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The William Burrows House of Charleston

HARRIET P. AND ALBERT SIMONS

In 1959 the Winterthur Museum completed the installation of a drawing room from a house in Charleston, South Carolina, built between 1772 and 1774 for William Burrows, Esquire (Figs. 1-4). Burrows, who as a boy in his early teens reached Charleston about 1741, was sufficiently established after three decades to purchase a choice lot on Broad Street and build himself a house worthy of his standing in the community. It remained a handsome residence until the early nineteenth century, then passed into a long period of gradual decline before being razed in 1928. The restoration of Burrows' drawing room at Winterthur reveals that he had commissioned a house of distinction. It has been unknown except to a few architectural historians for three decades, yet it is worthy of attention in assessing the architecture and life of Charleston in the colonial period.

The fate of the Burrows House does not epitomize the history of Charleston between the Revolution and the Confederate War, but the parallel is suggestive. Life in Charleston at the turn of the eighteenth century was opulent, sophisticated, and as was the period during the regency in England, lusty enough to be a trifle coarse. The capital of South Carolina had been moved in 1786 to Columbia, where it could better serve the whole state, which had been built up by the influx of Germans, Scotch Irish, and others coming down the Appalachian Mountains. Good solid citizens they were who did not brook dictation from the great seaport. Two other factors, cotton and the gin for removing its seed, took their place along with rice in the economy of the state. Canals and the longest railroad in the world, the South Carolina Railroad of 136 miles built in 1833 and running from Charleston to Hamburg, added to the prosperity of the state. South Carolina suffered a heavy drain of able men, however, as the new, rich lands of Alabama and Mississippi were opened up for cultivation. Always there was the burning, divisive question of Calhoun's theory of nullification, and this led inevitably to the Confederate War, recovery from which was slow, painful, but courageous. By that time, Burrows' house was a commonplace boardinghouse, from which fate, by a series of transmigrations, one room has regained its former dignity.



Fig. 1 East Wall



Fig. 2 North Wall



Fig. 3 South Wall

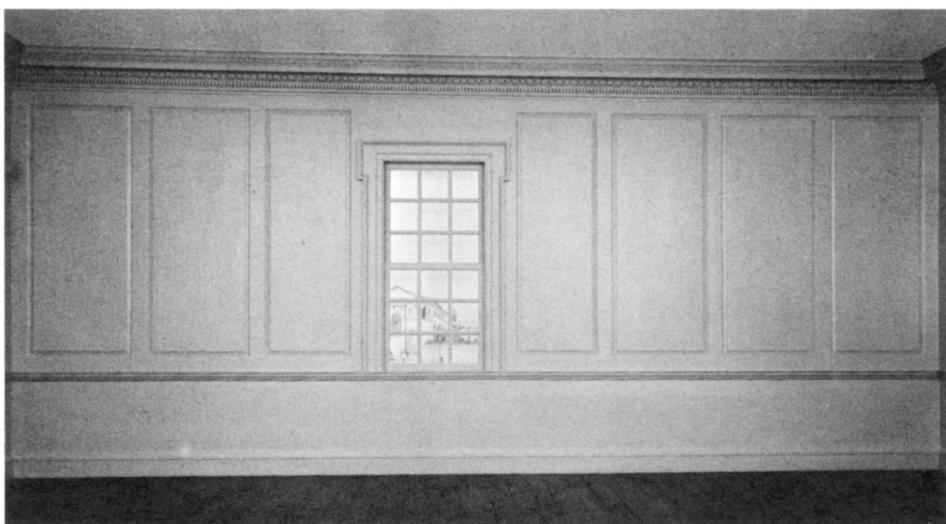


Fig. 4 West Wall

Figs. 1-4 Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photographs 1966 (Photo: Winterthur).

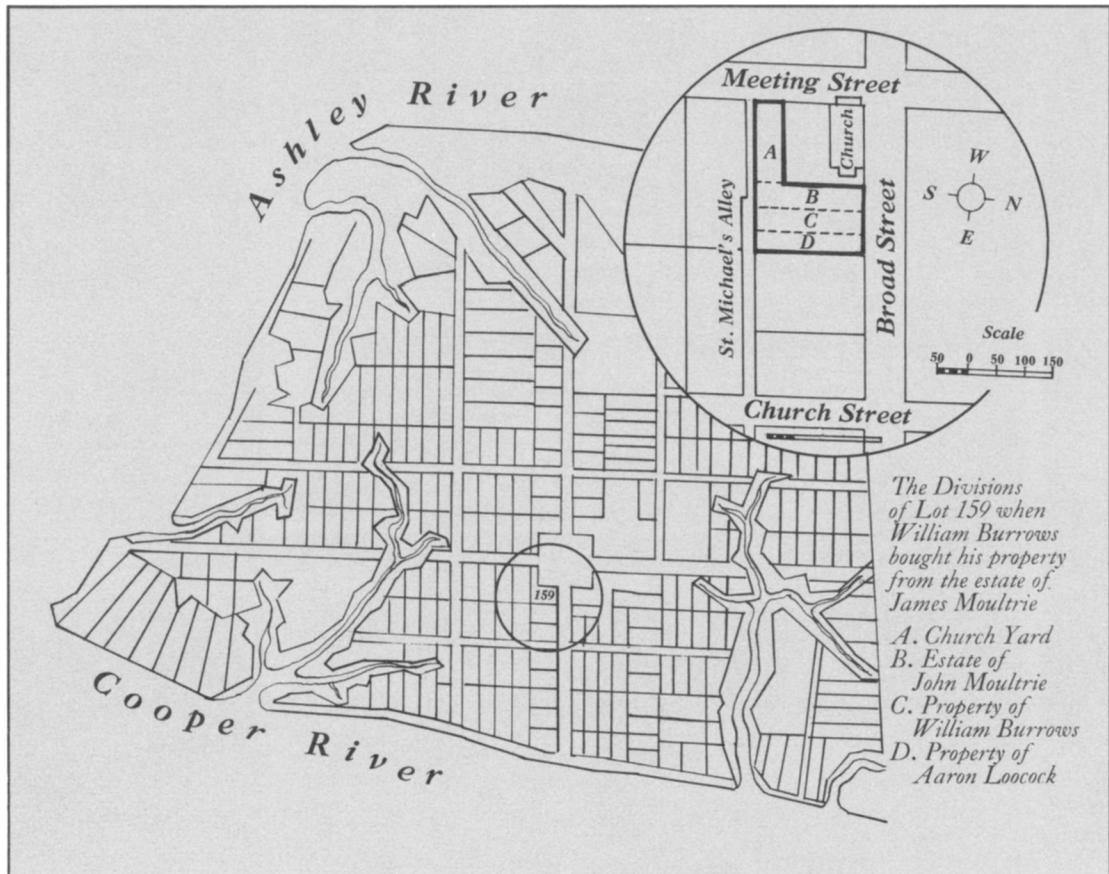


Fig. 5 Plan of Charleston ca. 1725.

Based on the Research of Judge Henry A. M. Smith in "Charleston—The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, IX (1908), 13-15.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE BURROWS PROPERTY AND ITS OWNERS

The Burrows House stood on a part of "Lott 159" as laid out on the "Grand Modell of Charles Towne"¹ (Fig. 5). This particular lot was early dedicated to the use of the Anglican Church when Governor Philip Ludwell granted it in 1692 to Robert Seabrooke for a churchyard.² The

¹ The original Charles Town was not where the present city of Charleston stands, but was on the opposite side of the Ashley River. As early as January 1672 the Grand Council directed a review of the Wando (now Cooper River) and undertook a report on the most convenient place for a town or towns. "Oyster Point," the site of the present town, was determined upon. On Dec. 17, 1679, the Lords Proprietors transmitted their instructions to the colony in a letter of that date as follows: "Wee are informed that the Oyster Point is not only a more convenient place to builde a towne on . . . but that also the peoples Inclinations tend thither . . . you are to take care to lay out the streets broad and in straight lines and that in your Grant of the Towne lotts you doe bound every ones Land towards the streets in an even line and to suffer no one to incroach with his buildings upon the streets whereby to make them narrower than they were first designed." This plan in the grants and subsequent conveyances referring to it is styled the "Model" or the "Grand Modell" of Charles Town (for the quotation cited and a discussion of the plan, see JUDGE HENRY A. M. SMITH, "Charleston—The Original Plan and the Earliest Settlers," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* [hereafter SCHGM], IX [1908], 13-15). In 1783 the name "Charles Town" became "Charleston."

² *Warrants for Lands in South Carolina, 1680-1692*, ed. Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr. (Columbia, S. C.: Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Co., 1911), p. 3.

strangely shaped lot was bounded on the north by a broad street (which eventually became Broad Street); on the east and south by lots which changed hands frequently, but the hands were those of people who helped to guide the developing town; and on the west by a street (now Meeting Street).

In October 1696, Seabrooke sold the lot to William Popell.³ Evidently this did not please the powers of the colony, because a scant two months later, "in pursuance of an order of the Assembly on December 5, 1696," the western portion of the "Lott" (adjacent to the land reserved for St. Philip's Church) was deeded back to Governor Joseph Blake for a churchyard. It remains a churchyard to this day. Popell received £ 10 sterling for this part of his holdings.⁴ Popell died and his widow "Dorithy," who inherited, found herself unable to pay the principal or interest of her mortgage of £ 200 currency on the eastern portion of Lot 159 (long since divided into three lots). She had to sacrifice the property to Mary, wife of William Livingston.⁵ This transaction required another act of the Assembly, because Mary Livingston died before the mortgage claim could be settled and William had already promised to sell the land and needed a clear title. The Assembly consequently passed an act on December 12, 1712, to clear the title to the three lots.⁶

On February 24, 1713, William Livingston sold the lots to Bernhard Christian Cooper, "Churgeon," for £ 268.⁷ Dr. Cooper died a few years later and they became the property of his daughter Lucretia. In November 1727, "the Honorable Arthur Middleton Esqr. President and Commander in Chief the Province of South Carolina and Ordinary of the same," granted a "Letter of Guardianship to Lucretia (aged about 14 years and upwards) to John Bee Esqr. of Charles Town Merchant . . . charging him that he Doe maintain said Infant during her Minority."⁸ Lucretia may have been an infant in the eyes of the law, but she was not in the eyes of man, because a few months later, on April 22, 1728, she married John Moultrie.⁹ By this marriage, the remaining part of Lot 159, including the land on which the Burrows House was to be built, passed into the Moultrie family.

Of an ancient and distinguished Scottish family, John Moultrie was

³ Records of the Register of the Province 1696-1703, pp. 134-135 (South Carolina State Archives, Columbia [hereafter South Carolina Archives]).

⁴ *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina for the Two Sessions of 1697*, ed. Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr. (Columbia, S. C.: Printed for the Historical Commission of South Carolina by the State Co., 1913), p. 17.

⁵ "An Act for Vesting of the Right Title and Inheritance of part of a Towne Lott in Charleston . . . and the Buildings thereupon in William Livingston Clerk and Mary his wife for the Paymt. of a Bond for the Security of which the said Premisses were Mortgaged and are become forfeited," Jun. 7, 1712 (South Carolina Archives, MSS Acts).

⁶ "An Act to enable William Livingston Clerk to sell part of a Town Lott with the buildings thereon and to Confirm any Deed or Deeds he has already executed for the Sale thereof notwithstanding his wife Mary Livingston lately deceased hath not Joyned with him according to an Act of Assembly in that case provided," Dec. 12, 1712 (South Carolina Archives, MSS Acts).

⁷ Conveyance from William Livingston to Bernhard Christian Cooper, Feb. 24, 1713/14 (South Carolina Archives, MSS Records of the Register and of the Secretary of the Province, 1714-1719, pp. 267-270).

⁸ Charleston County Probate Court, Miscellaneous Records, Vol. 61-B (1726-1727), 680.

⁹ "The Moultries," Pt. I, Prepared from Research by the Reverend Gerard Moultrie, *SCHGM*, V (1904), 229-246; "The Moultries of South Carolina," Research by James Moultrie with Annotations by Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr., *SCHGM*, V (1904), 247.

born and educated in Scotland, became a surgeon in the British Navy, and by 1728 settled in Charleston, where he established himself firmly in the community.¹⁰ Dr. Moultrie and the legal "Infant" Lucretia became the progenitors of one of Charleston's consistently able families.

On the westernmost of the three lots formed from Lot 159, Dr. John Moultrie had his town house. This he left at his death in 1771 to his second wife, Elizabeth.¹¹ John Moultrie, Jr., inherited the easternmost of the three lots from his mother, Lucretia.¹² In 1758 he sold it to Peter Manigault, who in the same year sold it to John Hume.¹³ When it next becomes important to us, it was the property of Aaron Loocock, one of the great merchants of Charleston.¹⁴ Dr. John Moultrie, in 1762, granted to his son James the center lot for the sum of ten shillings.¹⁵ On this lot, measuring 40 feet on the north on Broad Street by 195 feet deep, the Burrows House was later built.¹⁶ James Moultrie died three years after acquiring this property and on July 3, 1772, the executors of his estate conveyed it to William Burrows. The indenture records:

... the absolute purchase of all that piece or parcel of the said lot of land . . . that for and in consideration of the said sum of four thousand pounds lawful current money of the said Province . . . released conveyed and confirmed . . . unto the said William Burrows in his actual possession . . . All . . . piece or parcel . . . known and in the model of the said Town by the number 159 . . . butting and bounding to the eastward on the lands of Aaron Loocock and James Parsons Esquire to the westward on lands of the said William Moultrie, to the northward on Broad Street aforesaid and to the southward on St. Michael's Alley . . .¹⁷

There were families named Burroughs and Burrows in the province before William Burrows came,¹⁸ but family tradition has it that he arrived in Charleston as a boy of thirteen or fourteen in 1741.¹⁹ Under what protection he came or from what part of England, his descendants do not know.

At the time William Burrows reached manhood, Charleston was entering her great period of pre-Revolutionary importance. She was the center at which government and business focused, and she already maintained a brilliant society among those of the colonies. A seaport trading directly with England was an excellent vantage point for the astute and determined merchants who were building great fortunes, while the number of professional men was increasing as they found scope for their

¹⁰ ELEANOR WINTHROP TOWNSEND, "John Moultrie, Junior, 1729-1798," reprinted from *Annals of Medical History*, 3rd Ser., II (1940), 98-109.

¹¹ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 14 (1771-1774), 142.

¹² Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book E-3, p. 340.

¹³ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book E-3, p. 340.

¹⁴ LEILA SELLERS, *Charleston Business on the Eve of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 42.

¹⁵ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book C-3, p. 554.

¹⁶ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book Z-3, p. 302.

¹⁷ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book P-6, p. 429.

¹⁸ *Register of St. Philip's Parish, Charles Town, South Carolina, 1720-1758*, ed. Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr. (Charleston: Printed for Alexander Samuel Salley, Jr., by the Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., 1904), II, 226; six variants of the name occur in CHARLES WARING BARDSLEY'S *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames with Special American Instances*, rev. Mrs. Bardsley (London: Henry Frowde, 1901).

¹⁹ Interview with Mrs. James J. Ravenel, a lineal descendant of William Burrows, Dec. 28, 1961.



Fig. 6
*A View of Charles-Town,
the Capital of South Carolina.*
Engraving by Samuel Smith
after a painting
by Thomas Leech.
London, 1776.
Plate: H. 19", W. 31½"
(Carolina Art Association,
Gibbes Art Gallery, Charleston).

talents and training.²⁰ That training was of the best. In the years between 1759 and 1786, 114 Americans were admitted to the Inns of Court in London; of these 46 came from Carolina.²¹ Carolina's leading doctors were graduated from European universities,²² and Anglican clergymen came from the English universities to fill the parish pulpits.²³ Josiah Quincy, Jr., visited Charleston in 1773 (at the time Burrows was building his house) and wrote on February 28:

The number of shipping far surpassed all I had ever seen in Boston. I was told there were then not as many as common at this season, tho' about 350 sail lay off the town. The town struck me very agreeably; but the New Exchange which fronted the place of my landing made a most noble appearance . . . the numbers of inhabitants and appearance of the buildings far exceeded my expectation. I proceeded to the Coffee-house, where was a great resort of company as busy and noisy as was decent.

He went to a St. Cecilia concert, talked politics with merchants and lawyers, and on March 7 "Dined with considerable company at Miles Brewton, Esqr's, a gentleman of very large fortune: a most superb house said to have cost him £ 8,000 sterling. The grandest hall I ever beheld, azure blue satin window curtains, rich blue paper with gilt, mashee borders, most elegant pictures, excessive grand and costly looking glasses etc."²⁴

A year after Quincy's visit, the favored place on the front page of the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* issued for September 30 to October 7, 1774, carried an advertisement inviting three hundred subscribers, at a "Guinea A Piece," to underwrite the publication of the print *A View of Charles-Town, the Capital of South Carolina* (Fig. 6). The

²⁰ *Colonial South Carolina; Two Contemporary Descriptions by Governor James Glen and Doctor George Milligen-Johnston*, ed. Chapman J. Milling, South Caroliniana Sesquicentennial Ser., No. 1 (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 109.

²¹ EDWARD MCGRADY, *The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1899), p. 475.

²² JOSEPH I. WARING, *A Brief History of the South Carolina Medical Association . . .* (Charleston: The South Carolina Medical Association, 1948), pp. 173-330.

²³ FREDERICK DALCHO, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820), pp. 31, 42-43, 180-181; GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 18; ALBERT SIDNEY THOMAS, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957* (Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1957), p. 7.

²⁴ "Journal of Josiah Quincy, Junior, 1773," ed. Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, XLIX (1916), 441, 445.

artist, Thomas Leech, assures Charlestonians that the print "will be so exact a Portrait of the Town as it appears from the Water that every House in View will be distinctly known." Mr. Leech further entices his prospective patrons with the information that "the two greatest Artists in the World [London], Messrs. Woollett & Smith have been engaged and have undertaken to engrave it." The city William Burrows knew was objectively described a few years later by a Hessian officer serving with the British Army:

The city itself (including the burnt buildings) consists of 1,020 houses, which are built along broad unpaved streets intersecting one another at right angles, each house having a garden and standing twenty to one hundred paces from any other. The warm climate makes the open spaces necessary. They permit the cool breezes to play through the city Broad Street is the most beautiful street. It is 100 feet wide . . . and extends from the Cooper to the Ashley, dividing the city into two parts No other American city can compare with Charleston in the beauty of its houses and the splendour and taste displayed therein. The rapid ascendancy of families which in less than ten years have risen from the lowest rank, have acquired upward of £ 100,000, and have moreover, gained this wealth in a simple and easy manner, probably contributed a good deal toward the grandiose display of splendour, debauchery, Luxury, and extravagance in so short a time²⁵

One of the developments which had been firmly fixed as a community habit by 1750 was the organization of charitable societies. These began as subscription societies formed by men of similar European origin for the purpose of caring for their less fortunate compatriots, educating orphans of members, and sustaining the "decayed Families." Annual meetings of these societies were marked by handsome repasts and exuberant celebrations.²⁶ The Scots formed their St. Andrew's Society in 1729,²⁷ the English their St. George's Society in 1733,²⁸ the Huguenots (becoming less aggressively French) established the South Carolina Society in 1737,²⁹ and the Germans their German Friendly Society in 1766.³⁰ All of these organizations continue their active existence and objectives today, and as the members of various groups intermarried and became South Carolinians, we find many men on the rolls of more than one society.

Another kind of organization was the Charleston Library Society; in 1748 William Burrows was one of "a group of seventeen aspiring young

²⁵ *The Siege of Charleston, with an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers from the von Jungkenn Papers in the William L. Clements Library*, trans. and ed. Bernhard Alexander Uhendorf (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1938), p. 327. The quotation cited is from the diary kept in 1780 by Johann Hinrichs, a staff captain of the Jäger Corps which took part in the British siege and occupation of Charleston.

²⁶ JAMES HAROLD EASTERBY, *History of the St. Andrew's Society of Charleston South Carolina, 1729-1929* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell for the St. Andrew's Society, 1929), p. 44.

²⁷ EASTERBY, *History of the St. Andrew's Society*, p. 11.

²⁸ *The St. George's Society of Charleston, South Carolina: Its Establishment, Incorporation, and Rules* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, 1898), p. 1.

²⁹ Burrows became the 167th member on Nov. 14, 1749 (JAMES HAROLD EASTERBY, *The Rules of the South Carolina Society Established at Charleston, in the Said Province, Sept. 1, 1737 . . . : An Historical Account of the Institution from the Date of Its Foundation to the Year 1937*, 17th ed. (Baltimore: Published for the Society by the Waverly Press, 1937), pp. 95-97.

³⁰ GEORGE J. GONGaware, *The History of the German Friendly Society of Charleston, South Carolina, 1766-1916*, introd. James Harold Easterby (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, 1935), p. xv.

intellectuals [who] agreed to raise a fund of ten pounds sterling and import recent magazines and pamphlets from London these seventeen men held together by the bond of the reading habit . . . included a schoolmaster, two planters, a peruke maker, a doctor, a printer, two lawyers, and nine merchants."³¹ The Library Society soon was supported with rules and organization; in 1750 the eminent Dr. John Lining, resident of Charleston, meticulous observer and recorder of weather data, experimenter in electrical phenomena, and correspondent of Benjamin Franklin, was president; the membership, comprising the leaders of the province, numbered 129.³²

William Burrows was the right age to rise with Charleston's fortunes. In 1749 in St. Philip's Church, he married Mary,³³ the daughter of John Ward,³⁴ another Englishman who had settled in Charleston and whose family contributed able leaders to the South Carolina bar and to the Revolutionary cause.³⁵ William and Mary Burrows had several children of whom three grew up: William Ward Burrows, Mary, and Sally. What manner of man Burrows was can be discovered by tracing his legal, governmental, and social achievements. He was admitted to the practice of law in 1748,³⁶ was created justice of the peace for Berkeley County (the county in which Charleston was situated) in 1756,³⁷ was advanced to Master in Chancery in 1761,³⁸ named an assistant justice in 1762,³⁹ and a judge in 1764.⁴⁰ On February 28, 1771, his name appears among those in a distinguished company guaranteeing a sizable bond for the performance of the Public Treasurer:

Know all Men by these Presents that I, Benjamin Dart Esqr. Joint Public Treasurer of the Province of South Carolina, am held and firmly bound unto our Sovereign Lord King George the Third in the penal sum of Twenty Thousand pounds Proclamation Money of America, and We, Peter Manigault, Henry Laurens, Charles Pinckney, Miles Brewton, William Burrows, Wm. Williamson, Samuel Prioleau, Robert Williams Junr., Daniel Horry and Benjamin Guerard of Charles Town in the said

³¹ ANNE KING GREGORIE, "The First Decade of the Charleston Library Society," *The Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association, 1935* (Charleston: The South Carolina Historical Society [1936]), p. 5.

³² "Original Rules and Members of the Charleston Library Society," *SCHGM*, XXIII (1922), 163-170.

³³ *Register of St. Philip's Parish*, II, 190.

³⁴ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 8 (1757-1760), 172. In this will John Ward of Berkeley County mentions his daughter Mary Burrows and appoints his son-in-law William Burrows one of his executors.

³⁵ The first Council of Safety of South Carolina with headquarters in Charleston gave into the hands of Joshua Ward on Oct. 27, 1775, the boxes, presses, and chests of public records. They were to be taken from Charleston by ship, up the Ashley River, to Dorchester, S. C., under the protection of Joshua Ward, brother of Mary Ward Burrows ("Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina, June-November, 1775," *SCHGM*, III [1902], 129-130). John Ward was a signer and a member of the Committee of Correspondence which met on Oct. 30, 1772 ("Garth Correspondence," ed. Theodore D. Jersey, *SCHGM*, XXXIII [1932], 264).

³⁶ McCRADY, *The History of South Carolina*, p. 481.

³⁷ "Historical Notes," *SCHGM*, XIX (1918), 73-74.

³⁸ *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779*, ed. Anne King Gregorie in *American Legal Records*, Vol. 6 (Washington, D. C.: Vail-Ballow Press for the American Historical Association, 1950), p. 506.

³⁹ *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779*, p. 506 n. 51.

⁴⁰ JOHN BELTON O'NEALL, *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina* (Charleston: S. G. Courtenay & Co., 1859) s.v. "Burrows, Williams."

Province Esquires and every of us, are also held and firmly bound unto our Lord the King in the penal sum of Two Thousand Pounds like Proclamation Money.⁴¹

South Carolina was seething with nonimportation fever and with anti-Stamp Act fervor in 1765 and 1766, and Burrows was again among the leaders of the province. When the Provincial Congress of South Carolina in 1776 voted themselves to be the General Assembly of South Carolina and framed a temporary constitution for the state, they also named a special legislative council; Burrows was named ordinary of this council.⁴²

All this time Burrows' social life was, of course, expanding. A member of the St. George's Society, he became its president in 1771.⁴³ He joined the South Carolina Society in 1749 and later served as its steward (president).⁴⁴ He was a member of St. Philip's Church,⁴⁵ not the little black cypress church which had stood adjacent to Lot 159, but the elegant Palladian structure replacing it and built on Church Street (the location of the present St. Philip's Church). In 1751 St. Philip's Parish was divided.⁴⁶ Broad Street, running from river to river, became the line of separation. The area to the north remained St. Philip's Parish, while that to the south constituted the new St. Michael's Parish. The church for the new parish was constructed on the site of the first St. Philip's Church.⁴⁷ In 1759 Burrows purchased Pew No. 8 (middle aisle) in St. Michael's Church; he was elected to the first vestries of the parish in 1761, 1762, and 1763.⁴⁸

Like every other able and ambitious young man in the province, Burrows bought land. His holdings included over 10,000 acres in Berkeley, Colleton, and Craven Counties between 1767 and 1775.⁴⁹ There are no indications that he planted any of it at any time. He traded it. As to its value, it is of interest to note that in 1779 he sold to Nathaniel Russell 475 acres in Craven County for £ 25,000 currency.⁵⁰ In 1747 Robert Hume had established a "country seat" called Magnolia Umbra on the "Broad Path" leading away from the city;⁵¹ in 1767 Burrows bought this 184 acres of high land and a hundred acres of marsh land for his own

⁴¹ Charleston County Probate Court, Miscellaneous Records, Book 91-B (1767-1771), 816.

⁴² WILLIAM EDWIN HEMPHILL and WYLMA ANN WATES, eds., *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, 1775-1776* (Columbia, S. C.: South Carolina Archives, 1960), p. 266.

⁴³ Burrows family records in the possession of Mrs. William W. Hazzard through the courtesy of Mrs. C. Abbot Middleton. This is the only surviving documentation for Burrows' membership and presidency, because the early records of the Society were destroyed.

⁴⁴ EASTERBY, *The Rules of the South Carolina Society . . . Established at Charlestown in the said Province, Sept. 1, 1737, Originally Incorporated May 2, 1751*, 17th ed. (Charleston: Published by the Society, 1938), p. 95.

⁴⁵ Burrows' membership is recorded in Salley's *Register of St. Philip's Parish* in connection with his marriage to Mary Ward on Apr. 20, 1749 (p. 190), the birth of their daughter Mary on Feb. 8, 1755 (p. 101), and her baptism in 1755 (p. 145); see also, DALCHO, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 174.

⁴⁶ DALCHO, p. 165.

⁴⁷ WILLIAMS, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951*, p. 18.

⁴⁸ *Bylaws, Saint Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church* (Charleston: Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., 1947), p. 11.

⁴⁹ Index to Memorials (AAL to Myrick), p. 132 (South Carolina Archives); Index to Grants, 1695-1776 (A-K), pp. 23, 28, 30, 34, 37 (South Carolina Archives).

⁵⁰ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book C-6, p. 244.

⁵¹ HENRY A. M. SMITH, "Charleston and Charleston Neck: The Original Grantees and the Settlements along the Ashley and Cooper Rivers," *SCHGM*, XIX (1918), 22.

countryseat. It was in a beautiful situation on the west bank of the Cooper River with ancient live oaks and other fine native trees. Shortly before his death, Burrows sold the place,⁵² which is now the site of Magnolia and St. Lawrence Cemeteries.⁵³

In 1772 Burrows was flourishing. He was a man of substance and stature in the community; his son was in London at the Inns of Court,⁵⁴ his wife and two daughters were living with him in Tradd Street,⁵⁵ a proper address for prosperous families of the colony. He determined to build a new house. Buying the central part of Lot 159 from the estate of James Moultrie in July 1772, he had as neighbors, on the east Aaron Loocock, and on the west one after another of the distinguished Moultrie brothers; at the foot of his lot to the south ran the recently opened St. Michael's Alley.⁵⁶ In the following months he built his fine house with its outbuildings that probably had seen few basic changes when they were described in the following manner in the early nineteenth century: "The House contains 10 Rooms, and is built of Black Cypress, On the Lot, are a Kitchen of wood 2 stories—Carriage House and Stable with apartments for servants, of Brick covered with slate—and a large cistern connected to the Dwelling House."⁵⁷ Burrows had completed most of his construction within two years, for in an indenture dated July 6, 1774, Burrows declared himself

held and firmly bound unto Aaron Loocock—Merchant in the full and Just sum of Three hundred pound sterling . . . the condition of the above Obligation is such that . . . William Burrows, his heirs . . . shall and do at the reasonable request and desire of the said Aaron Loocock or his heirs . . . take down or cause to be taken down that part of the cornish of his house in Broad Street and the eaves of his Kitchen which now project over the house and lands of the said Aaron Loocock should he have occasion . . . to raise his said house that neither let or hindrance be given to him therein and take down an electrical Wire which goes into the Yard of the said Aaron Loocock should both or either of them be prejudicial to him therein or detrimental to the sale of the said house and lands the said William Burrows holding the same only by courtesy and not claiming it by any right . . .⁵⁸

In 1796 this privilege may have been invoked, because the court ruled on June 24 that Burrows' signature was recognized as legal.⁵⁹ The brick house on this lot still shows on its west side where the "cornish" of the Burrows House left its imprint.

In October 1774 the Burrows House must have had its gayest moments. Burrows' eldest daughter Mary, or Polly as she was called,

⁵² SMITH, "Charleston and Charleston Neck . . .," *SCHGM*, XIX (1918), 22-23.

⁵³ *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1679-1779*, p. 506 n. 51.

⁵⁴ EDWARD ALFRED JONES, *American Members of the Inns of Court* (London: The Saint Catherine Press, 1924), p. 34. William Ward Burrows was admitted to the Inner Temple on May 25, 1772.

⁵⁵ His address during this period is revealed by an advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette* (Charleston), Aug. 10, 1769, 2nd p., stating: "To be let . . . a House in Tradd-street, opposite to William Burrows, Esq."

⁵⁶ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book Z-3, p. 302.

⁵⁷ *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 13, 1815, 3rd p.

⁵⁸ This indenture was recorded in 1796 in the Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book P-6, pp. 429-430.

⁵⁹ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book P-6, p. 430.

was then married to Joseph Atkinson, a merchant of Charlestown.⁶⁰ A few months later tragedy came to William Burrows; in early February 1775, within a few days of each other, his wife and younger daughter died.⁶¹ The elegance of the house must have seemed to mock him; the great drawing room (now at Winterthur) built and decorated for gay, important gatherings, would have little use. It was a sad omen for the house, and its future bore out the omen. Of all the people who owned it, only the two first, William Burrows and Thomas Hall, lived in it as a private dwelling and brought to it the elegance and activity it deserved. When Burrows made his generous but pitiful will in September 1780 he knew himself to be a dying man. As he looked about him, he must have been an unhappy man. Many of his friends were still fighting in the field; Charlestown was occupied by the British, business was stagnant, legal affairs were confused.⁶²

He must have taken great pride in his house. In the fall of 1774 he evidently was preparing it for Polly's marriage, and at this time had furniture made for it by one of the best cabinetmakers in the province, Thomas Elfe of Charleston.⁶³ On September 7, Elfe charged him £ 70 for "6 Mahogy. Splat back Chairs," and on September 22, the sum of 10s for mending mahogany chairs; on October 10, Elfe charged 15s for mending another two chairs; on October 22, he charged £ 80 for "a large double Chest Drawers." In November, following the parties that would have attended Polly's wedding, Burrows paid Elfe £ 2 for "Mendg. a fire Screen stand and puttg. on Silk."⁶⁴

Another insight into the furnishing of the house is provided by the legal records in connection with Burrows' death in April 1781.⁶⁵ In the will that Burrows prepared on September 2, 1780, he left his house and furnishings to his son and daughter. He further directed that his son, William Ward Burrows, receive "my family pictures & all other pictures whatsoever I now have in my dwelling House and also the Fire Screen in my drawing Room Also my Family Bible bound in Red Morocco Leather and Also the best bed Quilt worked by his Mother."⁶⁶ To his daughter, Mary Atkinson, Burrows bequeathed "my collection of shells together with the Mahong [mahogany] Table in which they are deposited And also my Silver Coffee Pot the Waiter it usually stands upon Also my best Chintz

⁶⁰ *South Carolina and American General Gazette* (Charleston), Oct. 7, 1774, 3rd p. Joseph Atkinson, a merchant, owned a plantation on Daniels Island (Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 29 [1800-1807], 600). He was a proprietor in the "Company of the Catawba and Wateree Navigation" and owned shares in the "Company for making a navigable Canal from Santee to Cooper River" ("Col. Senf's Account of the Santee Canal," ed. Mabel L. Webber, *SCHGM*, XXVIII [1927], 9).

⁶¹ *South Carolina and American General Gazette*, Feb. 10, 1775, 3rd p.

⁶² ALEXANDER R. STOESSEN, "British Occupation of Charleston, 1780-1782," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 63 (1962), 71.

⁶³ MABEL L. WEBBER AND ELIZABETH HEYWARD JERVEY, "The Thomas Elfe Account Book, 1765-1775," *SCHGM*, XL (1939), 58. Elfe's career has been studied by E. MILBY BURTON: see his *Thomas Elfe: Charleston Cabinet-Maker*, Charleston Museum Leaflet No. 25 (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1952), and his *Charleston Furniture, 1700-1825* (Charleston: Charleston Museum, 1955), pp. 84-89.

⁶⁴ WEBBER AND JERVEY, "The Thomas Elfe Account Book," *SCHGM*, XL (1939), 81.

⁶⁵ The date of Burrows' death is not recorded in official records of Charleston or of St. Michael's Church. His death in April, presumably late in the month, can be assumed from a notice that appeared in the *Royal Gazette* (Charleston) on May 2, 1781, 3rd p.

⁶⁶ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 19 (1780-1783), 183.

counterpane & Fawkes Family Bible in two Volumes.”⁶⁷ It is well to note that the executors of the estate did not inventory the contents of the house until 1784. The Charleston directory for 1782 lists Joseph Atkinson, Burrows’ son-in-law, as living in the house. This was obviously a temporary arrangement, for in 1783 the Atkinsons are listed as living in Church Street. The inventory of the Burrows House, taken on February 17, 1784, does not include the items cited in Burrows’ will, nor does it include a reference to every room in the house. The son and daughter apparently were then in possession of the specific objects their father had left to them, and the remaining objects of value had been collected principally in four rooms:

In the Back Room	Sterling
4 Mahogany Arm Chairs and 14 Mahogany sitting chairs 4 whereof are broke	£ 14.5.8
2 Mahogany Tables and 2 Ends	3.11.5
In the Office	
1 Mahogany double Desk	2.2.10
In the Dining Room	
2 Sofas 2 Arm Chairs and 6 sitting Chairs with Chintz covers, 3 Window Curtains	35.14.3
2 Card Tables 71/5—1 pair Oval Glasses and 2 Gerrdloes [girandoles] £ 18.11./.—1 Carpet £ 14.5./.	36.7.5
In the Bed Chamber	
1 Easy Chair 28./.—1 pair Oval Glasses 85./.	5.19.0
a Mattress a pair of Sheets & 1 Blanket	2.0.0
1 Carpet £ 7. —A Chaise in the Coach House 42/	9.2.0
Silver Plate. 220 Ounces thereof @ 5/ Sterl. pr. Oz	55.0.0
	<hr/> £ 163.16.7 ⁶⁸

In addition to his house and its furnishings, William Burrows left his son and daughter a personal estate of considerable value. At the time the executors evaluated the contents of the house, they also appraised “part” of this estate. Their list of property included twenty-one Negroes in addition to the children of the slave Mary. These were evaluated at a total of £ 1,580; those of the greatest value were March, a carpenter, worth £ 150; Bristol, a shoemaker, worth £ 100; August, a carpenter, worth £ 120; and Billy, a “Waiting Man,” worth £ 90.⁶⁹ Burrows must have been a kind master, for in his will he stated: “In recompence of the many services rendered me by my faithful Negro Slave named Marcus my Waiting Man I do hereby fully Manumise enfranchise & for ever set free the said Negro Slave named Marcus of & from all manner of future slavery & servitude from and immediately after my decease and I do desire my son William Ward Burrows to pay unto the said Negro Man named Marcus the sum of Five Pounds Sterling Money of Great Britain on the Thirtieth Day of December in every Year during the life of the said Marcus.”⁷⁰ As a man with capital, Burrows was deeply involved in the lending of money. In 1784 the notes due his estate amounted to £ 57.47.19.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 19 (1780-1783), 183. It has not been possible to discover whether or not the “Fawkes” Bible is a link with Burrows’ maternal English ancestry.

⁶⁸ Charleston County Probate Court, Inventories, Book A (1785-1793), p. 192.

⁶⁹ Charleston County Probate Court, Inventories, Book A (1785-1793), p. 191.

⁷⁰ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 19 (1780-1783), 183.

⁷¹ Charleston County Probate Court, Inventories, Book A (1785-1793), p. 191.

With the death of William Burrows, the house on Broad Street passed from the ownership of the Burrows family. The son and namesake of the builder had established a life of his own outside of his native Charleston. On October 4, 1783, there appeared in the *South Carolina and Weekly Gazette* (2nd p.) this marriage notice: "At Philadelphia Mr. Wm. Burrows, son of the late William Burrows Esq. of this town, to Miss Mary Bond, daughter of Thomas Bond Esq. Purveyor-General to the United States of America." The *Gazette of the State of South Carolina* for November 22, 1783 (2nd p.), informed its readers: "On Monday morning arriving here in eight days from the Capes of Philadelphia the Brigantine Charleston Packet . . . in whom came passengers Wm. Burrows Esq: and Lady." He had come to settle his father's estate and to sell the house. Colonel William Ward Burrows did not plan to live in Charleston at this time, but he must have dreamed of eventually coming home, because during his visit he bought on May 4, 1784, "100 acres . . . more or less" on James Island for £ 100.13.4 sterling.⁷² An officer in the Revolution,⁷³ he became the first Commandant of the United States Marine Corps after its reorganization in 1798.⁷⁴ His wife predeceased him, and in 1805 "he resigned existence with the celestial calmness of a good man."⁷⁵

William Burrows III, son of William Ward Burrows, was born in 1785. He became a Naval officer,⁷⁶ and the Burrows name has survived in our national annals through his actions. Young William Burrows III distinguished himself at Tripoli in 1804. Captured by the British in the War of 1812, he was taken to Barbados, then paroled home. He was shortly given command of the sloop-of-war *Enterprise*. The day after sailing in her he fell in with the British brig *Boxer*. After a brisk engagement, the *Boxer* surrendered. Although Burrows had been fatally wounded, he lived long enough to receive the surrender. Captain Samuel Blyth, commander of the *Boxer*, also died in the engagement and was buried beside Burrows in Portland, Maine. News of this victory, the first American naval success after the loss of the *Chesapeake*, was enthusiastically received. Congress officially praised his bravery and lamented his death.⁷⁷ Command of the *Enterprise* brought not only glory to Burrows, but also a degree of immortality through Longfellow's poem *My Lost Youth*:

I remember the sea-fight far away
How it thundered o'er the tide!
And the dead captains, as they lay
In their graves, o'erlooking the tranquil bay,
Where they in battle died.
And the sound of the mournful song
Goes through me with a thrill:
A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.⁷⁸

⁷² Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book K-5, p. 429.

⁷³ "Marriage and Death Notices from the City Gazette," ed. Jeannie Heyward Register, *SCHGM*, XXVIII (1927), 239.

⁷⁴ EDWARD BRECK in *Dictionary of American Biography* (hereafter *DAB*) s.v. "Burrows, William."

⁷⁵ Register, "Marriage and Death Notices . . .," *SCHGM*, XXVIII (1927), 239.

⁷⁶ BRECK, *DAB* s.v. "Burrows, William."

⁷⁷ BRECK, *DAB* s.v. "Burrows, William,"

⁷⁸ *Poems* (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1865), p. 382.

Burrows died unmarried, and the male line of the builder of the Burrows House became extinct.⁷⁹

William Ward Burrows, acting as the executor of his father's estate, sold his father's house at public auction on February 19, 1784. It was purchased for £ 3,915 sterling by Thomas Hall of Charleston and Christ Church Parish.⁸⁰ The Hall family was of English descent and had long been in South Carolina.⁸¹ Thomas Hall, born in 1750, was commissioned by the Council of Safety in 1775 as a second lieutenant in the Second South Carolina provincials (subsequently the South Carolina Continental Regiment). At Fort Moultrie, Hall was wounded in the engagement of June 1776. He rose to a captaincy and took part in the siege of Savannah in 1779. Captured by the British at the siege of Charleston in 1780, he was sent with many other Charlestonians to be imprisoned at St. Augustine.⁸² Subsequently exchanged, he was present at the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.⁸³ After the Revolution, he served as the first postmaster of Charleston from 1783 to 1794 and as a clerk of the United States District Court of General Sessions. Married twice but with children by neither marriage, he died on August 28, 1814, and was buried in Christ Church Parish, where he had cultivated his White Hall Plantation.⁸⁴ In a will of 1808, Hall left his Broad Street house, "which I have put a new roof on for lasting Purposes," to his wife "on condition that the same be made by her the actual place of her City residence . . . but the said House shall not be hired, leased or rented out . . . Should she not want to live in it, it is my desire that the said House and Lot be sold at Public Vendue . . ."⁸⁵

A year after Hall's death identical advertisements offering for sale the Burrows-Hall House and its outbuildings appear in both of the Charleston newspapers. At this time, forty years after the construction of the house, it could still be advertised as "THAT commodious and eligibly situated HOUSE and LOT."⁸⁶ For \$13,000 the house became the property of Jehu Jones, a "free person of color."⁸⁷

During Hall's ownership of the house built by Burrows, his neighbors on the west had been one or another of the Moultries and later Alexander Gillon, a merchant of wealth, who during the Revolution had been

⁷⁹ BRECK, *DAB* s.v. "Burrows, William." The Burrows name was remembered as late as 1940 when a Grace Liner was commissioned in the U. S. Navy as the *U. S. S. William Ward Burrows*. During cargo duty in the Pacific, she survived submarine and air attack. She was stricken from the Navy list in 1946. Two U. S. Navy destroyers have been named for Lt. Burrows. The first, DD 29, served from 1911 through 1918; the second, DE 105, saw heavy duty in World War II and served until 1950, when she was refitted and transferred overseas.

⁸⁰ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book X-6, p. 184.

⁸¹ ALEXANDER SAMUEL SALLEY, JR., "Daniel Trezevant, Huguenot, and Some of His Descendants," *SCHGM*, III (1902), 31.

⁸² SALLEY, "Daniel Trezevant . . .," *SCHGM*, III (1902), 31-32.

⁸³ See his obituary in the *City Gazette & Commercial Daily Advertiser* (Charleston), Sep. 1, 1814, 3rd p.

⁸⁴ SALLEY, "Daniel Trezevant . . .," *SCHGM*, III (1902), 32.

⁸⁵ Charleston County Probate Court, Wills, Vol. 32 (1811-1820), 828.

⁸⁶ *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 13, 1815, 3rd p.

⁸⁷ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book M-8, 399. See also DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE, *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1951), p. 186. Free Negroes appeared at an early date. They were manumitted by kind masters or at public expense for some signal public service; these Negroes owned slaves as early as 1754 and sometimes owned their wives.

appointed commodore of the South Carolina Navy.⁸⁸ Gillon's Broad Street house and lot passed into the hands of William Johnson, a native Charleston jurist, later Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.⁸⁹ On January 20, 1809, Justice Johnson had sold his property to Jehu Jones for £ 2,000 sterling.⁹⁰

Now in possession of the Burrows-Hall property and the adjoining Moultrie-Gillon-Johnson property to the west, Jehu Jones sold the latter to St. Michael's Church in 1816.⁹¹ The Church demolished the Moultrie house and extended its graveyard to the east. It built a high brick wall on the lot line between the church and the Burrows-Hall-Jones House.⁹² Jehu Jones appears in various directories as a "tailor," but he left that occupation to his son Jehu, Jr., and devoted himself to innkeeping, an activity in which he had already shown himself a success.⁹³

Jehu Jones now expanded his business with his new purchase as his base and began to cater to travelers and to those who wished to make a more extended stay in the city. One traveler in 1820 was the portraitist Samuel Finley Breese Morse,⁹⁴ a great favorite in Charleston; he advertised that "Mr. Morse has returned to Charleston and has his Painting Room in the rear of Jones Boarding House in the Room recently occupied by Mr. [William] Jay, the Architect.⁹⁵ Entrance through St. Michael's Alley."⁹⁶ Morse was busy painting Charlestonians and had been in and out of the city since 1818.⁹⁷ In 1829 Jones again "respectfully informs his friends and the Public that his House is now open for the season. Having been put in complete order and the female department under the direction

⁸⁸ Alexander Gillon, born in Amsterdam in 1741, came to South Carolina in 1765 and died there in 1794 at his plantation "Gillon's Retreat" in the Orangeburgh District, where he is buried (St. Philip's Parish Register, 1754-1810). At his death, his once ample estate was insolvent as a result of the British capture in 1782 of the *South Carolina*, a frigate in American service owned by the Chevalier Luxemburg and for which Gillon had assumed the financial responsibility (Wallace, *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948*, p. 327).

⁸⁹ William Johnson was born in Charleston in 1771 and died in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1834. After graduating from Princeton he worked in the law office of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, served in the state legislature, and in 1804 was appointed Associate Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court (Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, eds. James Grant Wilson and John Fiske [New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1888] s.v. "Johnson, William").

⁹⁰ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book X-7, p. 262.

⁹¹ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book N-8, p. 163.

⁹² WILLIAMS, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951*, p. 184.

⁹³ *Charleston Courier*, Jun. 9, 1815, 4th p.

⁹⁴ Morse (1791-1872) returned to the United States from his studies in England in 1815. Before he permanently settled in New York City in 1823, he was active as a portrait painter in New England and in Charleston. For a survey of his career and pertinent bibliography concerning it, see GEORGE C. GROCE AND DAVID H. WALLACE, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957) s.v. "Morse, S.F.B."

⁹⁵ William Jay (1794-?) was the English-born and London-trained architect who moved to Savannah, Ga., in 1817 and became an early exponent of the Greek Revival in the South. He designed many distinguished buildings in Savannah, where he practiced until about 1825 (HENRY F. WITHEY AND ELSIE RATHBURN WITHEY, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)* [Los Angeles: New Age Publishing Co., 1956] s.v. "Jay, William").

⁹⁶ *Charleston Courier*, Dec. 19, 1820, 2nd p.

⁹⁷ His first advertisement appears in the *Charleston Courier*, Feb. 3, 1818, 3rd p.; he subsequently placed advertisements in 1818 in the *Charleston Courier* on Dec. 17, 3rd p.; in 1820 on Jan. 19, 2nd p., Jan. 26, 2nd p., Mar. 24, 2nd p., Apr. 17, 2nd p., Dec. 15, 2nd p., and Dec. 19, 2nd p.; in 1821 on Feb. 27, 2nd p., and on Mar. 2, 2nd p. On Apr. 17, 1822, 2nd p., the *Charleston Courier* reported that Morse's portraits of Gen. Thomas Pinckney and of Col. Drayton "are considered the best portraits by Morse which are contained in the Academy. He painted also as our citizens are aware, the President [Monroe], which is placed opposite to that of Washington."

of Mrs. Johnson”⁹⁸ He was established and drawing the best clientele. Thomas Hamilton, the English traveler, came to Charleston in 1832 and wrote:

Every Englishman who visits Charleston, will, if he be wise, direct his baggage to Jones's hotel. It is a small house, but everything is well managed, and the apartments are good. Our party at dinner did not exceed ten, and there was no bolting or scrambling. Jones is a black man, and must have prospered in the world, for, I learned, he was laid up with gout,—the disease of a gentleman The pleasure of getting into such a house,—of revisiting the glimpses of clean tablecloths and silver,—of exchanging salt pork and greasy corn cakes, for a table furnished with luxuries of all sorts,—was very great. For a day or two, I experienced a certain impulse to voracity, by no means philosophical; and sooth to say, after the privations of a journey from New Orleans, the luxury of Jones's iced claret might have converted even Diogenes into a *gourmet*.

He went on to comment: “Except New Orleans, Charleston is the only place I saw in the Southern States, which at all realizes our English ideas of a city.” He disliked the climate and declared: “. . . in Charleston, a man must be continually alert; for, go where he may, there is fever at his heels.” He was pleased, however, with the society he found: “During my hurried progress through the Southern States, I was rarely brought into contact with men of opulence and intelligence But in South Carolina it is otherwise. There is a large body of landed proprietors, who are men of education and comparative refinement; and who, though publicly advocating the broadest principles of democracy, are in private life aristocratic and exclusive. I think it probable that Englishmen unconnected with business would generally prefer the society of gentlemen of this portion [the South] of the Union to any other which the country affords.”⁹⁹

The distinction which Jehu Jones' management brought to Jones' Hotel seems to have passed with him in 1833. In December of that year Jehu Jones' executors sold “All that house and lot . . . commonly known by the name of Jones Establishment . . .” to Alexander Johnson and Ann Deas, who as Jones' stepdaughter had inherited a one-fourth interest, for \$8,500.¹⁰⁰ An advertisement subsequently appeared in the *Charleston Mercury* of January 1, 1834 (3rd p.):

JONES' ESTABLISHMENT

ANN DEAS and ELIZA A. JOHNSON having purchased his late establishment in Broad St. next below St. Michael's Church, will continue the same under the above title, as a respectable Boarding House they respectfully solicit the favors of the former friends of Mr. Jones, and the public generally.

In 1834 the actor Tyrone Power describes with clarity his “comfortable summer-quarters in an out-building”¹⁰¹ (he most pointedly did not like

⁹⁸ *Charleston Courier*, Oct. 15, 1829, 3rd p.

⁹⁹ THOMAS HAMILTON, *Men and Manners in America* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1833), pp. 347-348.

¹⁰⁰ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book F-12, p. 328.

¹⁰¹ TYRONE POWER, *Impressions of America; During the Years 1833, 1834, and 1835* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836), II, 56.

Charleston in the winter).¹⁰² We can easily visualize his account of watching an eclipse of the sun: "Upon the covered gallery fronting the south, the inmates of the hotel were all assembled; whilst, in the yard below, were congregated the servants and household slaves of the family, with upturned anxious faces"¹⁰³

Another distinguished guest in this period of decline was the sharp-tongued Fanny Kemble, the English actress who married the southerner Pierce Butler. In her *Records of Later Life* she wrote of her visit in 1838 to Charleston:

This city is the oldest I have seen yet in America I should think it must be the oldest in it Rickety, dark, dirty, tumble-down streets and warehouses, with every now and then a mansion of loftier pretensions, but equally neglected and ruinous in appearance, would probably not have been objects of special admiration to many people on this side of the water; but I belong to that infirm, decrepit, bed-ridden old country, England, and must acknowledge with a blush for the stupidity of the prejudice, that it is so very long since I have seen anything old, that the lower streets of Charleston, in all their dinginess and decay, were a refreshment and rest to my spirit.

I have had a perfect red-brick-and-white-board fever since I came to this country [America]; and once more to see a house which looks as if it had stood long enough to get warmed through, it is a balm to my senses, oppressed with newness

The appearance of the city is highly picturesque, a word which can apply to none other American towns It has none of the smug mercantile primness of northern cities, but a look of state, as of quondam wealth and importance, a little gone down in the world, yet remembering its former dignity Charleston has an air of eccentricity, too, and peculiarity, which formerly were not deemed unbecoming the well-born and well-bred gentlewoman, which her gentility sanctioned and warranted

It is in this respect (singularity) a far more aristocratic (should I say democratic?) city than any I have yet seen in America, inasmuch as every house seems built to the owner's particular taste; and in one street you seem to be in an old English town, and in another in some continental city of France or Italy

The house where we now are [Jones' Hotel] is the best at present in the city. It is kept by a very obliging and civil colored woman, who seems extremely desirous of accommodating us to our minds; but her servants (they are her slaves, in spite of her and their common complexion) would defy the orderly genius of the superintendent of the Astor House. Their laziness, their filthiness, their inconceivable stupidity, and unconquerable good humor, are enough to drive one stark, staring mad. The sitting room we occupy is spacious, and not ill-furnished, and especially airy, having four windows and a door, none of which can or will shut Our bedrooms are dismal dens, open to "a' the airts the wind can blaw," half furnished and not by any means half clean. The furniture itself is old, and very infirm, —the tables all peach with one or other leg,—the chairs are most of them minus one or two bars,—the tongs cross their feet when you attempt to use them,—and one poker travels from room to room, that being our whole allowance for two fires.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² POWER, II, 55.

¹⁰³ POWER, II, 62.

¹⁰⁴ FRANCIS ANN KEMBLE, *Records of Later Life* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1882), pp. 122-123.

In April 1846, a bill of complaint brought in the Courts of Equity ended in a sale, by the Master in Equity, of the Burrows House property on January 14, 1847, to Edward Gamage for \$7,900.¹⁰⁵ From this time on the house was never lived in by the owner; it became and remained rented property. Year by year it deteriorated a little more. The first renting operator of Jones' Hotel, a name that remained in use, was John Lee.¹⁰⁶

Three years later, the property was again offered for sale. An advertisement the realtor Thomas N. Gadsen placed in the *Courier* for September 12-14, 1850 (3rd p.), succinctly presents the scale of the establishment:

Jones Hotel.—For sale or for rent, all that large, genteel and airy establishment known as Jones' Hotel situated on south side of Broad-street, opposite the City Square. The location of this Hotel is most eligible of any in the City of Charleston. It contains one large dining room [evidently the Winterthur Room], two sitting rooms, and twelve bed chambers with double piazzas to the south, large pantry, recently built anew, large kitchen and servants rooms, etc. The Lot extends from Broad-street to St. Michael's Alley. On said alley is a two story building containing six rooms with fireplace in each room, and also on the lot is a comfortable cottage, having double piazzas, and contains four rooms, with fireplace. Gas has been introduced in the dining room, sitting and drawing rooms, and in the hall.

The first mention of the name Mansion House for the once elegant home of William Burrows occurred in 1852. Mrs. Jane Davis, the renter of the property responsible for this change, previously had used the name "Mansion House" for her establishment at the corner of Meeting and Queen Streets. Readers of the *Courier* of October 18, 1852 (3rd p.), found this notice about her plans:

Mansion House, Broad-St.—Mrs. J.[ane] Davis would respectfully inform her friends that she has taken that pleasantly located House on the south side of Broad-street, formerly known as Jones' Hotel, and which in the future will be known as the MANSION HOUSE. The premises have been thoroughly refitted and newly furnished with every regard to the comfort and convenience of those who may favor the establishment with their patronage.

The Mansion House will be opened for the reception of boarders on the first of November next

Between the ownership by Edward Gamage and the rental by Mrs. Davis, the ownership of the Broad Street property had changed twice; once when Gamage had sold it to Mrs. Mary Steinmetz on February 8, 1851,¹⁰⁷ for \$12,000, and again when Mrs. Steinmetz promptly sold it to Henry R. Frost.¹⁰⁸

Mrs. Jane Davis operated the Mansion House from 1852 until the 1860's.¹⁰⁹ Then, for a short time, Mrs. Rebecca Finney, who was the proprietress of the Carolina Inn just across the street, appropriated the name "Mansion House" for the Carolina Inn property.¹¹⁰ Mrs. Finney

¹⁰⁵ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book X-11, p. 351.

¹⁰⁶ *Charleston Courier*, Sep. 24, 1847, 3rd p.

¹⁰⁷ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book F-12, p. 328.

¹⁰⁸ Charleston County Register of Mesne Conveyance Office, Book F-12, p. 329.

¹⁰⁹ Charleston directories 1852 to 1859 s.v. "Davis, Mrs. Jane, prop's. Mansion House, 63 Broad."

¹¹⁰ Charleston directory for 1869-1870 s.v. "Finney, Mrs. Rebecca." The Mansion House is here mentioned as being on the *north* side of Broad St. (the proper Mansion House was always on the *south* side).

settled down after the Confederate War, however, and for twenty-five years or more rented and ran the established Mansion House on the south side of the street.¹¹¹ After her administration a succession of tenants—Mrs. Lois Walter,¹¹² Mrs. Hattie O'Mara,¹¹³ Mrs. J. R. Ahrens,¹¹⁴ and C. L. Mikell¹¹⁵—ran it as a rooming house. In 1926 and 1927 it was untenantanted¹¹⁶ and finally condemned as unsafe.¹¹⁷

In 1921 St. Michael's Church needed more room for its parish house; the logical expansion was to the east. The Mansion House property was available for \$40,000, but this price the Vestry was not prepared to pay. In December 1922 the Church bought the south section of the lot (thirty-five by ninety-five feet) from F. J. Haesloop for \$4,000.¹¹⁸

In the 1920's, South Carolina went through a drastic local recession as a prelude to the great depression of the thirties. This was an "agricultural depression beginning in 1921, following a period in which farmers and thousands whose property was dependent on farming had contracted debts based upon inflated values of land and produce Between January 1, 1921, and February 28, 1933, 34 National and 283 State banks closed their doors. There had been in 1919, 78 Nat'l Banks and in 1920, 387 State banks."¹¹⁹ South Carolina was poor, cotton shipments from the port of Charleston were virtually wiped out, and industries were few in the Low Country, which lived by shipping, agriculture, and banking.

It was during this period, one of a rising interest in the past among Americans, that the eighteenth-century buildings of Charleston and the nearby plantations began to attract interest for their architectural merit. This interest, as well as a delight in the winter climate, led to an enthusiasm among visitors for the rehabilitation of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century houses for winter residences. Thus, when a hard pressed real estate woman of Charleston found a buyer who wanted the neglected Burrows House and planned to take it down carefully and rebuild it in a rural setting just outside the city on the banks of the Ashley River, she sold it. The value placed on the property at this time cannot be determined; the amount is not recorded, for the house alone was sold, not the land. It is locally believed, however, that the house realized \$10,000. The purchaser did not use it as he had planned and the architectural elements remained in storage for almost three decades. There was, however, a happy future for William Burrows' great drawing room when it reached Winterthur in 1957 for installation in a wing of the Museum then under construction.

¹¹¹ Charleston directories 1875-1892 s.v. "Finney, Mrs. Rebecca." Mrs. Finney is listed as the proprietor of the Mansion House at No. 69 Broad St. (uneven numbers were on the south side of the street).

¹¹² In the Charleston directories from 1892 to 1901, the Mansion House is listed simply as a boardinghouse. In the directories from 1901 to 1903, Mrs. Lois Walter is listed as the proprietor of the Mansion House and the entries state that she received boarders.

¹¹³ In the directories from 1905 through 1919, Mrs. Hattie O'Mara listed the Mansion House as her residence, but she took in roomers.

¹¹⁴ Charleston directory, 1920.

¹¹⁵ Charleston directory, 1924.

¹¹⁶ In the directories for these years it is listed as vacant.

¹¹⁷ Interviews with Col. Alston Deas, Jan. 1961.

¹¹⁸ GEORGE W. WILLIAMS, *St. Michael's, Charleston, 1751-1951* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), p. 188.

¹¹⁹ WALLACE, *South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948*, p. 688.

II. THE ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF THE BURROWS HOUSE

The foregoing research establishes that William Burrows acquired in July 1772 the lot on which his house was to stand, and that it was substantially completed by 1774. The style of the building was similar to that of several other houses in the Charleston area erected in that decade except that by then the first floor of the usual house was raised above a high basement. Limitations in the size of the Burrows lot doubtless precluded the use of an outside stairway to an elevated entrance; the first floor remained, therefore, but three steps above the sidewalk.

A search through contemporary sources has failed to yield documentary evidence for the designers or the artificers of the house, but one clue has appeared which casts light on the kind of architectural services rendered in Burrows' period and leads to a suggestion about the design of the drawing room at Winterthur. The following advertisement by Ezra Waite appeared in the *South Carolina and American General Gazette* of Charleston from August 18-23 and August 30-September 6, 1769 (3rd p.):

ARCHITECTURE

Ezra White [sic], civil architect, House Building in general and Carver, from London, has finished the Architecture and conducted the execution thereof, viz. in the joiner's way, all tabernacle frames, that in the dining room excepted, and raised all the said work in the four principal rooms; and also calculated, adjusted, and drew at large for the joiners to work by the Ionick entablature, and raised the same in the front and round the eaves of Miles Brewton, Esq.'s. house on White Point for Mr. Muncreef. If on inspection of the mentioned work, and twenty-seven years of experience in both theory and practice, in noblemen's and gentlemen's seats, be sufficient to recommend, he flatters himself to give satisfaction, to any gentleman or other by plans, sections, elevations, or executions, at his house in King-Street; next door but one to Mr. Wainwright's where Architecture is taught by a peculiar method, never published in any book extant.

N.B. As Mr. Brewton's dining room, as well as some part of the other rooms, is of a new construction with respect to the finishing about the windows, corniches and doorways, it has been industriously propogated by some, and believed to be done by Mr. Kensey [sic] Burden, a carpenter, that he the said Waite had no hand in the Architecture, nor in conducting the execution thereof: Therefore the subscriber begs leave, in this public manner; to do himself justice, and to assure all gentlemen that he did absolutely construct every individual part of the said work, and drew the same at large for the house joiners and carpenters to work by, and also conducted the execution thereof; And any man that can prove the contrary, shall receive One Hundred Guineas, as witness my hand this 21st day of August 1769.

Ezra Waite

Notet Veritas Oleum.

Waite also published this advertisement, with slightly different wording and a different Latin quotation, in the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* of August 22, 1769 (3rd p.).

Ezra Waite died scarcely two months later.¹²⁰ There is no record that anyone came forward to dispute his claims about the Miles Brewton House.

¹²⁰ *Register of St. Philip's Parish*, II, 369 (entry for Nov. 2, 1769).



Fig. 7 Card Room, Miles Brewton House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1769;
Photograph 1966 (Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).



Fig. 8 Dining Room, Miles Brewton House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1769;
Photograph 1966 (Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).



Fig. 9
Dining Room Chimney Piece,
Designed by William Kent,
Drawn by Isaac Ware,
Engraved by P. Fournier.
Detail from Isaac Ware,
The Plans . . . of
Houghton in Norfolk . . .,
(London: Isaac Ware, 1735),
Plate 28 (Winterthur).

We can only conjecture about the truth, but there are a few relevant facts. A study of the interior woodwork in the Miles Brewton House, built about 1765, reveals the dissimilar tastes of at least two designers. This is most evident in the chimney pieces of the card room (the northeast room on the upper floor) and the dining room on the floor below. The chimney piece in the card room (Fig. 7), with its stress on vertical lines and its multiple breaks into projecting and receding planes, is reminiscent of the baroque manner during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries of Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661-1736).¹²¹ In the dining room (Fig. 8), the design of the overmantel is a simplified version of the treatment of the overmantel in the dining room at Houghton Hall designed by William Kent and published by Isaac Ware in 1735 (Fig. 9).

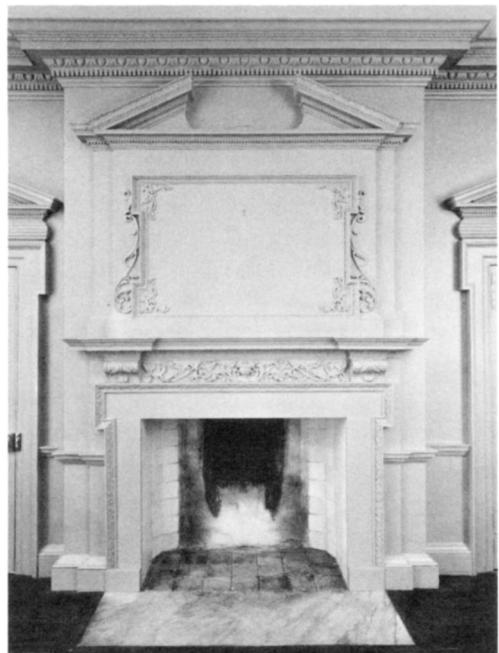
In his advertisement Waite sets forth the several kinds of work he carried out for Mr. Muncreef, who was what we would today term a general contractor. Waite's statements are not as coherent as one would wish. He begins by alleging that he "has finished the Architecture and conducted the execution thereof, viz. in the joiner's way, all tabernacle frames that in the dining room excepted" and ends up by stating that "he did absolutely construct every individual part of the said work, and drew the same at large for the house joiners and carpenters to work by, and also conducted the execution thereof" By the somewhat Biblical term "tabernacle frames" we are to understand what today we would call door or overmantel frames with cornices and pediments. Significant among Waite's statements is his charge: "As Mr. Brewton's dining room, as well as some part of the other rooms, is of a new construction with respect to the finishing about the windows, cornices and doorways, it has been industriously propagated by some, and believed to be done by Mr. Kensey Burden, a carpenter, that he

¹²¹ See, for example, the work of this architect discussed and illustrated in KERRY DOWNES, *Hawksmoor*, in *Studies in Architecture*, II, eds. Anthony Blunt and Rudolf Wittkower (London: A. Zwemmer, Ltd., 1959).

Fig. 10 Chimney Piece, Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photograph 1959 (Photo: Winterthur).

Fig. 11 Drawing Room, John Stuart House, Charleston, South Carolina, ca. 1772, as Installed in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Photograph 1966 (The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James Ford Bell).

Fig. 12 Drawing Room, Peter Bouquet House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1765-1775; Photograph 1964 (Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).



the said Waite had no hand in the Architecture, nor in conducting the execution thereof”

Before Richard Muncreef (or Moncrief) started building the Miles Brewton house, he had entered into a partnership agreement with Kinsey Burden in April 1765. According to this agreement Burden was to contribute his personal services and Muncreef was to supply artisan's labor to an equal value. When the partnership was terminated in 1773, Burden sued Muncreef for not living up to this agreement.¹²² The Miles Brewton House was the largest and most ornate dwelling built in Charleston before the Revolution. It would be expected that Burden, the operative partner, would supervise the construction, while Muncreef devoted his attention to conferring with the owner, to the financing and the procuring of labor and materials. Ezra Waite's role in the construction and finishing of the house would appear to be that of the carpenter-joiner hired directly by Muncreef and would have been considered of equal value to those of Burden. Such a situation would inevitably lead to competition and rivalry between Waite and Burden.

Ezra Waite claimed that he had had “twenty-seven years of experience in both theory and practice, in noblemen's and gentlemen's seats.” His death in the fall of 1769, about four years after starting work on the Miles Brewton job, would indicate that he was a master craftsman of long standing. Perhaps he was crotchety about having his work held in comparison with a younger man, one more vigorous in mind and more familiar with the main stream of contemporary design. Kinsey Burden did not die until about 1791,¹²³ a date suggesting that he was probably many years younger than Waite.

The Brewton dining room that was of such concern to Waite is undoubtedly the northeast room on the first floor above the basement. The northwest room at the rear, though it is somewhat closer to the kitchen

¹²² *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779*, pp. 508-617.

¹²³ “Historical Notes: Records of the Burden Family . . . ,” ed. Isabelle de Saussure, *SCHGM*, XXVI (1925), 173-175.



building in the yard, is of smaller dimensions and would not have been adequate for the functions of such an important room in an important house. The mantelpiece in the northeast room is of marble as are several others in this house. Marble is not to be found in the Carolina Low Country, but marble mantels were imported by Charleston merchants as early as the mid-eighteenth century.¹²⁴ The overmantel is of especial interest to us: the basic design is a variant of the overmantel in the drawing room of the house of William Burrows. The composition of the overmantel in the Brewton dining room is completely co-ordinated with the marble mantel below, and the two elements, though of different materials and provenance, together form a coherent and unified whole (Fig. 8). The consoles flanking the central panel are graceful and spirited, and the broken pediment is handled with a just sense of scale and proportion. In the "tabernacle" around the door, the frieze between the architrave and the cornices takes on a reverse curve contour which might well be the prototype of the pulvinated friezes in the drawing room doorways of the William Burrows House.

If Ezra Waite seems to have had wavering scruples about claiming the mantel treatment in the Brewton dining room as his own, is it not reasonable to assume that here, at least, we have the work of his rival, Kinsey Burden? This is a suggestion, not a fact supported by documentary evidence; although it cannot be accepted beyond a shadow of a doubt, it cannot be dismissed as altogether unlikely. Whether in the dining room of the Miles Brewton House we have a masterpiece of Kinsey Burden, or that of an anonymous designer and craftsman, we at least have work strongly resembling the basic design, the joinery, and the carving found in several other houses in the Charleston area at this time.

To this group the house of William Burrows quite definitely belongs (Fig. 10), along with the houses of Colonel John Stuart (ca. 1772) (Fig. 11), Peter Bouquet (after 1765 and before the Revolution) (Fig. 12),

¹²⁴ DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE, *The Life of Henry Laurens* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), p. 47.



Fig. 13 Ballroom, Hampton Plantation, Charleston, South Carolina, 1768-1775; Photograph 1966 (Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).



Fig. 14 Ballroom Fireplace, Hampton Plantation, Charleston, South Carolina, 1768-1775; Photograph 1956 (Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).

and the ballroom at Hampton Plantation (after 1768 and before the Revolution) (Figs. 13, 14). The carving in this group is less robust than that in the Miles Brewton House, but more elegant in proportion and more restrained in the use of repetitious ornament. The ornament in the Burrows House is typical of the group in that it is more slender and nervous than that in the Brewton dining room and on occasion shifts from conventional motifs to naturalistic leaf and flower forms (Figs. 15, 16).

Among these houses the most elegant was the home of Colonel John Stuart, who was Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the southern colonial district and member of the councils of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. It would be expected that such an important person in His Majesty's service would provide himself with a house that was the



Fig. 15 Detail of Mantel from Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photograph 1956 (Photo: Winterthur).

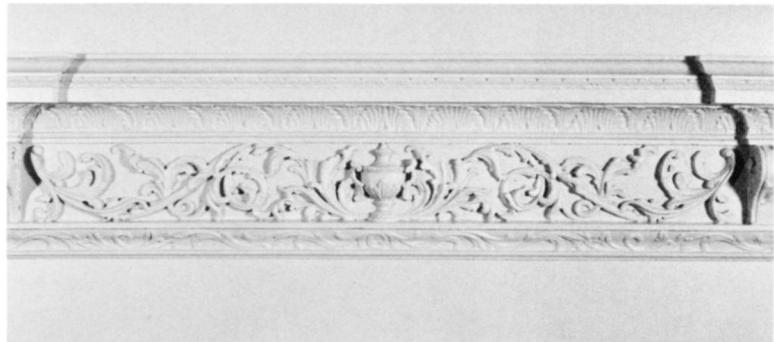


Fig. 16 Detail of Mantel from Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photograph 1966 (Photo: Winterthur).



Fig. 17 Detail of Overmantel from Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photograph 1966 (Photo: Winterthur).



Fig. 18 Ceiling Cornice and Crown Molding of Overmantel, Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774, as Installed at Winterthur; Photograph 1966 (Photo: Winterthur).

best in the taste of the day, if not the largest in size. The overmantel in the drawing room on the second floor of Stuart's house (Fig. 11), both in design and detail, bears a close resemblance to that of Peter Bouquet's house (Fig. 12), and is akin to the overmantel of the William Burrows' drawing room (Figs. 17, 18). The wood mantels in the drawing rooms of Bouquet (Fig. 12) and Burrows (Fig. 16) are also variations on the same theme. In the center of the friezes of both appears a small urn with two handles. An urn reappears in the ballroom at Hampton Plantation (Fig. 14) as the centerpiece in the same sort of attenuated rinceau in a mantel basically similar to the Bouquet mantel (Fig. 12).

Fig. 19
Master's Bedroom,
William Burrows House,
Charleston, South Carolina,
1772-1774; Photograph 1928
(Photo: Winterthur Archives).



Of course, to rush to the conclusion that the recurrence of this small amphora surrounded by the same sort of spirited and slender rococo carving implies the same author may be unwarranted until supported by documentary evidence. Such similarities in style present in paintings of unidentified authorship would no doubt justify a Berenson in attributing these related works to a hypothetical artist neatly labeled as the "Master of the Amphorae." Architecture, however, is a co-operative art in which more than one person is likely to participate in a creative manner and in which apprentices and assistants strive to imitate or surpass their masters. The most that we can conclude is that here we have many aspects of resemblance which point significantly to identical or related authorship.

The master's bedroom of the Burrows House was on the second floor facing south (Fig. 19). The carpentry here was simpler than in the drawing room across the hall and typical of other rooms in the house.¹²⁵ Though these two rooms differed in the amount of ornamentation, the same sense of proportion and scale was maintained in both.

To return to Kinsey Burden, we do not know how his suit against Muncreef was settled. It is important to note that the Master in Chancery was William Burrows and the causes of the plaintiff and of the defendant were known to him in every detail.¹²⁶ If we only knew how the case was decided, we would have more substantial grounds in deciding whether or not Burrows saw fit to employ Burden to build his own house.

That Burden's reputation in the community was good, that he prospered and rose in the strictly British hierarchy of social acceptance then prevailing in Charleston would seem to indicate that he was a man of talent, industry, integrity, and eventually of substance.¹²⁷ An interesting side light on the solid position he established for his descendants is found in the marriage of his grandson, Kinsey Burden III, to Mary Air, the great-granddaughter of William Burrows.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ For photographs of the stair hall on the first floor and the room on the first floor at the front of the house, see the Burrows House File, Winterthur Archives.

¹²⁶ *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779*, pp. 508-617.

¹²⁷ *Records of the Court of Chancery of South Carolina, 1671-1779*, pp. 508-617.

¹²⁸ "Historical Notes: Records of the Burden Family . . .," *SCHGM*, XXVI (1925), 173-176.



Fig. 20 Northwest View of William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774; Photograph 1928 (Photo: Winterthur Archives).

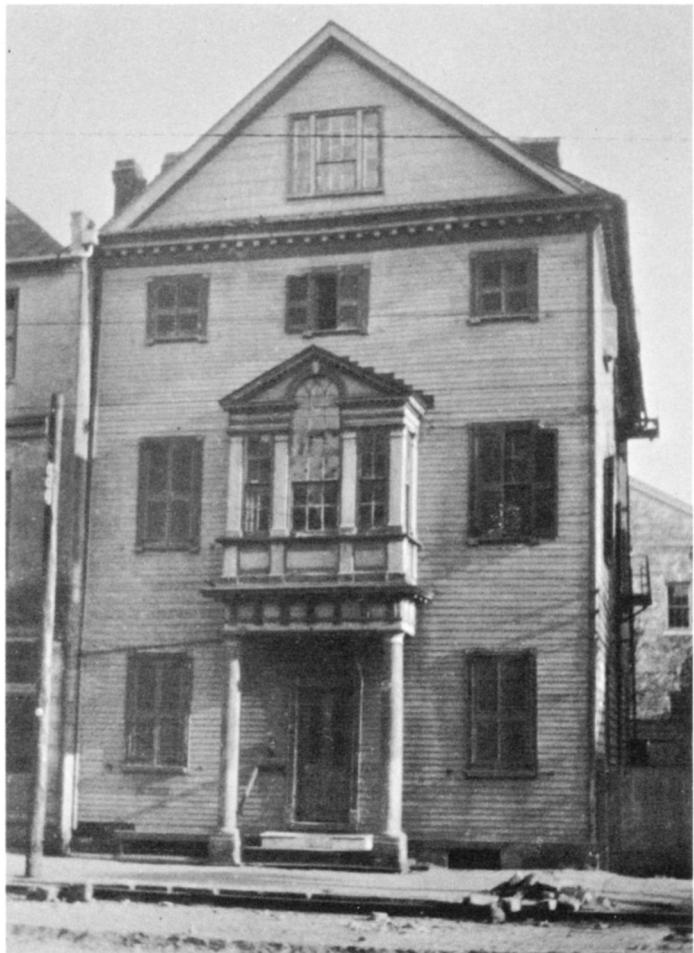
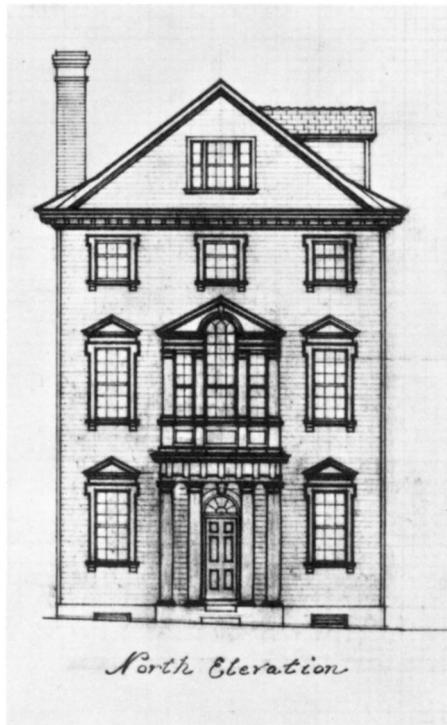


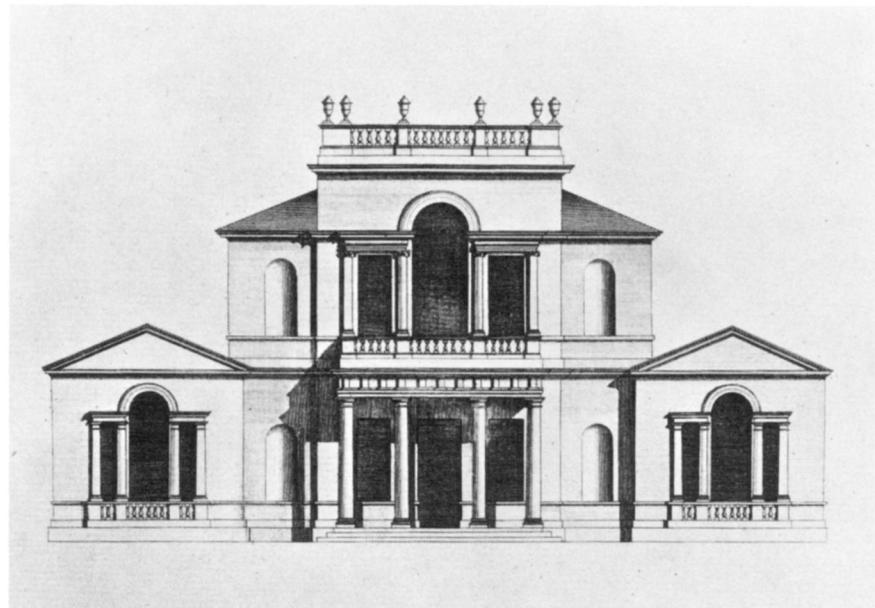
Fig. 21
North View of William Burrows House,
Charleston, South Carolina,
1772-1774; Photograph 1928
(Photo: Winterthur Archives).

Photographs of the exterior of the William Burrows House (Figs. 20, 21) and memories of it before its demolition provide evidence of changes in the structure from its erection to the last chapter in its history. In 1928 there were three different kinds of siding on the exterior. In the north gable end that faced Broad Street there were wide shiplap flush boards applied horizontally; on the street front below the cornice was extremely narrow weatherboarding; on the west wall facing St. Michael's graveyard was a wider type of weatherboarding of the sort found on most eighteenth-century frame buildings in the Charleston area. The trim around the windows on the street front of the Burrows House was of square blocks at the upper corners, a style common in the 1840's and later. The detail of the rather lonely columns and the entablature of the porch supporting the bay in the second floor drawing room was dry, starved, and quite different from that of the Palladian window above. Where the entablature returns to the wall of the house, the proprieties of Georgian architecture were ignored, and there were no responding pilasters stationed there to satisfy the eye that loads at these points had been supported adequately. The front door seemed tall and narrow and had a meagre trim identical to that at the windows. The triple window in the north gable end was glazed with small square panes of glass that would be expected in a house built before the Revolution, but the Palladian and the other windows were glazed with the larger panes in use early in the nineteenth century.



Drawn by D.M. Donahue, February 30, 1966

Fig. 23 Façade Elevation



Designed by Isaac Ware, Engraved by R. Benning.
Detail from Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London: J. Rivington et al., 1767), Plate 39 (Winterthur).

Figs. 23-26 Conjectural Restorations of Façade and Floor Plans (Broad Street Elevation), William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina, 1772-1774. Conjectural Restorations by Albert Simons, Drawings by Dennis M. Donahue, 1966
(Photo: Louis I. Schwartz).

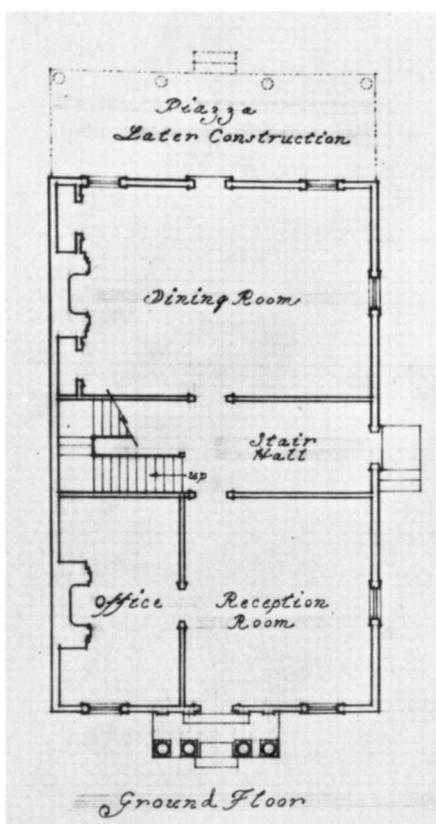


Fig. 24 Plan of Ground Floor

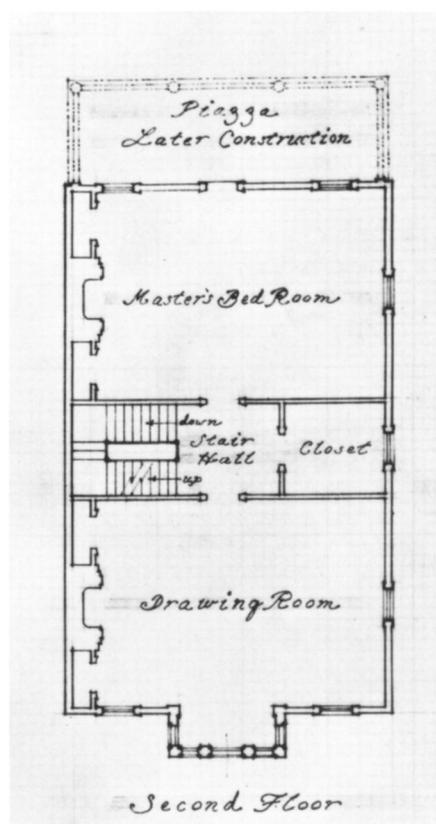


Fig. 25 Plan of Second Floor

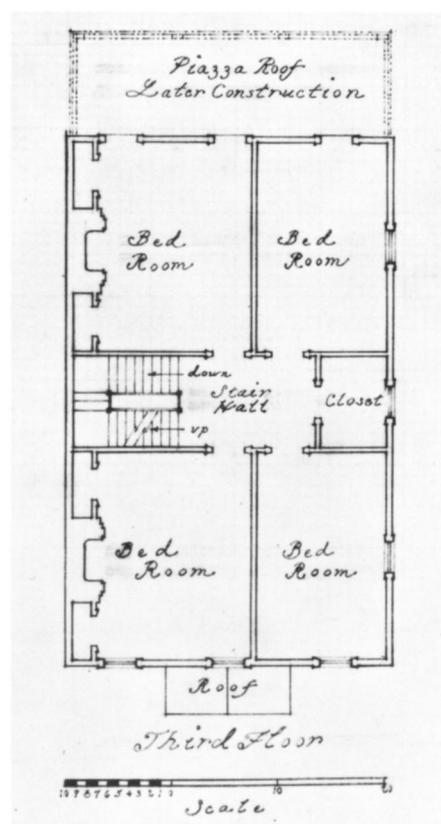


Fig. 26 Plan of Third Floor

How are these later and inharmonious changes from the high style of the eighteenth century to be explained? Again, there is limited documentary evidence.

Reviewing the occupancy of the Burrows House, one finds that only the first two owners, William Burrows and Thomas Hall,¹²⁹ occupied it as a private residence. In 1832 the English traveler Thomas Hamilton gave a highly favorable account of the hotel operated by Jehu Jones,¹³⁰ and it would be expected that Jones maintained his property as well as he served his guests. In 1838, after the death of Jones, Fanny Kemble stayed in the house and complained both of the furnishings and the service.¹³¹ It would appear that the standards established by Jones no longer obtained, and that the structure had begun to deteriorate. After this period the house was never again occupied by the owner, but was rented out with frequent changes in tenants.¹³² Rental property seldom is maintained as well as that lived in by the owner, and the presence of a brick building erected on the eastern property line, with no air space between, must have contributed to the decay of even a house so well built. Recurrent tropical storms must have taken their toll of the original elegance, and when repairs were carried out, no effort was made to restore what had been in place. Year by year the house lost its former distinction. It is ironical that while in this process of decline it acquired quite fortuitously the grandiose designation of the "Mansion House."¹³³

During its last years the house had been painted a depressing tan color with harshly contrasting brown trim, a utilitarian color scheme common in Charleston in Victorian times. Few of those passing the forlorn front on Broad Street dreamed that behind this unpromising façade there still existed the fine eighteenth-century drawing room now at Winterthur.

A restoration of the façade would include the continuation of the shiplap siding from the cornice down to the foundations, a treatment also occurring on the front of the John Stuart House. Windows would have molded architraves at the sides and head. Pediments would appear over the windows of the ground floor and on either side of the bay on the floor above; only architraves would occur on the third floor. Sash on the first and second floors would be glazed with nine panes instead of six, as may be seen in the ballroom at Hampton (Fig. 13). Undoubtedly there was a pair of columns at each side of the entrance which supported the bay, as appears in a similar composition from one of the popular architectural pattern books in the colonies, Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture*¹³⁴ (Fig. 22). In photographs of the house, the marble step at the front door is considerably wider than the door; this suggests that in place of the later skimpy trim the house originally had a more gracious entrance treatment. A façade different from its appearance in 1928 (Fig. 21) is the result of these assumptions (Figs. 23-26).

Colonel Alston Deas, who was stationed in Charleston at the time the

¹²⁹ See above, p. 185.

¹³⁰ See above, p. 187.

¹³¹ See above, p. 188.

¹³² See above, pp. 189-190.

¹³³ See above, pp. 189-190.

¹³⁴ HELEN PARK, "A List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XX (1961), 129, No. 84.



Fig. 27

Tile from the William Burrows House. England, probably Liverpool, *ca.* 1774. Earthenware with Transfer-printed Decoration; H. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " (The Charleston Museum).

house was taken down and observed the operation, recalls that in the dining room fireplace at the rear of the first floor there were transfer-printed ceramic tiles. One of these from the Burrows House survives in the collection of the Charleston Museum (Fig. 27). There is every reason to believe that by the 1770's tiles of this type were being imported to Charleston from Liverpool, where the process had been well-established since mid-century, and that those found in the Burrows House were coeval with the rest of the building.¹³⁵

In the process of installing the William Burrows Drawing Room at Winterthur, it was necessary to transpose the locations of the hall door on the south wall (Fig. 28) with a window on the west wall (Fig. 29). This did not disturb the original scale of other elements on these walls. The fireplace wall and the wall to the street with its unusual bay faithfully conform to their original appearance in the Burrows House. Although elements in the room appear to be symmetrically placed, the same slight variations from this ideal of the period that occurred in the construction of the house are faithfully preserved in the installation at Winterthur.

Charleston through the years had endured the sudden and dramatic disasters of fire, storm, wars, earthquakes, and the slow and disheartening attrition of more than half a century of economic depression. Much of its

¹³⁵ For the production of tiles in Liverpool during this period, see KNOWLES BONEY, *Liverpool Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century and Its Makers* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1957), pp. 81-112. An advertisement published in the *American General Gazette* (Charleston), Jun. 3-10, 1774, 7th p., states that Edward Fisher and Co. of Charleston have imported tiles with "pencilled work" from Liverpool. The word "pencilled" may not refer to the process of transfer-printing, but the advertisement does securely document the importation of various types of ceramics, including tiles, from Liverpool.

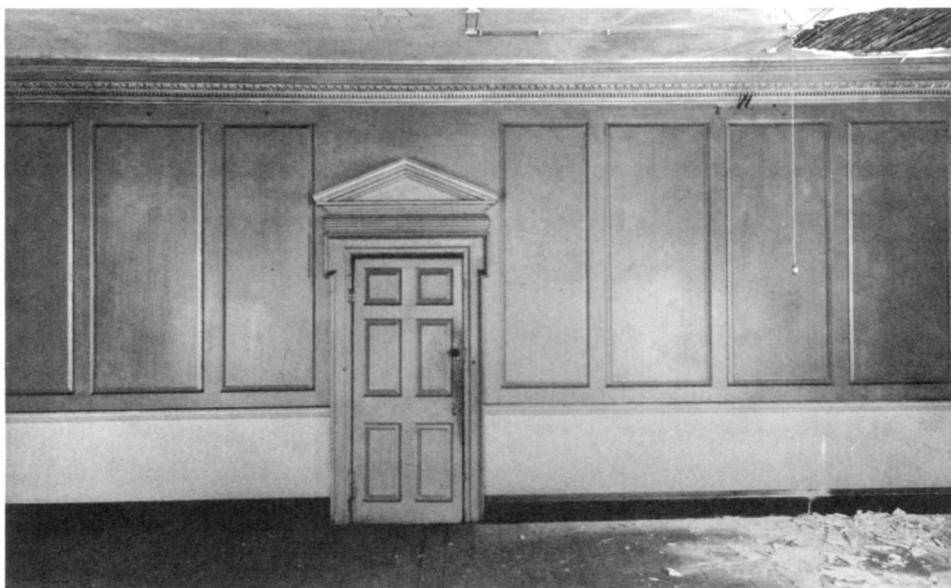


Fig. 28 Original Appearance of the South Wall,
Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina,
1772-1774; Photograph 1928 (Winterthur Archives).



Fig. 29 Original Appearance of the West Wall,
Drawing Room, William Burrows House, Charleston, South Carolina,
1772-1774; Photograph 1928 (Winterthur Archives).

architectural heritage has "gone with the wind," but much yet remains for a generation more conscious of the necessity of preserving its historic buildings and better equipped to do so. That the Burrows drawing room has at last come into the possession of those who respect and cherish it should be an incentive to Charlestonians to preserve what they still possess. To visitors to Winterthur it should be an incentive to go to Charleston and explore the city from whence it came.