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THE EVOLUTION OF FRENCH IDENTITY: A STUDY OF THE
HUGUENOTS IN COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA, 1680-1740

by

NANCY LEA MAURER
A.A. Valencia Community College
B.A. University of Central Florida

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the changes that occurred in the French identity of Huguenot immigrants to colonial Carolina. In their pursuit of prosperity and religious toleration, the Huguenots' identity evolved from one of French religious refugees to that of white South Carolinians. How and why this evolution occurred is the focus of this study.

Upon arriving in the colony in the 1680s and 1690s, the Huguenots' identity was based on several common factors: their French language, their Calvinist religion, and their French heritage. As the immigrant group began to build their new lives in Carolina, these identifying factors began to disappear. The first generation's identity evolved from French immigrants to British subjects when they were challenged on the issues of their political and religious rights and, in response to these challenges, requested to become naturalized subjects. The second generation faced economic challenges that pitted planters against the wealthier merchants in a colony-wide debate over the printing of paper currency. This conflict created divisions within the Huguenot group as well and furthered their identity from British subjects to planters or merchants. Another shift in the Huguenots' identity took place within the third generation when they were faced with a slave uprising in 1739. The Huguenots' involvement in finding a legislative solution to the revolt completes this evolutionary process as the grandchildren of the immigrant generation become white South Carolinians.

This thesis expands the historical data available on immigrant groups and their behaviors within colonial settlements.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One night, while the billeted soldiers were asleep in the Giton residence, Louis Giton, his mother, brother, and sister, Judith escaped under cover of darkness and fled to Holland. In a letter written by Judith, we learn that the family left France, arrived safely in Holland and then sailed to England where they purchased passage to Carolina. The ocean voyage was difficult and not without its own troubles, but the Gitons were successful in their escape from France to a better life in Carolina.¹

The Gitons were Huguenots, a segment of the French population which followed the religious teachings of John Calvin, and was part of the Protestant Reformation that swept through Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Calvin rejected many of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church including the authority of the Pope, salvation through good works, and the elaborate décor of churches and priestly garments. Instead, the Calvinists believed that the Bible was their ultimate authority, that believers were pre-destined by God for either salvation or damnation thus making the Catholic doctrine of good works null and void. The Huguenots, as followers of Jean Calvin and his teachings, worshipped simply and lived well-disciplined lives based on Bible study and prayer.²

¹ Judith Giton , Charleston, to brother Giton, Europe, 1686, Manigault family papers 1685-1971, call number 1068.00, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.

² Gloria K. Fiero, *The Humanistic Tradition*, vol. 3, *The European Renaissance, the Reformation, and Global Encounter*, 3rd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1998), 83; Andrew Pettegree, ed., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1994), 19.

The French Calvinists were a cause of great concern for their Catholic Kings and fellow countrymen, and tension grew between the Catholic majority and the Reformed Protestants in an era known in France as the Religious Wars. This conflict, which began in the mid to late 1500s, and ended with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes on October 22, 1685, resulted in casualties and abuses among both Catholics and Protestants alike. It was not until Louis XIV began his “policy of restriction” aimed at alleviating France of all of its heretical Protestants that the Huguenots were subjected to extreme persecution. These abuses included restrictions against Huguenot families, children, schools, temples and occupations.³ In 1661, Louis XIV began lowering the age at which Huguenot children could recant their faith and join the Catholic Church from 14 to seven. Huguenot parents were not allowed to send their children out of the country to be educated, nor were Huguenot schools allowed to teach any subject other than reading, writing, and arithmetic. Parents who were caught disobeying these rulings had their children taken from their homes and placed in the hands of the Catholic Church to be educated by nuns and priests. Huguenot colleges and universities were also suppressed and eventually ceased to exist. Many of their temples were burned or torn down and the congregants were not allowed to meet, even “en plein aire.”

In 1662, Louis XIV began excluding Huguenots, however qualified, from all civil and municipal positions. They were also forbidden to practice as physicians, surgeons, printers, booksellers, clerks, and public messengers. Craft guilds were encouraged to disallow the admittance of Huguenots as well. Huguenot women were not allowed to act

³ In France, the Huguenots referred to their places of worship as temples. However, as they emigrated from France to England and the British colonies this term was dropped in favor of the more common term – church.

as milliners, laundresses or midwives.⁴ A major step in Louis' quest for elimination occurred when he billeted his soldiers, dragonnades, in the homes of Huguenot families. The dragonnades' official responsibility was to secure religious conversions from family members. They were spies placed within enemy households. They consumed the householders' food, listened to their every conversation, slept in their beds, and were at liberty to inflict any physical abuse upon family members, short of rape or death, to procure these conversions.⁵

No Huguenot home was safe from an invasion of the dragonnades and thus began their grand exodus. The refugees' methods were varied but they shared the same goal – escape from the dragonnades and religious persecution. Many of them fled under cover of night, those living on the coast were stowed in the hulls of ships, and others paid high prices to buy their way past the guards who were stationed along roadsides throughout the countryside. Still others, particularly those of lower means, disguised themselves as peasants, soldiers, or servants and journeyed on foot to safe havens in Holland or Prussia. They took what belongings they could. Those who were less fortunate escaped with nothing but the clothes on their backs. Those who were wealthier, ship-owners, merchants, and petit noblesse, often were able to sell their property and escape with some capital.⁶ Their immediate destinations were to the surrounding countries and lands that offered them freedom from religious persecutions. Several Protestant-friendly countries

⁴ Otto Zoff, *The Huguenots: Fighters for God and Human Freedom* (New York: L. B. Fischer, 1942), 323; Samuel Smiles, *The Huguenots: Their Settlements, Churches, & Industries in England and Ireland* (London: John Murray, 1867), 166-182; A. J. Grant, *The Huguenots* (USA: Archon Books, 1969), 164-166.

⁵ G. A. Rothrock, *The Huguenots: A Biography of a Minority* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1979), 172-174; Grant, *Huguenots*, 169-171.

⁶ Smiles, *Huguenots*, 187-205.

had publicly offered refuge for the beleaguered refugees; among them were Holland, Switzerland, Prussia, and England.⁷

Their continuous exodus from France culminated on October 12, 1685 when Louis XIV performed the final act in his “policy of restriction”– he revoked the Edict of Nantes.⁸ The Edict of Nantes had been established in 1598 by Henry Navarre, the Huguenot prince who converted to Catholicism in order to become king of France⁹. This edict had guaranteed the Protestants their rights to worship and conduct the business necessary to maintain their religion. For those Huguenots who remained in France, Louis XIV’s revocation of the edict was a death sentence. They had few options: recant their faith and subject their lives to constant scrutiny from the Catholic Church or attempt an escape to a Protestant friendly country, risk being caught, and spend the rest of their days in either a convent, prison, or the galley of a ship.¹⁰ Many chose to recant; others found a means of escape.

Louis Giton was one who chose to escape. His household had suffered under an invasion of the dragonnades for several months. He had heard of the economic and religious promises offered in Carolina and was ready to risk the journey. The Giton family arrived safely in London and immediately booked passage for Carolina. Once in Carolina, they were faced with all sorts of maladies including pestilence, famine, hard work, disease, and death. Louis, his brother, and his mother all died shortly after

⁷ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 2006), 7-15; Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1966), 243-259.

⁸ For more information concerning the religious wars, Navarre, the Edict of Nantes, see Smiles, *Huguenots*, 49-76; Zoff, *Fighters for God*, 132-151, 224-236; Grant, *Huguenots*, 60-87; and R. M. Golden, *The Huguenot Connection: The Edict of Nantes, Its Revocation, and Early French Migration to South Carolina* (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1988).

⁹ Henry Navarre is quoted as having said, “Paris vaut bien une messe.” (Paris is worth a mass.)

¹⁰ Smiles, *Huguenots*, 188-205.

arriving in Carolina, but Judith went on to live a life of economic prosperity in a community of religious toleration.¹¹

Another Huguenot who chose to flee the religious persecutions of the Catholic King and his dragonnades was the Reverend Elias Prioleau. He was the Huguenot pastor who had served several congregations in France before being assigned pastor of the temple in Pons in 1683, a position which had been held previously by his father. When the dragonnades reached Pons in 1686 and burned the Huguenot temple, Prioleau fled France and sought refuge in London. His small family soon followed.¹² Once in London, Prioleau requested denization for himself, his wife, and their two children. His request was granted on April 9, 1687. By obtaining denization, the Prioleaus were no longer foreigners. Denization allowed individuals partial rights which included, as a rule, the right to hold and transfer land, but they were still required to pay the same custom duties as aliens.¹³ Prioleau's stay in London was not lengthy for the historical records reveal that in May of 1687 he obtained £7 for a voyage to Carolina from the largest Huguenot church in London, the Threadneedle Church. The Prioleaus arrived in Carolina by late 1687, when the Reverend began his service to the French Church in Charles Town (Charleston.)¹⁴

The Gitons and the Prioleaus were just a few of the 347 adult Huguenots who chose ultimately to re-locate to the newly formed, much advertised British colony of

¹¹ Judith Giton's letter, 1686.

¹² Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (London: Archon Books, 1962), 51; Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983), 94; and Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 11,16-17.

¹³ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 109-112. For a more detailed discussion of British denization and naturalization, see *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, #18, 2nd ed. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 124.

¹⁴ The city was originally named Charles Town, but was re-named Charleston in 1783, shortly after it was released from British occupation during the Revolutionary War.

Carolina between 1685 and 1696.¹⁵ They had escaped the religious persecutions of France and had fled to havens of religious toleration. But, for those who chose to escape to England, their new life soon became an economic struggle as Huguenot craftsmen and tradesmen began competing with the native Englishmen for employment. This situation limited the job market for the Huguenots and caused resentment among many English workers.¹⁶ Under these economic circumstances it was only natural for many Huguenots, especially the younger men, to seriously consider making a life for themselves in Carolina, a colony that was being advertised within England, Holland, and Switzerland for its inexpensive and often free land, moderate climate, and religious toleration.¹⁷

The Carolina Huguenots left France and settled in England because of the religious tolerance offered by the King and the Church of England. They then re-settled in Carolina because of the economic opportunities advertised through numerous pamphlets, several of which were printed in French.¹⁸ The dream of many Calvinists who immigrated to Carolina was to make a life for themselves and their posterity in a land that offered both economic prosperity and religious tolerance. In their pursuit of prosperity and toleration, these French immigrants encountered and overcame multiple political, religious, and economic challenges. Their participation in these struggles

¹⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 71.

¹⁶ Robin Gwynn, *The Huguenots in London* (Brighton, England: The Alpha Press, 1998), passim.

¹⁷ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 35-40; Butler, *Huguenots*, 92. Several of the letters used in the proprietor's advertising campaign have been published. See Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed. *Original Narratives of Early American History: Narratives of Early Carolina, 1650-1708* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1911).

¹⁸ The pamphlets praised the colony's abundance of vegetation, waterways, animal life, moderate climate, friendly Indians, fertile soil, abundance of trade possibilities, free land, and liberty of conscience in religious concerns. See Robert Horne, "A Brief Description of the Province of Carolina, by Robert Horne, 1666," and Thomas Ashe, "Carolina, or a Description of the Present State of that Country, by Thomas Ashe, 1682," in *Narratives of Early Carolina*, ed. Alexander S. Salley, Jr. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1939), 63-71, 138-159.

reveals the changes in their identity as an immigrant group as they adapted from Huguenot immigrants to merchants and planters to white British colonists.

* * *

This work will examine the loss of Huguenot identity in colonial Carolina as it evolved through three generations of French immigrants as seen through their political, religious, and economic involvement within the colony.¹⁹ Also, a comparison will be made between the changes in identity of the Huguenots who were residing in the port city of Charleston with those who were residing in an outlying area north of Charleston, referred to as Santee.²⁰ Both locations were well populated by French immigrants. A focus on these aspects of the evolutionary process will bring to light a more insightful look into the reasons why the Huguenots changed from French refugees into white British South Carolinians.

Past and present historians who have studied the Huguenot diaspora have found that the French were quick to lose their unique French identity. Joyce Goodfriend, in her book, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730*, takes a three-generational look at immigrant behavior in colonial New York City.²¹ While her topic is not centered on the Calvinists, her generational approach to immigrant behavior provides a useful model for this study. When discussing the Huguenots, however, she argues that the French in New York City were subjected to a rigorous

¹⁹ For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘identity’ refers to that set of characteristics by which the Huguenot refugees, both individually and as a cohort, were recognized. These characteristics include their French language, Calvinist religion, French heritage, marriage partners, and any other aspect or behavior that set the French immigrants apart from their British co-colonists.

²⁰ Santee was a loosely defined area north of Charleston which ran along the Santee River. For the purposes of this thesis, the term Santee will refer to regions along the Santee River, including the parish of St. James Santee, Craven County, and Jamestown.

²¹ Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 213.

campaign on the part of the city's English leaders to anglicize. Due to their small numbers, many of whom were poor, and the lack of an effective means of social cohesion outside the Huguenot church, the New York Huguenots rapidly succumbed to the Anglican campaign. Goodfriend's findings raise the question of whether the Charleston cohort had been subjected to the same campaign of assimilation.

Several other colonial historians have examined the French in Carolina. Arthur H. Hirsch's book, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, is seminal in the study of Huguenots in Carolina. Writing in 1928, Hirsch interpreted the historical data at his disposal and concluded that while the Carolina Huguenots were unsuccessful in their religious ventures, they were quite successful economically. He praised the Huguenots for their rapid absorption into British society by stating that they were "practically forced into allegiance with Anglicanism ... in rapidity and completeness." while overcoming their British neighbors economically.²² Hirsch's work was useful as a resource and, while he reached the same conclusions concerning 'absorption' into British society as Goodfriend, he examined Huguenot behavior from a British point of view.

Jon Butler is a social historian whose book, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society*, was written in 1983. This book served as a valuable tool in the further examination of the overall behavior of French refugees in colonial America because Butler looks at Huguenots in New York City, Boston, and Charleston. His argument, however, is quite similar to Goodfriend's and Hirsch's. In this analytical work, Butler states that while the French were fairly prosperous politically and economically, they did not sustain their Huguenot religion, a strong identifying factor for the French. In his conclusion, aptly entitled "Everywhere They Fled, Everywhere

²² Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 263-64.

They Vanished,” he argues that the disappearance of Huguenot identity followed similar patterns in the New World as well as the Old and the cause for this disappearance was the lack of internal resources among refugee groups.²³ Butler’s work, while written from a more current point of view, does not closely examine the Huguenots in Charleston, nor is it a multi-generation study.

Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, in his most recently published work, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina*, presents the most complete look at the Carolina Huguenots to date. He examines the issues surrounding the unraveling of Huguenot identity and concludes that, “the Huguenots attempted to acquire the economic and legal means to put down roots and prosper” after arriving in Carolina. Their goal was not so much to preserve their Huguenot identity as “to live fully and to participate in the formation of New World societies.”²⁴ However, VanRuymbeke’s work is limited to the first generation only and fails to provide a long-term look at the Huguenots’ descendents as they continued to “put down roots and prosper.”

All of the above works have made similar arguments concerning the rapidity with which the Huguenots lost their unique French identity in colonial America. Their reasons vary from an aggressive push on the part of the Anglo-Americans to conform, the crumbling organization of the Huguenot Church as a whole, to the lack of any unifying social structures in the New World. However, there are still several questions that remain unasked and unanswered. Why did the Carolina Huguenots so readily surrender their religious identity? Were they coerced, as Goodfriend argued or were there other factors

²³ 199-215.

²⁴ 221-4.

involved? Did the evolution of French identity that occurred in Charleston, as Hirsch, Butler, and VanRuymbeke claim, occur similarly in the outlying area of Santee? Was this process of identity loss a *fait accompli* with the passage of the Church Act of 1706, as others have stated, or did the process occur more gradually over several decades?

The framework of this study was built upon the re-construction of three generations of Huguenot families. The individual members of the three generations were established through numerous original sources. The foundational source used to define members of the first generation was a list of French and Swiss colonists who, in 1696, requested to become naturalized English subjects. This list, entitled *Liste des Francois et Suisses Refugiez en Caroline qui souhaitent d'etre naturalizes Anglois* (herein referred to as the *Liste*,) is the most complete source on the Huguenot populace in Carolina in the late 1600s.²⁵ Once the members of the first generation were identified, other primary sources, such as naturalization and denization records, church registers, land warrants, wills, family Bibles and narratives, were used to reconstitute families over three generations. These French families were then placed within the historic context of colonial Carolina.²⁶ The evolution of French identity was examined through the Huguenots' involvement in and reactions to the political, religious, and economic issues which occurred within the colony from 1680 through the 1740s. Again, comparisons were also made between the French residents of Charleston and those who resided

²⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 181, 337n.

²⁶ In addition to those mentioned, M. Eugene Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763* (Chapel Hill: Univ. North Carolina Press, 1966); Alan Taylor, *American Colonies* (NY: Viking, 2001); Baird, *Huguenot Emigration*; Gwynn, *Heritage*; and Raymond A. Mentzer, Jr., *Blood & Belief: Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette: Purdue Univ. Press, 1994) all provided useful context for this study.

principally in Santee to determine if the evolutionary process occurred simultaneously, and if not, why.

Chapter Two, titled, “From Huguenot Immigrants to Anglican Subjects,” examines the immigrant generation, identified as those adult Huguenots who arrived in the colony before 1685. Two critical issues presented themselves during this generation: the rights of alien immigrants and religious conformity. The immigrant generation’s involvement in and reaction to these two conflicts was an indication of their commitment to their religion, their Sovereign, and their dream. In their quest for economic security, the immigrant generation vowed allegiance to the British monarch and, for similar reasons, agreed to submit most of their Huguenot churches to the care, custody, and control of the Anglican Church.

Chapter Three, “From Anglican Subjects to Merchants and Planters,” examines the next generation of Huguenots – those who either arrived in the colony prior to 1685 as a minor child or were born in Carolina to immigrant parents. The key events occurring in the colony during the second generation revolved around securing the colony physically and economically. Physically, the colony came under attack, or the threat of attack, from the Spanish to the South, and from the Indians to the West. Economically, Carolina struggled with shortages of silver currency and conflicts erupted over how to address these shortages. The Huguenots’ involvement in these issues reveals a shift in their unity as an immigrant group. Their fathers had formed a united political force when seeking naturalization from the Lord Proprietors and the colony’s Council, but members of the second generation aligned themselves along economic and occupational lines that placed many small planters in opposition to the more prosperous merchants when

addressing the money issues in the 1720s, thus furthering their integration into colonial South Carolinian society.

In Chapter Four, “From Merchant and Planter to White South Carolinians,” the third generation of immigrants is examined as they responded to one of the colony’s most unique issues – that of a black majority. The Huguenot involvement in the colonists attempt to deal with slavery, reveals another stage in their changing identity. They, with their white neighbors, were pitted against African slaves in their attempts to avoid uprisings and secure their economic security. By the third generation, a difference in patterns of integration also became evident. While the French identity of residents in both Charleston and Santee had evolved along similar paths, those who resided in Santee chose a method that more closely emulated their French forefathers through endogamous marriages.

* * *

The Huguenot dream was not realized immediately upon setting foot on Carolina soil. Theirs was a dream that, for many families, took generations to achieve. The French found themselves involved in conflicts with their British co-colonists, many of whom objected to their participation in colony politics and to their non-Anglican religion. Theirs was a battle of legitimacy and identity, one that the Huguenots ultimately won, but only after they willingly sacrificed many aspects of their French identity. By 1706, the immigrant generation had pledged allegiance to the sovereign of England by becoming naturalized English subjects and had surrendered most of their Huguenot churches to the leadership of the Church of England. In the 1720s, the second generation found themselves involved in economic and political struggles that divided the French group

into opposing factions and pitted Huguenot merchants against Huguenot planters, thus weakening their previous ties and, consequently, their identity as an immigrant group. The events occurring in the colony in the 1730s and 1740s proved to further their integration as the third-generation Huguenots and their white co-colonists created a united political and social force against their mutual fears – uprisings among the black slave majority. The immigrant generation's dream of prosperity and toleration became a reality as the Huguenots were perhaps among the most prosperous immigrant groups to settle in the British colonies. But their success was achieved at a cost - the evolution away from their French identity as a cohesive immigrant group.

CHAPTER II

FROM HUGUENOT IMMIGRANTS TO LEGITIMATE ANGLICAN SUBJECTS, 1680-1706

Louis Thibou arrived in Charleston with his wife, Charlotte Mariette, and their three young children in 1680. Thibou was an adventurer, having emigrated from France, to London, then to New York, and lastly, to Carolina.²⁷ During the family's stay in London, Thibou had befriended Gabriel Boutefoy, with whom he continued to correspond after his arrival in Carolina. In one of his letters, dated September 20, 1683, Thibou over-enthusiastically described his own economic pursuits and the many advantages of living in Carolina. He had easily cleared five or six arpents [1 ¼ acres] of land and had harvested 100 bushels of wheat and 50 or 60 bushels of peas.²⁸ There were untold opportunities in Carolina, if a man was not lazy. Even a poor man, with hard work, could become prosperous in two or three years. Another benefit to living in Carolina was that the country was peaceful and, with a few servants, one could live like a gentleman.²⁹ Thibou, and others like him, had come to Carolina seeking a life of economic prosperity.

²⁷ Thibou died in Antigua, West Indies in 1726, see Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 240.

²⁸ Louis Thibou, Carolina, Gabriel Boutefoy, London, 1683, in Golden, *The Huguenot Connection*, 140-144.

²⁹ Thibou letter, 141-142.

There were 154 Huguenots who, as adults residing in Carolina, signed a request in 1696/97 to become naturalized English subjects.³⁰ These individuals comprise the first generation of French immigrants in Carolina. They arrived in the colony as a diverse group of individuals, but they were united in their aspirations for economic opportunities. Upon fleeing their various regions in France, many of the Carolina Huguenots, like Giton and Thibou, headed first for England.³¹ A few fled first to Holland or Switzerland before settling in Carolina.³² Still others arrived in Carolina by way of the northern British colony of New York.³³

The Carolina Huguenots were diverse in other ways as well. They originated from a variety of areas in France, thus speaking different dialects of French. While a high percentage of the Huguenots emigrated from Poitou on the western coast of France, there were also others who originated from the northern regions of France, such as Normandy, Picardy and Ile de France (Paris.) Still others were born in the southern regions of Languedoc and Dauphiny. A few of the Huguenots also hailed from the central heartland of France: Tours, Berry, and Orleans.³⁴ With this diversity of origins,

³⁰ The 154 adults included on the *Liste* were single men, widowed women, or heads of families. Also included are the names of their wives, deceased husbands, children, brothers, and/or sisters along with their birthplaces and the names of parents. See “*Liste Des Francois et Suisses Refugiez en Caroline qui souhaitent d’etre naturalizes Anglois*,” in T. Gaillard Thomas, ed., *A Contribution to the History of the Huguenots of South Carolina Consisting of Pamphlets* (Columbia, SC: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1972), 44-68.

³¹ Carolina Huguenot names appear on many of London’s denization warrants, including Henri LeNoble, Jacques LeSerrurier, Henri Bruneau and his nephew Paul Bruneau, Jean Gendron, Isaac Mazyck, Pierre Vidau, Benjamin Godin, and Pierre de St Julien de Malecare. See *PHSL*, vol. 18, 135- 242 passim. Several names appear in the baptismal records for London’s French Church on Threadneedle Street. Noe Royer served as godfather for his sister’s son in March 1685, Jeanne Elizabeth Videau was baptized on November 18, 1685; Gabriel and Jacob Thibou were baptized in 1678 and 1679 respectively, see *PHSL* vols. 13, 276, 278, 280, 226 & 231.

³² Several Huguenots arrived in Carolina from Switzerland. See *Liste*, 52, 54, 56, 59, 62.

³³ Several Huguenot children were born in Plymouth or Nouvelle York. Marie Jouet and Esther Tauvron were both born in Plymouth. Anne and Elizabet Jouet, Isaac Thibou, and Elizabet and Marthe Melet were all born in Nouvelle York, see *Liste* 49, 50, 53-54.

³⁴ See Appendix I.

surely regional dialects were evident among the aliens upon their arrival in the colony, especially for those who spent little time in England before arriving in Carolina.

The French immigrants were engaged in a variety of occupations, a common identifying characteristic in Early Modern Europe. While the majority of immigrants were merchants and craftsmen, especially cloth workers, some were also ministers, physicians, and wealthy gentlemen.³⁵

Separated by differences in their backgrounds, occupations, and dialects, the Huguenots were not a unified immigrant group. However, in a colony dominated by British settlers, they were united by their language, including their French names; their Reformed Calvinist religion; their French homeland and its traditions, including endogamous marriages; and their alien status as residents of a British colony.

The challenges these diverse incoming Huguenots met as they began their new lives in Carolina triggered the evolution of their identifying features as an immigrant group. In their struggles to be recognized as legitimate colonists endowed with the rights to vote, hold office, confer property to their heirs, and enter into lawful marriages, the Huguenots' French immigrant identity evolved.³⁶ By the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century, only thirty years after the earliest Huguenots arrived in Carolina, this immigrant group had pledged allegiance to the King of England and many were worshipping in anglicized churches. How and why did this happen? Were the immigrants forced into these changes or did they initiate them? Did the Huguenots act as a cohesive group or were they divided in their allegiances and involvement?

³⁵ For a more complete look at the various occupations on the immigrant generation, see Appendix I; Butler, *Huguenots*, 95-100; and Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 225-241.

³⁶ For the purposes of this thesis, legitimate is defined as lawful, genuine, authorized, officially sanctioned. The Huguenot settlers in Carolina were seeking legitimacy in that they wanted to be recognized as legal participants in the colony's political, economic, and religious arenas.

* * *

The issue of immigrant rights sparked a dispute which engaged the colony in a battle that culminated in 1697 with the Naturalization Act and spilled over into an additional religious conflict that terminated with the Church Act of 1706. The British inhabitants of Carolina were divided along two equally drawn, although somewhat fluid, battle lines in these conflicts: the Goose Creek men and the dissenters. Peace did not come for the Huguenots until they decided which of these two groups best served their needs and then gave their unified political support accordingly.

On one side of the dispute stood the Goose Creek men or the Barbadians, many of whom had been the first to colonize Carolina, arriving in the 1670s from Barbados. They held large tracts of land in Goose Creek, Berkeley County, having relocated in Carolina to further their economic opportunities. The Barbadians controlled most, if not all, of the colony's Indian trade and several of its leaders were involved in trade relationships with pirates who frequented the Atlantic waterways.³⁷ These were economic relationships that the Goose Creek men had held since their early arrival in the colony and they did not want to share the financial benefits these relationships provided; nor were they willing to relinquish political control of the colony to new arrivals, whether British, French, or even the colony's appointed governors.³⁸

³⁷ Several of the leaders of the Goose Creek faction were involved in trade with the Indians and pirates, two areas of the colony's early economy that the proprietors and the dissenters sought to control either through better regulation or by opening the trade to others. Maurice Mathews, the leader of the Goose Creek group, was an Indian slave trader; James Moore, second in command, trafficked with pirates. Two other members, Arthur Middleton and John Boone, also dealt with Indian slaves and pirates. For further discussion see Butler, *Huguenots*, 101-106; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 103-130 passim; Sirmans, *Political History*, 17-18.

³⁸ Carolina was initially ruled by an appointed governor and a series of parliaments which met to advise the governor. Who the members of these early parliaments were is unknown, however, it is reasonable to assume that, since the Goose Creek men were some of the earliest settlers, they were also included in the parliaments, if not exclusively, at least in part. See Walter B. Edgar and N. Louise Bailey, eds.,

The opposing party was comprised mostly of Englishmen who were small landowners residing in Colleton County, the southernmost of the province's three counties.³⁹ They were religious dissenters, many of whom were Presbyterians, a branch of the Calvinistic faith, who had relocated from England to Carolina due to the proprietors' claims of religious toleration. These dissenters did not support the Goose Creek faction, many of whom were Anglicans, in their attempts to manipulate the colony's political realm for their own economic benefits and, therefore, sided with the proprietors as they struggled to gain political and economic control of the colony. However, the dissenters, in spite of their shared Calvinist religious views, deviated from the proprietors in their support for the Huguenots' political involvement within the colony. The proprietors had provided the French immigrants with a promise of political participation within the colony through their Fundamental Constitutions. The dissenters, however, became alarmed in 1692 when the French won 33% of the seats in the colony's first election for the Commons House of Assembly. Their concern did not stem from a religious perspective as much as it did from the fact that, for the most part, the French colonists were not naturalized British subjects, and therefore, not eligible to vote, let alone hold public office.⁴⁰

The Huguenots were in agreement with the dissenters and the proprietors on the issues of Indian trade and piracy. However, they opposed the dissenters on the issue of

Biographical Directory of the South Carolina House of Representatives Volume II: The Commons House of Assembly, 1692-1775 (Columbia: Univ. South Carolina Press, 1977), 3.

³⁹ See Appendix IV for a map of the colony's three original counties.

⁴⁰ These two factions, the Goose Creek men and the dissenters, were neither concrete in their membership nor in their stances. As with most present-day political parties, their platforms and memberships changed as the issues evolved over time. These two groups were fairly evenly divided as far as their numbers were concerned which worked to the Huguenots' advantage for they could serve as a swing vote when they voted as a unified block. For a more complete discussion on these factions, see Butler, *Huguenots*, 101-106; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 103-130, passim; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 33, 171; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 17-18, 34-36.

political involvement because the French had been led to believe that political participation in the colony had been granted by the proprietors to all freemen and landowners. A coalition with the dissenters would have given the Huguenots access to the Indian trade and protection from pirates, but, as circumstances occurring in 1692 soon demonstrated, it would not guarantee them their political legitimacy within the colony. What the Huguenots needed was a general act of naturalization to be passed by the British Parliament in London, the colonial government, or the Lords Proprietors themselves.⁴¹

Carolina's ultimate authority resided in the distant Lords Proprietors in London. But, with a strong-willed colonial leadership which wavered in its support of the proprietors according to their own political motivations, Carolina law was frequently interpreted on a de facto basis in lieu of the de jure basis intended by the proprietors.⁴² This made it difficult for the Huguenots when trying to determine how best to seek and receive naturalization.

Denization allowed immigrants to hold and transfer property, while naturalization provided the immigrants with all the rights of a natural-born Englishmen including the right to vote, to run for public office, to pay a lower duty on imported and exported goods, and to transfer and bequeath property to heirs.⁴³ Many of the incoming Huguenots had been denized while in London, but very few had been naturalized, due in part to the time and expense involved as well as the required pledge of allegiance to

⁴¹ Several petitions for a general naturalization of all alien Huguenots abiding in England and her colonies had been presented to Parliament, but none had been approved. See *PHSL*, #18; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 162-164.

⁴² Butler, *Huguenots*, 104; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 107.

⁴³ For a more complete understanding of the evolution of denization and naturalization rights, how they were granted, what privileges they carried, and how they were interpreted in England and Carolina, see *PHSL*, #18; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 108-113.

the Anglican Church. Without the rights to vote and to bequeath property to their heirs, the Huguenots would not be able to pass on their economic achievements to the next generation and, consequently, their dreams of prosperity would be hampered if not destroyed. Therefore, these rights had to be guaranteed. The proprietors had promised the immigrants these rights through their pamphlets and the Fundamental Constitutions, but the colonial government refused to honor them. What the Huguenots needed was a guarantee of their rights from the colony's government.

The Huguenots wavered back and forth on which faction to support, but events that occurred from 1692 to 1695 would ultimately cement their decision. In 1692, due to much prodding by the proprietors, the colony revised its government by eliminating the appointed colonial parliament which was dominated by the Goose Creek men, and replacing it with an elected Commons House of Assembly.⁴⁴ The first general election took place in 1692. Each of the three counties was to elect 6 to 7 representatives who would serve a two year term.⁴⁵ It was during this time period that the Huguenots allied themselves with the dissenters, in hopes of ousting the powerful Goose Creek men from their positions of political and economic authority. This alliance was successful, but short-lived. The election returns for Berkeley and Colleton counties brought a dissenter majority to the First Assembly and the voters in Craven County placed six Huguenots in the Assembly.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 43.

⁴⁵ Colleton and Berkeley were to send seven, while Craven was to send six – together there would be 20 members. After 1695, this changed when Berkeley and Craven counties were combined into one voting district with 20 representatives and Colleton with 10 for a total of 30. See Edgar, *Directory*, 3.

⁴⁶ These six Huguenots were Jean Boyd, Paul Bruneau, Alexander T. Chastaigner, Louis de St. Julien, Jean Gendron, and Rene Ravenel. See Edgar, *Directory*, 93, 107, 152, 584, 269, 553.

The unexpected French presence in the assembly took the British colonial legislators by surprise and aroused them into political maneuvers that were aimed at guaranteeing that the French would never again hold one-third of the seats in the Assembly. The first maneuver against the Huguenots was introduced in October of 1692, just one month after the September election.⁴⁷ This law not only changed the hours of worship at the French Church in Charleston to coordinate with the worship services of the Anglican churches: nine in the morning and two in the afternoon, it also denied the legality of Huguenot marriages because their pastors were not ordained. This law was probably initiated by the Anglicans within the Goose Creek faction, but it would not have passed into law without the additional support of the dissenters.⁴⁸ The ruling was overturned by the proprietors after a direct appeal was made by the French, but the dissenters' political betrayal caused the Huguenots to question their allegiance.⁴⁹

In 1695, a change in leadership took place that would ultimately put the pieces in place for the Huguenots' naturalization. John Archdale, a Quaker, was appointed as the colony's new governor in 1695.⁵⁰ Governor Archdale was sent to the colony by the proprietors in hopes of bringing the two opposing groups to a peaceful settlement. Having arrived in Charleston on the heels of King William's War, Archdale found a colony riddled with Franco-phobia and was quickly presented with a petition requesting an all English assembly.⁵¹ To the great disappointment of the French, Archdale eventually signed this petition.. Hoping to receive a friendly ear from the new governor, the

⁴⁷ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 173-74.

⁴⁸ The hours of worship at the French Church in Charleston had fluctuated with the tides to accommodate those French worshippers who needed to travel via the colony's many waterways in order to get to the Charleston church.

⁴⁹ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 117.

⁵⁰ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 47-48.

⁵¹ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 61.

Huguenots had composed their own petition asking for their naturalization.⁵² Archdale, in his quest to bring peace to the colony, had instead pushed the Huguenots closer to a political alliance with the Goose Creek men.⁵³

The final move against the Huguenots on the part of the dissenters and Archdale took place in 1695 as the colony was preparing for the elections of the Second Assembly. The governor called for a meeting of all of the “King’s Liedge Subjects” to meet in Charleston to select a slate of candidates for the upcoming election. There were no Huguenots included in this meeting and, consequently, no Huguenots were elected to the 1696 Assembly, with the exception of Henry LeNoble, a naturalized French immigrant. It was during this same time that the voting districts were re-aligned. Colleton County remained a single voting district with 10 representatives, but Berkeley and Craven counties were conjoined into one district with 20 representatives.⁵⁴ Once the Huguenot voters in Craven County were outnumbered by the British voters in Berkeley County, they lost their representation in the Assembly.

The circumstances which preceded the election in 1696 dictated a change in the French immigrants’ political allies. The decision to support the Goose Creek fraction was unavoidable if the Huguenots wanted to participate fully in the colony’s political realm. The Huguenots were convinced that their allegiance with the dissenters had been misplaced and began to petition the Lords Proprietors directly for a general act of naturalization. This is evidenced in a letter written by Huguenot Jacques Boyd to the Proprietors, dated 1695, in which he outlines the French immigrants’ arguments for

⁵² It is believed that it was during this time period that the *Liste* was compiled.

⁵³ For a more detailed description of the events occurring between 1692 and 1697, see Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 103-130; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 161-190; Butler, *Huguenots*, 101-106.

⁵⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 3.

requesting naturalization and also the proprietors' rights to grant the same.⁵⁵ While the proprietors did not abide by the wishes expressed in Boyd's letter, it is clear that the immigrants were no longer supporting the dissenters and that they understood that their rights within the colony could not be secured without an act of naturalization. Therefore, the French threw their support to the Goose Creek men in the election of 1696. This was a successful tactic on the part of the Huguenots because the dissenters lost their majority in the Second Assembly and the Goose Creek faction was able to repay the French by passing a colony-wide act of naturalization.⁵⁶

The Huguenots' decision to align themselves with the Goose Creek men ultimately led to the passage of the Naturalization Act of 1697, a compromised victory for both the Huguenots and the Barbadians. The act transformed the Huguenots from alien refugees to British subjects. They could hold and transfer property, they could vote, but their ability to hold office was still tenuous. The Act of 1697 provided legal protection for their dream of prosperity while also maintaining their rights to participate in the colony's political arena. For the Barbadians, the act was also a compromise. They no longer had to worry about the French holding 33% of the seats in the Assembly as had been the case in 1692 and, with the Huguenots out of office, the Barbadians felt confident they could again control the colony politically, especially with the newly developed alliance between their two groups.⁵⁷

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⁵⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 175.

⁵⁶ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 113-116.

⁵⁷ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 103-130; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 161-190; and Butler, *Huguenots*, 101-106.

The united strength of the Huguenots and the Barbadian faction was also responsible for the passage of the Church Act of 1706 which established the Church of England as the official church in the colony. As part of a multi-faceted effort of the proprietors, the Anglican Goose Creek men, and the Anglican Church's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, legislation was introduced into the colony to recognize the Anglican Church as the official church in Carolina. This move was not welcomed by the dissenters, but without the political support of the French voters, the dissenters were a minority. Support for this act was another compromise for the Huguenots. It further secured their position within the political community by re-organizing the colony's voting districts based on ten smaller parishes, instead of three larger counties.⁵⁸ With the passage of this act, each parish sent their own representatives to the Assembly and the Huguenots who resided in the outlying areas had more of a voice in their government. However, the Calvinists were now required to follow the Anglican order of worship as most of their Huguenot churches were placed under the direction and administration of the Church of England.⁵⁹ What were the issues that occurred within the colony to bring about such a measure? What happened within the Huguenot religious community in the 20-year period between 1685 and 1706 that caused the French immigrants to relinquish their time honored religious traditions? Was it simply a compromise they made in order to receive political legitimacy or were there other reasons involved?

⁵⁸ See map in Appendix V.

⁵⁹ The French Church in Charleston was the only Huguenot church in the colony that was not subject to the Church Act of 1706. The congregants were wealthier and had fewer problems securing and maintaining a full-time pastor, plus many of the Charleston Huguenots were dual worshippers, attending both the Huguenot Church as well as the Anglican Church in Charleston. Eventually, the Huguenot Church in Charleston became a memorial church. Presently, it is the only existing Huguenot Church in the United States of America.

A closer look at the Huguenot churches in the outlying areas of both Berkeley and Craven counties will reveal that the French religious community was having some difficulties of its own that were not related to the political turmoil experienced by the greater community. The Huguenots who resided in these poorer areas were having trouble filling their pulpits with qualified, French-speaking ministers.⁶⁰ They were also suffering from the financial burden of supporting their ministers.⁶¹ With the acceptance of the terms of the Church Act, these two problems were solved. The Anglican Church would supply the Huguenot churches with ordained Anglican ministers who, as needed, could deliver sermons in French.⁶² Also, the financial support for these ministers would no longer be the sole responsibility of the Huguenot congregations; their ministers' salaries would be paid by the Assembly from the import and export taxes collected in the colony. Since the Huguenots had been exempt from paying the Anglican's tithes up to this point, this new financial situation was a definite advantage for the French worshippers.⁶³ The Huguenots' financial burdens had become so great that the Huguenots in Santee had petitioned the Carolina Assembly to make Craven County an Anglican parish eight months before the passage of the Church Act of 1706. This alleviated the Santee Huguenots from their financial difficulties, but they were required to worship according to the Anglican liturgy, using a French translation of the Church of

⁶⁰ One of the main reasons the refugee communities had difficulties finding qualified ministers for their churches was due to the closures of the Huguenot seminaries in France – part of Louis XIV's elimination program implemented in the 1670s and 1680s.

⁶¹ The chief Huguenot settlements in the parishes of St. John's Berkeley, St. James Santee, St. Thomas, and St. Denis were all relatively poor parishes, especially when compared to the affluence of the Huguenots who resided in Charleston and the Goose Creek areas, see Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145.

⁶² There was a group of French immigrants who resided in a portion of St. Thomas Parish who were not conversant in English. The Act of 1706 established a separate parish, St. Denis, within St. Thomas Parish which would continue to cater to the unique needs of this French community until the existing Huguenots passed away. The ministers who served St. Denis Parish were required by statute to deliver their sermons in French. See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 121-131; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 123-131.

⁶³ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 125.

England's Book of Common Prayer.⁶⁴ How much difference was there between these two Protestant religions? Were the Huguenots worshipping in accordance with their conscience or had they compromised their religion?

The Huguenot religion, during France's pre-revocation era, had been governed by a national synod and numerous local synods. These synods gave oversight to the Huguenots and the conflicts that arose between pastors and their congregations as well as between other congregations or synods. The synods' supreme command had been to stand firm against Catholicism. Followers were also to observe the Sabbath, attend church, and participate in the Lord's Supper. No family was to be without a Bible and a psalter as every Huguenot household was to have daily prayer including a reading from the Bible.⁶⁵ Individual congregations were responsible for the hiring and firing of their own pastors as well as collecting and distributing membership tithes, the construction of their temples, and the election of their lay leadership. Therefore, the Huguenot diaspora church was well practiced in the day to day operations of their religion.

The main religious issues that separated the French Calvinists from the British Anglicans concerned holy days, the establishment of saints, the hierarchy of the Anglican church, and the elaborateness of the Anglican churches, ministers' vestments, and the worship service in general. As part of the Protestant Reformation, Calvinists were seeking a religion that departed from many of the abuses and excesses which were taking place within the Roman Catholic Church. Jean Calvin and his early adherents believed in the supremacy of Scriptures, the equality of all men, and followed a liturgy that included prayer, Bible readings, the singing of psalms, and a sermon. Their churches were

⁶⁴ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 127.

⁶⁵ Zoff, *Fighters for God*, 321-328.

simple, unadorned structures and their pastors were plainly dressed. Calvinists led orderly, disciplined lives.⁶⁶

The Calvinists' practices were a great contrast to the practices of the sixteenth-century Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church's liturgy consisted of many elaborate traditions with highly ornate cathedrals and priestly garments, incense, candles, etc. Their local priests were often poor and uneducated while their bishops and archbishops lived in luxury and decadence. Theologically, the Calvinists and Catholics were also divided on the issue of salvation. Calvin taught that Christ died for all and an individual was saved through faith. Catholics believed an individual was saved through good works and that only adherents of the Catholic Church were eligible for salvation.⁶⁷

The Catholic Church in England made a radical shift in 1526 when, under the reign of Henry VIII, England broke away from Rome's leadership, but not all of its practices.⁶⁸ Over time, however, the British monarchs were forced to adapt their national church to include some of the teachings and practices of the Protestant Reformation. During the forty five-year rule of Queen Elizabeth, from 1558 to 1603, the Anglican Church became less Catholic and more Protestant in its beliefs, as Elizabeth chose to address the religious conflicts in England through a policy of harmony through compromise. She was successful in shifting the Church of England further toward Protestant theology while still maintaining the traditions and majestic adornments of the Roman Church.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Grant, *The Huguenots*, 29; Zoff, *Fighters for God*, 41.

⁶⁷ Grant, *The Huguenots* 29; Zoff, *Fighters for God*, 41.

⁶⁸ Fiero, *Humanistic Traditions*, vol. 3, 8.

⁶⁹ Jonathan W. Zophy, *A Short History of Renaissance and Reformation Europe: Dances over Fire and Water*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 2003), 251-52.

When the Anglican Church became the official church of Carolina in 1706, the Huguenots were offered an opportunity to relieve themselves of their financial burdens while still retaining the ability to follow the supreme command of their national defunct synod: to stand firm against Catholicism. While the Anglican Church followed a different order of worship, one which included incense, icons, and feast days, it may well have been a small price to pay, especially since it had been several decades since the Huguenot religion had had a synod. Furthermore, with France and England at war in Europe, their acceptance of the Anglican Church was a demonstration of their loyalty to England.⁷⁰

The Naturalization Act of 1697 and the Church Act of 1706 were two pieces of legislation that were ultimately beneficial to the Huguenot immigrants. They were successfully passed by the Council because the French had acted as a cohesive group, decidedly placing their political support behind the Goose Creek faction. This political ploy reveals a unity of purpose among the French refugee group. They were fighting for the same objectives within the colony - to achieve and protect their new lives of economic prosperity in a religiously tolerant community. These goals were best achieved as naturalized British subjects who had agreed to worship in Anglican churches. The Huguenot immigrants who settled in Carolina strove to achieve legitimacy within the British colony but, in so doing, sacrificed portions of their French identity.

* * *

How did the individual Huguenots participate in these events? Were they all involved to the same degree of commitment, or was the Huguenot effort carried on the

⁷⁰ For more information concerning the Huguenot religion, how it was organized and operated, see Mentzer, *Blood & Belief*, passim; and Zoff, *Fighters for God*, 321-328.

shoulders of a few? While this effort was colony-wide, it was not approached by all involved in the same manner. Some Huguenots chose to address the issue head-on while a few ignored it. Nowhere is this better modeled than in the lives of three French immigrants, Henry LeNoble, Rene Ravenel, and Arnaud Bruneau.

LeNoble and Ravenel had both married into the close-knit, elite family network created by the marriage of Pierre de St. Julien and Damaris Elizabeth LeSerrurier.⁷¹ Both LeNoble and Ravenel participated in various roles of leadership shortly after arriving in Carolina. LeNoble's roles were more focused on political pursuits of the colony, while Ravenel was more involved in the activities of the French community, both religiously and politically. However diverse their roles may have been, they were both in agreement when it came to facing the political challenges which were pressed upon the Huguenots in the 1690s and early 1700s. Without being able to exercise the rights that had been promised them by the proprietors, the incoming Huguenots would not be able to pursue their dreams of economic prosperity in an environment of religious toleration.

Henry LeNoble was born in Paris. After his father died, he left France with his mother and eight siblings and resettled in England where he resided for at least ten years before leaving for Carolina. While in England, LeNoble was naturalized on June 27, 1685.⁷² He was also married to Catherine LeSerrurier. By 1694/5, LeNoble and his wife had arrived in Carolina accompanied by five slaves. For this addition to the colony, LeNoble was granted 350 acres.⁷³ LeNoble must have gained the patronage of Lord

⁷¹ See Appendix VI.

⁷² *PHSL*, #18, 1911, 159-60.

⁷³ The Lords Proprietors had established a headright system for the granting of land to Carolina immigrants. The amount of land granted in each colonist varied according to sex, age, and status. At the time LeNoble arrived in the colony the amount of land granted was 50 acres for each free settler over the age of 16, all male servants/slaves and marriageable female servants/slaves. See Alexander S. Salley, Jr.,

Ashley while still in England since Ashley, who was one of Carolina's Lords Proprietors, named LeNoble his Deputy in Carolina in 1698.⁷⁴ LeNoble also served as a member of the Governor's Council from 1698 until 1706 and, as a member of the Council, signed the Church Act of 1704, a precursor to the 1706 act. He also held an elected seat in the Carolina Assembly from 1708 until his death in or around 1712.⁷⁵ His political service to the colony was extensive and may have been due in part to the fact that he arrived in Carolina having all outward appearances of an Englishman. He had spent considerable time in London and was, therefore, conversant in the English language; he had obtained the good opinion of Lord Ashley, and had received naturalization. Therefore, LeNoble was accepted into the colony as a legitimate British subject and was unhindered from participating in the colony's political arena.

But LeNoble was still a Frenchman. He was born and raised in France, he spoke French as his primary language, he worshipped according to the Huguenot faith, and he had married into a prominent Huguenot family, all of which identified him as a Frenchman.⁷⁶ When conflicts began to arise within the community over the legitimacy of the Huguenots' legal rights to vote and hold office, LeNoble found himself in a favorable position of leadership within the Carolina Assembly. During the midst of the conflict, when the Huguenots were denied their rights to vote in the election of January 1695/6 unless they could produce letters of denization or naturalization, LeNoble was the only French immigrant to be elected into office by the voters in Berkeley and Craven

ed. *Warrants for Land in South Carolina: 1680-1692* (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1911), 79; and Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 191-199.

⁷⁴ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 226-27; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 129.

⁷⁵ Edgar, *Directory*, 401-02; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 226-227.

⁷⁶ The LeNobles worshipped at the French Church in Charleston, according to Catherine LeNoble's will, dated January, 25, 1725/6. See *THSSC* #13, 1906, 25-27.

counties.⁷⁷ He was also appointed as a commissioner for the enforcement of the Church Act of 1706, a position he held along with three other Frenchmen.⁷⁸

LeNoble's involvement in Carolina's political conflicts did little to diminish or augment his own political rights. But he was in a position to better recognize the benefits provided for the Huguenots under the terms of the Naturalization Act of 1696 and the Church Act of 1706. The passage of the Church Act of 1706 brought an end to the political and religious turmoil between the French and British colonists and LeNoble had played an active role in its passage. His efforts on behalf of his fellow Huguenots won them their rights to legitimately participate in the colony's political and religious arenas, thus protecting their dreams of economic prosperity.

Rene Ravenel was another Huguenot who was active in the fight for French legitimacy within Carolina, but his participation differed from LeNoble's in that he had neither LeNoble's naturalization nor his political advantages. Ravenel immigrated to Carolina, via London, in 1685. Shortly after arriving in the colony he married Charlotte de St. Julien, the sister of Pierre de St. Julien, and became a member of a close-knit, elite French family.⁷⁹ Ravenel displayed strong French cultural characteristics upon his arrival. He was an adherent to the Reformed faith, he spoke French and he married into an elite French family. Unlike LeNoble, he did not seek naturalization while in London.⁸⁰ Ravenel's failure to seek naturalization or denization could be attributed to one of several reasons. His stay in England may have been too brief to initiate and

⁷⁷ Edgar, *Directory*, 402; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 118; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 129.

⁷⁸ The other Frenchmen who served on the commission were John A. Motte, Rene Ravenel, and Philip Gendron, see Edgar, *Directory*, 482, 553; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 129.

⁷⁹ *THSSC #6*, 1899, 38-54. See Appendix VII.

⁸⁰ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 236-37.

complete the process or he may have been conflicted about having to pledge allegiance to the Anglican Church, a requirement for naturalization at the time.⁸¹

Once in the colony, Ravenel began to serve the French community, both politically and religiously, and became a leading citizen in Santee. Ravenel served as a member of the First Assembly, having been elected to the position by his fellow Santee residents in 1692.⁸² Later, when the issue of immigrant voting rights peaked, with the election of 1696, Ravenel was among the many Huguenots who signed the petition to become naturalized Englishmen.⁸³ This effort to gain a place in the colony's political realm was successful because he held several other elected and appointed positions within Craven County between 1703 and 1721 including tax assessor, road commissioner, and commissioner of the Church Act of 1706.⁸⁴

From his position of leadership within Santee's Huguenot community, Ravenel was able to secure the rights of his fellow French immigrants, but he did so in a manner that did not compromise his own French identity. Ravenel's participation in the political turmoil of the colony did not diminish his French identity, for in 1706, he was appointed by the Santee inhabitants to be a commissioner to sell lots in Jamestown, an exclusively French town. He resided in Jamestown, having purchased city lot #5 for himself and his family.⁸⁵ He also served as a vestryman for the French church in Jamestown for several years, relinquishing the position in 1708 when he moved away from Jamestown and

⁸¹ The naturalization process in London in the 1600s required the petitioner to pledge allegiance to the British monarch as well as to the Anglican Church. The later requirement was not included in the Carolina Naturalization Act of 1697. For a more complete look at the requirements for naturalization in England during the 1600s, see the introductory article in *PHSL* #18.

⁸² *THSSC* #6, 1899, 38-54; Edgar, *Directory*, 553.

⁸³ *Liste*, 57.

⁸⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 553.

⁸⁵ *THSSC* #6, 1899, 38-54; Salley, *Warrants 1680-1692*, 152;

settled on a plantation in St. John's Berkeley County.⁸⁶ To further maintain his family's position of prominence within the French community, Ravenel's two sons, Daniel and Rene Louis married within the same family network; Daniel married his first cousin Damaris Elizabeth de St. Julien and Rene Louis married Susanna LeNoble Chastaigner, a cousin by marriage.⁸⁷

Being fully identified with the French community did not hinder Ravenel's political standing in the colony for one of his last acts of public service occurred in 1727 when he signed the Proclamation of the Accession of George II. This proclamation was also signed by the Governor and the Council as well as some of the leading planters and residents of the colony.⁸⁸ Ravenel was able to meet the political challenges of his day while continuing to maintain a strong French identity.

Unlike LeNoble and Ravenel, Arnaud Bruneau Escuyer, Sieur de la Chabociere was an elite Huguenot who immigrated to Carolina from France but chose instead to not become involved in the colony's political and religious turmoil. Bruneau, along with his son, Paul, and grandson, Henri, immigrated to Carolina from LaRochelle, France, via London. While in London, the Bruneau family made several preparations for their life in Carolina. Both Paul and Henri obtained letters of naturalization, but Arnaud did not seek to relinquish his allegiance to France.⁸⁹ Another provision the Bruneau family made in England before setting sail for Carolina was to obtain a contract to erect a mill in Carolina. This contract, dated February 25, 1686, was signed by Arnaud Bruneau, Paul

⁸⁶ The town of Jamestown was short lived. The location was subject to freshets and the distance to the trade port of Charleston was too lengthy to be economically profitable for the residents. Ravenel had purchased 200 acres in Craven County in March of 1698, shortly after arriving in the colony. See Alexander S. Salley, Jr. and R. Nicholas Olsberg, eds. *Warrant for Land in South Carolina, 1692-1711* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1973), 152.

⁸⁷ See Appendices VI and VII.

⁸⁸ *THSSC #15*, 1908, 30-31.

⁸⁹ Baird, *Emigration*, vol. 1, 285.

Bruneau, and a gentleman by the name of Josias Marylan, Lord of LaForcet. Finally, upon the family's arrival in the colony in 1686, Arnaud Bruneau was awarded 3000 acres by the Lord Proprietors for "having merited well towards the settlement of our Province."⁹⁰ To these holdings, the elder Bruneau added an additional 900 acres in 1688.⁹¹ At the time of his death, in 1694, Arnaud Bruneau owned several thousand acres of land and seven slaves. There was no mention of a mill. He left his estate to his son, Paul, to whom he gave the responsibility for caring for his grandson, Henri. This responsibility to Henri included assisting him in re-claiming his property if the Reformed religion was restored in France. There is no record of the senior Bruneau's involvement in colonial politics or of a leadership role in the Huguenot Church.

Arnaud Bruneau was a prosperous older man when he settled in Carolina. His decision to emigrate from France to the colonies may have been based more on protecting his son and grandson from physical harm than it was to create a new life in Carolina. Therefore, becoming involved in the concerns of the colony was not a priority for this elite gentleman. He never applied for naturalization, held fast to his Reformed faith, and fostered the hope of being restored to his beloved France.⁹²

These three Huguenot immigrants, Henry LeNoble, Rene Ravenel, and Arnaud Bruneau, exemplify three patterns of political interaction displayed by the French refugees as they began their lives in colonial Carolina. But it was their corporate interaction that demonstrated their cohesiveness as an immigrant group. While the

⁹⁰ A land-award of this size was not uncommon for immigrants who held great potential for the colony. The Lords Proprietors granted Jean Francoise Gignilliat 3000 acres in 1685 for being the first elite immigrant to settle in Carolina from Switzerland. Jacques Boyd was given 3000 acres in 1694 to establish a vineyard in the new colony. Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 171, 205; Peter Steven Gannon, ed., *Huguenot Refugees in the Settling of Colonial America* (New York: the Huguenot Society of America, 1985), 397.

⁹¹ Salley, *Warrants, 1680-92*, 197.

⁹² Paul Bruneau, son of Arnaud, did become politically active in the colony. He was one of Craven County's six representatives elected to the First Assembly in 1692. See Edgar, *Directory*, 107.

French refugee generation arrived in Carolina at various times, from various destinations and with differing skills and possessions, they all shared a common identifier - they were French aliens living in a foreign land.⁹³ As they each pursued their individual dreams of a prosperous life in Carolina, they were confronted with the realization that their British co-colonists were not as generous as the proprietors had been in extending certain rights and privileges. If the Huguenots were to succeed in Carolina, they would have to fight to guarantee these rights. With this common goal in mind, they created a unified voting block, sided with the Barbadian faction, and, through the Naturalization Act of 1697, and eventually the Church Act of 1706, won their battle for legitimacy.

LeNoble, a Huguenot immigrant who had spent several years in London before immigrating to Carolina, arrived in the colony as a fully naturalized British subject. He was in a better position to begin his new life in the New World. His distinctly French identity, however, had already begun to diminish as he had arrived in Carolina having already pledged allegiance to the king of England and the Anglican Church. Ravenel, like a majority of the French who immigrated to Carolina after only a brief stay in London, arrived in the colony without denization or naturalization. He was thus unprepared for active participation in the colony's political events and had to earn his position of leadership, not within Craven County's Huguenot-dominated populace, but within the arena of British colonial leadership. Bruneau arrived with different intentions. He settled in Carolina for what appeared to be a temporary stay. Arrangements were made for his family's comfort and economic security, but no efforts were made to participate in the colony's political activities. However, through the combined efforts of

⁹³ The bulk of the French refugees immigrated to Carolina between 1685 and 1704. See Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 74.

LeNoble, Ravenel, and others like them, the French Huguenots were able to overcome the challenges presented to them by the British majority.

* * *

Victory was not won without compromise. The Huguenot immigrants, in an attempt to secure their economic positions within the colony, had pledged allegiance to the British crown and they had agreed to place their smaller Huguenot churches under the direction of the Church of England. A natural consequence of these compromises was the diminishment of their uniquely French identifying features. They were no longer French refugees residing in a British colony, but naturalized British subjects who were participating in the building up of a British colony. They were no longer unified Calvinists worshipping according to the practices of their Huguenot ancestors, but Protestants worshipping according to the Anglican liturgy.

As naturalized British subjects, there were fewer factors remaining within the immigrant generation that bespoke their French identity. Most Huguenots were easily identified by their names. While several of their surnames had been anglicized within the first generation, this may have been done inadvertently by the British clerks or simply as a means to clarify their pronunciations. Only a few, such as Jacques LeSerrurier, chose to change their names legally.⁹⁴ There was still a strong congregation that worshipped in the French Church in Charleston, although their numbers had diminished over the years as men like Pierre Manigault began a pattern of dual attendance between the Anglican Church and the French Church.⁹⁵ As can be witnessed in the family connections between the LeSerruriers, de St. Juliens, Mazycks, and Ravenels, French families were continuing

⁹⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 403.

⁹⁵ *THSSC*, #30, 1925, 38-42.

their pattern of endogamous marriages. Politically, the Huguenots had been a united force when challenged as an immigrant group. Therefore, even after naturalization and compliance with the Church Act of 1706, the Huguenots in Carolina had still retained several features that identified them as a uniquely French immigrant group.

CHAPTER III

**FROM LEGITIMATE ANGLICAN SUBJECTS TO MERCHANTS
AND PLANTERS, 1710-1720s**

Judith Giton had immigrated to Carolina in 1685 after escaping the religious persecutions of France. She had been accompanied by her mother and two brothers. Shortly after arriving in the colony, her mother and brothers died, leaving her alone to pursue of a new life.⁹⁶ Her pursuit was successful as she became the wife of one of Charleston's most successful Huguenot immigrants, Pierre Manigault.⁹⁷ Their son, Gabriel, followed in his father's footsteps, becoming one of the most prosperous Huguenot descendents of his generation. As a merchant, the younger Manigault had connections with markets in London, LaRochelle, Barbados, and the northern British colonies. At the time of his death, his estate, including land, slaves, storehouses, residences, lots, notes, bonds, and mortgages was valued at \$845,000.⁹⁸ Judith's struggles had not been in vain. For the Gitons and Manigaults, the second generation had achieved the dreams that their mothers and fathers sought when they came to Carolina.

The French identity continued to evolve as the second generation of French Huguenots became more integrated into colonial South Carolina society between 1710 and 1730. The second generation of Huguenots is defined as the children of the Huguenot immigrants recorded on the *Liste*. The individuals in this new generation were

⁹⁶ Giton letter.

⁹⁷ *THSSC* #4, 1896-98, 24.

⁹⁸ Estate was valued in Carolina currency. See *THSSC* #4, 1896-98, 48-52; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 228-31.

either born overseas, arriving in Carolina as young children, or they were born in Carolina. In either case, their parent(s) were adults upon arriving in the colony. This generation was not as occupationally diverse as their parents had been. Most of the members of this cohort were either planters or merchants.⁹⁹ Like their parents, they resided mainly in Charleston or the surrounding countryside in Berkeley and Craven counties. These French descendants were continuing to marry predominantly into French families, as marriages were still made with the approval of young couple's parents.¹⁰⁰ Several families were among the colony's elite and held elected positions in the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly.¹⁰¹

By the time the second generation reached their majority, the political and religious conflicts with the Goose Creek men and the dissenters had been negotiated. Now, the colony was wrought with new concerns: wars with the surrounding Indian tribes, political conflicts with the Lords Proprietors in London, and economic strife within the colony over issues of paper currency. The Huguenots' participation in these matters was not as unified as it had been in their parents' generation. These new troubles witnessed a change from the French settlers' previous participation in colonial issues; they were now divided along the same social and economic lines as their fellow British colonists rather than united in their support of the platform that was most advantageous to the immigrant group as a whole. When the political division occurred in the colony over the issue of paper currency, it divided the Huguenots as well as the colony by pitting

⁹⁹ See Appendix III.

¹⁰⁰ See the will of Pierre de St. Julien in *Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. 1, 16.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Huger, John Gendron, Samuel Prioleau, Thomas Cordes, James N. Mayrant, Peter Simons, and Peter de St. Julien. See Edgar, *Directory*, 339, 269-70, 544-45, 165-66, 443, 614-15, 584-85; George Edward Frakes, *Laboratory for Liberty: The South Carolina Legislative Committee System, 1719-1776* (Lexington: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 1970), 137, 143, 144.

Charleston's merchants against the planters who resided in the countryside. This new pattern of Huguenot involvement in the political and economic struggles of the colony reflects the degree to which the previous generation's battles for legitimacy had been successful. They no longer saw a need to unify in order to accomplish their goals or protect their interests as Frenchmen. The second-generation Huguenots were fully endowed British subjects who had the liberty to pursue their economic and professional destinies and, consequently, faced the colony's challenges with their individual interests in mind.

* * *

Numerous wars with the surrounding Indian tribes created catastrophic consequences for the Carolina colonists. These consequences severed Carolina's parental relationship with the Lord's Proprietors and shook the foundation of the colony's economy. The colonists in Carolina had been trading with the neighboring Indians since 1674 under the direction of Indian agent, Dr. Henry Woodward.¹⁰² The colony's original economic objectives for its trading connections with the Westos, Creek, Yamasee, and Savannah tribes were economic in nature and centered on the exchange of beaver furs and deerskins for guns, ammunition, alcohol, and various English manufactured goods. These objectives evolved to include bounties, paid in guns, blankets, and ammunition, to the Indians for the return of run-away African slaves.¹⁰³ Thus, the colony was able to secure a peaceful and economically advantageous relationship with their Indian neighbors while also driving a wedge of division between the Indians and the colony's growing

¹⁰² Taylor, *American Colonies*, 232.

¹⁰³ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 223.

black slave population. The colonists also participated in enslaving Indians who had been captured in skirmishes in North Carolina and Florida.¹⁰⁴

The practice of using Indians as slaves was protested by the Lord Proprietors, but their objections fell on deaf ears. The London founders encouraged the governor and council to establish trade relationships with the Indians that were designed to create friendships and thus guarantee a peaceful coexistence between the colonists and the area Indians.¹⁰⁵ The colonists, fearing their own safety might be compromised by an alliance between their slaves and the neighboring Indians, manipulated the natives into becoming economically dependent upon the colonists while also alienating the Indians and the African slaves.¹⁰⁶ This practice served the colony's purposes well until the unbalanced economic exchanges between the Indians and the European colonists led the indebted Yamasee to rebel in 1715. The ensuing war, which engaged not only the Yamasee, but also the Catawba and Lower Creek Indians, resulted in the death of over 400 colonists. The colonists' victory over the Yamasee has been attributed to the Indians' decreased supply of guns and ammunition as well as the assistance provided the colonists by the Iroquois and the Cherokee.¹⁰⁷

There was minimal Huguenot involvement in the Indian trade of the early 1700s as most of the colony's early Indian trade had been controlled by the Goose Creek men and the incoming Huguenots were largely merchants or tradesmen in Charleston or

¹⁰⁴ Between 1702 and 1706, Governor James Moore and his private army raided the Apalachee and Timucua missions in Florida. They destroyed 32 native villages and their missions and enslaved about 10,000 people. In 1713, Moore and his army raided the Tuscarora village in neighboring North Carolina, in response to a plea from the North Carolina colonists. Moore took almost 400 Tuscarora women and children back to South Carolina to be sold into slavery. See Taylor, *American Colonies*, 232-234.

¹⁰⁵ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 23.

¹⁰⁶ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 228.

¹⁰⁷ For a more detailed account of Indian trade relations and the Yamasee War, see Taylor, *American Colonies*, 228-236; Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 Through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974), 148n.

planters in the surrounding countryside. By the time the second generation came of age in the 1710s, however, little had changed: there were very few Huguenots who actually applied to become Indian traders.¹⁰⁸ Huguenots were more involved indirectly, either as board members on the Commission of Indian Affairs, which was established in 1695 to regulate and control trade between Carolinians and the Indians, or as merchants who sold and/or shipped Indian goods across the Atlantic.¹⁰⁹

There is a record of a French settler who requested permission to trade with the Indians. In 1716, a Santee resident, Bartholomew Gaillard, became one of the few Huguenot planters to become directly involved in relations with the Indians. He suggested to the Commission that an Indian trading post be erected in Santee, a rather remote area, in order to stimulate friendly relations with the Indian and thus protect Santee residents. Members of the Commission agreed and the post was built from public funds with Gaillard as its factor.¹¹⁰

Charleston was teeming with French merchants during this era, many of whom were likely involved in the exportation of Indian merchandise. Gabriel Manigault was a second-generation Huguenot who followed in his father Pierre's footsteps. The younger Manigault was a merchant, factor, vintner, money-lender, planter, and the owner of two ships, the *Neptune* and *Sweet Nelly*.¹¹¹ He imported sugar, clothing, bricks, grain, and building materials from England, Barbados, and the northern colonies. It stands to reason that he exported beaver and deer skins, especially since he was one of only five men

¹⁰⁸ Only four applicants were Huguenots: Phillip Gilliard, John Gilliard, Barnabas Gilliard, and Cornelius LeMotte. See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 194f.

¹⁰⁹ Among the Huguenots who served on the Board of Commissioners of Indian Affairs during this time period were William John Guerrard in 1710, John Motte in 1711, and Benjamin Godin in 1714. The Huguenot merchants involved were Isaac Mazyck, Jacob Satur, Benjamin Godin, Benjamin Conseilliere, Bartholomew Gaillard, Elias Foissin and Elisha Prioleau. See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 194-95.

¹¹⁰ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 195.

¹¹¹ THSSC #4, 1896-98, 48-50; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 228-231.

within the colony who was later appointed to carry on trade with the Cherokee Indians in 1763.¹¹²

Jacques LeSerrurier, Jr. was also a second-generation Huguenot who entered into a family mercantile business and managed the Charleston location in the early 1700s. LeSerrurier became a naturalized British subject in 1699 and anglicized his name to James Smith shortly after his father's permanent return to London in 1701.¹¹³ Smith, like his brother-in-law, Henry LeNoble, was involved in the colony's political arena and served as a member of the Court of High Commission in 1704 and as a commissioner for the Church Act of 1704. His position as a merchant with European connections makes it highly probable that he dealt in the exportation of Indian goods.¹¹⁴

The largest Huguenot mercantile business in Charleston was owned and operated by a group of several men: Benjamin Godin, Benjamin de la Conseillere, and Jean Guerard. Godin and de la Conseillere were late arrivals to the colony and had trading ties in London through Godin's elder brother, Stephen.¹¹⁵ These men would likely have traded in Indian goods, as beaver pellets and deer skins were desirable commodities in Europe.¹¹⁶

There are also records of a limited number of Huguenots who owned Indian slaves. While this practice was not prevalent, it did not seem to hinder an individual's

¹¹² R. C. Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," in *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: Univ. South Carolina Press, 2003), 224.

¹¹³ There were a number of Huguenots who followed suit. Most individuals simply used the English translation of their French names changing DuBois to Wood(s), Juin to June, Mournier to Miller and LeBreun to Brown. Others changed the spelling of their names to make it easier to pronounce: Cothonneau to Cotino and Pasquereau to Packerow. Still others shortened their names by dropping the prefixes of De, Du, and Le. Henri LeNoble became known as Henry Noble. A few, like LeSerrurier, changed their names completely. See Salley, *Narratives*, 373; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 227-228.

¹¹⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 403; Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 128; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 127.

¹¹⁵ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 218.

¹¹⁶ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 213; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 192.

reputation within the community. Hannah Guerrard was the widow of Peter Jacob Guerrard when she penned her will in 1735. Her husband had been the son of Jacob Guerrard, a wealthy Huguenot immigrant who had arrived in Carolina in 1680 with six slaves and enough capital to buy 4000 acres. Hannah's husband died in 1711 leaving his young wife with two children and a large estate. In her will, Guerrard left eight of her slaves, six black men, one Indian woman, and one Indian man, to her son-in-law, Andrew Broughton, who was a member of the Assembly.¹¹⁷

Other Huguenots also owned Indian slaves. Monsieur [Pierre] de St. Julien was called before the Commission of Indian Affairs in 1713 due to a report that he held two Indian women as slaves. When he appeared before the Commission, de St. Julien justified his position by advising the members that he held the women to justify a grievance and was subsequently allowed to continue.¹¹⁸

An item appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette* in 1744 of yet another Frenchman, Rene Peyre, who owned a 50 year old Indian woman.¹¹⁹ Peyre was the son of Huguenot immigrants David and Judith Peyre. He owned a large plantation along the Santee River in Craven County and 108 slaves. Also in 1744, perhaps in response to the above mentioned news item, Peyre married his first wife, Floride Bonneau, the daughter of French immigrants Anthoine Bonneau and Jeanne Elizabet Videau. Ownership of an Indian woman did not tarnish Peyre's standing in the community however because he

¹¹⁷ *Record of Wills, Charleston County, South Carolina, Will Book 1732-1737*, 330; Edgar, *Directory*, 102.

¹¹⁸ The records contain neither the gentleman's first name, nor any further explanation of de St. Julien's response. However, in 1713, the only adult male in the de St. Julien family would have been Pierre, the immigrant since his first-born son, Pierre, was only 14 at the time.

¹¹⁹ *The South Carolina Gazette*, January 2, 1744; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 175; Edgar, *Directory*, 520.

later represented St. James Santee Parish in the Assembly from 1742 to 1745 and again from 1751 to 1754.¹²⁰

There were numerous Huguenots who served in the colonial militia some of their officers were also from the French elite. Anthony Bonneau was one of the Huguenots who served in the colony's militia during this time period. Bonneau, a cooper and planter from Berkeley County, received his commission as a lieutenant in 1716 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Province, Colonel Robert Daniel. He was later commissioned as a captain in 1726.¹²¹ Another Huguenot militiaman was Samuel Prioleau, a silversmith and large landowner from Berkeley County. Prioleau was a colonel in His Majesty's Regiment of Horse Guards, a position that required a degree of wealth to maintain due to the purchase and upkeep of the uniform, weaponry, and a horse.¹²²

Rene Ravenel was yet another officer in the colony's militia. Ravenel was a planter from St. John's Parish in Berkeley County and had been referred to in the *South Carolina Gazette* as Major Ravenel in 1764 when the paper printed his death notice. He had become a member of His Majesty's Regiment of Horse Guards in his earlier years.¹²³ One final military leader was Colonel John Gendron, a planter residing in Santee. Gendron commanded a military force against the Indians in the Yamassee War. At the time of his death in 1754, Gendron was known to be the oldest colonel in the provincial militia and was generally referred to as Brigadier Gendron.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ Edgar, *Directory*, 520.

¹²¹ "Bonneau Family History," in *THSSC* #52, 1947, 38-39; *THSSC* #39, 1934, 68.

¹²² Frampton Errol Ellis, *Some Historic Families in South Carolina*, 2nd ed. (Privately printed, 1962), 40; Gannon, *Huguenot Refugees*, 400-418 passim.

¹²³ Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed. *Death Notices in the South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1775* (Columbia: The Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1917), 32; *THSSC* #6, 1899, 38-54.

¹²⁴ *THSSC* #62, 1957, 48-51.

The Carolina militia was victorious in the Yamassee War with the help of the Iroquois and the Cherokee, but peace came at a steep price. Economically, the colony did not have enough sterling money to pay for the war effort so paper currency was printed as a short-term solution to the shortage.¹²⁵ Politically, the proprietors did not comprehend the seriousness of the Indian conflicts nor Carolina's financial instability which was a consequence of the expenses incurred during to the Yamassee War. Therefore, when the colonists asked for financial reimbursements, the proprietors were reluctant to provide the monetary support requested. This reluctance was interpreted by the Carolina Assembly as disinterest and abandonment, and resulted in the eventual revolution against the proprietary government in 1719. On this issue, the colony seemed to be united, except for a few Loyalists who were appointed by the proprietors to sit on the Assembly's Council.¹²⁶

In this peaceful overthrow, the Assembly rejected the proprietors as their governing overseers, appointed James Moore as the temporary governor, elected a new Assembly, selected a new twelve-man Council, and petitioned the British Crown to allow Carolina to become a royal colony. The petition was granted in 1720 and the Privy Council appointed Francis Nicholson as the colony's first royal governor.¹²⁷

There were several Huguenots sitting in the thirty-five seat Assembly at the time of the rebellion who clearly sided with Anglo-American representatives: French planter and vintner Jean Boyd, merchant Benjamin de la Conseillere, and two Craven County

¹²⁵ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 101-102.

¹²⁶ English loyalists, Nicholas Trott and William Rhett. See Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 125; Edgar, *Directory*, 32, 557.

¹²⁷ Elmer D. Johnson and Kathleen Lewis Sloan, eds., *South Carolina: A Documentary Profile of the Palmetto State* (Columbia: Univ. of South Carolina, 1971), 81-83; Frakes, *Laboratory*, 42, 44.

planters, Daniel Huger and John Gendron.¹²⁸ After the election of 1720, the new Assembly also included several Huguenots, one from Charleston and two from Santee. Daniel Huger was re-elected to the Assembly as a representative of St Philip's Parish, Charleston.¹²⁹ James Nicholas Mayrant and Peter Simons were both planters; Mayrant was a planter along the Santee River in Prince George Winyaw Parish and Simons had a plantation in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis.¹³⁰

There were also two Englishmen with connections to French families through marriage who were voted into the Assembly during this time period. Tobias Fitch, an Assemblyman from St. James Parish, Goose Creek was the husband of Marianne Dugue, the granddaughter of immigrant Abraham Fleury de la Pleine.¹³¹ John Ashby was elected an Assemblyman from St. Philip's Parish, Charleston; he was the father of Thomas and Mary Ashby. Both the Ashby offspring married children of the Huguenot pastor, Francis LeJau – Thomas married Elizabeth LeJau, and Mary married Francis LeJau.¹³² It is reasonable to assume that the French voters in St. James Parish and St. Philip Parish would have supported these candidates, due to their ties to prominent Huguenot families.

* * *

The 1720s saw many challenges for the Carolina colonists, but the one issue that would plague the colony to the brink of failure was not the Indian wars or the rebellion

¹²⁸ Jean Boyd was awarded 3000 acres by the Lord's Proprietors on December 27, 1694 to be used as a test vineyard, see Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 205, per MS Col. Doc. S. C., I. 238. Benjamin de la Conseillere was a merchant and ship-owner who served in the Assembly through the 1720s and into the early 1730s. See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 145-146; *South Carolina Gazette*, April 2, 1737. For information on Daniel Huger and John Gendron, see Edgar, *Directory*, 339-40, 269-70.

¹²⁹ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 143.

¹³⁰ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 137, 144; Edgar, *Directory*, 443, 614-15.

¹³¹ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 140; Barbara R. Langdon, ed., *South Carolina Marriages*, vol. 2, 1671-1791: *Implied in the Provincial and Miscellaneous Records of South Carolina* (Langdon & Langdon, 1993), 75-76. Edgar, *Directory*, 251-52.

¹³² THSSC #34, 1929, 44-47; Edgar, *Directory*, 41.

against the proprietors; it was the dispute over paper currency.¹³³ This was an economic fight that pitted small land owners against the Charleston merchant class, or borrower against lender. Had it not been for a middle-of-the-road faction, comprised mostly of merchants and large plantation owners, several of whom were French, the issue of paper currency may well have destroyed the colony.¹³⁴

While the Huguenots made up 30% of Charleston's merchant class in 1720, the Huguenots as a whole did not choose one particular faction to represent their common interests as they had in the early 1700s.¹³⁵ In this economic fight, the Huguenots sided with whichever faction best suited their own individual needs. They displayed the same behavior as their Anglo-American co-colonists.

Carolina's involvement in the Indian wars of 1711 and 1715 had been costly leaving the colony's economy sluggish.¹³⁶ To meet its economic obligations, the Assembly issued £34,000 in paper currency in 1719-20. Later, in 1721, Governor Nicholson approved the issue of an additional £15,000. Combined with the previous emissions, the 1721 act brought the colony's total paper currency up to £80,000. These occurrences were not objectionable to a majority of the colonists until two things occurred. First, paper currency began to depreciate in value, thus alarming the merchants, many of whom were money-lenders. Then, a failed rice harvest created the

¹³³ Paper money controversies were common in the British colonies due mostly to the fact that English coins could not be legally exported from Britain to the colonies. This created a shortage of hard currency in the colonies. See for information on the British colony's struggles with paper currency, see Gary M. Walton and Hugh Rockoff, *History of the American Economy*, 9th ed. (Ontario: Thompson Learning, Inc., 2002), 82-85.

¹³⁴ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 147.

¹³⁵ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 210-215.

¹³⁶ Francis Yonge stated the expenses brought about in defending the colony from the Yamassee was at or near £80,000. See Johnson, *A Documentary Profile*, 72-73.

need to issue additional notes, a measure that was encouraged principally by small farmers.¹³⁷

The ensuing debate over printing additional paper currency split the colony into three factions: the Easy Money faction composed mainly of small farmers; the Hard Money faction, composed almost exclusively of Charleston merchants who were recent arrivals to the colony and held strong financial connections to London thereby opposing the printing of paper currency for any reason; and the Moderates who realized the need for additional currency but feared too much would hurt the colony's economy and credit. Many of Carolina's politicians belonged to the moderate faction, including a majority of the Council.¹³⁸

The Huguenot group was also split on the issue of paper currency, depending on their financial status and occupation. The small farmers sided with the Easy Money faction and were by far the largest contingency of the three.¹³⁹ This group of French planters included men such as James Bilbeau, who resided in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis. He was most likely an uneducated man because his will bears his mark, not his signature. He had married a widow, Susanna Normand, whose children were to

¹³⁷ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 148.

¹³⁸ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145-147; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 139.

¹³⁹ Second-generation French planters include: Pierre Bacot, Peter Benoist, Charles Benoist, James Bilbeau, Nicholas Bochet, John Bonhoste, Jonas Bonhoste, Jacob Bonneau, Isaac Cordes, Thomas Cordes, Pierre Cothonneau, James de St. Julien, Paul de St. Julien, Isaac Dubose, Cornelius Du Ore, Cornelius DuPre, John Gaillard, John Gignilliat, Peter Guerin, Peter Guerry, Jacques Guery, Elias Horry, Daniel Huger (he was also an occasional slave-trader), Elias Jaudin, Francis LeJau, James Lesesne, James Marion, Paul Marion, Henry Mouzon, Louis Mouzon, Jr., Francis Padgett, Pierre Porcher, Isaac Porcher, Benjamin Postell, Samuel Prioleau, Rene Ravenel, Jr., Paul Ravenel, Daniel Ravenel, Peter Robert, and John Royer. These men have been identified as planters from their wills, land records, marriage records, or family histories retold in *THSSC*.

share equally in his estate if his son, James, shared equally in the deceased Peter Normand's estate.¹⁴⁰

Thomas LaRoche was another Huguenot planter who may have been among the Easy Money faction. He resided in Prince George Winyaw Parish with his brother, sisters, and mother-in-law. Upon his death, he left land to his brother and sisters and his mother-in-law was able to continue living in his house.¹⁴¹

There were only a few Huguenot merchants who were a part of the small group of Hard-Money advocates. The group's leader was Assemblyman Benjamin de la Conseillere, a late arrival to the colony who traded extensively with markets in the West Indies, London, and New England.¹⁴² The other French Hard Money members were merchants Thomas Satur and Benjamin Godin.¹⁴³ Thomas Satur, son of Jacob Satur, was a merchant in St. George Parish where he formed a mercantile partnership with his brother, Jacob Satur in London, and Eleazer Allen and William Rhett, Jr. of Charleston. In 1724, Satur was the foreman of a grand jury that had petitioned the king to "forestall action on the paper currency question until the people of the colony had been heard."¹⁴⁴ Whether this petition was a political tactic used by the Hard Money faction to stall for time, or simply an earnest request on behalf of the members of the grand jury, is not known. However, as a merchant with financial ties to London, it is reasonable to state that Satur was a Hard Money man.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ *Charleston County South Carolina Will Book, 1736-40*, Columbia, 7-9.

¹⁴¹ *Charleston County South Carolina Will Book, 1740-47*, Columbia, 115.

¹⁴² De la Conseillere arrived shortly before 1711 when he was mentioned as a partner of Benjamin Godin and John Guerard. See Edgar, *Directory*, 163, Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 147.

¹⁴³ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 126.

¹⁴⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 591-92.

¹⁴⁵ Salley, *Death Notices*, 7; Edgar, *Directory*, 591-92, 557, 32-34.

The remaining Huguenot merchants and a few large planters sided with the Moderates. This group included men such as Isaac Chardon. Chardon had married into a merchant family when he took Mary Mazyck to be his first wife. She died two years later and Chardon remarried, only to die in 1737 after a long and lingering sickness. Chardon was described as an eminent Charleston merchant in his obituary which ran in the *South Carolina Gazette*.¹⁴⁶

Elisha Prioleau, brother of the Reverend Elias Prioleau may also have been among the Moderates as he identified himself as a merchant in his 1736 will. He was married to Susanna Varin, but the couple had no children. Upon his death, Elisha gave his nephew, Samuel Prioleau, the balance of his estate, after gifting the wardens of St. Philip's Parish church fifty pounds sterling.¹⁴⁷

Benjamin d'Harriette was a Charleston merchant who also owned several plantations in Colleton County. He had family trade connections with New York and, while he had not arrived in the colony until around 1725, was able to amass quite a fortune before he retired from business in 1752. At the time of his death, he had bequeathed considerable sums of money to the French Protestant Church in Charleston and New York, the Charleston Baptist Church, the St. Philip Parish Church, and the South Carolina Society."¹⁴⁸

In 1722, after heavy rains and flooding created disastrous conditions for Carolina's rice crops, the Commons House of Assembly introduced a bill that would allow for the emission of additional bills of credit in order to meet the province's debts

¹⁴⁶ Langdon, *Marriages*, 41; Carolina Moore and Agatha A. Simmons, eds., *Abstracts of the Wills of the State of South Carolina*, vol. 1, 1670-1740 (Columbia: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1960), 232; *South Carolina Gazette*, Jan. 15, 1737.

¹⁴⁷ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills*, 1740-1747, 332.

¹⁴⁸ Salley, *Death Notices*, 27; Edgar, *Directory*, 193.

until the next rice harvest in September. This bill was encouraged by the Easy Money group of small farmers, many of whom were near bankruptcy.¹⁴⁹ However, the introduction of additional paper currency into the colony's economy worried others, especially those in the merchant class. In December of 1722, a group of 28 merchants, which included members of both the Hard-money faction and the Moderate group, petitioned the Commons House of Assembly cautioning them as to the inflationary consequences the bill's passage would have on the colony's economy.

Among the 28 petitioners were several Huguenots, including Benjamin Godin and Francis LeBrasseur.¹⁵⁰ Godin was the younger son of David Godin, a naturalized Frenchman who had established a trading company in London with his two sons, Stephen and Benjamin. Stephen handled the business in London, while Benjamin was sent to Charleston in 1700 to manage the colonial branch of the mercantile business.¹⁵¹ He later became business partners with de la Conseillere. Together, Godin and de la Conseillere were two staunch advocates of hard money and opposed the issuance of any paper currency. Through Godin's trade connections in London and Richard Shelton, the secretary to the Lords Proprietors, the Hard Money faction was able to stall the colony's currency issue for over a decade.¹⁵²

Godin married into another Huguenot merchant family when he took Marianne Mazyck, the daughter of Isaac Mazyck, as his wife. He became a very prosperous man. At the time of Godin's death, he owned a home in Charleston and several plantations,

¹⁴⁹ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 146,

¹⁵⁰ Of the 28 jailed petitioners, Godin and LeBrasseur were the first to be released by agreeing to pay the required fees of L1 and 20 shillings. The records do not contain the names of the remaining petitioners. See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 143.

¹⁵¹ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 218.

¹⁵² Edgar, *Directory*, 163, 283.

including his primary residence, the Spring, a 3,847 acre plantation in Goose Creek. He also owned 344 slaves as well as coaches, chaises, horses, and cattle.¹⁵³ Godin, de la Conseillere, and Satur were three prosperous and influential Huguenots who composed the bulk of the Hard Money faction.

Upon receiving the petition, members of the Assembly grew indignant at the charges brought against them and had each of the 28 petitioners arrested and jailed. When the petitioners appealed to the Council for release, the Council failed to respond.¹⁵⁴ The House and the Council continued to work out their differences on the new money bill, but failed to reach a compromise until after they reconvened in February of 1723, following a two month holiday adjournment. The bill passed both houses in 1723 allowing for the emission of £40,000 in new currency along with a plan for retirement of all paper money within a 22 year period.¹⁵⁵ This new act brought the amount of paper currency circulating in the colony up to £120,000 and its value quickly changed from the previous ratio of 6 to 1 to a diminished ratio of 7 to 1.¹⁵⁶

The passage of the Act of 1723 upset every merchant in Carolina, Moderates and Hard-money advocates alike. In response to this Act, the two groups again joined forces and petitioned the Board of Trade in London for relief. Of the 18 men who signed the petition, ten were French merchants. The ten Huguenots were Isaac Mazyck, Sr., James de St. Julien, James Dupois D'Or, Paul Douxsaint, Elias Foissin, Henry Peronneau, Benjamin Godin, Isaac Mazyck, Jr., John LaRoche, and Francis LeBrasseur.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills 1740-1747*, 65; Edgar, *Directory*, 283-84.

¹⁵⁴ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 148.

¹⁵⁵ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 149.

¹⁵⁶ See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 66; *South Carolina Gazette*, August 13, 1744.

¹⁵⁷ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 149.

The petition was successful in obtaining a revocation of the Act of 1723 from the Board of Trade, but the Moderates were dismayed when the Board instructed Governor Nicholson to retire both the Act of 1723 and the Act of 1721.¹⁵⁸ The consequences of eliminating an estimated £55,000 from the colony's troubled economy threatened the financial viability of the colony as a whole. The merchants had a two-fold problem. First, with a reduction in currency, they had difficulties paying their overseas obligations, the colony's principal source of incoming capital. Second, with a shortage of currency in the colony, there was a limited amount of cash to lend to the area planters, as had been the financial arrangement for several of Charleston's merchants.¹⁵⁹ At this point, the Moderates separated themselves politically from the Hard Money group, but not before the governor ordered a Grand Jury investigation of the petitioners' charges.

In response to the Board of Trade's unreasonable instructions to Governor Nicholson to retire both bills, the Carolina Assembly, with public support, passed an act that provided for the slow retirement of the 1721 and 1723 bills of credit; they were to be used as payment for import duties only. This Act, passed in February of 1724, was supported by everyone in the colony except those in the Hard Money faction. The provisions in the bill were successful in reducing the amount of paper currency circulating within the colony from £120,000 to £65,000.¹⁶⁰

In October of 1724, the eighteen-man Grand Jury that had been appointed by the governor to investigate the merchant-petitioner's charges against the Currency Act of 1723 reported their findings. The Jury found the merchants' concerns over the

¹⁵⁸ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 149.

¹⁵⁹ Walton, *American Economy*, 82-3.

¹⁶⁰ The Assembly had received numerous petitions from every segment of the colonial population asking for a slow and steady retirement of the paper bills. See Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 149-151.

inflationary effects of the continual emissions of paper currency to be ungrounded and advised Governor Nicholson to disregard the petitioners' arguments.¹⁶¹ The Jury's findings were not surprising considering its composition: a majority of the jurors were wealthy planters and most likely members of the Moderate faction.

Five of the Grand Jury members were Huguenots. A look at these men provides a better understanding of the Jury's findings. Daniel Huger, who served as the Jury's foreman, was a wealthy man. His primary residence was Limerick, a 3,415 acre plantation in St. John Berkeley Parish. He also owned several plantation totaling 5,354 acres in various parishes throughout the colony as well as nine houses in Charleston and 369 slaves.¹⁶² As a large planter, Huger likely did not have any direct financial ties to London firms, an aspect that drove several Charleston merchants into the Hard Money faction. Nor was Huger among the small landowners who needed financial assistance throughout the growing season and petitioned the Assembly for additional emissions of paper currency when their rice crops failed. Therefore, it is reasonable to label Huger as a member of the Moderate group.

Noah Serre was another member of the Grand Jury. The son of Huguenot immigrants, Serre was a planter who resided in Santee. He acquired four working plantations, 2000 acres of undeveloped land, and 160 slaves. While he resided at Hanover plantation along the Santee River, he also owned a home in Charleston.¹⁶³ Serre served as an Assemblyman from 1736 to 1739 and again from 1742 to 1745. He was also the justice of the peace for Berkeley County in 1737 and the tax collector for St. James Goose Creek in 1739. Serre married Catherine Chicken, the daughter of George Chicken,

¹⁶¹ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 142.

¹⁶² Edgar, *Directory*, 339-40.

¹⁶³ Edgar, *Directory*, 607-08.

one of the Goose Creek men who helped to overthrow the proprietors in 1719-20.¹⁶⁴

Serre is to be considered a Moderate for two reasons. First, like Huger, he had no financial ties to London. Also, Serre was not a small land owner who would have been among those who petitioned the Assembly for additional funds.

Anthony Bonneau was another Huguenot descendant who served on the 1724 Grand Jury. He inherited 609 acres in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish from his father, immigrant Anthoine Bonneau, and acquired another 2340 acres through grants and purchases as well as 51 slaves. He lived on a 400 acre plantation along the Wando River in St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish. He served his home parish in various elected offices, including tax collector, justice of the peace, and as a member of the Assembly. Bonneau married Jeanne Elizabeth Videau, daughter of Huguenot immigrant and planter Pierre Videau. Therefore, because of his lack of financial ties to London and his status as a large planter, Bonneau was most likely a paper currency Moderate.¹⁶⁵

The last two Frenchmen who served on the Grand Jury were Peter Villepontoux and Elisha Prioleau. Little is known of Villepontoux. His father, Pierre Villepontoux, was a gentleman planter and lawyer who resided just north of Charleston in Christ Church Parish having arrived in Carolina from New Rochelle, New York in 1702.¹⁶⁶ Prioleau was a Huguenot immigrant and the brother of Reverend Elias Prioleau, the minister at the French Church in Charleston. He was a Charleston merchant who died childless, leaving his merchant nephew, Samuel Prioleau, an inheritance.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Edgar, *Directory*, 152-154.

¹⁶⁵ *THSSC* #37, 63-66; *THSSC* #52, 38-39.

¹⁶⁶ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 241.

¹⁶⁷ *Charleston County South Carolina, Record of Wills, 1740-1747*, 332.

The stance these last two Grand Jury members took on the paper currency issue is difficult to determine based on the limited amount of available information. However, as colonists who were eligible to serve on a grand jury, both Prioleau and Villepontoux would have had to own enough taxable property to have paid at least £ 5 in taxes for 1723. Since the colonial tax acts placed a lower tax rate on land than on personal property, slaves, business merchandise and equipment, many wealthy land owners were accordingly excluded from jury duty. Men paying a lesser tax were named as petit jurors only.¹⁶⁸ The jury lists for the years 1718, 1720 and 1721 show that Elisha Prioleau was named a petit juror in 1718, 1720, and 1721 and a grand juror in 1720.¹⁶⁹ For Villepontoux, the jury lists reveal that he was named a petit juror in 1720 and a grand juror in 1721.¹⁷⁰ Due to the fact that both Prioleau and Villepontoux were named grand jurors on more than one occasion (1720, 1721, and 1723,) they must also have been colonists with fairly sizeable holdings. Whether their financial successes were due in part to trading ties with London is not known. Therefore, without more information on these gentlemen, no further determinations can be made as to their stance on paper money.

The Grand Jury's findings did not reflect the difference of opinion among the colonists as the three factions continued to hammer out a mutual agreement – a process that also included the divided Huguenots. For those settlers in the merchant class, which included such Huguenots as Pierre and Gabriel Manigault, Benjamin Godin, Benjamin de la Conseillere, and Isaac Mazyck, the increased printing of paper currency and its subsequent inflation threatened the financial stability of the colony, including the

¹⁶⁸ Mary Bondurant Warren, ed., *South Carolina Jury Lists, 1718-1783* (Danielsville, GA: Heritage Papers, 1977), 5.

¹⁶⁹ Warren, *Jury Lists*, 99.

¹⁷⁰ Warren, *Jury Lists*, 119-121.

colony's credit standing with overseas financiers and merchants. Many of the city's merchants were also the colony's most frequent money-lenders.¹⁷¹ Planters would borrow money from the merchants to buy slaves, seed, land or they would run an account. These loans and accounts would be paid in autumn when their crops were harvested. Often times, money borrowed in spring would be paid back in autumn using deflated currency.¹⁷²

The planters, on the other hand, saw the increased emissions of paper money as a means for bolstering the colony's economy during periods of economic stress, often brought on by circumstances which were beyond their control, such as crop failures or the remission of royal trade incentives.¹⁷³ The colonial economy could not run without currency, whether sterling or paper, so the issuance of short-term paper currency was a logical answer to the problem. Using devalued money to repay loans was a situation that did not seem to concern the planters.

There were two Huguenots who served in the Assembly in positions of influence during this time period: Daniel Huger and Peter Simmons.¹⁷⁴ Huger was the son of one of Carolina's first immigrants, Daniel Huger. The younger Huger inherited half of his father's Santee estate upon his marriage to Elizabeth Gendron, the daughter of another

¹⁷¹ Gabriel Manigault was one of the chief money-lenders in the colony. See *THSSC #4*, 1806-98, 48. Andrew DuPuy, a merchant in Charleston, loaned money to Tobias Fitch and his wife, Marianne Dugue Fitch on July 12, 1720. William Gibbon, a merchant, lent money to Anthony DeBourdeaux on October 3, 1721. Henry Peronneau, a Charleston merchant, loaned money to Jonas Bonhoste on August 24, 1724. See Clara A. Langley, ed., *South Carolina Deed Abstracts, 1719-1772* (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1983), 75-6, 34, 5.

¹⁷² Walton, *American Economy*, 82-3; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 145-147,

¹⁷³ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 155.

¹⁷⁴ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 143.

early French settler, Philip Gendron, in 1709.¹⁷⁵ The elder Huger died in 1711, leaving Daniel and his sister, Margaret Huger Horry the balance of his estate. The younger Huger became a successful planter and occasional slave trader.¹⁷⁶ He also served as a member of the Assembly in 1721 and was on several important committees, including joint conference, Indian affairs, and paper currency and legal tender. From this position of leadership, Huger was able to assist in the Assembly's negotiations over the colony's divisive issue – the continued issuance of paper currency.¹⁷⁷

Peter Simmons was another influential Huguenot who served in the Assembly during the 1720s. He was the son of immigrant Benjamin Simmons, a planter in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis. He served on the Assembly in 1722 through 1724 and was a member of the paper currency committee as well as the reply committee to the governor and Council.¹⁷⁸ Simmons was another Huguenot in a position of influence as the colony struggled with the paper currency issue.

In spite of colonial and imperial attempts to limit paper money, the 1724 Act and the Grand Jury's findings granted colonists a fresh supply of currency. In 1726 there was another downward spiral in the economy brought on by the revocation of royal bounties on naval stores, one of the chief exports for several northern parishes. The Assembly received six petitions from rural parishes asking for additional emissions of paper currency.¹⁷⁹ This led to a resurfacing of the same factions seen just two years before.

¹⁷⁵ Daniel Huger, "Huger Family History," in *THSSC* #72, 1967, 35-51; Langdon, *Marriages*, 49,50; Agnes Leland Baldwin, *First Settlers of South Carolina, 1670-1700* (Easley, South Carolina: Southern Historical Press, Inc. 1985), 125.

¹⁷⁶ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 122.

¹⁷⁷ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 143.

¹⁷⁸ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 119; Frakes, *Laboratory*, 144.

¹⁷⁹ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 155.

The colony continued to battle over the printing of paper money as a means to stimulate the economy until 1741, when a ruling was made by Chief Justice Benjamin Whitaker, who presided over the Court of Common Pleas in Charleston. In his ruling he stated that “if a debt were contracted in sterling and if the local currency depreciated after the debt was made, then the debtor had to repay the creditor at the higher rate of exchange.”¹⁸⁰ This ruling, which occurred twenty years after the currency dispute began, took place in a colonial climate that had been softened over time. The colony’s merchants had witnessed the Council’s timely retirement of paper currency and the printed currency had maintained a steady value of 7 to 1, even in the midst of a plunge in rice prices in 1739 and 1740.¹⁸¹ These two conditions allowed for a return of confidence in the colony’s paper currency on the part of its merchants. The 1741 ruling by Judge Whitaker removed the last obstacle of concern for the merchants. Carolina’s conflicts over paper currency, which had pitted planter against merchant, borrower against lender, Huguenot against Huguenot, came to an end.

* * *

Carolina’s English colonists battled over paper currency in the same way they fought over colonial issues in the late 1690s and early 1700s. They chose sides based on their individual ideals and economic concerns. This had not been the case with the first-generation Huguenots. As new arrivals to the colony, they had banded together in order to exercise political clout. Their cohesiveness was a successful tactic because they were able to secure political and religious legitimacy for themselves and their posterity.

¹⁸⁰ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 206.

¹⁸¹ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 206.

The second generation of Huguenots used different methods and tactics to protect their interests. As the Huguenot families became established politically and economically their identities began to change. They no longer needed the unifying label of 'Huguenot,' an identity that served the immigrant generation well. There was a new identity based on their financial and occupational status: merchants and planters. While the French descendants were now split politically, these new identities also served as platforms from which the second-generation addressed the key issues that arose within the colony in the 1710s and 1720s, particularly the conflict over paper currency. In this conflict, the Huguenots, like their English co-colonists, sided with the faction that best protected their individual economic concerns, a trend that continued through the next generation.

CHAPTER IV
FROM MERCHANTS AND PLANTERS TO WHITE SOUTH
CAROLINIANS, 1730-1740s

In 1739, Colonel Samuel Prioleau and his son, Samuel Prioleau, Jr., a young man of almost 22 years, were planters in St. Andrews Parish, Granville County which was about 20 miles south of Charleston. Young Samuel was engaged to marry Miss Providence Hext, the daughter of David Hext, esquire, a neighboring planter. Their wedding was to take place in October in the parish church. However, events that were to occur in September of that same year, just miles from their home, would shake not only this family but the colony at large, and would continue to threaten the peace of mind of the colony's white subjects for years to come. The event that began on the night of September 8, 1739 would become one of the key factors in shaping colonial life in Carolina for the next several years. How the Huguenots reacted to this occurrence reflected a further step in the evolution of their immigrant identity.¹⁸²

On that fateful Saturday night in September, about 20 slaves broke into a storehouse near the Stono River in Granville County. They stole guns and ammunition, decapitated the storekeepers, and began to instigate an all-out slave rebellion. Led by an African named Jemmy, these few slaves soon grew in numbers to become 100 strong as they marched and chanted their way south to the Florida border where the Spanish government had promised them freedom. Along the way, the rebels killed 10 white

¹⁸² Ellis, *Historic Families*, 40; Gannon, *Huguenot Refugees*, 400-418 passim.

colonists and burned several homes. The insurrection ended shortly after the militia caught up with the escapees on Sunday afternoon. The ensuing confrontation resulted in the deaths of 40 blacks and 20 whites.¹⁸³

The Stono Rebellion, as this incident has come to be called, was the portrayal of every Carolina colonists' worst nightmare. By the 1730s, the black slave population in the colony outnumbered the white colonists by almost 2 to 1, up considerably from the 1 to 4 ratio of blacks to whites experienced in the 1670s and 1680s.¹⁸⁴ These figures, along with the apparent relaxed management of slaves by numerous colony slaveholders and reports of slave uprisings in the West Indies, caused great concern and, at times, fear among white Carolinians, especially since the local slave traders were continuing to import an additional 2000 slaves annually.¹⁸⁵

* * *

The relationships between white colonists and their black slaves had not always been as strained as they had become by the late 1730s. In the earlier years of the colony, slaves experienced more freedom of movement and there was a more familial inter-action between slaves and their owners. Elias Horry was a French immigrant who had fled Paris at the time of the Edict of Nantes. He arrived in Carolina and settled near the Santee

¹⁸³ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 208.

¹⁸⁴ The black to white proportion in Carolina in the 1670s and 1680s was 1 to 4. These numbers increased over the years and, by 1740 they were estimated to be somewhere between 20,000 and 39,000 for the slave population while the white population was estimated at 10,000 to 20,000. See Taylor, *American Colonies*, 237-38. Butler states that by 1720, African slaves comprised two-thirds of the population and as much as 85 percent of the population in some rural parishes. See *Huguenots*, 91, 101. Also see Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-208.

¹⁸⁵ For a more detailed look at Carolinians' fears of slave rebellions, see Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-208; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 239; Wood, *Black Majority*, 220-24. Concerning the number of slaves being imported to the colony in the late 1730s, Sirmans argues that the number of incoming slaves was 2500 a year by 1740, see *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-08. Wood presents a more detailed look at slave imports in his Appendix C. According to Wood's figures the number of slaves being imported to the colony in 1736 was 2651, in 1737 it was 3326, in 1738 it was 1062, in 1739 it was 2507, and in 1740 it was 2016, see *Black Majority*, 334-341.

River in 1697. His grandson, General Peter Horry, records in his journal that the elder Horry “worked many days with a Negro man at a whip saw.”¹⁸⁶ Working side by side with one’s slaves was not unusual in the early days of the colony as slaves were also found working with whites when the colony needed canals dug or bridges built.¹⁸⁷ Nor was it unusual to engage slaves in unsupervised activities, such as tending cattle, splitting wood, or hunting for game. In the early 1700s, Carolinians frequently provided their slaves with guns and ammunition as they were expected to assist their white owners when the colony came under attack. The colony even awarded freedom to any slave who killed an enemy during a time of war.¹⁸⁸ These relatively lax conditions for slaves were gradually altered as rice became the colony’s chief agricultural export. The cultivation of rice was perfect for the hot, humid climate of the marshy low-lying coastal areas of Carolina. However, much labor was required for the planting, harvesting, and de-husking of this cash crop. Therefore, planters began to escalate their purchases of African slaves. As rice profits soared, so did the importation of slaves.¹⁸⁹

Carolina’s third-generation Huguenots, many of whom were planters and merchants, were regularly involved in the business of slavery, either as planters who owned slaves or as merchants who bought and sold them. The third-generation of French descendants, born between 1715 and 1745, was a group comprised of the grandchildren

¹⁸⁶ Alexander S. Salley, Jr., ed., “Journal of General Peter Horry,” in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XXXVIII (1937), 51-52.

¹⁸⁷ Wood, *Black Majority*, 91;

¹⁸⁸ Taylor argues that frontier conditions obligated the earlier white settlers to allow their slaves more liberties than later generations. Slaves were involved in woodcutting, cattle-tending, game hunting, and defending the colony against attack, especially from the Spanish. Taylor also includes an interesting look at early black cowboys. See *American Colonies*, 236-37.

¹⁸⁹ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 237-38.

of Huguenot immigrants.¹⁹⁰ Its members were not as occupationally diverse as their grandparents had been. The historical records contain information on only a few Huguenots who were neither planters nor merchants.¹⁹¹ A good number of these third-generation cohorts were experiencing a lifestyle that their grandparents had yearned for but had not accomplished. Many were successful planters, owning as much as 12,000 to 24,000 acres of land and 250 to 369 slaves.¹⁹² Others were prosperous merchants with economic ties to England, the West Indies, and the northern colonies. Most merchants were also engaged in the agricultural business as well, sometimes owning their own plantations,¹⁹³ sometimes lending money to others to become established as planters.¹⁹⁴ Still others were actively participating in the colony's Assembly or Council members, treasurers, or Speaker of the House.¹⁹⁵ The majority worshipped in Anglican Churches, but a few were still supporting the remnants of their forefathers' French churches through their attendance or with their donations.

One characteristic that is unique to the third generation is that they more frequently married outside of Huguenot families, especially those who resided in

¹⁹⁰ These dates are based on the births of Samuel Prioleau, II who was born in 1717 and Benjamin Huger who was born in 1746. This generation would have been considered in the majority by the time they were 16, at which time they would have been eligible for militia duty. Once they acquired enough taxable property, whether land, dwellings, slaves, or merchandise they would be eligible to vote and pay taxes. Therefore, this generation would have become involved in the economic and political life no sooner than 1733. See Ellis, *Historic Families*, 40; *THSSC #72*, 1967, 35-51; Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 140.

¹⁹¹ Examples are: Peter Manigault who was an attorney. See *THSSC #4*, 1896-98, 48. Also, Jeremiah Cothonneau was a gunsmith. See *THSSC #65*, 1960, 23-32; Langdon, *Marriages*, 56.

¹⁹² Benjamin Mazyck owned 12,582 acres and 89 slaves, Henry Laurens owned 24,143 acres, Gabriel Manigault owned 8850 acres and 289 slaves, Benjamin Godin owned 13,043 acres and 335 slaves. See Edgar, *Directory*, 444, 393, 428-30, 283-84; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 177-78.

¹⁹³ Samuel Prioleau, II owned plantations in Granville and Colleton Counties but was also a merchant in Charleston. See *THSSC #71-73*, 1966-68, 93-96.

¹⁹⁴ Jonas Bonhoste, a planter, borrowed £1000 from Charleston merchant Henry Peronneau to buy 750 acres on the Wando River in 1724. See Langley, *Deed Abstracts*, 51.

¹⁹⁵ While serving on the Assembly was not a full time job, it did require one's full attention when the Assembly was in session- a period of time that could spanned 2 weeks to three months. See Frakes, *Laboratory*, 65-66.

Charleston.¹⁹⁶ One common thread that ran through this generational group was that they nearly all owned slaves. Some owned only a few, some owned a great many.¹⁹⁷ Whether colonists worked as craftsmen, merchants, or planters, nearly everyone in Carolina, male and female, had at least one slave, with the exception of the very poor. This is verified in the wills of many of the French colonists.¹⁹⁸

While nearly all French colonists owned slaves, there was a disparity in the ratio between slaves and slaveowners. This disparity is evidenced in the slave ownership among the members of the Carolina Commons House of Assembly where 54 (14.5%) owned between 100 and 149 slaves, 12 (5.6%) owned at least 1 but not more than 9 slaves, and four (1.1%) of the slaveowning Assemblymen owned more than 500 slaves.¹⁹⁹ This data confirms the prevalence of slave ownership among the elite, but it does not address the issue of slave ownership among the smaller landowners and poorer colonists. Inasmuch as the poorer classes of colonists left few if any legal documents, such as wills or estate inventories which stated the value of their real and personal property, it is difficult, if not impossible to declare with accuracy what their participation in slavery would have been.

The Huguenots and their descendants “aspired to be slave owners:” some even brought slaves with them upon their arrival in the colony.²⁰⁰ Craven County was a

¹⁹⁶ See Appendix IV.

¹⁹⁷ According to the Miscellaneous Probate Court Records, 1721-23, the 53 Huguenots who died between 1721- 1723 owned from 1 to 452 slaves; the average number of slaves owned was 36. The percentage of slave owners and the number of slaves owned breaks down as follows: those who owned 9 or fewer slaves comprised 32%, those who owned between 10 and 25 slaves were 34%, those who owned 26 to 50 slaves were 15%, those who owned from 51 to 100 slaves were 13%, those who owned from 101 to 200 slaves were 4%, and those who owned 201 slaves or more composed only 2%. (The percentages and averages are my calculations.) See Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 177.

¹⁹⁸ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 177.

¹⁹⁹ Edgar, *Directory*, 747.

²⁰⁰ Van Ruymbeke, *New Babylon*, 216.

strong-hold for French settlers, many of whom owned slaves as witnessed from their wills. In 1741, John June (alias Jean Juin), a resident of Craven County, willed his wife a “Negro” woman. He left the balance of his estate, which consisted of “slaves, a horse and cattle,” to his eldest son, John.²⁰¹ Another Huguenot descendant, who resided in Craven County was Abraham Michau. In 1765, Michau willed his four sons land, while his wife received furniture, livestock, and three slaves, “a Negro called Charles, a young wench called Lizette, and a girl called Julatta.” His daughter Hester also received a “wench called Elsy.” His “house wench,” Phoebe, was to go to whichever of his sons she so chose.²⁰²

Among the third generation, it was fairly common for women to own slaves. Catherine LeNoble, widow of statesman, Henry LeNoble, left her lands in town and the remainder of her property, including slaves (men, women, and children,) horses, stock, furniture, notes, money, and bonds to her two daughters Susanna LeNoble Ravenel and Catherine LeNoble.²⁰³ Mary Horry LaRoche, widow of John LaRoche, bequeathed several slaves to her daughter and granddaughter as recorded in her will dated 1754.²⁰⁴

Occasionally, slaves were used as collateral for securing loans. In 1724, J. Bonhoste, a planter, and his wife, Catherine borrowed L 1000 from Henry Peronneau, a merchant in Charleston, for the purchased of 750 acres at the head of the Wando river. As security, Bonhoste delivered 6 Negro men, 2 Negro women, 3 boys, and a girl;

²⁰¹ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47.* 112. Text-fiche.

²⁰² *THSSC #49, 1944, 51-53.*

²⁰³ *THSSC #13, 1906, 27; Moore, Abstracts, 97.*

²⁰⁴ *THSSC #47,1942, 45.*

Catherine also delivered 6 of her Negro slaves. The note was satisfied in May 1729 and the slaves were returned to the couple.²⁰⁵

By examining a sampling of wills taken from the 1730s and 1740s, it becomes evident that most individuals, whether wealthy or not, owned at least one slave. Noah Serre, a resident of St. James Santee, in Craven County, appears to have been a man of moderate wealth based on the property and money he bequeathed his family members. He gave his two sisters and brother-in-law each L100 for mourning clothes. He allowed his sister, Susannah Brenton, lifetime use of his home and a Negro woman, Belinda. Once Susannah died, Belinda was to be given L25 and freed. Serre's two daughters each received two Negro slaves and his grandchildren were to inherit either one Negro slave or a lot in Beaufort. Serre's son, Robert received the balance of his estate, an estate that included a total of 40 slaves.²⁰⁶

John Postell was a Berkeley County resident who wrote his will in 1745. After donating L10 to the St. George Parish church, he bequeathed his sons slaves and/or money. His daughter also received slaves as her inheritance.²⁰⁷ Based on the property he bequeathed his heirs, Postell did not appear to have been as prosperous as Serre; however, his estate still included 22 slaves.²⁰⁸

James Belin was a man of very little inherited wealth as reflected in his 1744 will. Belin's only heirs, his two grandsons, received cattle and the use of a Negro woman and her increase, which were to be divided between the two men as the slave children came

²⁰⁵ Langley, *Deed Abstracts*, 51.

²⁰⁶ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47*, 295; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 178.

²⁰⁷ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47*, 283.

²⁰⁸ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 177.

of age. Even in his apparent lack of wealth, Belin owned a female slave.²⁰⁹ Therefore, whether third-generation Huguenots were elite Assemblymen or small landowners, they were avid slave owners.

Huguenots who owned large amounts of land were also in possession of numerous slaves. Daniel Ravenel owned several plantations totaling 6,870 acres, including Wantoot, a 1000 acre plantation that had belonged to his maternal grandfather, Pierre de St. Julien, and Somerset, an 882 acre plantation that he inherited from his father, Rene Ravenel. These plantations would have required the labor of numerous slaves. Therefore, it is plausible to state that Ravenel owned a numerous slaves.²¹⁰

The men in the Mazyck family were also slave owners. At the time of his death, Stephen Mazyck owned 108 slaves.²¹¹ His brothers, Paul and Benjamin were also planters who owned large numbers of slaves: Paul owned 1205 acres of land that was worked by 88 slaves, and Benjamin owned 12,582 acres on which his 89 slaves labored.²¹² Isaac Mazyck, II was also a large land owner, holding 1180 acres during his lifetime. However, the historical records are not clear as to how many slaves Isaac Mazyck owned.²¹³

Planters were not the only Huguenots who owned slaves; merchants, craftsmen, and gentlemen residing in Charleston also owned slaves. Several wills, written in the 1740s confirm this. John Laurens, a resident of Charleston, gave his wife L1000, the household goods, her choice of slaves, and the right to live in the house. His daughters

²⁰⁹ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47*, 324.

²¹⁰ Edgar, *Directory*, 551. See Appendices VI and VII.

²¹¹ Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 178.

²¹² Not all of B. Mazyck's land was used in agriculture; some was wooded. Edgar, *Directory*, 448, 444.

²¹³ Edgar, *Directory*, 445-47.

received L50 each, his son James received land and L2000, while his son Henry received the remainder of the estate, which may have included more slaves.²¹⁴

Laurens' brother, Peter Laurens was also a resident of Charleston when he wrote his will in 1746, identifying himself as a saddler. He asked that his home, stores, and buildings all be sold with the proceeds being equally distributed to his brother, John, and his friend Benjamin Addison, another Charleston saddler. Addison was also to receive a Negro slave and her children.²¹⁵

Jacques Vouloux was another Frenchman who resided in Charleston in the 1740s. In his will, dated November 11, 1748, he bequeathed the French Church in Charleston and Mr. Guichard, the minister, L50. He gave his home and its contents to his wife, along with a Negro man.²¹⁶

Elite Huguenot families also owned slaves who they used exclusively in the operation of their Charleston residences. Noah Serre held land in Santee as well as a town lot in Charleston. His plantation employed 146 slaves while he used an additional 14 slaves exclusively at home in Charleston.²¹⁷ Ebenezer Simmons was a Huguenot bricklayer and merchant who owned slaves strictly for the maintenance and operation of his Charleston home.²¹⁸ Merchants John Guerard, Benjamin D'Harriette, and Benjamin Godin all owned town houses in Charleston and each used from 9 to 24 slaves in these residences.²¹⁹

²¹⁴ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47.* 665-66.

²¹⁵ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-47,* 397.

²¹⁶ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1747-52,* 73.

²¹⁷ Edgar, *Directory*, 607.

²¹⁸ Edgar, *Directory*, 610-11.

²¹⁹ Edgar, *Directory*, 297-98, 193, 283-84.

Based on the above cases, it appears as if slave ownership was prevalent among Charleston's elite. Peter Manigault was among the Charleston elite. He was the son of merchant Gabriel Manigault and an attorney who practiced law in Charleston. His marriage to Elizabeth Wragg united the two most successful mercantile businesses operating within Charleston. Manigault also managed the business affairs of Ralph Izard, a rice and indigo planter with plantations in Goose Creek on the Santee River. As the sole heir of one of Charleston's wealthiest men, Peter would have used several household slaves in the management of his town home. He may have also had the opportunity to buy and sell slaves for Izard's plantations.²²⁰

Another Charleston merchant who may have owned slaves for the upkeep and daily care of his family and home was Francis LaRoche. He married Anne Simons, the daughter of another merchant, in 1746. This marriage produced eight children. Their household likely used the services of several slaves – as was the trend among Charleston's elite.²²¹

This one identifying factor, slave ownership, moved the immigrants' grandchildren further in the evolution of their French identity. Their reactions to the Stono Rebellion and their fears of further slave uprisings caused the Huguenots, and the colony at large, to realign themselves along different boundary lines. No longer divided by economic interests which pitted planter against merchant, the colony split over race.

* * *

The events of September 1739 came as no surprise to the planters in the colony as they had feared a rebellion since the 1720s, when the number of slaves began to

²²⁰ THSSC #4, 1896-98, 48; Alexander S. Salley, ed., *Marriage Notices in the South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1801* (Baltimore; Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), 19.

²²¹ Salley, *Marriage Notices*, 7,11; Chute, *Parish Register*, 79.

outnumber the whites.²²² In some of the low lying parishes, where rice plantations were prevalent, the slave to white ratio was as high as 9 to 1.²²³ Incidents of slave revolts had been reported in the newly established newspaper, the *South Carolina Gazette*.²²⁴ Several incidents of planned revolts had been detected and squelched, leading the Assembly to pass legislation requiring planters to carry firearms to church on Sundays. This measure, along with stricter supervision and harsher punishments designed to intimidate the slave population, was no guarantee that the next slave uprising would not be successful.²²⁵

The events of September 1739 were, however, somewhat of a surprise to the members of the Commons House of Assembly, many of whom were merchants. The colony's governor, Colonel William Bull, had taken office in 1737 when the Commons House was equally divided between two factions, one representing the planters and the other speaking on behalf of the merchants.²²⁶ Carolina's Common House of Assembly was divided into two houses, the lower house or the Assembly, and the upper house or the Council. Members of the Assembly were voted into office, but the twelve members of the Council were appointed by London's Board of Trade. Since many of Charleston's merchants had close connections to members of the Board of Trade, either through business relationships or family, they had the opportunity to persuade its members into Council appointments, an advantage that many among the elite planter class did not have. Thus, in the late 1730s and early 1740s, the Council was controlled 7 to 5 by the

²²² Wood, *Black Majority*, 271-73.

²²³ Taylor, *American Colonies*, 238.

²²⁴ Wood, *Black Majority*, 221.

²²⁵ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-08; Taylor, *American Colonies*, 239.

²²⁶ Sirmans contends that this division in the Assembly was a hold-over from the fight over paper currency, see, *Colonial South Carolina*, 200.

merchant class.²²⁷ During the years leading up to the Stono Rebellion, the two Houses had been engaged in a dispute over which House would have the right and responsibility to initiate legislation concerning money. When word arrived in Carolina in 1738 of the Spanish edict offering freedom to escaped English slaves who reached St. Augustine, the Carolina legislature had been so preoccupied with its power struggles over money issues that it had not offered the colony an adequate legislative response, having passed only a weak patrol law. This new patrol law was not enough to curtail the tide of runaway slaves heading south.²²⁸ Thus, in September 1739, when a small group of blacks attempted to lead a “slave train to Florida,” the only white colonists who might have been surprised by this event were members of the Commons House, a legislative body that was under the control of the merchant faction.

For the merchants of Charleston, the Stono Rebellion was a wake up call; for planters who lived and worked in constant contact with the slave population the Stono event was a predictable consequence of unfortunate circumstances. The colony’s response to these circumstances would bring an end to the divided legislature as the white community united in their attempts to secure their lives, property, and livelihoods in the face of perceived threats. In May of 1740, the House and Council agreed on a new slave code. This new code was a milestone for Carolina slaveholders for several reasons: it redefined a slave as personal chattel, forbade the assembly of slaves (an event that occurred within Charleston regularly and was a cause of great concern for many residents,) outlawed the sale of alcohol to slaves (a factor that many believed contributed to the events of September 9, 1739,) gave the militia responsibility for patrolling the colony,

²²⁷ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 200.

²²⁸ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 207-08.

outlined guidelines for less stringent working conditions for slaves, and substantially increased the duty on new slaves being imported to the colony, thus discouraging the continued importation of slave labor.²²⁹ The slave code of 1740 was effective in preventing further slave uprisings, although individual slaves continued to escape. However, the colonists did not stop fearing for their own safety as incidents of slave resistance continued throughout the province.²³⁰

As these events were unfolding, what role did the French play? Were they simply by-standers who watched as their Anglo-American co-colonists addressed these issues? Were they united in their political involvement as their grandfathers' generation had been when obtaining their rights as naturalized subjects? Or were they divided along economic lines as their fathers had been when addressing the issues of paper currency? A closer look at the members of the Huguenots' third generation will reveal that, in order to secure their lives, property, and livelihoods, the French overlooked their political differences and formed new alliances with the other white colonists. For the third generation of Huguenots abiding in Carolina, their most important identifying factor was the fact that they were white.

A key figure in the economic success of Carolina had been the low-country planter. These men held large amounts of land, worked a large number of slaves, and produced equally large amounts of rice – the colony's leading cash crop in the 1730s and 1740s. Samuel Prioleau, Jr. was one of these key planters. He owned over 3000 acres in Granville County and another 500 in Colleton County. While he lived chiefly in Charleston, where he also ran a mercantile business, he most likely employed overseers

²²⁹ Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 209-10; Wood, *Black Majority*, 324.

²³⁰ For a detailed account of slave resistance in Carolina after the slave code of 1740, see Wood, *Black Majority*, 285-307.

to manage the slaves used in the cultivation of his acreage.²³¹ Prioleau was among the social elite in the colony as he was a colonel in the militia and was reported in the *South Carolina Gazette* as being elected clerk of the Commissioner of Fortification from 1744 to 1755²³² His father, Samuel Prioleau, had also held a comparable social standing by serving in the militia as a member of His Majesty's Regiment of Horse Guards and was reported by the *South Carolina Gazette* as being a Justice of the Peace for Berkeley County in 1734.²³³

The historical records do not speak of any particular involvement by either of the Prioleau men in the Stono event; however, it is likely that both men would have been included in the colony's militia response especially the younger Prioleau who lived near the Stono River.²³⁴ How the younger Prioleau was involved in securing the colony from future slave uprisings is also a matter of speculation since he was not a member of the Council or the Assembly. However, as a merchant, large planter, and a member of the social elite, it is likely that Prioleau had social and professional relationships with those who were active in the colony's legislature. His input into the situation and its solution would have been valuable and were, most likely, sought out by those who were in positions of political authority.

Isaac Mazyck, Jr., Peter de St. Julien, Noah Serre, and Thomas Cordes were several Huguenots who served in the Commons House of Assembly and thereby

²³¹ THSSC, #71-73, 1966-68, 93-96; Ellis, *Historic Families*, 40; Gannon, *Huguenot Refugees*, 400-418 passim.

²³² THSSC, #71-73, 1966-68, 93-96.

²³³ Alton T. Moran, compiler, *Genealogical Abstracts* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Book, Inc. 1987), 72-73.

²³⁴ Prioleau, Jr. owned land in near the Stono River in Granville County. While he may have been in Charleston at the time, that is unlikely for two reasons: first, the social season ended in spring and most planters returned to their plantations for spring planting, and secondly, the rice harvest began in September so, as a large planter, Prioleau was most likely on his plantation overseeing the harvest. Sirmans, *Colonial South Carolina*, 230.

participated in the colony's legislative response to the Stono Rebellion. Isaac Mazyck, Jr. was the first-born son of immigrants Isaac Mazyck and Marianne LeSerrurier.²³⁵ He was an educated and well traveled young man by the time he entered his father's importing business in 1723. At the age of 15, after receiving his preliminary education in Charleston, the younger Mazyck was sent to study under Josiah Barry at an academy in Islington, England. He completed his studies at Trinity College at the University of Dublin in Ireland where he received a liberal arts education. After Mazyck received his degree, he traveled to England, Ireland, France, and Holland visiting relatives.²³⁶ It was upon his return to Charleston that he joined his father's business. Several years after the start of his career as a merchant, Mazyck married his first cousin, Jane Marie de St. Julien.²³⁷ In 1730, the same year his first son, Isaac III, was born, Mazyck was elected a member of the Commons House of Assembly, a position he held for 40 years.²³⁸ Mazyck was a resident of Charleston and lived in a house on Broad Street, near the French Church in Charleston. However, like others in his financial position, Mazyck had acquired land.²³⁹ He purchased 1000 acres in Craven County in 1735 and 150 acres along the Santee River in 1740.²⁴⁰ These lands were no doubt used to cultivate rice and

²³⁵ "La Sainte Bible Amsterdam MDCCXI" in *THSSC* #37, 1932, 54-62.

²³⁶ *THSSC* #37, 1932, 43-58.

²³⁷ Langdon, *Marriages*, 169.

²³⁸ *THSSC* #37, 1932, 43-58, "La Sainte Bible Amsterdam MDCCXI" in *THSSC* #37, 1932, 54-62.

²³⁹ Several Charleston merchants had acquired plantations and were dual residents of Charleston and Goose Creek, Santee, or other outlying areas. Benjamin Godin, one of Charleston's leading merchants, died in 1748. His death notice in the April 27, 1748 issue of the *South Carolina Gazette* stated that Godin, "formerly a merchant of Charleston ... recently retired to his country seat in Goose Creek." Francis LeBrasseur, identified himself as a Charleston merchant in his 1736 will in which he bequeathed land on the Pee Dee River to his daughters, see Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 22. John LaRoche, also identified himself as a Charleston merchant in his will, proved on July 1, 1724. In it he bequeathed his Charleston home, several Charleston tenements, two town lots in Charleston, and over 2500 acres at Winyah. See *THSSC* #51, 1946, 41-45.

²⁴⁰ Gannon, *Huguenot Refugees*, 400-418 passim.

indigo, the two leading cash crops produced within the colony at the time, with the use of slave labor.

Mazyck was a well qualified candidate for the Assembly as he represented several dimensions of colonial life. He was the son of a French immigrant; he was a merchant; and he was a planter and slave owner. Mazyck served on several legislative committees during his tenure in office. During his 1736-39 terms in office, he served on the Committee on Treasurer's Accounts and the Committee on Courts of Justice, two committees for which he was well suited due to his business and educational pursuits. He was also a member of two standing committees concerning the defense of the colony: the Committee on the Armory and the Committee on the Powder Receiver's Accounts. Mazyck's position on these committees indicates his importance in the Assembly and the consequential influence he had within Carolina's political arena. Mazyck had been among the merchant faction in previous legislative debates, but when the Stono Rebellion occurred in 1739, he put his concerns over paper currency aside and pursued a legislative solution to the slavery issues that were threatening the entire white colony.²⁴¹

Colonel Thomas Cordes was also a member of the Assembly from 1736 to 1739. He had been born in 1700, and, as a Berkeley County planter, had been elected to the Commons House of Assembly to represent St. John's Parish, Berkeley County. He had joined an elite Berkeley family when he married Catherine Gendron, one of the younger daughters of Captain Philip Gendron, a wealthy Santee resident.²⁴² During his terms in office, Cordes served on several committees, including the Joint Conference Committee.

²⁴¹ Mazyck was a member of the Moderate group of merchants in the paper currency conflicts and was most likely one of the 28 merchants who signed the December 1722 petition cautioning the Assembly of the inflationary consequences of printing additional paper currency.

²⁴² *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1747-52*, 119; *THSSC #12*, 1905, 53

Assembly members of this committee were in a better bargaining position, due to their access to the Council. As explained by historian George Edward Frakes, “during most (legislative sessions) committees of the two houses compromised their differences in a joint conference committee and passed new laws.”²⁴³ Motivated by the fact that he was a planter and slave holder, Cordes was most likely a key player in the negotiating process that took place between the Council and the Assembly which resulted in the colony’s new slave code.²⁴⁴

Pierre de St. Julien was another Huguenot descendant who was in the Assembly during 1736 to 1739, having been elected to represent St. James Santee Parish. Born in the elite de St. Julien – LeSerrurier family in 1699, he lived in Berkeley County on his plantation, Wantoot, which he had inherited from his father. He married Sarah Godin after ending a relationship with a certain Judith Girard, a situation that caused his father to place a disclaimer against the young man in his will. Apparently, the relationship between young Pierre and Girard had not received the approval of the elder de St. Julien. Had the young man married Girard, he would have been disinherited.²⁴⁵ His marriage to Godin leads to the assumption that the unsanctioned situation had been terminated. Sarah Godin was, apparently, a more favorable marriage partner. She was one of nine daughters born to Benjamin Godin, a Charleston merchant who had also been one of the leaders in the hard-money faction during the paper currency battles that plagued the colony in the 1720s.²⁴⁶

²⁴³ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 64.

²⁴⁴ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 179.

²⁴⁵ *Miscellaneous Records, Volume 1, 1671-1724*, 16.

²⁴⁶ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1747-52*, 65.

De St Julien served on several committees during his tenure in the Assembly, including the Committee on Indian Affairs and the Joint Conference Committee.²⁴⁷ Being chosen to be on the committee on Indian affairs was, no doubt, helpful to his father-in-law. Godin was part of a family trade network that operated between Charleston and London. Godin's brother, Stephen Godin, operated the business on the London end; Benjamin Godin was in charge of the Charleston location. This mercantile connection was made prosperous in the early eighteenth century through trade in Indian goods, mainly deer and beaver skins, rice, and naval stores.²⁴⁸ In the 1730s, however, like other Charleston merchants, Godin had also been profiting from the African slave trade. According to a notice published in the *South Carolina Gazette* in August 30, 1735, Godin was offering for sale 398 Negros, 366 adults and 32 children. They had just arrived in the colony from Angola via the *Molly*.²⁴⁹

De St. Julien's appointment to the Joint Conference Committee placed him in a useful position when the Assembly and Council were working on a revision to the slave codes in Carolina. As with his fellow Huguenot-descendants, Isaac Mazyck and Thomas Cordes, de St. Julien had both the opportunity and motivation to overlook personal differences of opinions on money issues that had previously divided the merchants and planters, Assembly and Council, and work together on a legislative solution to the slave problem that threatened their colony, their lives, their property, and their livelihoods.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ Frakes, *Laboratory*, 181.

²⁴⁸ Nash, "Huguenot Merchants," 218.

²⁴⁹ *South Carolina Gazette*, August 30, 1735.

²⁵⁰ All three of these men were in the Assembly from 1736 to 1739 and had worked together on several committees. Cordes and de St. Julien were both on the Committee of Indian Affairs; Cordes and Mazyck were on the Committee of the Armory; Mazyck and de St. Julien served together on the Committee for the Powder Receiver's Accounts; and de St. Julien and Cordes worked together on the Joint Conference Committee, see Frakes, *Laboratory*, 175-181.

The French families who lived in the colony during the late 1730s and early 1740s proportionately well represented in their legislature with 18.6% of the Assembly members being of Huguenot descent.²⁵¹ This percentage of Huguenot representation in the Commons House of Assembly is higher than the proportion of French colonists residing in the colony at this or any other time since the beginning stages of colonial settlement.²⁵² This figure speaks well of the political and economic successes experienced by the French immigrants in Carolina.

Not all of the Huguenot families were able to experience the fulfillment of their grandparents' dream of economic prosperity in a community of religious toleration, but many did achieve that goal by overcoming a long progression of challenges. The original 154 religious refugees arrived in Carolina in the late 1690s as a divergent immigrant group with the common threads of religion, language, and heritage keeping them loosely connected. In the pursuit of their dream of a better life for themselves and their children, the Huguenots adapted their political and religious allegiances by acting cohesively. This pursuit was continued into the next generation as the children of the refugees, many of whom had become planters or merchants, found themselves on opposite sides of a colony-wide conflict over paper currency; each side pursuing their dream from a different perspective. In an effort to protect the fulfillment of their forefathers' dream, the following generation found itself faced with a conflict that could only be overcome by

²⁵¹ Of the 43 members in the 1736-39 Assembly, 8 were French: John Postell, John de la Bere, Samuel Prioleau, Sr., Peter de St. Julien, Noah Serre, Thomas Cordes, James LeBas, and Isaac Mazyck, Jr., see Frakes, *Laboratory*, 175-181.

²⁵² Figures on the number of Huguenots in Carolina vary; however, the general consensus of opinion sets the French population at 10% to 15% of the total white colonial population. See Baird, *Huguenots*, 102. Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 113.

putting aside their individual economic and political differences and working cohesively towards a common solution for the protection of all.

* * *

In the process of achieving and maintaining their economic success in Carolina, the factors that had identified the Huguenots as French - language, religion, and heritage, had begun to disappear. One practice that had faded, but not vanished, was that of endogamous marriages, especially within the elite French families residing primarily in Santee. This can be attested to by comparing the marriage patterns of the two groups of families, one residing principally in Charleston and the other group residing primarily in Santee. The families in these two groups are equally successful, whether they were merchants or planters or both. However, one factor that sets them apart is their marriage patterns. The Charleston group had a higher percent of exogamous marriages in their third generation while the Santee group's percent of exogamous marriages was lower.

Pierre Manigault and Daniel Huger were French immigrants who settled in Charleston as merchants. Both gentlemen were highly successful and each left a sizeable estate to their heirs.²⁵³ Pierre Manigault was married twice, first to Judith Giton, then to Ann Reason. His children married exclusively into English families. Gabriel Manigault married Ann Ashby and Judith Manigault married James Banbury.²⁵⁴ The Banburys had two daughters whose marriages are not a part of the historical records. Gabriel and Ann Manigault did have a son, Peter. He married Elizabeth Wragg, the daughter of another

²⁵³ In his will, dated 1729, Pierre Manigault left his children town lots, land, houses, storehouses, tenements, slaves, stills, and money. See *THSSC* #30, 38-42. On account of the arrival of himself, his wife, two children, and 2 servants, Daniel Huger was awarded 300 acres by the Lord Proprietors. He also purchased three town lots in 1694. Before his death in 1711 he owned over 200 acres in Craven County, see Salley, *Warrants, 1692-1711*, 34; Gannon, *Huguenot Refugees*, 399, 400-418 passim.

²⁵⁴ *THSSC* #4, 1896-98, 24-48; *THSSC* #30, 1925, 38-42; and Moore, *Abstracts*, 163.

Charleston merchant.²⁵⁵ Therefore, the marriages within Manigault's third generation were 100% exogamous.

Daniel Huger was one of the first Huguenots to settle in Charleston. He was a merchant, but he was also a planter, having received 300 acres in 1694 from the Lords Proprietors.²⁵⁶ He married Margueritte Perdriau whose family was also involved in the mercantile business.²⁵⁷ Their two adult children, Marguritte and Daniel, Jr. each married French partners, with one exception. Marguritte married Elias Horry, her brother, Daniel, Jr., married four times: Elizabeth Gendron, Mary Cordes, Lydia Johnson, and Ann LeJau. The third generation in this merchant/planter family deviated from the strong endogamous pattern set by the two previous generations. All ten grandchildren in this family married; seven married into English families and three married into other French families.²⁵⁸ Therefore, 70% of the marriages in the Huger family's third generation were exogamous.

There was a close family connection between several elite families residing in Santee.²⁵⁹ These families were the LeSerruriers, de St. Juliens, and Mazycks. Through a pattern of inter-marriages, these families were able to maintain a lower percentage of exogamous marriages than their Charleston counterparts discussed above. Jacques LeSerrurier and his wife, Elizabeth Leger, arrived in Carolina with their son, Jacques, Jr., and their four daughters, Susanna, Catherine, Damaris Elizabeth, and Marie.²⁶⁰ Jacques,

²⁵⁵ Langdon, *Marriages*, 66; Salley, *Marriage Notices*, 19; *THSSC* #4, 1896-98, 24-48.

²⁵⁶ Salley, *Warrants, 1692-1711*, 34.

²⁵⁷ Margueritte's cousin Louis was a ship owner according to his will, dated 1694. See *THSSC* #10, 1903, 45-48.

²⁵⁸ Daniel Huger, "Huger Family History," in *THSSC* #72, 1967, 35-51.

²⁵⁹ See Appendix VI.

²⁶⁰ Salley, *Narratives*, 251; Baldwin, *First Settlers*, 145; Langdon, *Marriages*, 60; *THSSC* #10, 1903, 25-26.

Jr. left no descendants; however, each of their daughters married prominent Huguenots and had numerous children.²⁶¹

Susanna LeSerrurier married J. F. Gignilliat and settled in the West Indies. Their son, Peter, married Susanna de la Coussaye. Their subsequent children married into Dutch or English families.²⁶² By moving outside the colony, Susanna's children and grandchildren were subjected to different opportunities and influences. Their marriage patterns are therefore, not included in the figures for the overall family.

Damaris Elizabeth LeSerrurier married Pierre de St. Julien, a gentleman planter who resided in St. John's Parish, Berkeley County. They had nine children, five of whom married. These five marriages were exclusively within other French families. Their eldest son, Pierre married Sarah Godin; son Paul married Mary Ravenel (a first cousin) first, then Mary Verditty; son Joseph married Elizabeth Mayrant; daughter Marianne married Isaac Mazyck; and daughter Damaris Elizabeth married Daniel Ravenel (another first cousin.)²⁶³ The third generation in the de St. Julien family began to marry into non-French families. Of the twelve marriages within the grandchildren's generation, 9 were to French spouses and 3 were to English spouses.²⁶⁴ Therefore, the percent of exogamous marriages within the third generation of the de St. Julien family was 25%, much lower than the Manigault's 100% or the Huger's 70%.

²⁶¹ THSSC #10, 1903, 25-26

²⁶² THSSC #64, 1959, 78-84.

²⁶³ Evidence for these marriages can be found in the wills of both Pierre and Damaris Elizabeth. See *Miscellaneous Records*, vol. 1, 1671-1724, 16; *Miscellaneous Records Will Book 1736-1740*, 75-78; THSSC #11, 1904, 38-44.,

²⁶⁴ *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-1747*, 62, 246, 325, 369; Langdon, *Marriages*, 87; Hirsch, *Huguenots*, 24; and THSSC #11, 1904, 38-44.

Marianne LeSerrurier married Isaac Mazyck, a Charleston merchant. They had eight children, six of whom married.²⁶⁵ With one exception, all the Mazyck children married into prominent French families.²⁶⁶ Of the twenty-one known marriages for the Mazyck family's third generation, the number of exogamous marriages increased from the two previous generations. Nine Mazyck grandchildren married into French families and twelve grandchildren married into English families.²⁶⁷ With 12 out of 21 marriages being to English partners, the percent of exogamous marriages within the Mazyck family increased substantially from the second generation's 17% to an elevated 57%.

The figures for the Mazyck's third generation are somewhat skewed due to the extremely high rate of exogamous marriages for the children of Marianne Mazyck and her merchant husband, Benjamin Godin. Their marriage produced 15 children, nine of whom married. Of these nine marriages, seven were to non-French spouses. The marriage patterns of this third-generation family do not follow those set by the remaining members of the Mazyck family. However, considering Godin was a prominent Charleston merchant, it stands to reason that his children would marry according to the patterns of other Charleston families. Therefore, when the marriage patterns of the Godin family's third generation are removed from the remaining members of the Mazyck family's third generation, the percentages reveal a much different picture. There were 22

²⁶⁵ Isaac Mazyck, "La Sainte Bible Amsterdam MDCCXI," in *THSSC* #37, 1932, 54-62; *Charleston County South Carolina Record of Wills, 1740-1747*, 174; Salley, *Death Notices*, 32;

²⁶⁶ Marie Ann married Benjamin Godin, Jr., Isaac Jr. married Jeanne Marie de St. Julien; Paul married Catherine Chastaigner; Elizabeth married John Gendron; Marie married Isaac Chardon; Stephen married Suzanne Ravenel; Susan married Richard Woodward. See Appendix VI.

²⁶⁷ Isaac Mazyck Jr.'s children married: Mary Mazyck, Philip Porcher, Mary Mazyck, Elizabeth Hamon, and Plowden Weston. Marie Ann's daughter married Benjamin Garden. Paul's daughters married William Mazyck and Daniel Ravenel, Jr. Elizabeth's three children married a Mazyck, Alcimus Gaillard, and John Ball. Stephen's daughter Mary married her cousin Isaac Mazyck, III. Susan had no children. See Appendix VI.

marriages for the remaining Mazyck grandchildren: 15 were endogamous and seven were exogamous, thus bring the percent of exogamous marriages to 32%.

Catherine LeSerrurier, the remaining LeSerrurier daughter, married Henry LeNoble, a French immigrant who became one of the colony's leading statesmen.²⁶⁸ This marriage produced two daughters: Catherine and Susanne. Suzanne married twice, first to Alexandre Chastaigner then to Rene-Louis Ravenel. These two marriages resulted in two offspring: Catherine Chastaigner and Paul Ravenel. However, the records do not contain marriage information on this third generation.

As the above figures demonstrate, there were a number of Santee families who were able to retain a portion of their French identity through a pattern of endogamous marriages. Why this occurred is a matter of speculation as the historical records are incomplete. Perhaps these few families were intending to maintain a French presence in the colony. Perhaps their social circle consisted of a limited number of families, thus their children inter-married frequently. Perhaps endogamous marriages were a still useful means of managing the family wealth. One thing does remain clear however, the families residing in Santee were more successful in maintaining a semblance of French identity through endogamous marriages while the Charleston Huguenots did not.

²⁶⁸ *THSSC* #14, 1907, 40-43.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The French Protestant diaspora has fascinated many historians throughout the years. The many studies of their behavior throughout colonial America have caused all to conclude that those factors which readily identified them as Huguenot, language, religion, and family ties, quickly faded. As Butler stated, “Everywhere they fled, everywhere they vanished.” The reasons given for this disappearance has been attributed to several factors: their small numbers and the lack of a continual stream of fellow refugees, the aggressive Anglicization programs of the British majority, or a lack of any social organizations through which the refugees could build a sense of community and identity. While I agree that the French immigrants were quick to adjust to their new surroundings, the adjustments they made were done in an effort to achieve their dream of economic prosperity in a community of religious toleration.

The immigrant generation, though diverse in their provincial cultures, language dialects, and occupations were still loosely connected due to their refugee status, Calvinistic religion, French language, and dream of a prosperous life – one free of religious persecution. As this first generation began their lives in Carolina and became involved in the political arena, they were challenged by the colony’s Anglo-American majority which held certain political and economic strong-holds over the colony. When the Huguenots were faced with the eminent possibility of losing their rights to vote, hold public office, and confer property to heirs, they chose to become naturalized British

subject, thereby guaranteeing for themselves and their posterity the same rights as native-born Englishmen.

Several years later in 1706, when the smaller Huguenot churches in Santee were struggling to fill their pulpits and pay their pastors, their decision to align themselves with the Anglican denomination was a logical response. Worshipping according to the Anglican religion was still in keeping with the three supreme commands of their own Calvinist religion. This decision was not made in an attempt to denounce their Huguenot faith; this decision was made for financial reasons. Their worship in Anglican churches diminished their identity as Huguenots, but it was a further step in accomplishing their dream of prosperity and religious harmony.

As the immigrant generations' children came into their majority, they formed a pattern of political behavior that differed from their fathers'. When confronted with the economic and political challenges over paper money, the second generation formed alliances based on their professional and economic positions within the community instead of aligning themselves as a cohesive immigrant group as the previous generation had done. No longer needing the political support of their fellow Huguenot descendents, the second generation now turned to their fellow merchants and planters for their political strength. Again, this shift in behavior contributed to the loss of Huguenot cohesion, but it was an effective means of achieving and maintaining their collective dream of prosperity.

The grandchildren of the refugee group addressed the issue of the disproportionate amount of black slaves in the colony. By 1740, soon after the Stono Rebellion, the colonists had redefined slavery and themselves. Carolinians were either black slaves or white colonists who lived in constant fear of a slave revolt. Not all white

colonists owned slaves, but every white Carolinian knew that their property and lives were in jeopardy if another insurrection took place. Therefore, the white colonists, whether wealthy or poor, merchant or planter, French or British, united in their efforts to maintain control of their black slave population. The Huguenots' participation in the unification was the final step in the evolution of their readily identifiable Huguenot heritage. There were, however, a few French families who resided primarily in Santee who were able to maintain some semblance of Huguenot identity through a pattern of inter-marriages.

Overall, the French Protestants who fled France in the 1680s and arrived on the shores of Carolina shortly thereafter were in pursuit of a dream. They were seeking a life of economic prosperity in a community of religious toleration. This was the life that had been promised them by the proprietors; this was the life the Huguenots made for themselves in Carolina. Over the decades, they adapted their methods of political, economic and religious participation in order to achieve and maintain this dream and, along the way; they evolved from Huguenot immigrants to merchants and planters to white South Carolinians.

APPENDIX I

**TABLES FOR THE OCCUPATIONS AND ORIGINS OF THE FIRST
GENERATION HUGUENOTS**

*Table 1. Occupations of First-Generation Huguenots*²⁶⁹

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Craftsmen ²⁷⁰	25	26%
Merchants	18	19%
Weavers & silk throwsters	14	14%
Gentlemen	12	12%
Planters	12	12%
Tanners & shammy dressers	5	5%
Ministers	3	3%
Physicians & surgeons	3	3%
Vintners	3	3%
Gardener	1	1%
	96	100%

*Table 2. Regions of Origin of First-Generation Huguenots*²⁷¹

<u>Region</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Poitou: including Poitiers, Aunis, Saintonge, LaRochele, and Ile de Re	56	44%
Normandy: including Dieppe	17	13%
Central: including Tours, Berry, and Orleans	13	10%
Languedoc: including Montpellier	8	6%
Alsace: including Beauce	7	5%
Brittany	6	5%
Picardy: including Artois	6	5%
Switzerland	5	4%
Aquitaine: including Bordeaux	4	3%
Rhone-Alps: including Grenoble and Dauphiny	3	2%
Ile-de-France: including Paris	2	2%
London:	1	1%
	128	100%

²⁶⁹ Based on information provided in the Baldwin, *First Settlers*, 257; THSSC #72, 5-7; VanRuymbeke, *New Babylon*, 226-241.

²⁷⁰ This category includes: coopers (6), joiners (5), blacksmiths (3), silversmiths (2), gunsmiths (2), shipwrights (2), stonecutter (1), saddler (1), cobbler (1), and sailmaker (1).

²⁷¹ Based on information provided in the *Liste*.

APPENDIX II
FIRST GENERATION HUGUENOTS

First Generation Huguenots Arriving in Carolina by 1696

<u>Name</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Bacot, Pierre & Jacquine Mercier	Tours	Planter
Baton, Isaac (widower)	Picardy	Weaver
Bisset, Ellye & Jeanne Poinset	Saintonge	Tanner
Bonhoste, Jonas & Catherine Allaire	Paris	Wheelwright
Bonneau, Anthoine & Catherine DuBliss	LaRochelle	Cooper
Bonnel, Daniel & Marie Izambert		**
Boureau, Anthoine & Jeanne Braud	Poitou	Gunsmith
Boyd, Jacques, brother Vintner/merchant	Bordeaux	
Boyd, Gabriel, brother	Bordeaux	
Boyd, Jean (brother) & Jeanne Berchaud	Bordeaux	Merchant
Bruneau, Paul	La Rochelle	Gentleman
Buretel, Pierre & Elizabeth Chintrie	LaRochelle	Merchant
Caillabeuf, Isaac & Rachel Fanton	St. Soline	Gentleman
Collin, Pierre	Ile de Re	Merchant
Cordes, Anthoine & Ester M. Balluet	Languedoc	Physician
Cothonneau, Jeremie & Marye Billon	LaRochelle	Cooper
DeBourdeaux, Jacques & Madeleine Garillond dresser	Grenoble	Shammy
De Rousserie, Francois	Montpelier	Vintner
De St. Julien, Jacques & D. Eliz. LeSerurier	Brittany	Gentleman
Dubourdieu, Samuel & Judith Dugue (sister to Pierre, Isaac, & Elizabeth Dugue)	Brittany	Gentleman
Dugue, Pierre, brother	Berry	Shipwright
Dugue, Isaac, brother	Berry	Shipwright
Dugue, Elizabeth, sister	Berry	
Dugue, Marianne Fleury, daughter, (widow of Jacques Dugue)		
DuBosc, Jacques & Marie Dugue (sister)	Languedoc	
Durouzeux, Daniel & Elizabeth Foucheraud	Saintonge	Tanner
Faucheraud, Anne Vignaud, widow	Saintonge	
Fleury de la Pleine, Abraham	Tours	Gentleman
Fromaget, Charles	Poitou	Planter
Gallopain, Jacques	Normandy	Saddler
Girardeau, Jean	Poitou	
Girard, Pierre	Poitou	Merchant

Guerin, Mathurin & Marie Nicollas	Saintonge	Gardiner
Heraud, Jean	Saintonge	
Horry, Elizabeth Garnier, widow	Ile de Re	
Horry, Suzanne Varin, widow	Switzerland	
Hugur, Daniel & Margueritte Perdriau	LaRochele	Merchant
Jouet, Daniel & Marie Courcier Brazier/sailmaker	Ile de Re	
Lardan, Jacques & Marthe Moreau	Dieppe	Joiner
LaSalle, Pierre & Elizabeth Messett	Bordeaux	Merchant
Lebert, Jean	Brittany	Merchant
LeChevallier, Pierre & Madeleine Garillon	Normandy	Joiner
LeSerurier, Jacques & Elizabeth Leger	Picardy	Merchant
Lesueur, Abraham & Catherinne Poinsett	Normandy	Joiner
Marseau, Francoise Mounart, widow	Poitou	
Mazyck, Isaac & Marianne LeSerrurier	Ile de Re	Merchant
Memin, Auguste	Poitou	Gunsmith
Nicholas, Jacques	Saintonge	Merchant
Normand, Philipe & Elizabeth Juin	Poitou	Smith
Pasquereau, Louis	Tours	Merchant
Pecontal, Jean	Languedoc	
Pepin, Paul	Dauphiny	Blacksmith
Peronneau, Henry	LaRochele	Merchant
Poinset, Pierre, Sr.	Ile de Re	Tanner/smith
Poinset, Pierre, Jr. & Anne Gobard	Ile de Re	Tanner/smith
Prioleau, Elias & Jeanne Burgeaud	Saintonge	Minister
Ribouteau, Gabriel	Poitou	Cooper
Royer, Noe, Sr. & Madeleine Saulnier	Tours	Weaver
Royer, Noe, Jr. & Judith Giton	Tours	Weaver
Sere, Noe & Catherine Challiou	Brie	Weaver
Tauvron, Estienne & Madeleine (brother of Marie Tauvron LeBreun)	Ile de Re	Cooper
Tauvron, Marie LeBreun, widow (sister of Estienne Tauvron)	Ile de Re	
Thibou, Louis & Charlotte Mariette	Orleans	Merchant
Thomas, Jean	Saintonge	Physician
Trouillard, Laurent P. & Madeleine Maslet	Normandy	Minister

Liste des habitants de Santee

Benoit, Jacques & Sara Mounie	Poitou	
Berteaud, Jean	Normandy	
Bochet, Nicholas & Suzanne Dehays	Brie	Planter
Bochet, Abel, brother	Brie	Planter
Boisseau, Jean & Marie Postel	Saintonge	
Carion, Moise & Anne Ribouteau	Languedoc	Joiner
Carriere, Jean	Normandy	Cooper**
Carron, Claude	Touraine	Planter
Chastaigner Henry Auguste, brother	LaRochelle	Gentleman
Chastaigner, Alexandre Thesee & Eliz. Buretel	LaRochelle	Gentleman
Couillandeu, Pierre (son of Marie Fougeraut)	Saintonge	Blacksmith
deLongemare, Nicholas, Sr.	Normandy	Silversmith
deLongemare, Nicholas, Jr. & Marie Bonneau	Normandy	Silversmith
DeRousserye, Francois	Languedoc	Vintner
De St. Julien, Louis (brother of Pierre de St. Julien)	Vitre, Brittany	Gentleman
Dubosc, Isaac & Suzanne Couillandeu	Normandy/Saintonge	
Dutarque, Louis	Picardy	Weaver
Fleury, Isaac	Touraine	
Fougeraut, Brigaud, Marie Brigaud, widow (mother of Pierre Couillandeu)	Saintonge	
Gaillard, Joachim & Ester Paparel	Languedoc	Merchant
Gaillard, Pierre & Elizabeth Leclair	Poitou	Stonecutter
Garnier, Daniel & Elizabeth Fanton	Ile de Re	Merchant
Gendron, Jean, brother	Aunis	Merchant
Gendron, Philippe & Magdelaine Chardon (widow of Louis Pasquereau)	Aunis/Tours	Cooper
Gignilliat, Jean Francois & Suzanne LeSerrurier	Switzerland	Gentleman
Gourdain, Louis	Artois	Planter
Guerri, Pierre & Jeanne Broussard	Poitou	
Guerrian, Francois & Anne Arrine	Saintonge	
Guibal, Jean & Ester Le Cert	Languedoc	
Horry, Ellye	Ile de France	Planter
Juin, George & Suzanne LeRiche	Poitou/London	Planter

LeBas, Jacques	Normandy	Gentleman
LeGendre, Daniel	Normandy	
LeGrand, Isaac & Elizabeth Dieu	Normandy	Gentleman
LeNud, Nicholas	Normandy	
Manigault, Gabriel, brother	LaRochelle	Builder
Manigault, Pierre, brother distiller	LaRochelle	Merchant,
Marion, Benjamin & Judith Baluet	Poitou	Planter
Michaud, Honore	Switzerland	
Michaud, Pierre, brother & Sarra Bertomeau (widow of Elie Jodon, mother of Ester Jodon)	Poitou/Ile de Re	
Michaud, Abraham, brother & Ester Jodon (daughter of Elie Jodon & Sarra Bertomeau)	Poitou/Ile de Re	
Mournier, Pierre & Louise Robinet	Ile de Re	
Pele, Jean Pierre & Gabrielle Pele	Switzerland	
Poitevin, Anthoine & Margueritte DeBordeaux	Beauce	Weaver
Porcher, Isaac & Claude Cheriny	Berry	Surgeon
Potell, Jean & Madeleine Pepin	Normandy	
Potell, Marye Brugnet, widow (mother of Jean Potell)	Normandy	
Prou, Jean, widower	Poitou	
Ravenel, Rene & Charlotte de St. Julien	Vitre, Brittany	Gentleman
Rembert, Andre & Anne Bressan	Dauphiny	Shoemaker
Robert, Pierre & Jeanne Bayer	Switzerland	Minister
Seneschaud, Daniel & Magdelaine Ardouin	Poitou/Saintonge	
Tample, Estienne & Marie DuBosc	Saintonge	
Videau, Pierre & Janne Elizabeth Videau	LaRochelle	Planter

Liste des Noms des fransioise qui se recuille en l'Eglize du Cartie d'Orange

Aunant, Jean & Marie Soyer throwsters	Normandy	Silk
Belin, Alard	LaRochelle	Merchant
Bochet, Nicholas & Susanne Deshais	Brie	Planter
Bremar, Solomon & Marie Sauvagot	Picardy/Saintonge	Weaver**
Doucet, Jean		
Dutarte, Pierre & Anne Poitevin (daughter of Anthoine & Gabrielle)	Beauce	Weaver
Goudin, Louis (Gourdain)	Artois	Planter
Marbeuf, Joseph	Brittany	
Picar, Louis		
Poitevin, Anthoine, Sr. & Gabrielle Berou	Beauce	Weaver
Poitevin, Anthoine, Jr. & Marguerite DeBourdos	Beauce	Weaver
Poitevin, Pierre, son of Anthoine, Sr.	Beauce	Weaver
Trezevant, Daniel, Sr. & Susanne Maulard	Beauce	Weaver
Trezevant, Daniel, Jr.	Beauce	Weaver ²⁷²

** Indentured servant

²⁷² Based on information provided in *Liste*; Baldwin, *First Settlers*, 257; THSSC #72, 5-7; and VanRuymbeke, *New Babylon*, 226-241.

APPENDIX III
SECOND GENERATION HUGUENOTS

Members of the Huguenots' Second-Generation Residing in Carolina

<u>Name (and spouse or siblings)</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Residency</u>
Bacot, Pierre m ²⁷³ . Mary Peronneau	Planter	Goose Creek
Bacot, Elizabeth m. Jonas Bonhoste		
Bonhoste, Jonas m. Elizabeth Bacot	Planter	Santee
Benoit, Jacques, Jean & Pierre		
Bochet, Nicholas m. Mary Bonneau	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Bochet, Pierre & Suzanne		
Bonneau, Anthoine Jr. m. Jeanne Videau	Cooper/Planter	C'ton/Berkeley Co.
Bonneau, Jean Henri m. Anne _____ ²⁷⁴	Joiner	
Bonneau, Jacob, m. Jane Videau	Planter	
Bonneau, Mary m. Nicholas Bochet		
Bruneau, Henry	Planter	Santee
Carion, Moise		
Chastaigner, Alexandre		
Chastaigner, Elizabeth Madeleine		
Cordes, Isaac m. Eleanor Cocas	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Cordes, Thomas m. Catherine Gendron	Planter	Berkeley
Cordes, Francis m. Marianne Porcher		
Cordes, Ann & Madeleine		
Cothonneau, Pierre	Planter	Berkeley Co.
DeBourdeaux, Madeleine m. Dan Brabant	Planter	Berkeley Co.
DeBourdeaux, Anthoine m. Marianne _____	Carpenter/Planter	Berkeley Co.
DeBourdieu, Judith m. James Colleton		
DeBourdieu, Louis Philipe & Samuel		
DeLonguemare, Nicholas m Marie Bonneau	Silversmith/Merch.	C'ton/Santee
De St. Julien, Pierre m. Sarah Godin	Planter	Berkeley/Craven Co.
De St. Julien, Jacques	Planter/Stockman	St. John's Berkeley
De St. Julien, Henry	Gentleman	Charleston
De St. Julien, Paul m. Mary Ravenel	Planter	Berkeley/Craven Co.
De St. Julien, Joseph m. Elizabeth Mayrant	Planter	C'ton/Berkeley Co.
De St. Julien, Jeanne M. m. Isaac Mazyck	Merchant/Planter	C'ton/Berkeley Co.
De St. Julien, D ²⁷⁵ . Eliz. m. Daniel Ravenel	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Dutarque, Anna m. Louis Mouzon		
Dutarque, Ester m. Stephen Fogartie		
Dutarque, John m. Mary _____	Planter	St. Thomas Parish

²⁷³ M. indicates "was married to."

²⁷⁴ _____ indicates the (full) name is unknown.

²⁷⁵ D. is an abbreviation for Damaris.

Dutarque, Mary m. Alex. Brown²⁷⁶
 Dutarque, Sarah m. Henry Bonneau
 Dutarque, Martha m. Stephen Miller²⁷⁷

Fleury, Marianne Dugue	Widow	Goose Creek
Gaillard, Jean m. Elizabeth _____	Planter	Santee
Gaillard, Bartholomew	Surveyor	Craven Co.
Gaillard, Theodore	Planter	Santee
Gendron, Jean m. Elizabeth Mazyck	Planter	Santee
Gendron, Marie m. Samuel Prioleau, Jr.		
Gendron, Elizabeth m. Daniel Huger		
Gendron, Charlotte m. Pierre Porcher		
Gendron, Henrietta m. Thomas Cordes		
Gendron, Jeanne m. Paul Doussaint		
Gignilliat, Pierre m. Susanne Coussaye	Planter/merchant	West Indies
Gignilliat, Abraham, Henry & Marye		
Girardeau, Peter, John, Richard, James and Isaac	Planters	Craven, Berkeley Co.
Godin, Benjamin m. Marie Ann Mazyck	Merchant/planter	C'ton ²⁷⁸ /Goose Creek
Godin, Martha m. Stephen Bull		
Guerin, Isaac m. Martha Mouzon		
Guerin, Susanna m. Robert How		
Guerin, John m. Elizabeth Johnston		
Guerin, Marian m. Abraham Roulain		
Guerin, Peter m. Mary Marion		St. Thomas/St. Denis
Guerrard, Peter Jacob m. Hannah _____	Planter/inventor	Berkeley Co./ C'ton
Guerrard, John m Martha _____	Merchant	Charleston
Guerrard, Elizabeth, Isaac & Joseph		
Horry, Eliz. M. m. Charles Lewis		
Horry, Marye m. John LaRoche		
Horry, Elias m. Margaret Lynch	Planter	Santee
Horry, Daniel m. Sarah Ford	Planter	Santee
Horry, Peter m. Martha Ramsey	Merchant	Charleston
Horry, John m. Ann Robert	Merchant	St. George Parish
Horry, Henrietta m. Anthony Bonneau		
Horry, Magdalen m. Paul Trapier		
Huger, Marguritte m. Elias Horry	Planter	Santee
Huger, Daniel m. Elizabeth Gendron	Planter/Assembly	St. John's, Berkeley
June, Jean m. Anna Howard		

LeGrand, Anne Francois m. Isaac LaGrand

²⁷⁶ Brown is the anglicized version of LeBreun.

²⁷⁷ Miller is the anglicized version of Mournier.

²⁷⁸ C'ton indicates Charleston.

LeJau, Francis m. Mary Ashby	Planter	St. John's, Berkeley
LeJau, Elizabeth m. Thomas Ashby	Planter	St. John's, Berkeley
Manigault, Gabriel m. Ann Ashby	Merchant/Planter	Charleston
Manigault, Judith m. James Banbury		Charleston
Marion, Benjamin m. Elizabeth Cater		
Marion, Ester m. Henry Gignilliat		
Marion, Gabriel m. Esther Cordes	Planter	Georgetown
Marion, John m. Mary Sanders		
Marion, Peter m. Mary Vouloux	Planter	Goose Creek
Marion, Paul m. Elizabeth Peronneau	Planter	Goose Creek
Marion, James m. Mary Bremer	Planter	Goose Creek
Marion, Benjamin, Judith, Many, Ann, and Elizabeth.		
Mazyck, Isaac m. Jane M. de St. Julien	Merchant/Assembly	C'ton/Santee
Mazyck, Paul m. Catherine Chastaigner	Planter	Goose Creek
Mazyck, Marie Ann m. Benjamin Godin	Merchant/Planter	C'ton/Goose Creek
Mazyck, Elizabeth m. John Gendron	Planter	Santee
Mazyck, Marie m. Isaac Chardon		
Mazyck, Susan m. Richard Woodward		
Mazyck, Stephen m. Suzanne Ravenel		
Pasquereau, Pierre m. Mary _____	Merchant	Charleston
Pepin, Paul m. Mary Ann _____	Blacksmith	
Poitevin, Anthoine, m. Marg. DeBourdos	Planter	Orange Quarter
Poitevin, Pierre m. _____ Dutarque	Planter	Orange Quarter
Poitevin, Ann Gabrielle m. Pierre Dutarte		
Porcher, Isaac m. Rachel Dupre	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Porcher, Pierre m. Charlotte Gendron	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Porcher, Susanna m. Charles Colleton		
Porcher, Elizabeth m. Theodore Verditty		
Porcher, Marianne m. Francis Cordes		
Porcher, Claude & Madelaine		
Potell ²⁷⁹ , Jean m. Marguerite _____	Assembly	St. George Parish
Potell, Pierre & Jacques		
Prioleau, Samuel m. Mary M. Gendron	Silversmith/Planter	C'ton/Granville Co
Prioleau, Jeanne, Marie & Esther		
Ravenel, Daniel m. D. Eliz. De St. Julien	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Ravenel, Rene-Louis m. Susan. Chastaigner	Planter	St. John's, Berkeley
Ravenel, Paul	Planter	Berkeley Co.
Rembert, Anne m. John Haverick		
Rembert, Andre m. Magdaleine Courage	Planter	St. James, Santee
Rembert, Margueritte m. Pierre Guerry		
Rembert, Jeanne m. James Guerry		

²⁷⁹ Potell is a modification of Postell.

Rembert, Magdalaine m. Isaac Dubose
Rembert, Gerosme, Susane & Jean
Robert, Pierre m. Anne M. L. LeGrand
Royer, John & Noah

Sere, Noel m. Esther _____ Planter Santee

Tauvron, Madeleine m. _____ LaRoche
Tauvron, Ester m. _____ Secure

Videau, Jeanne Eliz. M. Anthoine Bonneau Cooper/Planter C'ton/Berkeley Co.

Videau, Jane m. Jacob Bonneau

Videau, Pierre Nocholas Planter Santee

APPENDIX IV
THIRD GENERATION HUGUENOTS

Members of the Huguenots' Third-Generation Residing in Carolina

Name (and spouse or siblings)	Parents
Ashby, Thomas, Elizabeth & Constantia	Thomas Ashby & Elizabeth LeJau
Bacot, Peter m. ²⁸⁰ Elizabeth Harramond Bacot, Elizabeth, Mary, & Samuel	Pierre Bacot & Mary Peronneau Pierre Bacot & Mary Peronneau
Banbury, Elizabeth & Mary	James Banbury & Judith Manigault
Bochet, Anthony m. Hester Mouzon	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bochet, Henry m. Ann Jennens	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bochet, Lewis m. Mary Ashby	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bochet, Peter m. Frances Dubois	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bochet, Susannah Eliz. ²⁸¹ m. L. Mouzon	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bochet, Nicholas & Samuel	Nicholas Bochet & Mary Bonneau
Bonneau, Anthony m. Margaret Horry	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Catherine m. _____ ²⁸² Nicholson	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Elizabeth m. Samuel Simons	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Henry m. Sarah Dutarque	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Mary m. _____ Toomer	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Peter m. Esther Simons	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Samuel m. Mary Boisseau	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Benjamin, Floride, Judith & Ester	Anthoine Bonneau & Jeanne Eliz. Videau
Bonneau, Henry	Henry Bonneau & Sarah Dutarque
Bonneau, Anthony m. Mary DuBois	Jacob Bonneau & _____
Bonneau, Elias m. Susanna Mournier	Jacob Bonneau & _____
Bonneau, Jacob m. Mary Mournier	Jacob Bonneau & _____
Brown, Mary	Alex Brown ²⁸³ & Mary Dutarque
Caillabeuf, Stephen m. Mary Rowser	Etienne Caillabeuf & _____
Cordes, Mary m. Daniel Huger II	Isaac Cordes & _____
Cordes, Ann m. John Laws	Jacques Cordes & Jeanne _____

²⁸⁰ m. indicates "was married to."

²⁸¹ Eliz. is an abbreviation for Elizabeth.

²⁸² _____ indicates the (full) name is unknown.

²⁸³ Brown is the anglicized version of LeBreun.

Cordes, Catherine m. John _____* ²⁸⁴	Thomas Cordes & Catherine Gendron
Cordes, Elizabeth m. Peter Porcher	Thomas Cordes & Catherine Gendron
Cordes, Samuel m. Elizabeth Porcher	Thomas Cordes & Catherine Gendron
Cothonneau, Jeremiah m. Ann Bossard	Pierre Cothonneau & _____
DeBourdeaux, Anthony, Dan, Israel, James	Anthoine DeBourdeaux & Marianne _____
De St. Julien, Judith & Susannah D. ²⁸⁵	Joseph de St. Julien & Eliz. Mayrant
De St. Julien, D. Eliz. m. Wm. Moultrie	Pierre de St. Julien & Sarah Godin
De St. Julien, Sarah m. Daniel Ravenel*	Pierre de St. Julien & Sarah Godin
Dubose, Isaac & Madelaine	Isaac Dubose & Magdalaine Rembert
DuBourdieu, Judith & Samuel	Samuel DuBourdieu & Judith Dugue
Dutarque, Catherine m. Wm. Capers	John Dutarque & Mary _____
Dutarque, Esther m. Thomas Joel	John Dutarque & Mary _____
Dutarque, John m. Mary Serre	John Dutarque & Mary _____
Dutarque, Mary m. John Jennings	John Dutarque & Mary _____
Dutarque, Lewis & Noah	John Dutarque & Mary _____
Fogartie, Esther	Stephen Fogartie & Esther Dutarque
Gaillard, Theodore m. Eleanor Cordes	Theodore Gaillard & _____
Gendron, Catherine m. John Ball	Jean Gendron & Elizabeth Mazyck
Gendron, Elizabeth m. Alcimus Gaillard	Jean Gendron & Elizabeth Mazyck
Gendron, John & Marianne	Jean Gendron & Elizabeth Mazyck
Gignilliat, Esther m. William Maine	Henry Gignilliat & Ester Marion
Gignilliat, Judith	Henry Gignilliat & Ester Marion
Guerin, Henry m. Magdalene Bonneau	Isaac Guerin & Martha Mouzon
Guerin, Robert m. Sarah Sanders	Isaac Guerin & Martha Mouzon
Guerin, Isaac & Lewis	Isaac Guerin & Martha Mouzon
Guerin, Vincent m. Hester Dubois	John Guerin & Eliz. Johnston
Guerin, Elizabeth, Mary & Robert	John Guerin & Eliz. Johnston
Guerin, Martha m. Paul Jaudon	Peter Guerin & Mary Norman
Guerin, Peter & Susannah	Peter Guerin & Mary Norman
Godin, Amelia m. Benjamin Garden	Benjamin Godin & _____ Mazyck

²⁸⁴ * indicates marriage to a first or second cousin.

²⁸⁵ D. is an abbreviation for Damaris.

Guerrard, John m. Elizabeth Hill	John Guerrard & Martha _____
Guerrard, Martha m. Theodore Clifford	John Guerrard & Martha _____
Guerrard, Benjamin & David	John Guerrard & Martha _____
Guerrard, Hannah m. _____ Broughton	Peter Jacob Guerrard & Hannah _____
Guerrard, Peter	Peter Jacob Guerrard & Hannah _____
Guerry, Jane, Jacques & Jean	James Guerry & Jeanne Rembert
Guerry, Andre, Anne, Elisha, Elizabeth, Lydia, Madelaine, Margaret, & Pierre	Pierre Guerry & Margueritte Rembert
Horry, Daniel m. Judith Serre	Daniel Horry & Sarah Ford
Horry, Daniel m. _____ Bettison	Elias Horry & Marguritte Hugur
Horry, Elias m. Margaret Lynch	Elias Horry & Marguritte Hugur
Horry, Henrietta m. Anthony Bonneau	Elias Horry & Marguritte Hugur
Horry, John m. _____ Roberts	Elias Horry & Marguritte Hugur
Horry, Magdalen m. Paul Trapier	Elias Horry & Marguritte Hugur
Hugur, Benjamin m. _____ Golightly	Daniel Hugur & Mary Cordes
Hugur, Daniel m. Sabina Elliott	Daniel Hugur & Mary Cordes
Hugur, Isaac m. Eliz. Chambers	Daniel Hugur & Mary Cordes
Hugur, John m. Charlotte Motte	Daniel Hugur & Mary Cordes
Hugur, Francis, Margaret, & Paul	Daniel Hugur & Ann LeJau ²⁸⁶
June, Anna, John & Peter	Jean June ²⁸⁷ & Anna Howard
LaRoche, Judith m. _____ Lewis	John LaRoche & Marye Horry
LaRoche, Mary m. _____ Foissen	John LaRoche & Marye Horry
LaRoche, Anne, Daniel, Elizabeth, Susannah & Thomas	John LaRoche & Marye Horry
LaRoche, Mary m. John Lewis	_____ LaRoche & Madeleine Tavvron
LeJau, Ann m. Daniel Huger	Francis LeJau & Mary Ashby
LeJau, Mary m. John Purry	Francis LeJau & Mary Ashby
LeJau, Francis	Francis LeJau & Mary Ashby
Lewis, Charles, Charlotte, Daniel, Elias, Elizabeth, Lydia, Mary & Thomas	Charles Lewis & Eliz. Marye Horry

²⁸⁶ Daniel married Ann LeJau after Mary Cordes died.

²⁸⁷ June is the anglicized version of Juin(g).

Manigault, Peter m. Elizabeth Wragg	Gabriel Manigault & Ann Ashby
Marion, Benjamin m. Hester Bonneau	Gabriel Marion & Esther Cordes
Marion, Francis m. Mary Videau	Gabriel Marion & Esther Cordes
Marion, Gabriel m. Catherine Taylor	Gabriel Marion & Esther Cordes
Marion, Isaac m. Rebecca Allston	Gabriel Marion & Esther Cordes
Marion, James, Paul & Peter	James Marion & Mary Bremar
Mazyck, Isaac III m. Mary Mazyck*	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, Marianne m. Plowden Weston	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, Mary m. Philip Porcher	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, Paul m. Elizabeth Hamon	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, William m. Mary Mazyck*	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, Stephen	Isaac Mazyck II & Jane Mary de St. Julien
Mazyck, Charlotte m. Daniel Ravenel, Jr.	Paul Mazyck & Catherine Chastaigner
Mazyck, Mary m. William Mazyck*	Paul Mazyck & Catherine Chastaigner
Mouzon, James & Louis	Louis Mouzon & Anna Dutarque
Poinsett, Joel m. Susannah Varin	Pierre Poinsett & Anne Gobard
Poitevin, Esther m. N. Snow	Pierre Poitevin & _____ Dutarque
Poitevin, Marian m. J. Naylor	Pierre Poitevin & _____ Dutarque
Poitevin, Susannah m. J. Snow	Pierre Poitevin & _____ Dutarque
Poitevin, Anna, Anthony, Isaac, James, Joseph, Judith, Peter & Samuel	Pierre Poitevin & _____ Dutarque
Porcher, Isaac III m. Martha DuPre	Isaac Porcher & Rachel DuPre
Porcher, Peter m. Elizabeth Cordes	Pierre Porcher & Charlotte M. Gendron
Porcher, Marianne	Pierre Porcher & Charlotte M. Gendron
Potell, ²⁸⁸ Mary m. James Girardeau	Jean Potell & Marguerite _____
Potell, Peter	Jean Potell & Marguerite _____
Prioleau, Elisha & Phillip	Samuel Prioleau & Marie M. Gendron
Prioleau, Elizabeth m. George Roupell	Samuel Prioleau & Marie M. Gendron
Prioleau, Mary m. Hugh Bryan	Samuel Prioleau & Marie M. Gendron
Prioleau, Samuel II m. Providence Hext	Samuel Prioleau & Marie M. Gendron
Ravenel, Damaris	Daniel Ravenel & D. Eliz. de St. Julien
Ravenel, Daniel m. Catherine Prioleau	Daniel Ravenel & D. Eliz. de St. Julien
Ravenel, Charlotte, Mary, Ann, Elizabeth	Daniel Ravenel & D. Eliz. de St. Julien

²⁸⁸ Potell is a modification of Postell.

&Damaris

Ravenel, Henry

Rene Louis Ravenel & Susanna LeNoble

Rembert, Andrew & Jane

Andre Rembert & Magdaleine Courage

Rembert, Anne m. Daniel Dubose

Pierre Rembert & _____

Rembert, Andrew, James, Isaac, & Pierre

Pierre Rembert & _____

Robert, Eliz., Jacques, Magdalene & Pierre

Pierre Robert & Anne LeGrand

Serre, Esther m. _____ Shackelford

Noel Serre & Esther _____

Serre, Mary m. John Dutarque

Noel Serre & Esther _____

Serre, Susannah m. Robert Brewton

Noel Serre & Esther _____

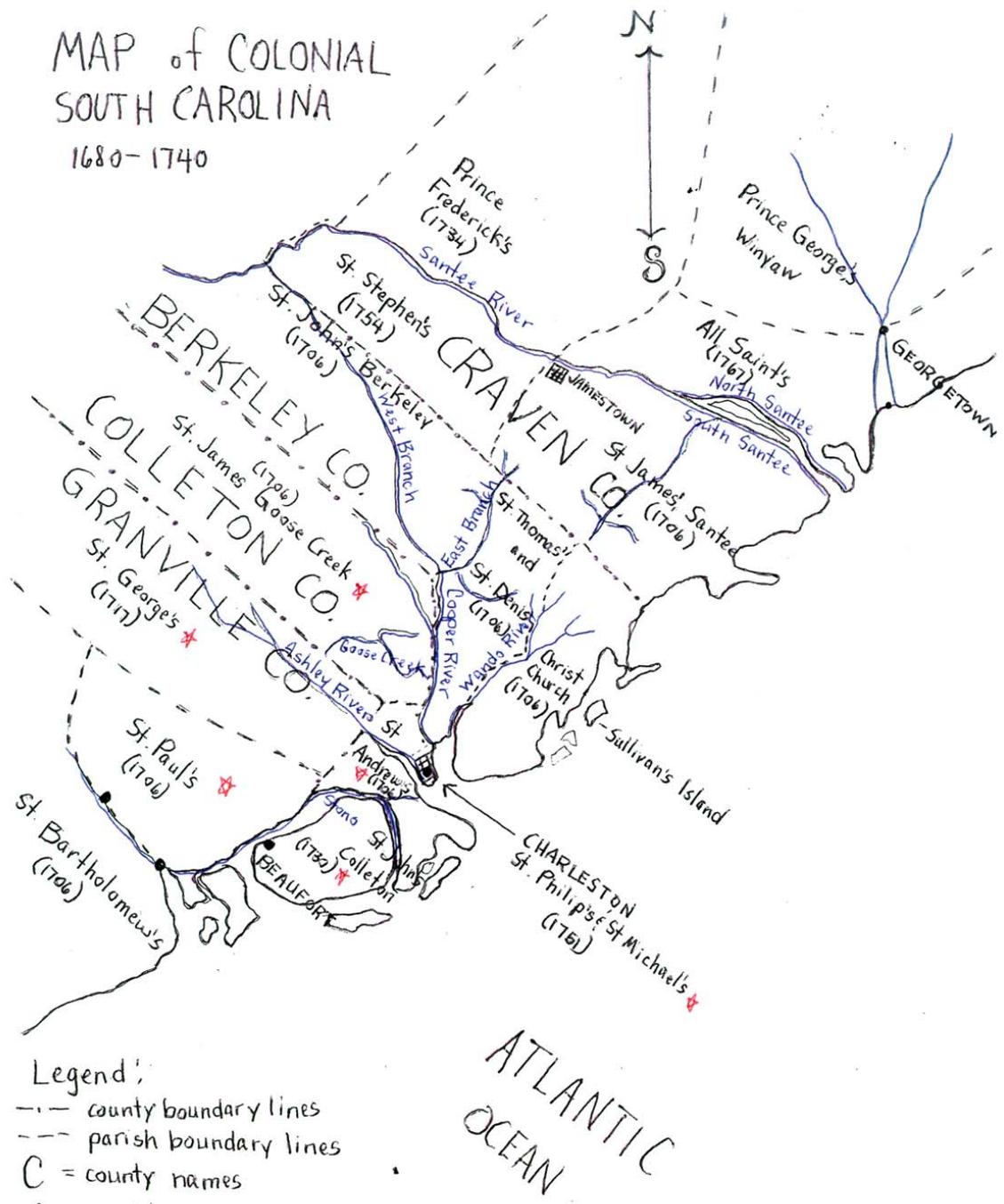
Serre, Noah & Elizabeth

Noel Serre & Esther _____

APPENDIX V

MAP OF COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA, 1680 - 1740

MAP of COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA
1680-1740



APPENDIX VI

LESERRURIER AND MAZYCK FAMILY TREES

*LeSerrurier Family Tree*²⁸⁹

Jacques LeSerrurier, Sr. = Elizabeth Leger

<p>Marianne LeSerrurier =Isaac Mazyck</p>	<p>D. Eliz. LeSerrurier=Pierre de St. Julien²⁹⁰</p>	<p>Catherine LeSerrurier=Henry LeNoble</p>	<p>Suzanne LeSerrurier=J. F. Gignilliat</p>
<p>Marie Ann=Benjamin Godin Isaac Jr.=Jeanne Marie de St. Julien*²⁹¹ Paul=Catherine Chastaigner Elizabeth=John Gendron Marie=Isaac Chardon Susan=Richard Woodward Benjamin=Damaris Eliz. Ravenel* Daniel Stephen</p>	<p>Pierre= Sarah Godin Paul=Mary Ravenel* =Mary Verditty Joseph=Elizabeth Mayrant Jeanne Marie=Isaac Mazyck* Damaris Elizabeth=Daniel Ravenel*</p>	<p>Catherine LeNoble Susanne LeNoble=Alexandre Chastaigner =Rene-Louis Ravenel*</p>	<p>Peter Gignilliat=Susanna de la Coussaye</p>
<p>See next page for members of the Mazyck's 3rd generation.</p>	<p>D. Eliz. de St. J.=William Moultrie Sarah de St. J.=Daniel Ravenel (?)</p> <p>Elizabeth de St. Julien=Job Marion =Thomas Monck Dau. de St. Julien=David Guerard</p> <p>See Mazyck's 3rd generation.</p> <p>Daniel Ravenel, Jr.=Sarah de St. Julien =Charlotte Mazyck</p>	<p>Catherine Chastaigner=Paul Mazyck* Paul Ravenel James Ravenel</p>	<p>Susanna Gignilliat=Pieter Keyliger Elizabeth Gignilliat=John Teems MaryGignilliat—Abraham Audain</p>

²⁸⁹ Based on information obtained from the *Liste*, *THSSC*, and Edgar, *Directory*, 269-70, 283-85, 444-48, 551-53.

²⁹⁰ Pierre is the brother of Charlotte de St. Julien (Ravenel.) Refer to Appendix VII.

²⁹¹ * indicates spouse was a cousin.

*Mazyck Family Tree – 3rd Generation*²⁹²

Marie Ann=Benjamin Godin	Isaac, Jr.=Jeanne Marie de St. Julien*	Paul=Catherine Chastaigner*	Elizabeth=John Gendron	Marie=Isaac Chardon	Susan=Richard Woodward	Benjamin=D. Eliz. Ravenel*	Daniel
Amelia=Benj. Garden Frances=F. Grunswick Suzanna=H. Kennan Katherine=J. Allison Martha=S. Bull Isaac=M. Mathewes Marianne=J. Guerrard David Eliz.=R. Woodward Mary Judith Charlotte=J. Mathewes =J. Skirving	Isaac, III=Mary Mazyck* Mary=Philip Porcher William=Mary Mazyck* Marianne=P. Weston Paul=Elizabeth Hamon* Peter Stephen	Mary=Wm. Mazyck* Charlotte=D. Ravenel,Jr.* Alexander Mary Ann Catherine	Eliz.=A. Gaillard John Marianne=John Palmer Catharine=J. Ball			Daniel Stephen John Charlotte=C. William- son Isaac dau.=__ Waring	

²⁹² Per information found in *THSSC and Edgar, Directory*, 269-70, 283-85, 444-48, 551-53.

APPENDIX VII
RAVENEL FAMILY TREE

*Ravenel Family Tree*²⁹³

Rene Ravenel = Charlotte de St. Julien²⁹⁴

Daniel = D. Eliz. de St. Julien*²⁹⁵

Rene Louis = Susannah LeNoble-
Chastaigner

Mary Arney = Paul de St. Julien*

Jeanne Charlotte =
John Corneille

Damaris

Daniel = Sarah de St. Julien*
= Charlotte Mazyck*

Paul

James

Charlotte

Mary

Ann

Elizabeth

²⁹³ Based on information obtained from the *Liste*, *THSSC*, and Edgar, *Directory*, 551-53.

²⁹⁴ Charlotte is the sister of Pierre de St. Julien. Refer to Appendix VI.

²⁹⁵ * indicates spouse was a cousin.

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