1973

The Huguenots in South Carolina, 1680-1720

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THE HUGUENOTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

1680 - 1720

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

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by

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1973

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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Approved, August 1973

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Professor Richard Maxwell Brown, under whose guidance this investigation was conducted, for his patient guidance and criticism throughout the investigation. The author is also indebted to Professor R. Carlyle Beyer and Professor M. Boyd Coyner for their careful reading of the manuscript.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to investigate the first generation of Huguenot migration to the colony of South Carolina. Comment has often been made upon the extraordinary influence of the Huguenot group upon the life of the colony. Members of their group were to serve as leaders in almost every aspect of the colony's life. This study attempts to examine the facts of the Huguenots' background, migration, settlement, transition and assimilation into the life of this English province.

It is noted that the transition to life in South Carolina could not have been an easy one for the French Protestant immigrants. They had to adjust themselves to a new climate, a new language and culture, new laws, a new agriculture, and a frontier type existence.

The refugees came from almost every part of France, represented almost every social class and possessed a wide variety of means. They thus arrived in the colony with a vast range of experience which, when united by their great sense of community, could offer a great part of the explanation of their successful establishment. They were also aided by a favorable land policy, direct financial aid from the Crown, and the relative ease with which they were assimilated into the province. It is suggested that all of these factors plus the nature of the Huguenots themselves may account for their rapid establishment in South Carolina.

THE HUGUENOTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

1680 - 1720

INTRODUCTION

South Carolina, often styled the "Home of the Huguenots,"[1] witnessed, almost from its inception, an influx of French Protestant refugees, fleeing the persecution they had known in their mother country of France.[2] Their settlement in this province was to prove profitable both to them and to the colony. "As defenders of the frontier, as political leaders, as industrious builders of fortunes, as tillers of the soil, their influence on Carolina cannot be erased. Among their poor are found examples of the most heroic struggles against privation and poverty, among their wealthy, praiseworthy examples of benevolence. Their interests and affections, diverted from their native land by their exile and the attitude of the French government after their departure, were given over to the espousal of the claims of the country of their adoption."[3] Here, perhaps more than in any other American colony, the Huguenots succeeded in making a place for themselves. The character and the

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[1] G. Elmore Reaman, The Trail of the Huguenots (Baltimore, 1966), 112.

[2] Ibid., 111.

[3] Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of South Carolina (Durham, N. C., 1928), 264.

background of the Huguenots themselves, the colonial policies of the British government and of the eight Lords Proprietors who governed South Carolina, the attitudes of both the French and English colonists, all make up part of the story of the successful establishment of these refugees in the colony of South Carolina. Their own nature and background combined with the nature of the colony to which they came propelled them toward the outstanding role they were to play in the history of South Carolina.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF PERSECUTION

The Huguenots had long suffered persecution in their native country, France. The Reformation early had gained a strong foothold in the seaboard provinces of western France. About the year 1534 two ardent disciples of Calvin entered the province of Saintonge and began to preach the new doctrines. Their success was marked, particularly among the humbler classes of the population. When monks from the central part of France began to preach boldly against the abuses of Rome, they soon incurred the displeasure of the clergy and were forced to scatter, many fleeing to Saintonge and nearby provinces. Although persecution soon arrested their labors, it did not halt the spread of the new faith. By the middle of the sixteenth century a large part of the population of these seaboard provinces and of scattered areas throughout France had embraced the Protestant religion.[4]

As members of the Reformed Church and believing in the teachings of John Calvin, they were strongly opposed

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[4]Charles W. Baird, History of the Huguenot Emigration to America (New York, 1885), I, 81, 82.

by the Roman Catholics. In fact, they quite generally had the King, the Sorbonne,[5] the Parlement,[6] and the Jesuits against them.[7] Probably the most infamous event of the years of persecution was the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day on August 24, 1572, in which thousands were killed in Paris and many more in the provinces.[8] Then at last came a period of comparative religious freedom with the issuance by Henry IV of the Edict of Nantes on April 13, 1598, in which the Protestants of France were secured the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights.[9] But even the Edict of Nantes could not render them altogether free from abuses and restrictions. Cruelties continued in clear violation of its guarantee of religious freedom and equality in civil and political rights, but they were nothing as compared to what would take place with its revocation by Louis XIV in 1685. Catholic intolerance, private vengeance, and public and personal greed for the wealth of the Huguenots loosed

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[5]During the 15th, 16th and early 17th centuried, the Sorbonne occupied a position of almost legal standing and its professors were deferred to by the clergy of France, as well as the whole Roman Catholic world.

[6]The Parlement was a company of hereditary magistrates.

[7]Reaman, Trail of Huguenots, 35.

[8]Ibid., 52.

[9]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, I, 79.

a perfect storm of persecution.[10] Conversion was to be achieved at all costs. The Protestants were told that "si vous et les votres n'etes pas convertis avant tel jour, l'autorite du roi se chargera de vous convertir."[11] Conversion was often achieved as in Languedoc, with the help of armies of dragoons and missionaries.[12] Further pressures were put on those who attempted to hold on to their faith. They were free to pursue their commerce, but the liberal professions[13] were closed to them. They could not sell their property without the king's permission, nor could they marry Catholics. Business credits with other Protestants were forfeited if the latter converted.[14] Soldiers were stationed in their homes, children were torn from their parents at the age of five to be raised in Catholic households, hundreds were put to death. Since Protestantism no longer existed in law, all churches were demolished, all assemblies forbidden under penalty of death.

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[10] David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1951), 62.

[11] R. P. Duclos, Histoire du Protestantisme Francais au Canada et aux Etats-Unis (Lausanne), 25.

[12] Burdette C. Poland, French Protestantism and the French Revolution (Princeton, New Jersey, 1957), 23.

[13] Lawyers, doctors, surgeons, apothecaries, book dealers, or painters surveyors, or clerks to judges, lawyers, procurators, or notaries.

[14] Poland, French Protestantism, 22.

And yet, as if to pen up the victims, the Edict of Fontainebleau prohibited all former members of the reformed religion from leaving the country, and the seaports were guarded to prevent their escape. Nevertheless, a mass exodus occurred--mule trains crossing the Alpine passes, flotillas sailing down the rivers of Charents to be picked up by Dutch ships off the coast, and then the individual refugees, overcoming countless obstacles with the aid of organized escape chains. Out of a million Huguenots, perhaps 200,000 left: labourers, craftsmen, merchants, intellectuals, soldiers and sailors, though not many peasants.[15] Fleeing France, they sought the hospitality of fellow Protestants in Switzerland, in Germany, in Holland, and in England. Others went in large numbers to settle on the coast of America.[16] It was members of these latter groups who found their way to South Carolina.

Judith Giton, later wife of Gabriel Manigault, a prominent refugee to South Carolina, in a letter to her brother, gives a graphic account of the kind of hardships fleeing Huguenots had to endure.

> For eight months we had suffered from the contributions and the quartering of the soldiers, on account of religion, enduring many inconveniences. We therfore resolved

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[15]Pierre Goubert, Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen, trans. Anne Carter (New York, 1966), 160, 161.

[16]Duclos, Histoire du Protestantisme, 47.

on quitting France at night, leaving the soldiers in their beds, and abandoning the house with its furniture. We went to Romans, in Dauphine, and there contrived to hide ourselves for ten days, whilst a search was made for us, but our hostess, being faithful, did not betray us when questioned if she had seen us. Thence we passed on to Lyons, and thence to Dijon . . . . We went to Madame de Choiseule's, but accomplished nothing, for she was dead, and her son-in-law had the control of everything. Moreover, he gave us to understand that he perceived our intention to escape from France, and that if we asked any favors from him he would inform against us. We pursued our way towards Metz, in Lorraine, where we embarked on the river Moselle, in order to go to Treves. Thence we proceeded to Cochem and to Coblentz and thence to Cologne, where we left the Rhine and took wagons to Wesel. There we met with an host who spoke a little French, and who told us that you were only thirty leagues from Runeburg. We knew that you were there. . . . Our deceased mother and I entreated my eldest brother to consent that we should go that way . . . But he would not hear of it, having nothing in his mind but "Carolina," . . . After this we passed into Holland, in order to go to England. We were detained in London for three months, waiting for a vessel ready to sail

for Carolina.[17]

Willing to leave their homes and suffer such trials to maintain a faith which in France was being rapidly wiped out, the Huguenots were almost inevitably a hardy, courageous group ready to put forth great efforts to make themselves a new home.

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[17]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 112-114.

CHAPTER II

EARLY MIGRATIONS AND THE ATTRACTIONS OF CAROLINA

As early as 1562 Huguenots turned to South Carolina as a refuge from persecution. At that time a colony was set up under the leadership of Jean Ribaut and Rene de Laudonniere. Sent out by Coligny, they built at Port Royal a fort, called Charlesfort in honor of the King of France. When Ribaut left, the colony disintegrated. A second attempt was made in 1564, but it did not prosper either. When Ribaut returned in 1565, he and all of the inhabitants were killed by a Spanish command under Pedro Menendez de Avila.[18]

With the failure of this colony it was over a hundred years before a permanent one was to be formed under the auspices of the eight Lords Proprietors of England. The first permanent colony in South Carolina was established at Port Royal in 1670 with William Sayle as governor.[19] The time of the arrival of the first Huguenots in this settlement

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[18]Gilbert Chinard, Les Refugies Huguenots en Amerique (Paris, 1925), 8.

[19]E. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1966), 16.

which had soon been transferred northward to Albemarle Point on the west bank of the Ashley River, [20] seems to be a point of controversy. In the redistribution of lots in Old Charlestown, July 22, 1672, Richard Batin, Jacques Jours and Richard Deyos received town lots with other freeholders. In 1677 grants were made to Jean Batton and in 1678 to Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard.[21] The controversy arises over whether these people with what seem to be French names were actually Huguenots. Widely accepted tradition has held that they were Huguenots who probably came out as individual adventurers.[22] Henry A. M. Smith, in contrast, holds that there is nothing to indicate the presence of Huguenots in the colony prior to 1680, except for the possibility of Richard Gaillard representing the group. He argues that with the exception of the latter, all these were English or Irish emigrants.[23] Mr. Smith seems, however, to overlook the possibility that these settlers may have come first to England or Ireland and

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[20] Ibid., 19.

[21] "The First Huguenot Immigrants, 1670 to 1680," Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, No. 5 (1897), 8.

[22] Year Book, City of Charleston, 1883 (Charleston, S. C., 1884), 381.

[23] Henry A. M. Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, XVIII (1917), 102-104.

thence come to the New World, and may be nonetheless Huguenots or of Huguenot descent. It would thus seem that despite Mr. Smith's objections some of the first arrivals to the colony could quite easily have been Huguenots.

Regardless of whether or not any of these early settlers were Huguenots the first definite French immigration came in 1680 and French refugees continued coming at different times throughout the next century. The petition proposing the settling of this first group of French Protestants in South Carolina was made in March 1679 by Rene Petit and Jacob Guerard, Gentlemen of Normandy. In it they requested that his Majesty lend two small ships to carry about eighty foreign Protestant families skilled in the manufacture of silks, oils, and wines to Carolina and to advance two thousand pounds toward the expenses of the undertaking.[24] The petition was well aimed to gain the interest and support of both the King and the Proprietors. Out of purely mercenary motives they would have been delighted to see the development of silk, wine, and olive oil in Carolina, for all of which England was dependent upon

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[24]Rene Petit and Jacob Guerard to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, Mar. 1679, A. S. Salley, indexer, Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1663-1684, I (Atlanta, 1928), 62-68. Hereafter cited as British P.R.O., 1663-1684, I.

France.[25] Consequently, in October 1679, Rene Petit and Jacob Guerard received permission from the Crown of England for several foreign Protestant families to proceed to South Carolina on two of his Majesty's ships and for the advancing by several "adventurers" of the two thousand pounds to the two petitioners, the money to be repaid by the Commissioners of Customs from duties collected in England on imports from southern Carolina after the settlement of the foreign Protestants.[26] Thus, this first group of French settlers in South Carolina, numbering about forty-five, had their passage and expenses taken care of, an auspicious beginning. And the only other large group of French immigrants to come to the colony prior to the arrival of the Purrysburg settlers in 1732 were aided even more.[27] In 1687 the Lords Commissioners of James II sent six hundred Huguenots to America, chiefly to Carolina, after having largely provided for their wants, even to the point of supplying them with tools.[28] Thus, the two major groups of French settlers arriving during

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[25]Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 62.

[26]Privy Council Act, Oct. 17, 1679, British P.R.O., 1663-1684, I, 93, 94.

[27]Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 62.

[28]M. Charles Weiss, History of the French Protestant Refugees, trans. Henry W. Herbert (New York, 1854), I, 340.

the period between 1680 and 1720 were given a direct financial boost toward making their colonization a success.

The fact was that the Proprietors were eager to have Huguenots settle in their colony. As has already been mentioned, the prospect of financial profit from the cultivation of vines and the production of olive oil and silk was particularly attractive, especially in view of the lack of profit heretofore shown by the colony. Their desire was heightened by the fact that the colony had also been frequently disobedient to their wishes. To remedy the situation, the Proprietors undertook a promotional campaign to recruit new settlers in the hope that they would stimulate the economy and also prove more amenable to their direction. Between 1682 and 1685, the Proprietors commissioned ten promotional pamphlets, two of which were directed at the French Protestants in Holland whence many had fled from persecution in France.[29]

In appeal to the French Protestants and other dissenting groups, South Carolina had one characteristic which was probably the biggest drawing card of all; this was the liberty of conscience guaranteed in its charter. The civil government of this new colony laid only three conditions with

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[29]Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina, 36.

respect to religion:

1. to believe that there is a God;

2. that he is to be worshipped; and

3. that it is lawful and the duty of every man when called upon by those in authority to bear witness to the truth.[30] Every political office was open to members of any religion; births, marriages, and deaths were registered by government and not church agencies. The only clause of the Fundamental Constitutions restricting religious freedom proclaimed the Church of England to be the "National Religion" of Carolina and empowered by the Carolina parliament to levy taxes for its support. Even so, Carolina offered a greater degree of religious freedom than England or any other American colony, except Rhode Island.[31] Compared to the bigoted tyranny under which they had lived in France, Carolina must have seemed a true haven for the persecuted Huguenots. Without having to worry about restrictions because of religion, the Huguenots were inevitably freer to concentrate more fully on making a life for themselves.

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[30]Lucian J. Fosdick, The French Blood in America (New York, 1906), 322, 323.

[31]Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina, 14, 15.

CHAPTER III

HUGUENOT SETTLEMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

South Carolina became a haven for many fleeing the religious intolerance in France. Although the total Huguenot migration to South Carolina was not extremely large, the population there continued to grow and, for the most part, prospered. But the early years of settlement were often hard; and it is to Judith Giton that we can again turn for a vivid description of the kind of trials suffered by many who formed these settlements.

> After our arrival in Carolina, we suffered all sorts of evils. Our eldest brother died of a fever, eighteen months after coming here, being unaccustomed to the hard work we were subjected to. We ourselves have been exposed, since leaving France, to all kinds of afflictions, in the forms of sickness, pestilence, famine, poverty and the roughest labor. I have been for six months at a time in this country without tasting bread, laboring meanwhile like a slave in tilling the ground. Indeed, I have spent three or four years without knowing what it is to eat bread whenever I wanted it. God has been very good to us in enabling us to bear up under the trials of every kind. I believe that if I should undertake to

> give you the particulars of all our adventures, I should never get through. Suffice it to say that God has had pity on me, and has changed my lot to a happier one, glory be to his name.[32]

For others, however, the problems and difficulties of establishing themselves in the colony did not seem too great. For instance, Louis Thibou in a letter to friends in France could find little in the colony to criticize. "I admit that a man who starts with nothing has a little difficulty for the first two or three years, but a man who has something to back him and can afford a couple of farm-hands, a maid-servant and some cattle can establish himself very well right away and live very happily in this country. Carolina is a good country for anyone who is not lazy; however poor he may be, he can live well provided he is willing to take a little trouble."[33]

Whether their establishment was easy or difficult permanent settlements were formed. Some of the Huguenots remained in Charles Town, perhaps realizing that a planter's life was not for them. Others obtained lands in the already settled parts of the province. Grants to Huguenots on Goose Creek, one of the choice sections, came early. Others

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[32]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 183.

[33]Louis Thibou to friends in France, Carolina, Sept. 20, 1683, Louis Thibou Letter, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S. C.

settled the almost uninhabited region between the Cooper and the Wando, part of which long retained the name of the French Quarter, or Orange Quarter. The settlement along the southern branch of the Santee contained the largest number of French outside Charles Town.[34] By the end of the seventeenth century, it extended from Wambaw Creek to Lenud Ferry, and to the south it reached the sources of the eastern branch of the Cooper, where it connected with the French population of the Orange Quarter. It was known as French Santee.[35] By 1699 Peter Girard could make the following report on the number and location of Huguenots in South Carolina: French Church at Charles Town, 195 members; French Church at Goose Creek, 31 members; French Church on the eastern branch of the Cooper River, 101 members; French Church on the Santee River, 111 members; total, 438.[36] In that same year Edward Randolph sent a flattering report of the Huguenots back to England. "I find them very industrious and good husbands . . . . If this place were duly encouraged it would be the most useful to the Crown of all the plantations upon the Continent of

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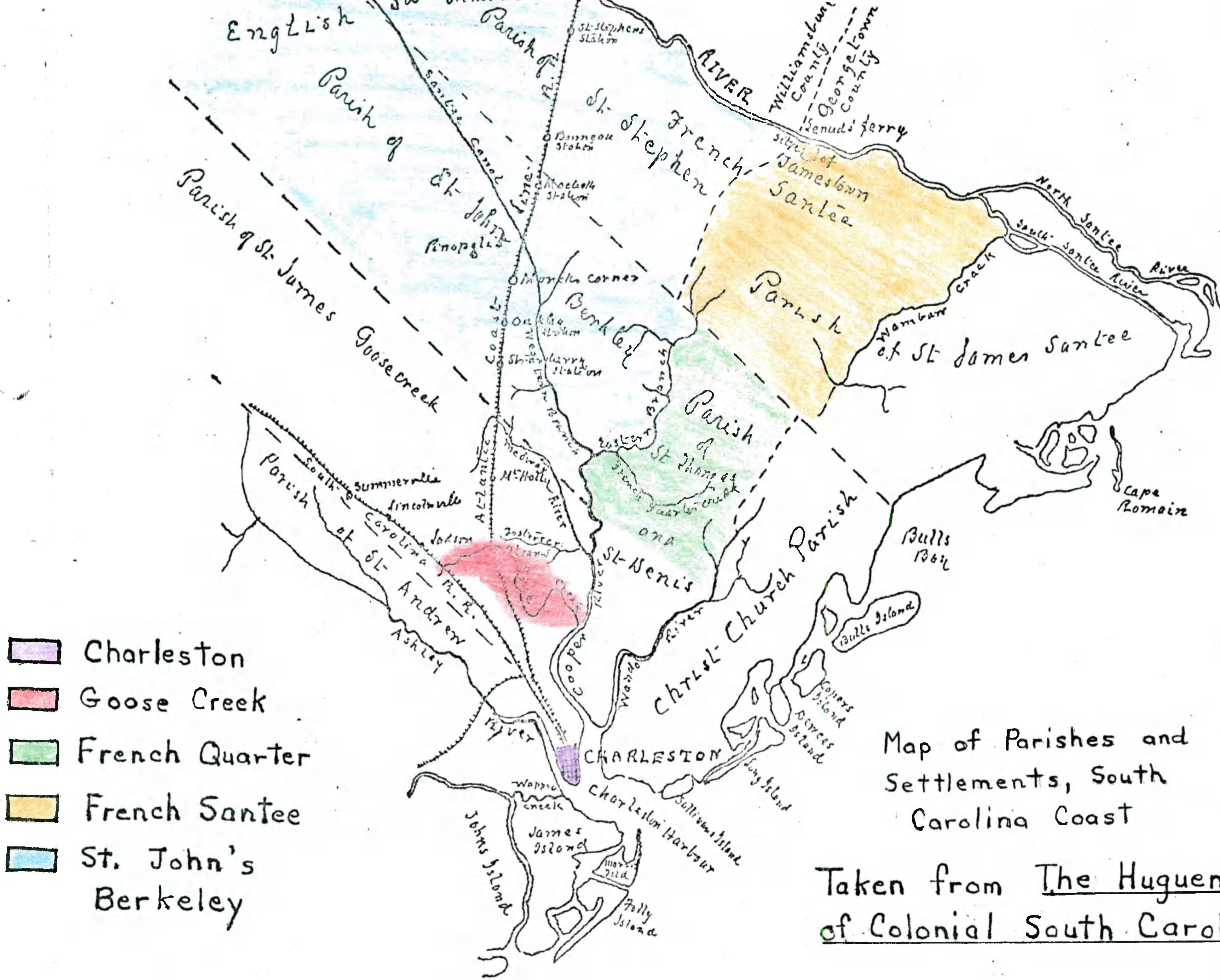
[34]Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 63.

[35]Weiss, French Protestant Refugees, trans. Herbert, I, 341.

[36]Peter Girard to the Lords of Trade, Mar. 14, 1699, A. S. Salley, Jr., indexer, Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1698-1700, IV (Columbia, S. C., 1946), 75. Hereafter cited as British P.R.O., 1698-1700, IV.



Map of Parishes and Settlements, South Carolina Coast

Taken from <u>The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina</u>

America."[37] They were evidently prospering.

Of the French who settled in Charles Town itself John Lawson, Deputy Surveyor General for the British Government, wrote in 1700: "Since the first Planters abundance of French and others have gone over, and raised themselves to considerable Fortunes . . . . Their cohabiting in a Town has drawn to them ingenious People of most Sciences, whereby they have Tutors amongst them that educate their Youth a-la-mode." He observes also that there is "likewise a French Church in Town of the Reform'd Religion."[38]

The French settlers at Goose Creek seem to have comprised a small but prominent group among their fellow English settlers. Hirsch lists among the prominent families of the region those of Antoine Prudhomme, John Boisseau, Abraham Fleury, Sieur de La Pleine, Peter Bacot, Henry Brunneau, Abraham Du Pont, Pierre Dasseau, Isaac Fleury, Gideon Faucheraud, Elias Prioleau, Anthony Bonneau, Charles Franchomme, Benjamin Godin, Francis Guerin, Benjamin Marion, John Postell, Dr. Isaac Porcher, J. Du Gue, Philip Trouillart, Paul Mazyck, Isaac Perroneaux, Ann Le Brasseur, Elie Horry, and Zachariah

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[37] Edward Randolph to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, June 28, 1699, British P.R.O., 1698-1700, IV, 93.

[38] John Lawson, Lawson's History of North Carolina, ed. Frances Latham Harris (Richmond, Va., 1937), 8.

Villeponteux.[39] Several of these, however, appear as residents of Santee on the Ravenel list of French and Swiss settlers who desired naturalization, dated approzimately 1696. Those so listed were John Postell,[40] Henry Brunneau,[41] Isaac Fleury,[42] John Boisseau, Elie Horry, Isaac Porcher,[43] and Benjamin Marion.[44] This does not necessarily mean that they were not at some date residents of Goose Creek but does point out the fact that they were probably not residents there prior to 1696 or that if they had settled there at any early date, they either moved prior to 1696 or had residences in both places.

Little seems to be known about the settlement at the French or Orange Quarter. The Indians called the creek "Wisboo" or "Wisboo-e" or "Wishboo." Afterwards it was called Lynch's Creek. Finally, French Quarter Creek.[45] It is the district in which, according to tradition, the passengers

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[39]Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 22.

[40]Daniel Ravenel, comp., Liste Des Francois et Suisses, 3d ed. (Baltimore, 1968), 54.

[41]Ibid., 57.

[42]Ibid., 59.

[43]Ibid., 60.

[44]Ibid., 61.

[45]Alfred Huger, "A Triumph of Spirit," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 27 (1922), 42.

on the Richmond, which brought out the Petit-Guerard colonists, were colonized, and it is certain that the Guerards did acquire land there.[46] However, there seems little other evidence to actually prove that the tradition was correct.[47] Henry A. M. Smith has compiled the following list of French settlers in the area in order of date of grant. It seems accurate.

Names	Acres	Date of Grant
Nicholas de Longuemare	100	17 March 1688/9
Peter du Tartre	---	28 Oct. 1696
Louis Juin	200	12 Dec. 1696
Abel Bochet	130	1 Sept. 1697
James de Bordeaux	400	1 Sept. 1697
Nicholas Bochet	100	1 Sept. 1697
George Juin	100	17 Aug. 1700
Peter Videau	250	11 Jany. 1700
Humphrey Torquet	320	11 Jany. 1700
John Aunant	300	12 May 1703
Josias du Pre	730	18 Sept. 1703
Daniel Trezevant	330	18 July 1703
Paul Torquet	450	6 May 1704
Peter Poitevin	400	5 May 1704

[46] St. Julien R. Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII(1942), 8.

[47] Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XVIII (1917), 113.

Benjamin Simons	350	5 May 1704
Alexander de la Motte	800	5 May 1704
John Carteau	200	5 May 1704
John Petineau	100	6 July 1704
Philip Normand	150	5 May 1704
James Belin	210	5 May 1704
Matthew Tullada (French ?)	300	15 Sept. 1705
Solomon Bremar	365	15 Sept. 1705
Daniel Gobel (French ?)	260	14 May 1707
Louis Mouzon	500	undated
Louis du Tarque	600	3 March 1708/9
Joseph Marboeuf	490	19 May 1709
Anthony Bonneau	500	1 June 1709
Jacob Laportre	1000	1 June 1709
Daniel Brabant	500	24 Nov. 1709
Peter Caretonau	500	14 April 1710
Jeremiah Varine	360	27 June 1711[48]

As has been mentioned, the largest settlement of Huguenots in the province outside Charles Town was that at French Santee. It is said that about 1690 and a short time subsequently, about seventy and eighty French families settled on the banks of the Santee. However, the fact that early in

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[48]Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XVIII (1917), 114.

that year power of attorney was given by Peter de St. Julien de Malacare to his son, John, and witnessed by Henry le Noble, Rene Ravenel, Peter Girard and Peter de la Salle, residents on the river, would indicate that the settlement was begun at a earlier period.[49] Tradition informs us that men and their wives worked together in felling trees, building houses, making fences, and grubbing up their grounds until their settlements were formed, and afterwards continued their labors at the whip-saw.[50] John Lawson passed through this settlement in his tour of South Carolina in January of 1700 and was much impressed with the clean, decent apparel of the Huguenots and their highly suitable and neat houses and plantations.[51] The first record of a town in the area is in a grant of land dated September 15, 1705, in which 370 acres of land were allotted to "Rene Ravenel Bartholomew Gaillard and Henry Brunneau and and the rest of the inhabitants settled on Santee River from the plantation of Mr. Philip Gendron inclusive to the plantation of Mr. Alexander Chastaigner inclusive . . . to dispose by the said inhabitants as they shall think fit for a town by the name of James Town on Santee River and for a common field

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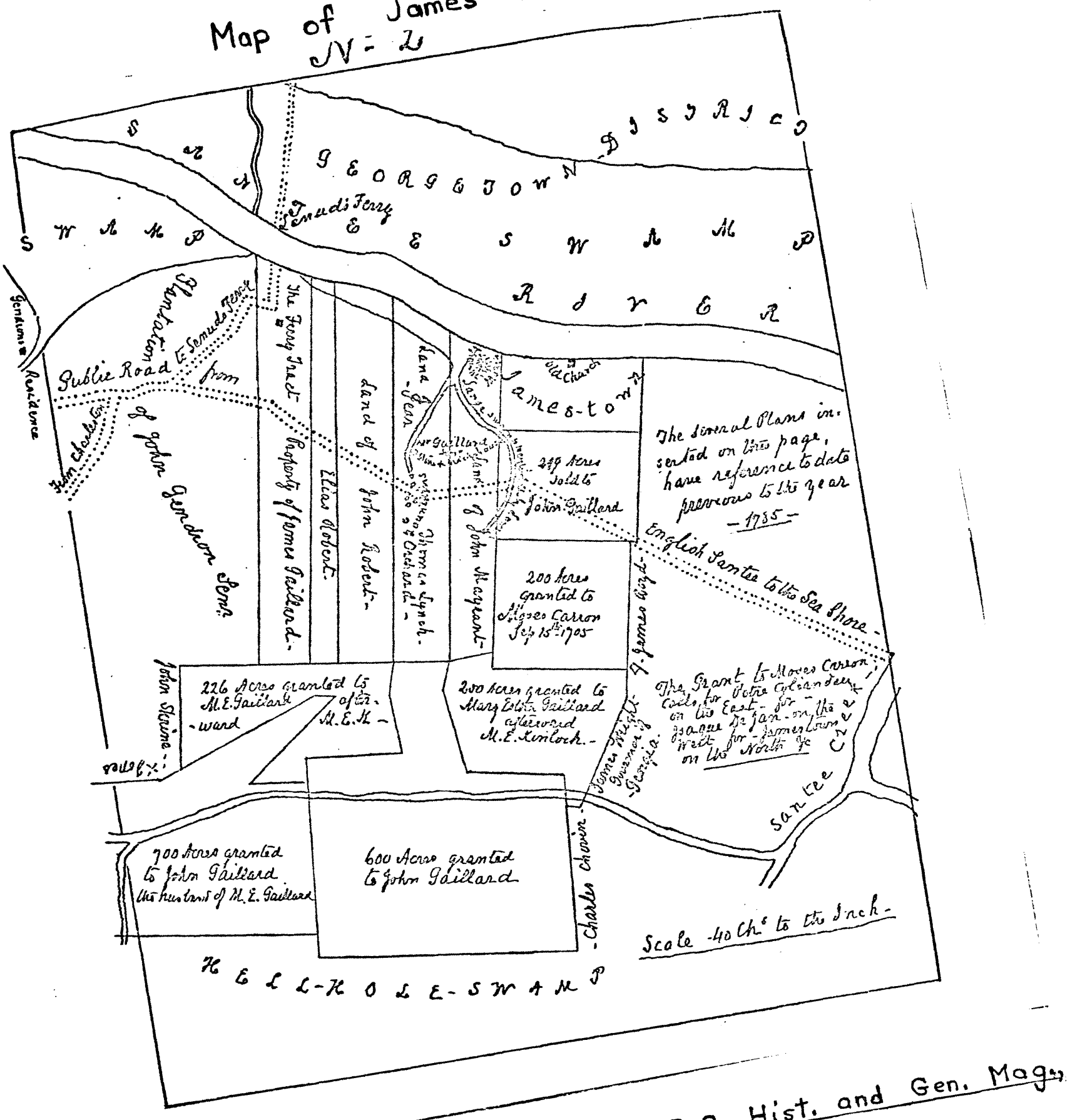
[49]"Immigrants from 1690 to 1700," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 5 (1897), 15, 16.

[50]"Details Pertaining to the Santee Settlement," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 5 (1897), 71.

[51]Lawson, History of North Carolina, ed. Harris, 8.

Map of James Town



Taken from "French James Town," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., IX (1908).

or plantation."[52] In January following a town was laid out with streets intersecting at right angles, in the middle of which, a lot was appropriated for a church and cemetery. This town was settled and inhabited for a term of years, of what duration we are not certain.[53] Apparently the town never prospered. The river had proved to be given to freshets, and the climate was not healthful. Accordingly, in November 1708, Rene Ravenel, a vestryman, relinquished the money belonging to the church in James Town and prepared to leave. In the following years until 1720, he was followed into the more northerly regions of the province by numerous families. It was in this way that the parishes of St. Stephen's and St. John's were replenished with population.[54]

St. John's Berkeley is important as the fifth major area of Huguenot settlement during the period prior to 1720.[55] Hirsch describes this settlement as "the child of the Orange Quarter and the Santee sections."[56] Dr. Anthony Cordes, who

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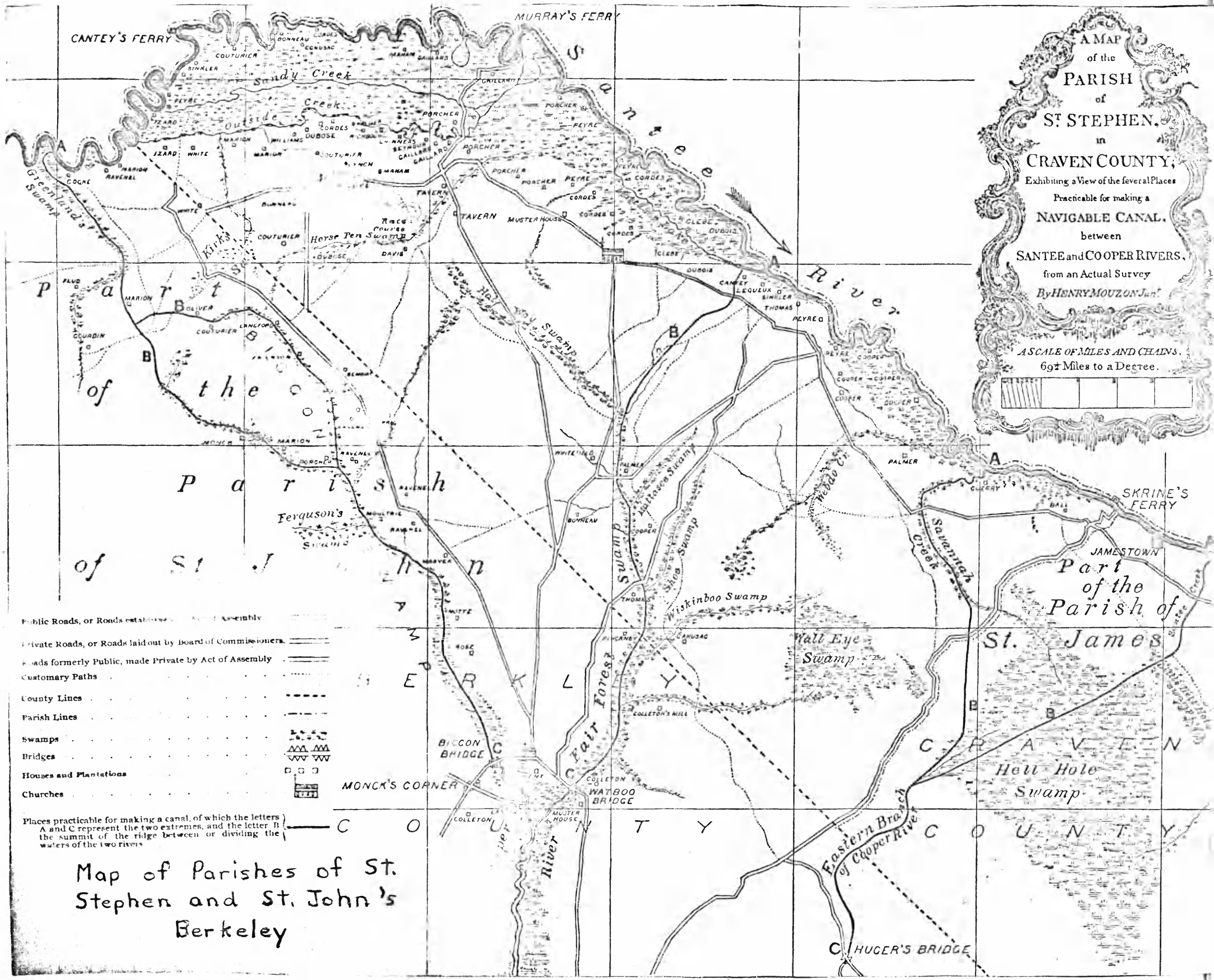
[52]Henry A. M. Smith, "French James Town," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., IX (1908), 221, 222.

[53]St. J. Alison Lawton, "Address for the Occasion of the Unveiling of the Granite Cross Marking the Site of the Old Huguenot Church of French Santee," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 36, (1931), 22.

[54]Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 18.

[55]Chinard, Les Refugies Huguenots, 208.

[56]Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 23.



Map of Parishes of St. Stephen and St. John's Berkeley

ken from Liste Des Francois et Suisses, Daniel Ravenel,

came to the province about 1685, seems to have been one of the first French settlers in the area. In the next hundred years, his descendants spread out along the Cooper River into St. Stephen's Parish and over into St. James Santee.[57] The names of families like the St. Juliens, Ravenels, Le Bosses, Marions, Guerards, Bonneaus, Trouillarts, LaSalles and Derousseries also appear on records of this area.[58] It apparently proved a more favorable district in which to live than that on the Santee.[59]

As has been shown, the Huguenots, in general, settled in four major areas of the province outside of their richest and most populous center in Charles Town: St. James or French Santee; French or Orange Quarter which was part of the Parish of St. Thomas until incorporated in 1706 under

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[57] Emma B. Richardson, comp., "Dr. Anthony Cordes and Some of His Descendants, S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIV (1942), 133.

[58] "The Huguenot Churches in South Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 5 (1897), 63.

[59] This section of St. John's Berkeley was flooded in 1924 due to the building of a hydroelectric plant impounding the waters of the Santee and Cooper Rivers. Many of the fine old plantation homes were consequently destroyed. Paul de St. Julien's home, Hanover, completed in 1716, was taken apart and reconstructed at Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina.

the name of Parish of St. Denis;[60] St. John's Berkeley; and Goose Creek. Only a few individuals went elsewhere in the other parishes. The other low country parishes covering the great bulk of the low country were almost exclusively English with also the larger portion of St. James Santee, St. John's Berkeley and St. Thomas being English.[61]

In establishing their settlements the Huguenots obtained land in three ways:

1. by outright gift from the Proprietors or their agents in South Carolina for contributing some particular service to the Proprietors;

2. by purchase; and

3. by the headright system of meriting grants for bringing colonists, either slaves, white servants or free persons to settle on the land.[62]

In the first class Rene Petit and Jacob Guerard were probably the first Huguenots to be so presented with tracts of land. For their services in organizing the first group of Huguenot emigrants to South Carolina, the Proprietors

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[60]Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XVIII (1917), 121.

[61]Ibid., 123.

[62]Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 171.

ordered that they both be given "a Mannour of 4000 Akers."[63] There is, however, no record of Petit ever claiming his grant.[64] Francis De Rousserie, also a member of this colony,[65] was granted eight hundred acres in 1683 for his industry in the "propagation of wine and other usefull things."[66] Grants of three thousand acres were similarly made to a M. Charasse,[67] to Arnold Brunneau and to Jean Lewis de Genillat.[68]

Many Huguenots naturally obtained land in the second manner, sometimes, as in the years 1685, 1686, and 1687, even purchasing it directly from the Proprietors themselves. To name only a few, in 1685 sales were made to James Du Gue for five hundred acres; to Isaac Le Jay and Madeline Fleury, alias Le Jay, his wife, for five hundred acres; to Charles Franchomme and Mary Baulier, alias Franchomme, for five hundred acres; to Isaac Fleury for three hundred and fifty

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[63]Lords Proprietors to the Governor and Councell of Ashley River, Dec. 17, 1679, British P.R.O., 1663-1684, I, 96.

[64]Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 92.

[65]Ibid., 7.

[66]Lords Proprietors to Governor and Councell of Ashley River, Mar. 29, 1683, British P.R.O., 1663-1684, I, 238.

[67]Lords Proprietors to Governor, Government and Deputys of S. C., Oct. 25, 1684, British P.R.O., 1663-1684, I, 312.

[68]Lords Proprietors to Governor and Government of S. C., July 14, 1687, A. S. Salley, indexer, Records in the British Public Record Office Relating to South Carolina, 1685-1690, II (Atlanta, 1929), 209.

acres;[69] to James Le Bas for three thousand acres;[70] and to Arnold Bonneau for three thousand acres.[71]

By far the largest number of Huguenots in South Carolina received land from the Proprietors under the headright system. Both the proprietors and the royal government were anxious to encourage compact settlements of relatively small land holdings to enhance the defense of the colony and to encourage trade. It became a standing policy to discourage the holding of more land than could readily be cultivated. Hence, lands were granted according to the grantee's ability to cultivate. And because of this policy, the headright was the most important basis for proprietary and royal grants.[72] To persons who were willing to pay the regulation one penny per acre rent annually and transport servants, slaves or other persons to the province the land was granted without purchase money.[73] For instance, Louis Thibou was issued a warrant for the survey of two hundred and ten acres for arriving with two servants in

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[69]Collections of the South Carolina Historical Society (Charleston, S. C., 1857), I, 114.

[70]Ibid., 115.

[71]Ibid., 116.

[72]Robert K. Ackerman, "Colonial Land Policies and the Slave Problem," Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association (1965), 28.

[73]Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 173, 174.

April 1680.[74] Abraham Fleury de la Plaine in the same month was allotted three hundred and fifty acres for arriving with four servants.[75] Though not the cheapest way in the long run, this method provided an excellent way of securing land for French refugees who might otherwise have been unable to afford it. What money they did have could be used instead to buy needed supplies or slaves or to hire servants. The three avenues available for securing land opened the way for refugees of all types to early set themselves up as planters.

Once land was obtained, it naturally was necessary to set about cultivating it. By 1695 South Carolina had found a profitable staple in rice. The introduction of this commodity as the staple crop not only resulted in a new prosperity for the colony but also greatly increased the importation of Negro slaves.[76] In Lawson's journal there is no mention of any slaves yet owned in the Santee settlement, but by 1708, when the move higher up the river was commencing, the Santee colonists are known to have had slaves. The numbers were probably small at first, for the early conditions surrounding the Huguenots were not favorable to large purchases, but later, when they were established in St. John's and St. Stephen's

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[74] A. S. Salley, ed., Warrants for Land in South Carolina, 1672-1711 (Columbia, S. C., 1910-1915), II, 138.

[75] Ibid., 107.

[76] Ackerman, "Colonial Land Policies and the Slave Problem," Proc. of the S. C. Hist. Ass. (1965), 29.

Parishes, as planters of rice and indigo, the labor of the fields was done almost entirely by African slaves.[77]

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[77]"The Ravenel Family in France and in America," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 6 (1899), 44.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH HUGUENOT CHURCHES AND MINISTERS

Arriving in South Carolina as they did, as refugees for the sake of religion, the French Huguenots naturally did not take long in starting churches wherever they settled. Laurent Philippe Trouillard, a Huguenot minister whose father was a professor of theology and minister of the French Protestant Church in Canterbury, arrived in Charles Town as early as 1686.[78] He was joined there in 1687 by Elias Prioleau, the pastor of the church at Pons, who, upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, left France with a considerable number of his congregation and came to Carolina.[79] He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli who was chosen Doge of Venice in 1618.[80] Reverend Prioleau and Reverend Trouillard are generally regarded as the founders of the church in Charles Town and were apparently its first ministers.[81] They both served the church until 1699 when

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[78]Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina (Boston, Mass., 1955), 92.

[79]Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 1670-1719 (New York, 1897), 336.

[80]Fosdick, French Blood in America, 324.

[81]McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 336.

Prioleau died[82] and Trouillard left to serve another church.[83] From 1700 to 1719 when he returned to England, Paul L'Escot was pastor of the church.[84] From 1712 to 1713, he was assisted by John de la Pierre[85] and in 1712 by James Boisseau.[86] Claude Philippe de Richebourg also seems to have been associated with the church from 1717 until 1719.[87] It is not known exactly when the church itself was erected in Charles Town. One source has placed it as early as 1681,[88] a seemingly impossible date as the lot on which it stands was not obtained until 1687 when it was sold to James Nicholls "for the use of the commonalty of the French Church in Charleston."[89] Coinciding as it did with what is the traditional date of the founding of the church by Prioleau and Trouillard, it would seem that the building was probably erected sometime after 1687.

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[82] Weis, Colonial Clergy, 88.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 82.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid., 73.

[87] Ibid., 75.

[88] Year Book, City of Charleston, 1885 (Charleston, S. C., 1886), 303.

[89] Henry A. M. Smith, "The Town of Dorchester in South Carolina: A Sketch of Its History," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., VI (1905), 67.

There were also churches, of course, in the other areas of Huguenot settlement. One Cezar Moze, a French refugee, by his will, dated June 20, 1687, bequeathed thirty-seven livres to assist in building a French Protestant church or "temple" in the neighborhood of his plantation on the eastern branch of the Cooper River. It is most probable that, with the aid of this bequest, a building (said to have been of wood and small) was constructed as a church not long after the probate of the will and presumably upon the acre Site lying on the north-easterly side of the French Quarter Creek.[90] Elias Prioleau seems to have ministered to the congregation at the Orange Quarter during his years at the church in Charles Town.[91] Laurent Trouillard seems also to have ministered to this church from 1700 to 1712 while he was actually pastor at St. John's Parish.[92] John de la Pierre, a French Huguenot ordained by the Bishop of London, was the Orange Quarter's first actual pastor.[93] He served there from 1711

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[90]T. W. Bacot, "Abstract of the Title of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina to the Site of the Old Huguenot Church and Churchyard of Orange Quarter (St. Denis)," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 27 (1922), 27.

[91]McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 336.

[92]Weis, Colonial Clergy, 92.

[93]Francis Le Jau, The Carolina Chronicle of Dr. Francis Le Jau, ed. Frank J. Klingberg (University of California Publications in History, LIII (Berkeley, 1956)), 85. Hereafter cited as Carolina Chronicle.

to 1728 and was the same minister who was associated with Paul L'Escot in Charles Town.[94] He seems to have spent much of his time there in poverty, as his church did not offer him much financial support.[95]

Pierre Robert was the first pastor of the Huguenot church at French Santee. He came to Santee in 1686 from Bale, Switzerland, and served the church there until 1710. It is said that he was the first person in the settlement who owned a horse, which was imported for his special use, to enable him to attend religious services often at remote distances from his house.[96] He was succeeded by the distinguished Claude Philippe de Richebourg. Richebourg had originally migrated to Virginia, but in 1712 he joined the South Carolina colony on the Santee. He served the church there until 1719 when he died.[97] In between the periods of service of these two fine men, James Gignillat served the church at St. James Parish.[98] Unfortunately, his moral character seems to have been of a much lower nature than

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[94]Weis, Colonial Clergy, 82.

[95]Le Jau, Carolina Chronicle, 97.

[96]Lawton, "Address for Occasion of Unveiling of Cross Marking the Site of the Huguenot Church of French Santee," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 36 (1931), 23.

[97]Weis, Colonial Clergy, 75.

[98]Ibid.,78.

that of his colleagues. Around 1711 he married Mary Postell Boisseau, the wealthy widow of John Boisseau.[99] Dr. Francis Le Jau described his subsequent conduct. "She came to me and complained that he despised her, and denys her necessary ffood and Cloathing . . . he forsook his French Parish . . . and now he has forced the poor old Woman out of doors, and makes a meer jest of his Promises to live better with her . . . it is visible he has her Estate, and flounces abt., while she in a poor mans house where she is sheltered wants many things for ought I know."[100] The Huguenots were obviously lucky that Mr. Gignillat proved the exception rather than the rule.

A fourth Huguenot Church was located at Goose Creek. The congregation there had a small meeting house situated on a tract of land belonging to Abraham Fleury de la Plaine.[101] They seem to have been ministered to by the Reverend Laurent Philippe Trouillard from 1686 until 1712 although he was actually the pastor of other churches during this time. They seem also to have been served by Dr. Francis Le Jau,[102]

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[99]Henry A. M. Smith, "The Upper Ashley and the Mutations of Families," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XX (1919), 178.

[100]Le Jau, Carolina Chronicle, 106, 107.

[101]Smith, "The Upper Ashley and the Mutations of Families," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XX (1919), 178.

[102]Weis, Colonial Clergy, 92.

a former French Huguenot who had been converted to Anglicanism and had become a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.[103]

There was apparently only one other organized Huguenot Church in South Carolina, and this was the one on the western branch of the Cooper River and of which Anthony Cordes has been held to be one of the founders. Their first pastor was Reverend Trouillard[104] whom we have already seen as associated with all the Huguenot churches except the one at St. James, Santee. He served as pastor in the Parish of St. John's from the time he left the church in Charles Town in 1699 until his death in 1712.[105] From this time until 1719 the congregation was served by Reverend Richebourg, the pastor at St. James, Santee.[106]

It is evident that the Huguenots early established churches where they settled, and they seemed to have been lucky in the calibre of the men who served as their pastors (except evidently in the case of James Gignillat). These men were apparently selfless of their time and energy, serving churches wherever they were needed, regardless of

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[103] Ibid., 1.

[104] McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 337.

[105] Weis, Colonial Clergy, 92.

[106] Ibid., 75.

whether or not it was the church of which they were the pastor. And it could have been no easy thing during this early and still somewhat primitive period of the colony's history to do all the traveling necessary to serve several different congregations. If the case of Reverend La Pierre is any example, they continued to serve even when their churches did not support them. Such men would inevitably prove to be fine persons for the Huguenots to look up to as leaders of the community.

CHAPTER V

BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLERS

Those Huguenots who came to South Carolina and formed these settlements and churches were far from being a homogeneous group. They came from almost every part of France and represented almost every station in life and a wide variety of occupations and means. As early as the sixteenth century, Protestantism had been reduced to several well-defined areas in France. The former provinces of the Dauphine, Languedoc, Gascogne, Guyenne, and Saintonge held the majority of French Protestants,[107] and it was from these provinces that many of the refugees to South Carolina came. From the Dauphine, for instance, came Jacques de Bordeaux, Paul Pepin, and Andre Rembert.[108] Languedoc, too, proved a source of settlers. Joachim Gaillard, Francois de Rousserie, a Monsieur Brie,[109] and Jean Aunant left there to arrive eventually in South Carolina.[110] And so did Jacque De Bosc, Jean Guibal, and

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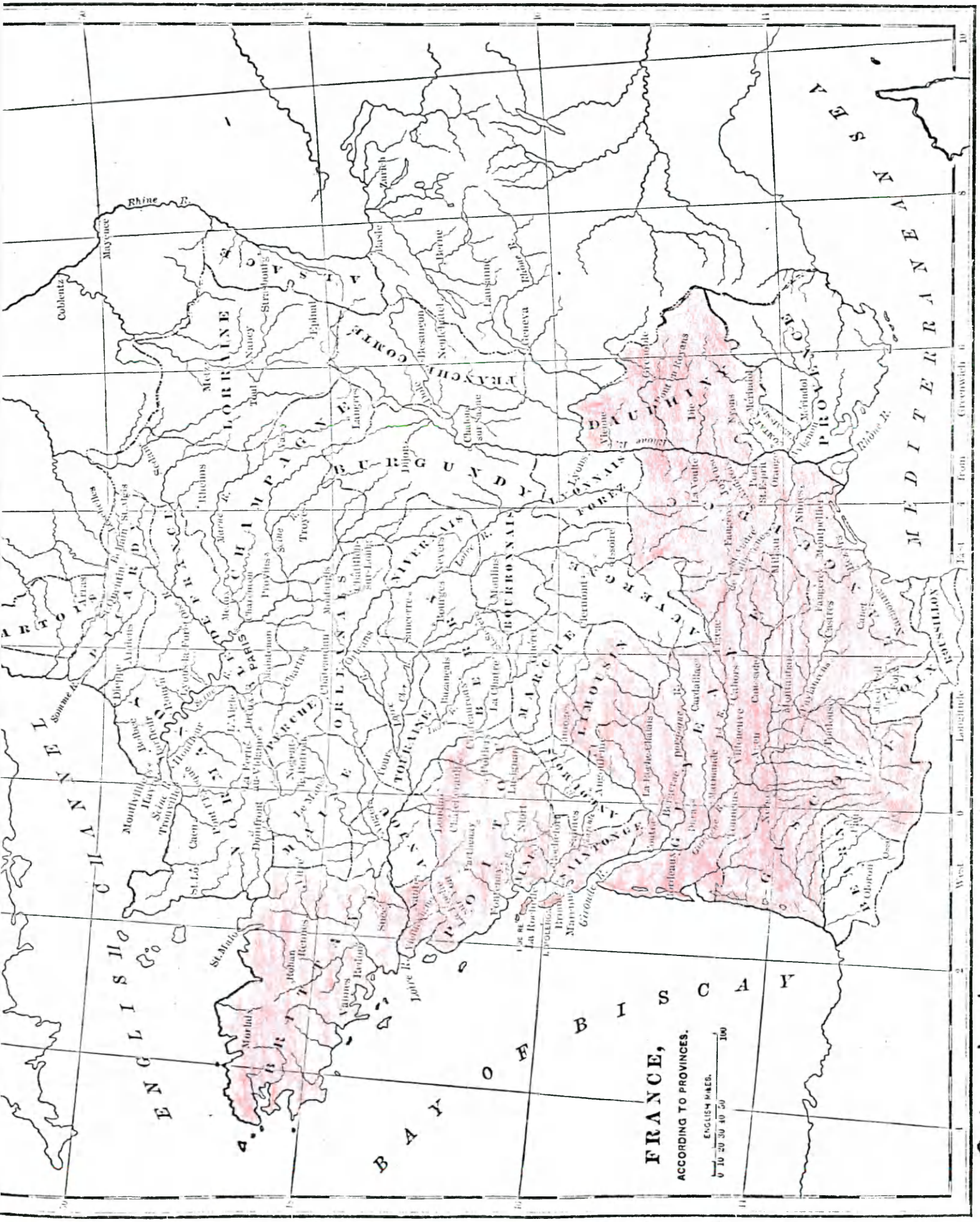
[107] Poland, French Protestantism, 10.

[108] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 117.

[109] Ibid., 123.

[110] Ibid., 132.

Map of Provinces of France



Color indicates provinces of large Huguenot emigration.

Taken from History of the Huguenot Emigration to America.

Moise Carion.[111] Jean Boyd, Pierre La Salle, and Jean Pecontal fled from their native province of Guyenne and also eventually arrived in South Carolina,[112] as did Pierre Villeponteux.[113] The province of Saintonge was to provide one of the most outstanding of the Huguenot leaders. Elias Prioleau, the first pastor of the Huguenot church in Charles Town, came from Pons, Saintonge, to the colony and was followed by one of his deacons, Jean Sarrasin, sieur[114] de Frignac.[115] Other refugees from Saintonge were John Boisseau,[116] Pierre Demeon,[117] Mathurin Guerin and his son Francois,[118] Pierre Poinset,[119] Marie Fougeraut, Pierre Couillandeau, Susanne Dubosc, Daniel Durouzeaux, Elie Bisset,

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[111] Ibid., 134.

[112] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 134

[113] I. Heyward Peck, "The Villeponteux Family of South Carolina," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., L (1949), 29.

[114] Sieur indicated the ownership of a piece of land, varying in a size from a few acres to a larger number. The sieurs in France seem to have constituted a king of landed gentry, but they were not an important political body in the State.

[115] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 43, 44.

[116] Smith, "The Upper Ashley and the Mutations of Families," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XX (1919), 177.

[117] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 27.

[118] Ibid., 17.

[119] Ibid., 18.

Jean Thomas,[121] and Jacques Nicholas, dit Petit Bois.[122] Jean Postell and his family came from Dieppe, Normandy[123] and Francois Macaire from Lyonnais.[124] Isaac Mazyck came from the island of Rhe, opposite to La Rochelle,[125] as did many others: Jacques and Jean Barbot, Moise le Brun, Daniel Garnier and his wife Elizabeth Fanton, Arnaud France, Daniel Huger, Daniel Jordan and his mother Sare Bertonneau, Pierre Mounier and Etienne Tauvron.[126] It is evident that almost every part of France was represented among the Huguenot settlers in South Carolina, with the majority coming from Languedoc, Dauphine and the western seacoast provinces. All the names mentioned except one, that of Francois Macaire, appeared on the Ravenel list.[127]

Not only did the settlers represent different geographical areas, but they also represented a wide variety of stations in life. Although there were some members of the nobility

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[121] Ibid., 41.

[122] Ibid., 42.

[123] William Dosite Postell, "Notes on the Postell Family," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., LIV (1953), 22.

[124] Lothrop Withington, comp., "South Carolina Gleanings in England," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., V (1904), 225.

[125] Weiss, French Protestant Refugees, trans. Herbert, I, 339.

[126] Baird, Huguenot Emigration, I, 309-311.

[127] Ravenel, comp., Liste Des Francois et Suisses. The nature of this list is explained on page 21.

and of prominent families, the vast majority of those who emigrated were members of the petit bourgeois, artisans who were used to working with their hands. It would not take long to list those who came from the upper classes, but, though not many in number, several were able to achieve in South Carolina much of the same importance they had once known in France. A few had been seigneurs or members of seigneurial families in France. Pierre de Saint Julien, sieur de Malacare, and his brother Louis de Saint Julien, his future brother-in-law, Rene Ravenel, and Samuel du Bourdieu, ecuyer,[128] all from the town of Vitre in Brittany, came to South Carolina in 1686.[129] Several members of the noblesse of La Rochelle also came to the colony. There were Paul Bruneau, ecuyer, Henri Auguste Chastaigner, ecuyer, seigneur de Cramahe, Alexander Thesee Chastaigner, ecuyer, seigneur de l'Isle,[130] and Arnaud Bruneau, sieur de la Chaboiciere.[131] Gabriel and Pierre Manigault, sons of Pierre Manigault, sieur des Ormeaux, were

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[128]Ecuyer signified knighthood.

[129]Chinard, Les Refugies Huguenots, 112.

[130]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, I, 283, 284.

[131]St. Julien Ravenel Childs, "French Origins of Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 50 (1945), 40.

also from La Rochelle. Their family had served generation after generation in the governing body of La Rochelle.[132] Likewise, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, the minister, was a member of a noble family.[133] Jean Sarrasin was the sieur de Frignac,[134] and Isaac Le Grand, ecuyer, was the son of Jean Le Grand, sieur d'Anville.[135] And then there was one Jacques Martel Goulard de Vervins who came out in 1687 and was referred to in Provincial records as "ye Marquess."[136] South Carolina was further enriched by the accession from Tours of what Baird describes as "several important families" --Fleury de la Plaine, Royer, Carron, Bacot and Pasquereau.[137] The experience many of these had gained in managing or helping to manage their estates in France would inevitably prove of value to them in the managing of plantations and in carrying on business once they reached Carolina. Having known the responsibility of being community leaders, they would be well able to assume similar roles in their new homes.

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[132]Maurice Alfred Crouse, The Manigault Family of South Carolina, 1685-1783 (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1964), South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, S. C., 2.

[133]Chinard, Les Refugies Huguenots, 127.

[134]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 44.

[135]Ibid., 71.

[136]Childs, "French Origins of Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 50 (1945), 40.

[137]Baird, Huguenot Emigration, II, 64.

These members of the upper classes seem, however, to have been a definite minority. If one looks, for instance, at the members of the Petit-Guerard colony, it would seem that most of the heads of the families were of the artisan class.[138] Such a conclusion can be reached by looking at the occupations assigned to those who in 1696 signed a petition for naturalization, and the same conclusion seems acceptable for Huguenots in Carolina as a whole.

> John Thomas, Noah Royer jun. weaver, Jonas Bonhost wheelwright, Peter Poinsett, jr. smith, Isaac Mazyck merchant, James Gallopin sadler, Peter Poinsett sen. smith, Jeremiah Cottoneau cooper, Elias Bisset shammy-dresser, Peter Dugne shipwright, James Dubose merchant, James Lardant joyner, John Lebert merchant, Lewis Thisbou merchant, Daniel Durousseau shammy-dresser, Anthony Bourean gunsmith, Daniel Jovett sail-maker, Abraham Dupont brazier, Anthony Bonneau sen. cooper, Nicholas De Longuemare jr. goldsmith, Phillip Norman smith, Peter Collin merchant Moses Carion joyner, John Peteneau weaver, Augustus Mesmin gunsmith, Henry Perreneau merchant, Humphrey Torquet shipwright, Paul Torquet shipwright, Isaac Baton weaver, Peter Galliard blockmaker, Noah Serre weaver, Matline Guerin gardiner,

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[138] Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 95.

> Dr. Jacob Guerard, Peter Jacob Guerard goldsmith, John Guerard weaver, Charles Fromagett planter, Nicholas De Longuemare sen. watchmaker, John Aunant silk-throwster, Josias Dupree sen. merchant, Josias Dupree jr. shipwright, Cornelius Dupre planter, Lewis Du Tarque weaver, Nicholas Marant planter, Joseph Marboeuf apothecary, Reni Juin planter, George Juin planter, Lewis Juin planter, Peter Dutarque weaver, Daniel Fraizevent sen. weaver, Daniel Fraizevent jr. weaver, Peter Videau planter, Lewis Goudin planter, Solomon Bremare weaver, Anthony Poitevin sen. weaver, Anthony Poitevin jr. weaver, Peter Poitevin planter, Nicholas Bochett planter, Abel Bochett planter, Claudias Caroone planter, John Carriere cooper, Simon Vallentine merchant, -------- ------- merchant, Jacob Mendis merchant, and Avila merchant[139]

It is evident that the majority listed were people with a trade.

The Huguenots also arrived in Charles Town with a wide variety of means. Some of them had been in Holland, Germany, Switzerland, and the British Isles long enough to earn and save some money while others succeeded in converting their French estates into money before leaving. Gabriel and Pierre Manigault, for instance, seem to have remained in England

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[139]Thomas Cooper, ed., The Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia, S. C., 1837), II, 132. Blanks indicate illegibility.

for almost ten years, building up capital for their voyage to America, and they may also have received some additional money from the sale of family lands in France.[140] Isaac Mazyck succeeded in retiring to Amsterdam with a large sum of money he had made while working as a merchant at Saint Martin in France. He apparently increased his fortune in Amsterdam, went to London, and embarked thence for Carolina where he established a successful commercial house.[141] Francois Macaire of Lyons, a silk merchant, had been engaged in foreign trade and had credits outside of France. He was denizened in England, and when he came to Charles Town, he was able to bring with him money and goods of value.[142] Daniel Horry and Francois Blanchard also arrived in the colony with capital, but they accumulated it in a more unorthodox manner than did the others. About 1690 many buccaneers, offended by the unfriendly behavior of English governors in America, transferred their base of operations to Madagascar. In 1691, the Bachelor's Delight, Josiah Rayner of Boston, commander, is said to have captured in the Red Sea a ship belonging to the Grand Mogul so rich that it netted the crew two thousand pounds a piece. They arrived in Charles Town

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[140] Crouse, The Manigault Family of South Carolina, 3.

[141] Weiss, French Protestant Refugees, trans. Herbert, I, 339.

[142] Childs, "French Origins of Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 50 (1945), 41.

in 1692 in another prize they had taken when nearing the Carolina coast, the Bachelor's Delight having become unseaworthy. Most of the twenty-one men aboard were English but there were two undoubted Frenchmen, Daniel Horry and Francois Blanchard. Both settled permanently in South Carolina.[143]

Several others arrived in the colony well able to establish themselves. John Boisseau, to name one, seems to have been a man of some means and took out grants in the neighborhood between the head of Goose Creek and the upper Ashley River aggregating 5420 acres.[144] Abraham Fleury de la Plaine came with enough capital to purchase the headrights of six of his fellow refugees.[145] But such men were in the minority. The great mass left their native country without money and lived for months on the benevolence of the territories into which they migrated.[146] Many of these came to Carolina as servants of other emigrants, but even they frequently seem to have eventually acquired land and set themselves up as planters. Isaac Varry was one of these; he came over as one of Josias Du Pre's servants, but by 1694

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[143] Ibid.

[144] Smith, "The Upper Ashley and the Mutations of Families," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XX (1919), 177.

[145] Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 89.

[146] Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 169.

he himself had been granted fifty acres of land.[147] Similarly, Charles Fromaget, Solomon Bremar, and Jean Carriere came over as servants of Jacob Guerard, and all eventually acquired land.[148] From examples like these, it is not hard to surmise that the French refugees did not arrive in the colony with identical means.

It is evident that the French Protestants who came to South Carolina represented a wide cross-section of French society. The majority came from Languedoc, Dauphine, and the western seacoast provinces, but almost every part of France was represented among the Huguenot settlers in South Carolina. They were nobles and merchants and artisans. They were rich and of average or slightly less than average means. With such a varied background, they would inevitably bring a wide range of knowledge and experience to their new home.

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[147] Petrona Royall McIver, "Josias and Martha Du Pre and Some of Their Descendants," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., LXXI (1970), 47.

[148] Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 91.

CHAPTER VI

TRANSITION AND ASSIMILATION

It has been shown that the Huguenots came to South Carolina early in the history of the colony. Some settled in Charles Town while others moved out to settlements scattered throughout the colony. For those who remained in Charles Town, the adjustments were probably not too overwhelming. In all likelihood, these settlers simply continued to work at trades they had known in France, and they were living in a town and consequently did not have to suffer so much through the rigors of frontier life. Louis Thibou in 1683 wrote that "carpenters, cobblers, tailors and other craftsmen necessary for building or clothing easily make a living." He also advised "all the young men who have a trade to come and settle here rather than stay in England."[149] And for those tradesmen concerned with making luxury items, it is possible that they quite early began exporting their products. An inventory of goods shipped on consignment to Antigua by a French merchant in Charles Town in January, 1690, consists of such items as bits of lace, velvet masques, painted fans, neck cloths,

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[149]Louis Thibou to friends in France, Carolina, Sept. 20, 1683, Louis Thibou Letter.

perfumed gloves, hats and hat bands, shoes and shoe buckles, rings, watches and umbrellas, all in small quantities. Nothing shows where these things were made, but it is quite possible that many of them were the handiwork of French exiles trying to make use of their old trades.[150] But while those who stayed in the town may not have suffered too greatly, for those who moved out to the various Huguenot settlements, the transition must have been almost insuperable. The adjustment to the English culture, to the new climate (adjustments also faced by those in Charles Town), the strange agriculture of Carolina, the lack of conveniences found in towns, and the dangers and hardships of frontier life must have provided enormous challenges and undoubtedly proved to be insurmountable barriers for all but the strongest.

The Huguenots were aided in their adjustment to the English language and customs by the fact that a considerable number of the French refugees had previously resided in England or in other American colonies, particularly New York.[151] The Manigault brothers have already been mentioned as having lived several years in London. Similarly, Jacob Guerard and Isaac Baton had been living in London for nine years prior

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[150] Childs, "French Origins of Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 50 (1945), 41.

[151] David Ramsay, Ramsay's History of South Carolina (Newberry, S. C., 1856), I, 5.

to coming to South Carolina in 1680.[152] As did many others, Pierre Villeponteux came to South Carolina after a prior residence in New York.[153] Some came from the French colonies in the West Indies. On the failure of a French settlement in Rhode Island, several of the families migrated to South Carolina. Some even belonged to families that had been living abroad for generations. Such was Henry Le Noble of Canterbury whom we find taking his seat in the South Carolina Assembly as early as 1696 and shortly thereafter in the Grand Council.[154] Such prior residences would have given them previous experience with the English people and customs and would have at least familiarized them with the English language.

As has already been mentioned, many of the French refugees were given direct financial assistance from the Crown and the Proprietors in the hope that they might develop silk, wine, and olive oil in Carolina. Their expectations, however, were to be disappointed. Other crops returned profits so much larger that production of silk, wine, and olive oil remained trivial in amount. This meant naturally

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[152]Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 15.

[153]Peck, "The Villeponteux Family of South Carolina," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., L (1949), 30.

[154]Childs, "French Origins of Carolina," Trans. of the Hug. Soc. of S. C., No. 50 (1945), 42.

that the Huguenots had to learn the cultivation of new crops.[155] In France at this time the methods of cultivation remained very primitive, and progress was very slow, except in the richest and most fertile regions. The farm buildings were poorly arranged, and the implements were unsatisfactory and quite primitive, being hardly superior to those employed during the Middle Ages. Intensive cultivation was practically unknown almost everywhere.[156] Except in two or three specially favored regions, such as Aquitaine for maize, the Midi for small-scale irrigation, Poitou for re-allocation of estates, and the Ile-de-France for market gardening, vines and lucerne, the French persisted in their wasteful habits of allowing fields to lie fallow, of sowing quantities of poor quality seed, coupled with the wholesale exhaustion of fields and forest by general petty and haphazard farming methods, the best products of which were so-called fat bullocks weighing little over eight hundred pounds.[157] Thus, the settlers not only had to learn how to cultivate new crops but had to do so with an almost total lack of technical agricultural expertise.

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[155]Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 62.

[156]Henri See, Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century, trans. Edwin H. Zeydel (New York, 1927), 30.

[157]Goubert, Louis XIV and Twenty Million Frenchmen, ed. Carter, 32.

Although the difficulties were inevitably great, many of the Huguenots seem to have made the adjustment to the new agriculture quite well. As soon as compatible with circumstances, they probably commenced improving their pecuniary condition by the cultivation of the staple products of the soil and the manufacture of naval stores. The latter were a profitable and healthy pursuit to those who were advantageously located.[158] Production of naval stores seems to have been successfully undertaken as "Peter Girard" (probably one Peter Girard, a merchant, living in Charles Town at this time) in 1699 promised to procure every year fifteen hundred barrels of tar, fifty thousand weight of pine gum, and a parcel of cyprus masts.[159] But as has already been mentioned, during this early period rice seems to have been the primary crop cultivated. Peter Jacob Guerard at least seems to have made the adjustment well for in 1691 he was granted a two-year patent by the Assembly on a "Pendulum engine" for husking rice, and he seems also to have been a pioneer in cultivating rice.[160] From the many rice plantations owned by Huguenots

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[158]Samuel Dubose, "Address Delivered at Black Oak Agricultural Society," in T. Gaillard Thomas, ed., A Contribution to the History of the Huguenots of South Carolina, 3d ed. (Mullins, S. C., 1962), 4.

[159]Peter Girard to the Lords of Trade, Mar. 14, 1699, British P.R.O., 1698-1700, IV, 75.

[160]Childs, "The Petit-Guerard Colony," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., XLIII (1942), 10. 11.

it would seem that a great deal of them acquired the new agricultural techniques. And both Lawson and Randolph described the French settlements in highly favorable terms.

The Huguenots were helped in establishing themselves by the methods of securing land already described. For those with little money, the headright system easily enabled them to obtain land on which to settle. Or they could sell their headrights to someone else, thereby obtaining ready cash with which they could make a place for themselves and perhaps someday would purchase land and settle on it. By that time they would have already become somewhat familiar with the province and would probably have been better able to make needed adjustments. Evidence indicates, for instance, that Peter Jacob Guerard whose success we have already noticed did not take up planting on his arrival (his reasons were probably not financial) but allowed his father to claim his headright.[161] Another successful planter, Josias Du Pre, seems also to have allowed a period of time to elapse between his arrival and his taking up of land. Although he arrived in Carolina sometime before 1695, there is no record of his taking up land before 1702.[162] This is not to say that success depended on

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[161] Ibid., 10.

[162] McIver, "Josias Du Pre and Martha Du Pre and Some of Their Descendants," S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag., LXXI (1970), 47.

living for a time in the province before taking up planting, but it does seem likely that such a factor could have proved a definite help to those who, for one reason or another, did so.

It has also been mentioned that several Huguenots were given a definite boost to their successful settlement by outright gifts of land from the Proprietors. Like those who secured land under the headright system, this saved them from expending money on land, thus providing them with capital which they could use for needed supplies or to buy slaves or hire servants. They could also, if needed, obtain more money by selling some of the land. That minority that came with substantial amounts of capital could immediately buy slaves or hire servants to help establish themselves.

Once they had obtained land, however, the question arises as to how they then made the needed adjustments. Unfortunately, first-hand information on this aspect of the problem seems to be extremely scarce. Judith Giton Manigault's account of the early years of settlement, which has already been quoted, clearly illustrates that the adjustments were frequently far from easy. Lawson, in commenting on the accomplishments of the French at Santee, was impressed by the great efforts they had expended in forming their successful settlement. "The French being a temperate industrious People, some of them bringing very little of effects, yet, by their Endeavors and mutual Assistance, amongst themselves

(which is to be highly commended) have outstripped our English, who brought with them larger Fortunes, though (as it seems) less endeavor to manage their Talent to the best Advantage."[163] But what seemed to impress him the most in their achievements was the rare degree of help they rendered each other, "everyone making it his Business to be assistant to the Wants of his Countryman, preserving his Estate and Reputation with the same Exactness and concern as he does his own, all seeming to share in the Misfortunes, and rejoice at the Advance and Rise of their Brethren."[164]

This pronounced sense of community could very well offer a major part of the explanation of the success of the Huguenot settlers. From Lawson's account, it was a sense of community not shared to such a high degree by the English settlers. Such a characteristic could have proved of vast importance considering the wide array of backgrounds of the French Protestant refugees. The nobles who had managed their seignories in France came with some preparation for managing a plantation and for handling slaves and servants. They would also have had wide experience in managing the business end of agricultural pursuits. The large number of immigrants who were members of the artisan class were well

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[163] Lawson, History of North Carolina, ed. Harris, 7, 8.

[164] Ibid., 8.

used to working with their hands, a useful characteristic considering the necessity for manual labor. Those with capital would have been better supplied with tools and similar items than those with little money. Thus, the immigrants possessed a wide range of knowledge, experience, and equipment. If they were united to the degree Lawson indicated, such an array of talents and abilities could well have provided the basis for the kind of success the Huguenots were to enjoy.

Their success was inevitably helped by the relative ease with which the Huguenots were assimilated into the province. In the early years of settlement, the English settlers had revived national antipathies and began classing the Huguenots as aliens and foreigners, legally entitled to none of the privileges and advantages of natural born British subjects.[165] The situation was not helped by the fact that many of the French settlers still yearned after their native country. Although for the most part no longer dreaming of returning to France, they hoped at least to be allowed to migrate to the French lands of America. But a final refusal of Louis XIV to allow it destroyed such hopes, and the French began to develop deep attachments to their new country.[166]

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[165] Weiss, French Protestant Refugees, trans. Herbert, I, 327.

[166] Ibid., 342, 343.

The controversy over their rights raged for several years in the last decade of the seventeenth century until in March 1696, the assembly passed an act making aliens free. The act guaranteed all aliens who had signed a petition requesting incorporation with the freemen of the colony or who petitioned the governor within three months the civil rights of native-born Englishmen, and liberty of conscience was granted to all Christians except Papists.[167] This act was an important measure of peace and justice and undoubtedly facilitated the tendency of the French to assimilate themselves.

Assimilation seems to have come even easier in the case of religion. By faith and system of church government the Huguenots were Presbyterians and numbers of them joined that denomination in South Carolina. The bulk of them, however, by 1710 had joined the Church of England.[168] At first they had taken no part in the bickerings between Anglicans and Dissenters but soon won the opposition of the dissenting faction by their passive sympathy with the Church.[169] Shrewd Anglican politicians and ministers had seen that the French had inherited no hostility toward the Anglican establishment and

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[167] Cooper, ed., Statutes at Large, II, 131-133.

[168] Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 61.

[169] Robert Wilson, "Chronicle of St. James Church, Goose Creek," Year Book, City of Charleston, 1895 (Charleston, S. C., 1896), 347.

consequently cultivated their friendship. The French, on their part, probably realized the advantage of joining the official church with its resultant freedom from the double burden of supporting their own clergy and also contributing through the taxes to the support of the Anglicans.[170] Thus, in April 1706, upon petition, the French settlement on the Santee was made into a parish, and the church built in Jamestown was declared to be the parish church of St. James, Santee.[171] Then, the Church Act of 1706 divided the rest of the colony into parishes, incorporating the rest of the Huguenot churches, except the one at Charles Town. Of those appointed to the commission in charge of taking grants of land for the sites of the churches and churchyards and for the houses of the rectors, three were Huguenots--John Abraham Motte, Rene Ravenel and Philip Gendron.[172] Such assimilation must have played a part in the success of the Huguenots. For as long as they remained a separate minority, they could not hope to exercise decisive voices in the affairs of the province. But once united with the rest of the colony, the way was open for the larger roles they might play.

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[170] Wallace, South Carolina: Short History, 64.

[171] McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 447.

[172] Ibid., 448.

Paul de St. Julien while building his home, Hanover, carved the words "Peu et Peu" on top of its tall chimneys. The words seem to apply well to the establishment of the Huguenots in South Carolina. "Little by little" they went there, took up land, built their plantations and churches, gained a feeling of brotherhood and a right to equality with their fellow English settlers, and made themselves a vibrant element in the colony of South Carolina.

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