, and a new ceiling was added, to the Great Hall, as a result of ongoing leakage with the roof.⁵⁷⁸

7.8 The Final Years

During the last five years of Charles Drayton's life, he suffered from a debilitating illness leaving him bedridden most of the time. His son Charles II managed Jehossee Island and Drayton Hall for his father. During this period, Charles Drayton II wrote several letters to his father complaining about the Drayton slaves and disappointing yields of cotton and rice. In June of 1819, Drayton II wrote to his father, commenting that the section of land given him at Jehossee Island "is decidedly bad and has nearly been his ruin." Also, since his father, planned to advertise for sale the Savannah plantation, Charles II requested "it be sold to him, even though he could offer no cash at present."

Compounding the Drayton's efforts to continue as rice and cotton planters and remain solvent was the Panic of 1819, which precipitated the sudden economic collapse of Charleston.⁵⁷⁹ After the American Revolution, Charleston had developed into a significant commercial and financial center for the state's planters, farmers, and merchants. Even with the competition from Savannah and Baltimore, the port of Charleston remained profitable as high cotton prices and a steady supply of cotton from the upcountry rolled into the city. European demand before 1819, for southern agricultural staples, had steadily increased, especially for

⁵⁷⁸ DPC CDD, May 30, 1803; January 9, 1895, May 2-6, 1815; December, 1817; June 5, 1818; May, 1819.

⁵⁷⁹ Edgar, *South Carolina: A History*, 273

cotton, with its price peaking at thirty cents a pound. Almost overnight all this changed, as unrestrained financial speculation and the abrupt collapse of the European money markets was the catalyst for a global panic that devastated the American economy. Banks called in loans to remain solvent, which only deepened the financial crisis. The lack of hard currency made it difficult for even experienced and successful planters to pay their debts. In Charleston, the price of cotton fell from thirty cents a pound to below seventeen cents a pound in 1820 and would continue to fall throughout the decade, averaging nine cents a pound between 1826 and 1832.⁵⁸⁰

From correspondence between 1816 to 1820, Charles II makes frequent comments on the poor quality of cotton and rice produced at Jehossee Island due to soil exhaustion, his difficulties with the Drayton slaves, and problems with overseers. The Panic of 1819 impacted all planters across the Lowcountry but especially those who were carrying debt and on shaky financial ground.⁵⁸¹ The recession brought to the forefront the weakness in an economy based on slaves and agricultural staples whose value was subject to severe market fluctuations. Charles II, with his lack of business acumen for the rest of his life, would continuously be treading water to avoid losing Drayton Hall.⁵⁸²

The last recorded correspondence between Charles Drayton and his son is on January 27, 1820, regarding the transport of rice and stock-taking of the storehouse at Jehossee Island. The correspondence underscores Charles Drayton II's difficulties in financial management and business affairs.⁵⁸³ Upon the death of his father, Charles Drayton, he inherited Drayton Hall and half of Jehossee Island. His kinship network, which included the Shoolbreds, Manigault's, and

⁵⁸⁰ Murray N. Rothbard, *The Panic of 1819: Reports and Policies* (Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2007), 33-34.

⁵⁸¹ Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter*. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1986.) 86.

⁵⁸² Eugene D. Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery: Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South*. (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan Press, 1989,) 87

⁵⁸³ DPC, Box 2 Folder 4 Correspondence Charleston Drayton II to Charles Drayton I, January 27, 1820.

Middleton's, was the only thing that saved him from complete ruin and the loss of Drayton Hall. When Charles Drayton died on August 11, 1820, in his seventy-seventh year the Drayton estate despite his hard work and careful management was greatly diminished. There was very little left to leave to his children. He willed part of Jehossee Island and Long Savannah to be sold, as he was sure his son, Charles II, would never be a successful planter. The proceeds from the sales were to provide an inheritance for his three daughters. His slaves were to be divided among the four children. To Charles II, he left part of Jehossee Island and "my place called Drayton Hall, situated on the Ashley River, and the adjacent tracts." He also left his son the heirloom plantation watch, and the library, prints, papers, silver, plate, household furniture, and liquors." There was little else to leave.⁵⁸⁴

The essential possession Charles Drayton owned he left as a trust: Drayton Hall. The house John Drayton built with such care, such devotion and such imagination were passed on, intact, to the next keeper of the trust. Whatever the reasons, it had been and always would be passed on to each generation intact, whole. The integrity of the house which John Drayton had built as such a cost to himself and his sons was never to be violated, and while it was to remain in the Drayton family, it never was.⁵⁸⁵

⁵⁸⁴ Elizabeth Jervey, "Marriage and Death Notices from the *City Gazette* of Charleston, S.C.," SCHGM, XLVII (October, 1946) 208. Charleston Probate Court Wills, Charles Drayton Will, July 15, 1820, Book F, SCDAH, 205-207.

⁵⁸⁵ Richmond Bowens, Personal Interview, August 8, 1983. Mr. Bowens was a descendent of one of the Drayton slaves and served as a caretaker at Drayton Hall till his death. He is now buried in the African Cemetery at the entrance to Drayton Hall.

8 TWILIGHT AT DRAYTON HALL

8.1 A New Start: Jeffersonton Plantation, Camden County Georgia

In August of 1820, Charles Drayton II assumed ownership of Drayton Hall, which for over seventy years signified the Drayton family's wealth and status as members of the Charleston plantocracy.⁵⁸⁶ Drayton Hall and a plantation on the Satilla River in south Georgia were all that remained from John Drayton's original estate, which included over 100 commercial plantations totaling 76,000 acres of land and over 2,000 slaves.⁵⁸⁷ Drayton Hall, once known as John Drayton's "Palace and Gardens," reverted to a working plantation.⁵⁸⁸ The fourth generation of Draytons never imagined their life as planters and slaveholders would slowly fade away and then in 1865 vanish.

Charles Drayton stipulated in his will that the land at Jehossee Island, should be sold and the proceeds divided amongst Charles II, and his sisters, Charlotta, Maria and Henrietta. Charles Drayton bequeathed to his son Drayton II, the rice plantation on the Satilla River in Camden County, Georgia.⁵⁸⁹ Drayton Hall, even during John Drayton's ownership, never produced large amounts of rice due to the salinity in the swamps and marshes from phosphate deposits. This was one of the factors contributing to Drayton Hall functioning as a management center instead of as a working plantation. In 1831, after the sale of the Jehossee Island property, Drayton II relocated the family's rice enterprises to their Jeffersonton plantation in Camden County.⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁶ Drayton Hall during the eighteenth century functioned as a management center for John Drayton's huge number of commercial plantations. During his tenure Drayton Hall with its elaborate landscape and gardens signified his elevated position as a member of the Charleston plantocracy.

⁵⁸⁷ www.draytonhall.org/the-estate/people/

⁵⁸⁸ By 1820, the soil at Drayton Hall was depleted and every inch of land was planted with vegetables, fruit trees and shrubs. Charles Drayton's ferme ornee or ornamental farm evolved into a true working plantation.

⁵⁸⁹ Thegagenweb.com/gacamden/grants.htm. In the 1760s, several rice planters from Charleston, which included Edward Ball, Miles Brewton, William Bull, Joseph Gibbon, Henry Middleton, and John Drayton received land grants in south Georgia. John Drayton was awarded a land grant of 2,000 acres, which was originally in St. Mary's Parish. In the nineteenth century this area became part of Camden County, Georgia.

⁵⁹⁰ *DPC*, F-8 Disk 4 Box F Isaac Bailey to C.M. Caldwell, Esq. Dec 8, 1831 re plat of Drayton Hall.

The most successful tidal rice planters in South Georgia, such as the Butlers, Manigaults, Coupers, and Hamiltons possessed resources and capital, as well as knowledge of agricultural methods, and engineering background, and an understanding of environmental conditions.⁵⁹¹ They also employed some of the best overseers in the lower south. The resumption of tidal rice cultivation at the Jeffersonton plantation required the repair and construction of new embankments and ditches. For the Draytons, this proved to be a herculean task, as neither man seemed to grasp the basic skills necessary to cultivate and produce tidal rice profitability.⁵⁹² One of the chief concerns for the Draytons was securing a suitable overseer, as the success or failure of their plantation depended on the experience and responsibility of the person hired for this job. From the Drayton correspondence, it would appear that they had considerable difficulty in acquiring the type of individual wanted. Initially, Charles Henry Drayton planned on being an absentee planter leaving the day to day management of the plantation in the hands of an overseer. Between 1831 and 1838, the Draytons hired and fired at least five overseers, at the Jeffersonton plantation, leading to Charles Henry Drayton assume fulltime residency.⁵⁹³

Both Drayton II and Charles Henry Drayton, in their letters and correspondence during the 1830s, mention struggles with the management of the slaves at the Jeffersonton plantation. The overseers, whom they did employ, received instructions to keep the slaves from working in

⁵⁹¹ See Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 4 Box F Letters F-08. Letter regarding plat in Jeffersonton, Georgia, Charles Drayton (2) land purchased for use as a rice plantation. See Drayton Papers Collection, Disk 4 Box F-08 Letters.

⁵⁹² Charles II in the final ten years of his father Charles Drayton's life served as the assistant manager of the Drayton plantation on Jehossee Island but never seems to have engaged in the supervision of maintaining the infrastructure of a tidal rice plantation.

⁵⁹³ Mart Stewart, *What Nature Suffers to Groe: Life, Labor, Landscape on the Georgia Coast, 1680-1620*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 98-99. Pierce Butler one of the most successful tidal rice planters in Georgia employed Roswell King, as his overseer. Butler often criticized Roswell King for his management of the slaves and some his agricultural methods but he realized King was one of the best overseers in south Georgia. Malcom Bell Jr., *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a Slaveholding Family* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 162-169.

ditches, and banks in cold weather while keeping them busy with carpentry. During this same period, Charles II cautioned Charles Henry to guard against the “scoundrels” amongst the Jeffersonton slaves and “bring things to order.” He instructed Charles Henry to post a notice preventing locals whites from trading with their slaves.⁵⁹⁴ There is no evidence of actual coercion or cruelty towards the slaves at the Jeffersonton plantation. However, Charles II, in the role of the patriarch, viewed the slaves as valuable assets and ensured they were fed and housed adequately, conveying thorough instructions to his son Charles Henry Drayton on their treatment.

Letters and correspondence between Mary Middleton Shoolbred and Charles II in the mid-1830s reveal a genuine paternalistic concern for the Drayton Hall slaves. Many of the slaves at Drayton Hall during the nineteenth century were descended from African slaves imported to Charleston in the 1750s. One particular slave ‘Jibbi’ and their continued ill-health is mentioned in several letters, as well as a slave named Caesar, who remained at Drayton Hall until his death after the Civil War. The history of the Drayton family, as slaveholders demonstrate, the treatment of slaves varied from plantation to plantation, as well as different regions of the south.⁵⁹⁵

The Panic of 1837, touched off a major recession which lasted into the mid-1840s. Profits and prices went down for rice, cotton, and corn, which were the staples grown at the Drayton’s Jeffersonton plantation.⁵⁹⁶ The Draytons sold the Jeffersonton plantation barely breaking even, as the price for land dropped precipitously. Unlike the Manigaults, Butlers, Hamiltons, or Coupers, who were able to weather the downturn in the economy, the Draytons

⁵⁹⁴ DPC, F-06, Disk 4, Box F.

⁵⁹⁵ DPC F-06, Disk 4 Box F

⁵⁹⁶ Walter Edgar, *South Carolina History*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1998), 274-275.

only asset at the time of the 1837 Panic was Drayton Hall. Out of desperation, they resorted to selling many of their slaves and splitting up families.⁵⁹⁷

In 1844, Charles Drayton II died intestate.⁵⁹⁸ His wife and four sons inherited Drayton Hall, which was his only remaining asset.⁵⁹⁹ Over the next two decades, the family lived in Charleston with Charles Henry Drayton practicing medicine. During this time, the plantation once again served as a working farm. It housed cattle, poultry, and provisions for the Drayton's and the small number of slaves that remained at the property. Descriptions of the main house at Drayton Hall in the late Antebellum period allude to the house being in disrepair with the landscape overgrown with weeds.⁶⁰⁰ Drayton Hall, once a symbol of John Drayton's wealth and power, now reflected the family's diminished fortunes.

8.2 The Civil War: The End of a Dream

With the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. John Drayton, Thomas Drayton, and James Drayton took up arms against the Union. In a letter dated November 29, 1861, Thomas Drayton wrote to his brother Dr. John Drayton regarding his being called up admonishing him "to fight like the devil" and kill every devil of a Yankee you can."⁶⁰¹ Before the Civil War, fourteen plantations were located on the Ashley River; afterward, only three survived, Archdale, Jeny's Plantation and Drayton Hall. No known documentation exists as to why Drayton Hall survived. Dr. John Drayton, the youngest son of Drayton II, served as a surgeon caring for enslaved

⁵⁹⁷ See DPC, Disk 4 Box F Letters F-08.

⁵⁹⁸ The majority of Lowcountry planters made out wills to protect their land and wealth. Most wills named an executor or executrix, who the planter trusted to carry out the terms and bequests stipulated in his wills. Charles Drayton II lack of a will points to a either total disorganization in his affairs or issues with his emotional state.

⁵⁹⁹ See DPC Disk 4 Box F Letters F-08, Perreneau Mazyck to Charles Drayton (3) May 15, 1844.

⁶⁰⁰ "Drayton Hall's Landscape and Gardens", *The New York Spirit of the Times*, April 7, 1860.

⁶⁰¹ See DPC Disk 4 Box F Letters F-07.

workers who constructed the earthen fortifications used to defend Charleston. His work as a surgeon allowed him to reside at Drayton Hall until 1865 when Federal forces moved into the Charleston area along the Ashley River. Drayton's family legend claims Dr. Drayton posted smallpox quarantine flags outside the perimeter of Drayton Hall, to prevent Union troops from plundering and burning the plantation.⁶⁰²

8.3 Phosphate Mining at Drayton Hall

The Civil War proved devastating to the Drayton family both financially and psychologically. Although a medical doctor, Dr. John Drayton, considered himself a planter that depended on income from his plantations. He considered razing Drayton Hall for the sale of its bricks, which would have destroyed the Drayton legacy. In 1868, two geologists from the College of Charleston persuaded entrepreneurs from Philadelphia to back phosphate mining with \$1 million in the capital. This investment established the first phosphate mining operation in South Carolina, known as Charleston Mining and Manufacturing, which began its operation along the Ashley River.⁶⁰³ In 1867, Dr. John Drayton and his nephew Charles Henry Drayton I built a new enterprise out of the rubble of the landscape and gardens at Drayton Hall. Initially, the Draytons leased the land at Drayton Hall to Charleston Mining and Manufacturing, but in the 1870s, they founded their own company, Drayton Mining.

Phosphate mining significantly changed Drayton Hall's landscape. The tract west of the Ashley River Road was strip-mined using heavy machinery, and miners used hand tools in the area south of the main house. Additional facilities were constructed, including washing sheds,

⁶⁰² Lynne G. Lewis, *Drayton Hall: A Preliminary Archaeological Investigation at a Low Country Plantation*, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, Published for the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1978.) 11.

⁶⁰³ Tom Shack and Don H. Doyle, The South Carolina Phosphate Boom and the Stillbirth of the New South, 1867-1920. *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 86, 11-12.

including washing sheds, a shipping complex, and boilers. The former slave cabins were reoccupied as barracks for the convict laborers. After the Civil War, many freedmen chose to remain on the grounds at Drayton Hall. Sometime during the 1870s and 1880s, they built at least nine houses.⁶⁰⁴



Figure 11 - Phosphate Mining Ca. 1870
Courtesy of Drayton Hall Preservation Trust

The mining operations saved Drayton Hall from destruction and enabled the Drayton family to return to financial prosperity. With his new source of wealth, Charles Henry Drayton made much-needed repairs to Drayton Hall and started to reclaim the landscape, which was

⁶⁰⁴ Christopher Epenshade and Marian Roberts, *An Archaeological and Historical Overview of the Drayton Hall Tract*, (Atlanta: Brockington and Associates, 1991.) 47-48.

nearly ruined by the mining.⁶⁰⁵ A late-nineteenth-century photograph shows a fenced rose garden near the landside entrance of the main house. A small ornamental pond was added, as well as a three-tiered Victorian mound serving as an accent to the landside portico.

Drayton served as the Vice-President of a fertilizer company and made Charleston his fulltime residence. In 1886, the Drayton family built a new house at 25 East Battery, constructed of white brick and black grout with elements of Queen Anne Architecture, Chinese influences, and Eastlake detailing. After 1900, the family only used Drayton Hall for special occasions and holidays.⁶⁰⁶ Charles Henry Drayton I, died in 1915, leaving most of his estate to be divided equally between his wife and children. In 1941, Charles Henry Drayton II died suddenly and his younger sister, Charlotta assumed a full controlling interest in Drayton Hall. She only resided at Drayton Hall a few weeks out of each year, which she referred to as “camping out.” She maintained Drayton Hall and ensured it remained precisely as John Drayton left it in 1779 when he fled across the Ashley River in the wake of the British attack on Charleston. When she died in 1969, she bequeathed the property to her nephews, Charles Henry Drayton III, and Francis Drayton.⁶⁰⁷

8.4 Drayton Hall and the National Trust

In 1973, the brothers Charles and Francis came to the realization they could not afford to pay the taxes or maintain the Drayton Hall. The National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Historic Charleston Foundation, and the state of South Carolina raised \$680,900 to acquire the

⁶⁰⁵ Lynne G. Lewis, *Drayton Hall Revisited: A Brief relation of Archaeological Investigations 1974-1982*. (Charlottesville: Published for the National Trust for Historic Preservation by the University of Virginia Press, 1983) 18.

⁶⁰⁶ Jonathan H. Poston, *The Buildings of Charleston: A Guide to the City's Architecture*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1997) 222.

⁶⁰⁷ www.draytonhall.org.the.estate/people/

house and the 633 acres around it. The organizations then had to decide how to care for the property and what sort of place it should be. In 1979, a council involving all parties, plus a representative of the Drayton family, agreed on a basic plan. The main house would be stabilized, meaning it would be protected, but not restored or altered. The rooms throughout the house would be left empty. The council concluded that “Drayton Hall has a life force, that should essentially be left alone.”⁶⁰⁸

8.5 Twilight at a Lowcountry Plantation

Drayton Hall is more than just a house. It is a study in dramatic contrasts. While the Drayton family’s wealth and power were ephemeral, the main house at Drayton Hall has stood resolute and mostly unchanged for 250 years a symbol of permanence and enduring order realized in brick and mortar. However, the landscape at Drayton Hall is a palimpsest whose landscape history has been, written, erased, and then overwritten numerous times by seven generations of Draytons. The fields and gardens have reverted to a natural state reclaimed by the forces of nature. The plantation landscape with over twenty outbuildings and the slave quarters have all disappeared, leaving in their wake quiet as twilight has slowly descended on John Drayton’s “Palace and Gardens.”

⁶⁰⁸ www.draytonhall.org/memoriesand-meanings



Figure 12- The Allee and Landside 2019 Photo Barbara Spence Orsolits

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