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University of Delaware (Winterthur Program) M.A. 1983

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ICONS IN THE WILDERNESS: THE ANGLICAN CHURCHES
OF RURAL SOUTH CAROLINA

By

Harriette Claire Hawkins

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture.

December, 1983

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OF RURAL SOUTH CAROLINA

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INTRODUCTION

My introduction to the rural Anglican churches of South Carolina began one afternoon seven years ago, when I discovered a Georgian chapel perched at the edge of a crumbling bluff above the Cooper River. The juxtaposition of a sophisticated building with its isolated, almost desolate surroundings was puzzling and set in motion a chain of hows and whys which led me to other Anglican relics scattered through the low country of South Carolina—and eventually to this paper.

This paper is an examination of the many functions of the Anglican church in the country parishes of South Carolina. Specifically, it is an analysis of the role of the Anglican church as an agent for the transmission of the symbols and ideals of English culture into the rural areas beyond Charleston. For these rural areas, the Anglican church was the most tangible immediate link with an English culture that was a distant memory for early settlers and an abstract ideal for later generations. The Anglican church was not merely a peculiar religious institution grafted, sometimes with limited success, onto a wilderness in southern North America. Its role in South Carolina was more complex than
that of most religious institutions. To grasp properly its meaning and influence in eighteenth-century South Carolina, the Anglican church must be seen from several perspectives. It was alternately a vehicle of secular fashion and political influence, a catalyst for assimilating diverse cultures, a means of secular government, and an idealized affirmation of an English way of life.

Because Anglicanism was established as the state religion of South Carolina in 1706, many historians of the colonial period regard the history of eighteenth-century South Carolina as the rise and unfaltering progress of Anglicanism and, by extension, English culture. As a result, much of the cultural and religious diversity that was the true complexion of rural Carolina in the eighteenth century has been lost. The true measure of the rural Anglican church has been obscured in the process. The role of the Anglican church and its material culture cannot be separated from the political and strategic tensions in South Carolina during the early decades of the eighteenth century. The establishment of the Church of England in 1706 was an attempt to establish a framework for administrative control over rural areas which threatened to erode into social and political chaos. The Establishment Act thus provided the force of law and cash subsidies for the orderly transition of English values (and loyalties) into the hinterlands. With a single legal stroke, the Church of England became the basis
for a political and cultural system in the Carolina wilderness.

The rural Anglican church should thus be viewed as a missionary activity of both the government in Charleston and the Anglican church fathers in London. Its successes and failures reveal much about the true cultural diversity of pre-Revolutionary South Carolina. The interaction between settlers in the rural areas and representatives of the Bishop of London constitute eloquent testimony of difficulties inherent in fitting old models onto new environments.

As the most visible symbol of English culture in the hinterlands of South Carolina, these churches are important evidence of the flow of the material expressions of English culture. In the details of their plan and decoration, they reveal much about the church's role as an agent of continuity for English fashions and traditions of craftsmanship. Almost nothing is known, for instance, about the ways the classical style in building reached the rural areas of the colony or the craftsman who built these churches in the hinterlands. Through an examination of such sources for design as the "Wren" churches in London, pattern books and the teachings of Freemasonry, the rural Anglican church emerges as an important bridge between English taste and the remote outposts of Anglican culture in South Carolina. With an acquired vocabulary of symmetrical façades, bull's eye and Palladian windows, classically-styled porticos and pilasters, the rural congregations
of South Carolina found a set of architectural symbols which denied their isolation and announced their wealth, taste, and sophistication to the world passing by.

The alliance with English cultural models may also be seen in the plan and decoration of the setting for Anglican worship within the rural churches of South Carolina. The Anglican worship space and its decorations were potent symbols of a cultural unity between the Church of England and its satellites in the colony. On one level, the documentary and material evidence associated with Anglican worship in South Carolina suggest an extraordinary fidelity to the modern conventions which governed the rituals of reformed worship. There are striking parallels with the revolution in church building introduced by Sir Christopher Wren and equally radical changes in the structure of worship which accompanied the adoption of a liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer. The decorative symbols and the division of the worship space in South Carolina's Anglican churches have equally important secular connotations. In counterpoint to the ideal of an orderly and unified worship service, the churches' interior decoration and their nuances of spatial arrangements were eloquent expressions of social and political relationships. In their design and decoration, the rural Anglican churches of South Carolina were the colonial incarnation of modern English worship traditions and an index of individual achievements, allegiance, and aspiration.
CHAPTER I

THE MISSIONARY CHURCH

The rural churches and chapels of the Low Country are isolated relics of what has become known as the "state religion of the aristocracy" in South Carolina. These rural fragments of Anglicanism are seldom used, yet they seem, despite their isolation, as aloof, secure, and permanent as mausolea. The fact of their survival and the veneration they enjoy today belie the often turbulent history of the Anglican Church in South Carolina. To the contrary, these buildings seem powerful material evidence of the unfltering progress of Anglicanism in the colony. This simple and popular model of the colony's history unfortunately obscures the true complexion of eighteenth-century South Carolina, and the complex role the Anglican church played in the colony's history.

The Proprietors of South Carolina were both lenient absentee landlords and shrewd capitalists. They understood the strategic importance and the vulnerability of their sparselysettled real estate. At the time of the first permanent English
settlement (1670), Carolina was still disputed territory. It was
alternately claimed by Spain, France, and England, not to mention
the several Indian tribes already resident. To encourage rapid
settlement, and thereby the defense of the colony, the Proprietors
circulated several versions of a constitution which guaranteed
religious freedom to all but members of the Church of Rome. From
its beginning, South Carolina attracted diverse ethnic and reli­
gious groups. The Anglican-controlled assembly recognized the
implications of this policy and attempted to bar non-Anglicans
from the Commons House of Assembly. They were unsuccessful, and
their actions created a minor uproar in England.²

The establishment of the Anglican Church in 1706, at a time
of growing cultural and religious pluralism, suggests that the
Church Act was designed as a defensive strategy and that the Angli­
cans controlling the South Carolina assembly acted as much from
fear as from any position of popular strength. With the Establish­
ment, the assembly gave the force of law and public subsidies to
the Church of England in South Carolina. The law also made the
Church the principal unit of administration in the militarily­
critical but thinly settled areas beyond Charleston. What these
events of legal history do not reveal is how effective this and
later supporting legislation were in molding a stable and loyal
Anglican sector from a growing confusion of ethnic and religious
loyalties.
Responsibility for the success of the Anglican Church in South Carolina ultimately devolved onto the missionaries sent to the colony by the missionary arm of the Church of England, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (S.P.G.). Established in London in 1701, the S.P.G. was closely allied with English expansion in North America, where it served to counter the threat to British interests posed by the Church of Rome at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Sparsely-settled South Carolina, with the French on the southwestern frontier and a Spanish stronghold to the south at St. Augustine, occupied an especially critical position. The preamble of the Society's charter might have been written with the new colony in mind:

Whereas Wee are credibly informed that in many of our Plantacions, Colonies and Factories beyond the Seas... many of our Loveing Subjects doe want the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity and alsoe for want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct Our said Loveing Subjects in the Principles of true Religion, divers Romish Preists and Jesuits are the most incouraged to pervert and draw over Our Loveing Subjects to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.4

The southernmost colony in British North America was indeed a spiritual battleground, but there were other reasons to worry about the Spanish and French beyond the Carolina frontier. At this stage in Carolina's history, there was keen competition among the French, Spanish, and English for the allegiance of the
ten thousand Indians who held the balance of power in the area. In bald economic terms, the Indians were also important consumers and suppliers:

"... the trade in arms, ammunitions and blankets was a matter of life and death. To the Charleston merchant the deerskins meant nearly a fourth of the total exports of South Carolina, one of the most profitable, but most hazardous investments in the province."

For these reasons, the Indian population of Carolina was of major interest to the new missionary society. The Society's third missionary, Samuel Thomas, arriving in Carolina in 1702, was specifically sent to minister to the Yemassee Indians, who controlled much of the middle country bordering the tidewater. The mission, however, was soon abandoned, and Thomas turned his attention to the white settlers. With the exception of Dr. Francis Le Jau, who served in South Carolina from 1706 to 1717, the Society basically abandoned its visions of mass conversion of the heathen population in the colony. By 1715 deteriorating relations and white encroachment led in fact to a war with the Yemassees. The settlers were victorious, but the widespread destruction left the colony's fragile economy in shambles.

Papists and Indians were not the only threats to British dominance in the colony. The colony had a growing slave population, which accelerated with the introduction of rice as a cash crop in 1719. In 1729 whites represented less than a third of a
total population of 30,000. The threat of slave rebellions was very real, and "for forty years it remained perhaps the strongest influence on public policy." Missionaries were especially eager to instruct slaves in the faith and regularly reported the number of black communicants to church officers.

The Society also recognized the dangers posed by the religious liberalism of the Proprietors' Charter. It was feared that growing numbers of dissenters would flock to the colony and undermine the Church's influence. The S.P.G.'s first missionary to North America nervously reported these threats to the Church in a report of his visit written in 1703: "There is a mighty cry and desire to have ministers of the Church of England... If they come not timely the whole country will be overrunne with Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Quakers." There was ample reason to worry about the future of the Church of England in South Carolina. By the time of the founding of the S.P.G., there was only one "English" church in the colony, whereas Baptists, Huguenots, and Congregationalists all had active assemblies in Charleston as well as in the rural areas outside the city.

It was the humble missionary who was seen as the first line of defense for Anglicanism in the colony. He was envisioned as the principal catalyst for strengthening the faithful, converting the heathen, and gathering deviant Protestants into the Anglican
fold. By 1775, the S.P.G. had sent, with mixed success, more than fifty missionaries to the remote colony. In rural South Carolina, the Anglican church often faced a hostile environment.

Problems Facing the Rural Missionary

Missionaries in South Carolina faced enormous physical as well as economic hardships, and finding and keeping clergy in the country parishes proved to be a continuing difficulty. There was frequent turnover, and some posts were vacant for as long as three years. Through their private correspondence with the Society, we are given a personal and candid view of congregational life in the colony. Their letters emphasize many of the formidable problems which dogged the established Church well into the eighteenth century: poor relations with the vestry, a congregation unschooled in the rituals of the Anglican Church, and competition from dissenting Protestants.

The financial control exercised by an occasionally hostile, and frequently indifferent, vestry did not improve matters. State salaries for Anglican clergy were fixed by a series of laws, beginning with the Establishment Act. These meager wages were supplemented by a grant of £50 sterling annually from the Society. Often this was the missionary's financial mainstay since clergy were not entitled to their state salaries until a series of legal
formalities was completed. Missionaries had to be approved by the colony's church commissioners and elected by the vestry of their assigned parish. Until these requirements were met, the missionary was on probation. In some cases the approval period was allowed to drag on for years. The Anglican missionary sent to the coastal parish of St. Paul complained two years after his arrival that the vestry had not elected him nor had they repaired the parsonage. Another unelected missionary saw such ploys as the tactics of intimidation:

... they do not like to come to an Election and have their clergyman unelected, that they think he will have a great regard to not say too much of their faults being almost under their power to disbanish him if they pleased out of the Parish.

Even after the formidable hurdle of election was cleared, the missionary had to have his election approved by a quorum of the church commissioners. The logistical difficulties which the hapless missionary confronted in this certification process were angrily noted by the Society's chief representative in the colony, Commissary Gideon Johnston.

These commissioners live scattered up and down the province nor does the poor Missionary know, who perhaps has not one Penny in his Pocket, how to get to them, or send to them, without a great deal of expence and trouble; and often he has gone or sent to them, they may Choose whether they will Assemble or not; . . . thus 2, 3, or 4 months may be elapsed before the Missionary can get them together. In the mean time he must live upon himself, and is not entitled to one
Adequate financial support proved a continuing problem for the Society's missionaries in South Carolina. State salaries were usually paid with local money; during the first decades after Establishment, runaway inflation, a shortage of specie, and the abuse of bills of credit combined to erode the precarious financial circumstances of most missionaries. In 1716, the rector of rural St. Paul's parish informed the Society that "all that we receive are bills of Credit current in this Province, the Value whereof at present is very Lowe . . . goods which cost in England but Five cannot be purchased here for twenty shillings." Three years earlier the Charleston-based Commissary noted that English goods are generally sold at 4 & 500 Pcent, and such is the value the Generality of People set upon the clergy that they think the least thing they possess is rather too Much than enough.

Another disappointment for the Carolina missionaries was the penury of their office; rectors could not rely upon the gifts, fees, and other emoluments which were customary to their office in England. Parishioners were often unwilling or unable to pay the traditional fees for christenings, marriages, and burials, or adding their names and vital statistics to the parish register. The usual offerings for communion or holy days were often not made. In 1716, Reverend William Tredwell Bull tersely informed
the Society: "As to Subscriptions or contributions in this Parish, I never yet received any, excepting once about three years ago a Present of fifty pounds." Nearly fifteen years later a disgruntled missionary accused his flock of having their marriages performed by Dissenting ministers simply to avoid paying marriage fees.

In theory, adequate housing for Anglican ministers was provided by the Establishment Act; reality was apparently much different, as complaints about poor or non-existent housing are also a recurring theme in missionaries' letters to the Society. Until 1722, rectors faced the additional legal obligation of maintaining their glebe buildings in good repair. A small sum was provided for initial repairs from public monies. The minister, however, was liable for any charges exceeding this modest amount. If further repairs were deemed necessary by the churchwardens, it was the minister's duty to pay for them. If he refused, the charges could be deducted from his salary. In the destructive semi-tropical climate of the Low Country, upkeep of property was a greater burden than might be generally supposed. As one cleric complained, "... the very shingling of a house which must be done here often enough may be every 5 years costs 18£ [and] the rest in proportion." Surviving vestry accounts substantiate the observation; repairs to churches, parsonages, and outbuildings seem to be incessant. Although ministers were
eventually relieved of the major portion of these expenses, they were still the financial dependents of the church officers. A minister had no direct access to the public funds provided for the maintenance of his house, barn, or church, and any repairs made with this public money had to be approved by the vestry before an order on the public treasury could be drawn.²¹

The maintenance or even provision of lodging was clearly at the whim of the vestry, Ministers were often put up in temporary housing until the parish could afford, or find the zeal, to build or repair parsonages. Progress in such matters was often desultory, especially in the more remote and poorer country parishes. A rector in a parish at the northern edge of the colony expressed his annoyance in 1771, when he noted that

the Church Wardens and Vestry of St. Georges Parish had been very dilatory and backward since my departure in building of their Church and providing a House for my Reception, the former not being half finished nor the latter yet begun.²²

As a result of these physical and economic hardships, Carolina either attracted or encouraged several enterprising clerics who attempted to supplement their meager salaries in unorthodox ways. Their assorted schemes ranged from performing numbers of "collusive and clandestine marriages" to importing women's finery, notions, and Bibles to sell at a profit.²³
However frivolous or indifferent the treatment of missionaries might be, the Anglican partisans gradually seemed to recognize that the survival of the church, especially during those first crucial decades after Establishment, ultimately depended on the lowly emissary from the distant London Bible society. In 1722, the Assembly thought it necessary to offer greater financial inducement to missionaries. The preamble to the Act admits an unusual note of urgency, warning that without adequate support the Church of England faced the "great decay of piety, religion and learning in this Province, if a timely provision be not made in that behalf."24

A recurring anxiety in the Anglican struggle for dominance in Carolina is the need for closer conformity to prescribed forms of worship. In 1710 Commissary Johnston sketched the magnitude of the problem in Carolina for the benefit of the London society:

... never was a People so wretchedly Cripled concerning the use of the Sacraments, and between the Church and Conventicles, as they are generally here, for they have gotten such Strange Notions and whims in their heads about these things, and have fallen into such a Comprehensive and Latitudinarian way, that it is the hardest thing in the World to persuade 'em out of it.25

The survival of the Anglican religion was a hard-fought battle. In 1710, Johnston outlined formidable obstacles which
continued to impede the growth of Anglicanism in the colony for many years. The struggle for supremacy accelerated over the next two decades, as the Anglicans faced competition from rising numbers of non-Anglican immigrants, as well as the tide of revivalism which swept Carolina in the 1740s. At the time of Commissary Johnston's death in 1716, the relative distribution of religious loyalties was estimated to be forty percent Anglican, forty percent Dissenter, and twenty percent French Huguenot. The Anglican clergy had a slight majority in 1720, but by 1740 the dissenting clergy outnumbered the Anglicans by a margin of 22 to 15.

As has been noted, the majority of Carolina settlers had no strong sense of religious affiliation. A tide of religious revivalism was, however, initiated by the visits of George Whitefield, beginning in 1739. Whitefield and the religious fervor he aroused crystallized the anxieties of the established church. His attack on ecclesiastical formalities and exhortations to more democratic relationships with God undermined Anglican social and intellectual values and were a direct threat to Anglican control. Although he was an ordained priest of the Church of England and one of the most famous preachers in England, Whitefield was not allowed to speak at St. Phillip's in Charleston. He did, however, receive a more enthusiastic reception elsewhere. During his visit to Savannah and Charleston in 1740, he maintained a prodigious
schedule, preaching as many as fourteen times a week in private homes, dissenter meeting houses, and parish churches. It is known, for instance, that he preached at St. John's, Colleton, and Christ Church, in the latter place (where there was no minister) at the invitation of the churchwardens and vestry.29

Although revivalism reached its peak in Carolina about 1740-41, it had several lasting effects. The egalitarian doctrines which helped to strengthen lay leadership also undermined and diminished the dominant influence of Anglicanism in the colony.30 The ferment set in motion by revivalism, especially in the more rural parishes, set the stage for the popularity of the Separatist Baptists and their successors from the 1750s through the 1770s. By 1776, it was estimated that the Baptist sects in South Carolina had 17 ministers, 32 churches, and nearly 4800 communicants.31 A year later William Tennent argued before the Carolina Assembly for disestablishment of the Anglican Church, noting that for the previous decade Dissenters had outnumbered Anglicans by a margin of four-to-one.32 The trend did not decelerate or diminish in any way. The nineteenth-century historian David Ramsay could not suppress his amazement at the industry and enthusiasm of the South Carolina Methodists. In 1809, he reported 93 local preachers, 26 circuit preachers, and 200 churches or stations for preaching the Methodist faith, noting that such a comprehensive system dispensed 8,112 sermons each year.33
Throughout the colonial period, Anglicanism had at best only a tentative hold on the settlers in the more remote parishes. The religious revivalism which swept South Carolina in the 1740s was only the most visible challenge to the struggle for Anglican hegemony in the hinterlands. Beginning in 1716, the colony introduced various schemes to encourage white Protestant emigration to the more sparsely settled, and therefore more vulnerable parts of the colony. Incentives included free land, tax holidays, and direct subsidies. The most successful was a township settlement scheme which attempted to introduce the New England settlement model to South Carolina. From 1733 to 1759 this plan brought a rapid expansion of population in the rural area of the colony, including substantial numbers of dissenters. Some areas were settled by organized groups or congregations. By 1759, for example, one of the most densely settled areas beyond the tidewater, and one of the most prosperous, was the "Welsh tract," settled by Welsh Baptists from New Castle County, Pennsylvania (now Delaware). By 1759, the population included Presbyterians, as well as Anglicans and Baptists.

Rather than being absorbed by the Anglican congregations in these rural areas, the various Protestant faiths proved remarkably independent. The charms of the established church and its attendant privileges were indeed resistible. Anglicanism was never clearly the dominant religious institution in many of the
country parishes, especially the ones more remote from Charleston. In 1734 from St. Bartholomew's province the rector reported that "the Dissenters are superior to the Churchmen both in number and in wealth." On the southern frontier, the Anglican rector emphasized that his church was on very precarious footing. He argued against being transferred from his post because "the small congregation which I have collected here and have been at some pains to cultivate would soon be dispersed." At the northern edge of the province, the minister reported in 1756 that there were no ministers in two or three adjoining parishes, and that these curates had been vacant "for some years." In the parish of St. Mark, newly carved (1757) from the western edge of the Carolina wilderness, Reverend Charles Woodmason recorded only eight communicants one Easter, "the most ever known here," from a congregation of eighty.

Between Anglicans and Dissenters a policy of accommodation gradually emerged. With Presbyterians, especially, there was evidence of cooperation and grudging tolerance by the established church. Both the rector of St. Helena's parish and the Reverend Charles Woodmason, who served the back country parishes, reported that they officiated in Presbyterian meeting houses.

The South Carolina Huguenots provide one of the best examples of the religious pluralism that developed and thrived in
the rural areas of South Carolina, despite the best efforts of the Assembly and the Anglican church and its missionaries. Almost from the first, the Huguenot population, unlike their English neighbors, exhibited a cohesiveness that was both religious and cultural.

It has been argued that the first Protestant church outside Charleston was established not by Anglicans but by French Protestants, although this is hotly disputed by some local historians, who cite the lack of material evidence for such a claim. French Protestants did, however, build one of the first, if not the first church in Charleston, and by 1701 it is very probable that French Huguenots had at least two churches outside the city. The earliest record of an Anglican house of worship outside the city was the small cypress church in the parish of St. Thomas built around 1703. As late as 1711, the Anglican minister in the neighboring parish of St. John had no church to call his own, but preached in the Huguenot church in that parish.

The Huguenot isolation from the English majority was exaggerated by their settlement in congregations as well as differences in dress and language. In South Carolina the Huguenots remained an alien culture well into the eighteenth century, and they remained isolated from the surrounding English population. By 1690 there were four distinct Huguenot settlements in the colony:
the settlement later known as Jamestown on the Santee river at the northern frontier of the colony; a congregation to the northwest of the city known as the Orange Quarter; the French congregation in Charleston; and a small number of French at Goose Creek.

One of the first reactions to the South Carolina Huguenots was recorded by a British surveyor. In a journal later published, he described his encounter with Huguenots on the Santee in January 1700. They were the first non-English settlers the explorer encountered, and he betrays some surprise at their industry and prosperity:

There are about seventy families seated on this river, who live as decently and happily as any planters in these southwestern parts of America. The French being a temperate, industrious people, some of them bringing very little of effects, yet by their endeavours and mutual assistance amongst themselves which is to be highly commended, have outstripped our English who brought with them large though, as it seems, less endeavour to manage their talent to the best advantage . . . The French were very officious . . . [those] whom we met coming from their church being all of them clean and decent, their houses and plantations suitable in neatness and contrivance. They are all of the same opinion as the Church of Geneva; there being no difference amongst them concerning the punctilios of their Christian faith, which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord, and in all other matters throughout the whole neighborhood; living amongst themselves as one tribe or kindred . . . preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own.43

The prosperity of these early Huguenots as well as firmly-maintained differences in language and religion may have made them
a perceptible threat to the Anglican majority. Official policy
toward the Huguenot population in Carolina during the first
decades of the eighteenth century offers evidence of their emer­
gence as a distinct and separate culture. Their first hesitant
accommodation with the English could well have been purely a
defensive gesture.\textsuperscript{44} The rise of strident Anglicanism as a
political force during these years may well have fed memories
of religious persecution among the French, who were cultural
aliens as well as an unknown political quantity.

Although it is assumed that the South Carolina Huguenots
dived happily into the Anglican mainstream soon after the turn of
the century,\textsuperscript{45} there are indications that their religious culture
proved to be quite resilient. The Assembly, for example, passed
several laws designed to speed up the religious assimilation of
the Huguenot population, thereby ensuring a more politically stable
and homogeneous population.\textsuperscript{46} Despite these legislative maneuvers,
there is evidence that the Huguenots maintained a separate ethnic
and religious identity well into the middle of the eighteenth
century. In 1724, for example, the S.P.G. still felt it necessary
to furnish the French Santee with a missionary of French extraction
who evidently spoke no English. In St. John's parish, the small
Huguenot community had established their own church long before
their English neighbors, and it is only in 1748 that there is any
artifactual evidence of their alliance with the Anglican
congregation. In that year they presented the Anglican church with a "silver gilt" communion cup "formerly used by the Protestants in France before the Persecution." It was not until 1755 that most of the Huguenots in the Orange Quarter, also known as the parish of St. Dennis, joined the Anglican congregation. The legal dissolution of the Huguenot parish did not take place until 1768.

There are several reasons, other than growing ties of commerce and marriage, for the gradual integration of French and Anglicans. By mid-century, the Church of England was clearly identified as the church of the governing elite. An improved social position, or aspirations thereto, were powerful incentives for second-generation Huguenots to cast their lot with the Anglican majority. By 1760, two of the wealthiest men in the colony were Gabriel Manigault and Henry Laurens; both were staunch Anglicans and the descendants of humble Huguenot artisans.

There were, however, other material considerations which had a part in the merging of the two sects. Anglican and Huguenot congregations in the province demonstrated an unusual degree of lay control and democratic aspects of church government that were in accord with the principles of French Protestant worship. To a large degree, Anglicans and Huguenots had similar worship rituals and, as Wren's designs for reformed Anglican worship gained...
currency, similar preferences in their worship space.

Although nothing is known about the early French churches in South Carolina, they were probably, like the first English churches, simple wooden buildings of pine or cypress timber. The Huguenot traditions in the material aspects of worship were closer to the meeting house than the cathedral, and their Continental traditions conformed to the simple worship format established by the Calvinists at Geneva. Their churches were similar to the design principles which governed the reformed worship of the Church of England, although the Huguenot churches were more austere in their use of interior ornament.

Their buildings were simple, usually rectangular in the old basilica pattern, though occasionally round or oval. There were no statues or stained windows, no imposing altars, not even crosses only displayed. Usually at the front a sort of raised platform on one side faced the pulpit on the other. Members of the consistory, other church officials, and government inspectors, if they wished to visit, sat in the raised section. The pulpit served for the delivery of the sermon, the heart of Reformed service.

The Anglican churches of South Carolina, which adopted the new principles of church design introduced by Sir Christopher Wren would probably have seemed neither alien nor strange to the Huguenots. There were parallels between Huguenot churches and Wren's setting for reformed Anglican worship. It has even been argued that the functional designs of a Huguenot church influenced
Wren's designs for his London churches. On his one trip abroad, to France in 1665-66, Wren is thought to have visited the Huguenot temple at Charenton, then one of the architectural marvels near Paris.51 The clean, unencumbered sightlines and the fine acoustics, despite its enormous size, were revolutionary ideas in a city dominated by richly decorated houses of worship. The Huguenots who resettled in South Carolina undoubtedly brought these same material traditions to their new homes. Thus, they would already have been familiar with the "new" model for Anglican worship introduced in the colony in the first decades of the eighteenth century.
CHAPTER II

CULTURAL CONTINUITY: THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF ANGLICAN WORSHIP IN SOUTH CAROLINA

The Anglican church in rural South Carolina was clearly not the religious success its founders intended. Rather, the success of the church in the hinterlands lay in its role as agent of cultural continuity. These country churches were far more than religious institutions; they were the immediate and commanding celebration of the presence and endurance of English culture.

However distant from London or Charleston these churches might be, they demonstrate an extraordinary fidelity to the modern conventions governing organization and ornamentation of the Anglican setting for worship. The rural Anglican churches in South Carolina reflect changes in church design begun in the seventeenth century with the adoption of prayer book worship. In the reformed Anglican service, rules governed everything—from the decoration of the chancel to the placement of the altar. These powerful traditions served two functions. They preserved the central authority of the Church of England and created a model of worship that was communal in orientation. The far-flung
outposts of church were thus bound to English culture through shared rituals and a common language of symbols. The structure of reformed Anglican worship also created a matrix for cultural homogeneity. It reinforced the parishioners' identity with their fellow Englishmen and their participation in English culture. Thus, on one level, these churches reflected the unity of English culture. On another level, the worship space institutionalized highly specific sets of social and political relationships.

The Urban Anglican Model

The country churches of South Carolina, however isolated, were the heirs to an urban revolution in church building inaugurated by Christopher Wren after the Great Fire of London of 1666. Fifty-two parish churches were either designed or their building supervised by Wren over a thirty-year period beginning in 1670. Like the new London churches, the South Carolina churches were financed from public monies. The London churches were authorized by the Rebuilding Act of 1670, which paid for the new buildings with a tax on coal. The same model for financing was employed by the Carolina assembly in 1704 when it allocated part of a tax on deer skins for salary and building subsidies for the established church.¹

Changes both in the form and act of worship had radically altered the nature of worship by Wren's time. Anglicanism was

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making a conscious return to a new primitivism. Reforms in the Anglican ritual had two major directions: the adoption of a vernacular liturgy and the ideal of corporate worship. The members of the congregation were no longer passive spectators in a distant ritual, they were informed participants in a highly ordered service. In spite of these dramatic changes, there had been little accompanying change in the basic design of churches. The basic problems posed by the rules of reformed worship were essentially problems of communication: "... the benefits of a vernacular liturgy would not materialize unless its churches were arranged so that people could follow the service with ease and worship as one body with their clergy."^2

Architectural historians agree that Wren brought the first systematic solution to the problems suggested by the new worship format. Wren's London churches may differ in their details, but their basic design emphasizes open space, ease of communication, and unfettered sightlines. In his later capacity as a Commissioner of the new church building program authorized by Parliament in 1708, Wren expressed his view of the design consideration dictated by liturgical changes:

... but still, in our reformed Religion, it should seem vain to make a Parish church larger than that all who are present can both hear and see. The Romanists, indeed, may build larger Churches, it is enough if they hear the murmur of the Mass, and see the Elevation of the Host, but ours are to be fitted for Auditories. I can hardly think it practicable to make a
On a much reduced scale, the plans of South Carolina's Anglican churches echo the precepts expressed in "Wren's" new city churches. This is clearly seen in their simple rectangular plans, uncluttered interior space, and restrained exterior ornament (Pl. 1). These rural churches also conformed to eighteenth-century church building traditions in England. As in the London city churches, where Wren and subsequent architects' control extended only to the basic building plan, the design and the placement as well as the purchase of interior furnishings were generally reserved to the parish and its officers. It was the practice during church building programs for the vestry to select designs for such fittings as altar-pieces and pulpits from the designs submitted by individual craftsmen.

The same individual prerogatives applied to the state church in South Carolina. As was the custom in England, a board of supervisors or commissioners was empowered to oversee the construction and decoration of each church. Although the basic funds were provided from public revenues, there were no written specifications to guide the form or design of these churches:

... Commissioners ... shall direct and appoint the building of said churches not already built, according to Such dimensions and Such Materials, as they shall...
think fitting, and also the pulpit, Desk and Pews in
the Said several Churches, and also the inclosing the
Several Coemetaries or Church Yards.5

The supervisors for the rebuilding of the Anglican church in
Charleston (1711) were given an equal degree of latitude. They
could build their church and steeple "of such height and Dimen­
sions, and of such materials, and in such Model and Form as they
shall think fitting.6

Social and Sacred:
The Ornaments of Worship

Decisions about the design and ornamentation of a church
were framed by a set of church traditions and rules governing
choice of appropriate interior fittings and decoration. The
spoken word was singularly important in prayer book worship, and
the pulpit assumed a corresponding prominence, which had not, of
course, been the case before the Reformation.7 By the time of the
Anglican buildings in South Carolina, pulpits had become the
most elaborate furniture in a church, and much money and workman­
ship were lavished upon them. The most imposing fitting in any
of these churches, the surviving pulpits are all variations on
the elevated speaker's platform. All are wine-glass shaped, and
most have testerboards suspended overhead. They are also almost
absurdly over-scaled for the intimate character of these buildings.
The placement, too, adhered to traditional patterns. In the
reformed worship setting, pulpits were usually placed at the east end before the chancel or on one side, at the southwest or northeast corner. Placement of the pulpit thus generally adhered to a strict tradition governing the interiors of churches. Deviation from this pattern seems not to have been casually undertaken. The Commissioners of St. John's, Colleton, deliberated very carefully before deciding to break with tradition in placing a new pulpit and desk. The ritual importance of church furniture and the sense of adherence to a cultural norm are present in the elaborate justification of their decision:

One thing more Gentlemen, we would wish to observe concerning the pulpit, where it stood formerly . . . to be very improperly situated not answering the end either of convenience, or elegance, we therefore agreed upon the propriety of removing the same, to the west end, and although not restricted by our appointment from making such alterations as we thought necessary for the convenience of the congregation, in general, yet being impressed with the desire of giving the fullest satisfaction and to prevent any censure that may arise from our acting too precipitately in the manner, we agreed to consult Robert Gibbes Esq. [the donor], and the rev'd Mr. Bowen, as vestrymen, and to take their opinion, upon the subject, both of whom highly approved of the removal, we determined to have it fixed in the place it now stands, as most eligible in point of taste, as well as convenience, and we confidently hope it will be satisfactory to every member of the Church.9

Complementing the importance of the pulpit was the reading desk, from which the minister read prayers and lessons. In the simple rural churches of South Carolina, the reading desk is separate from the pulpit. In some of the more elaborate
auditory churches in England, reading desk, pulpit, and clerk's pew were incorporated into a single unit or what is commonly referred to as a triple-decker pulpit.\textsuperscript{10} The triple-decker does not appear to have been used in churches outside Charleston.

The importance of the pulpit was emphasized by the use of a tester suspended above it. Although the tester is often rationalized as a sounding board for the pulpit, this functional explanation obscures its symbolic intent. From its earlier incarnation as a device of wood and fabric surmounting state furniture, the tester was transferred to the ecclesiastical setting. As a familiar imperial symbol, it emphasizes the significance of the spoken word, the lessons, prayers, and sermons, in the Anglican service. The importance of the spoken word was also stressed through the use of fabric, often richly colored, to adorn the principal church furniture. In England the desks of the triple-decker pulpits "were covered either with a large cushion with tassels or a valance known as a desk or pulpit cloth or with a combination . . . it was usual to spend much money on the pulpit hangings . . ."\textsuperscript{11} There is evidence that the tradition of pulpit hangings was followed in the rural parishes of South Carolina. They were usually donated by parishioners, but such costly gifts may often have been beyond the means or enthusiasm of worshipers in the country parishes.
On at least one occasion, the S.P.G. furnished "a Pulpit cloth, cushion and Church linnen" to one of its rural missions in South Carolina.12

The Eucharist was the climax of the liturgy, and the altar is the central component in this most sacred portion of the worship service.13 The voluntary act of communion was a public statement of faith. Referring to his communicants, one South Carolina missionary remarked that they "are the only Members of a Church that can be reckon'd or depended upon. The receiving the Communion among us is the best and surest Test of a true Churchman. . . ."14

Missionaries in South Carolina judged their success by the number of communicants in their congregation.15 Nor were the psychological implications of this public affirmation of faith lost upon the missionary society or its far-flung emissaries in South Carolina. In 1710, the Society's chief missionary outlined this strategy for his superiors in London:

There is nothing I earnestly and frequently strive for than to bring people to a just sense of their duty concerning the Lord's supper; for I certainly conclude, if I can once perswade them to receive frequently, I can easily perswade them to any thing else that is holy and good.16

In the evolution of liturgical worship, some of the bitterest disputes raged over the form and placement of the altar.
No other article of church furniture is so representative of the radical changes in the structure of worship inaugurated by the prayer book reforms. The simplicity of the reformed altar, sometimes referred to as "God's Board," served both ideological as well as practical ends. It was a calculated reference to common secular furniture; this was a conscious reaction to the remoteness and mystery that surrounded the altar in the Catholic service. A table was also portable and therefore more convenient for clergy and parishioners alike. It was usually made of wood, but other materials and combinations were not unknown. The simple wooden table, however, seems to have been favored by the rural churches of South Carolina. When the parish officers of St. Stephen's parish contracted for various woodwork and repairs for the old church, they simply included a reference to "a Table" in their accounts. Similarly, the vestry records of St. John's, Berkeley, noted the following arrangements for repair to the chancel area: "To pull down the Bull's Eyes and replace them at the East end and to repair the Communion Table with good Cypress to mend the doorcase of the north door."

The sacred nature of the altar was underscored by the use of a low railing to separate it from the communicants. This part of the church is often given additional emphasis by such architectural features as niches, soffitted ceilings (sometimes with painted decorations), and the use of special moldings
and carving. East-end Palladian or bull's-eye windows were another major feature of the eighteenth-century chancel area. The best remaining examples of this combination of features in South Carolina are St. Stephen's Parish Church, St. James, Santee, and Pompion Hill Chapel (Pl. 2).

The rules of reformed worship also stipulated the placement of other sacred fittings for the chancel. Church law dictated placement of the decalogues at the east end; it was customary also to add the other two major credos of Anglican faith, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed. The combination served as a visible reminder to the congregation that "all three together summarize the Faith, conduct and prayer necessary for the Christian profession."

The reredos could assume a variety of designs; some English reredoses are very ornate examples of sculptural carving. Reredoses were sometimes marble, such as the inscribed marble tablets presented to Goose Creek Church in 1785. The most common form of reredos, however, was a wooden "board with the Decalogue in the middle, and on one side the Belief, and on the other the Lord's Prayer." The best surviving example of this type of reredos is in St. Stephen's Parish Church (Pl. 3). The design was probably adapted from one in an English pattern book. This type of decoration was probably what one vestry envisioned when it advertised for "any tradesman who is capable of
executing a genteel Altar piece for this church."²⁷

In addition to structural embellishments, the significance of the altar area could be emphasized with fine cloths and silver. Canon LXXXII of the Church of England decreed that during the service the altar should be covered "with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff."²⁸ These directives seem to have been adhered to in the rural Anglican churches of South Carolina, although much plainer fabrics were probably the rule in the first two decades after the establishment. The costliness of fine fabrics often meant that such expensive adornments were the gifts of individuals who wished their generosity to be conspicuous. In a letter to the S.P.G. written in 1734, Reverend William Guy proudly acknowledged one such gift to his church in St. Andrew's Parish: "... I have had lately a very generous Present made to my Church by a Parishioner ... of a rich Crimson brocade pulpit Cloth and Cushion; A Communion Table Cloth and Border for the Reading Desk."²⁹

Interior ornaments, such as the commandments, pulpit, and communion cloths, served as a dramatic visual counterpoint to the relatively simple interiors of the Low Country's rural churches. Like their English models, the rural Carolina churches were individual maps of the social hierarchies within each congregation. Although the basic formula for simple interiors was followed with great uniformity, elaborate fittings in this restrained space
silently and eloquently expressed the nuances of the individual social rankings in each congregation. Memorials, engraved silver, hatchments, and even pews were some of the material means for reshaping a public space into private domain. For this reason, individual gifts took on added importance. Memorials were one of the most conspicuous ways of demonstrating social standing within the relative simplicity of the ecclesiastical setting. Although commonplace in English churches of the eighteenth century, they appear in only two of the remaining South Carolina churches. Hatchments, another fashionable means of perpetuating social prominence, were probably more common than the single surviving example at St. James, Goose Creek, suggests.

The most dramatic visual focus of the worship service was the altar and its array of silver plate. The silver traditionally required for the Anglican worship service included a paten, chalice, flagons, and alms basin. Gifts of silver plate represented one of the most conspicuous statements of the affluence of their donors. One of the first gifts of church silver recorded in a rural South Carolina church were the tankard and chalice presented by "Cap'n Benjm Schenking, to ye Parish Church of St. James, Goose Creek 1712." Occasionally the church bought its communion silver ensuite. The newly created parish of St. Stephen's, for example, paid £97 for two alms plates, a chalice, and engraving. Although much of the South Carolina church silver
was lost or dispersed during the Civil War, the service pur-
chased for St. Stephen's is still used. The inscription com-
memorates King George as the generous benefactor of this remote
church.

Engraved silver and royal arms were two visible reminders
that the Anglican church in South Carolina was very much a crea-
ture of the state. This unity of church and state is implicit
in prayer book worship wherever it might be celebrated. As
G.W.O. Addleshaw has noted, "The church's outward prosperity
depends upon good government; before praying for spiritual graces
in the Collect for the day it seems logical to first pray for the
good government of the country." Placement of Royal Arms in
churches was typically a Reformation practice. They were tradi-
tionally set on a tympanum or on the wall over the chancel
arch, as they are at Goose Creek Church, the only surviving
example of this decorative device in South Carolina. Although
they may have been more common, they were probably far less
elaborate than the carved and painted example at Goose Creek.
One explanation of the lavish workmanship is that the Goose Creek
arms, featuring the carved lion and unicorn, celebrate the
recent accession of the House of Hanover (1714) and a line of
Protestant monarchs to the English throne.

Arrangements of pews in the interior of churches provide
additional evidence that the church reified an emerging social
hierarchy as well. A source of revenue for the church, pews were either rented or sold. One of the traditional reasons for the small size of the altar in English churches was to allow more room for pews. The importance of this source of revenue often meant that most of the available floor space was in fact carved into the private territory of families or individuals. In England, the principle of exclusion engendered by pew sales meant in practice "that in many churches there was little room for those who could not afford sittings. They were relegated to galleries, or either sat on stools or stood in the aisles." The South Carolina churches seem to have been slightly more accommodating.

In 1759 the commissioners of St. Michael's in Charleston ordered "that one large Pew be made on the South side of the middle isle near the West end for Strangers." In 1773, the church placed benches "in the Aisle leading from the No. to the So. Door, and others near the Pulpitt solely to be appropriated to the use of the Poor White People who may want seats." The move evidently displaced the space formerly occupied by Blacks. The sexton was further ordered to "remove the Benches the property of Negroes, now placed in those places either into the Galleries, or under the Bellfry."

The country churches carried on the English tradition of pew sales, and sales of pew titles were an important source of
supplemental financing for South Carolina churches. In 1734, the Carolina assembly passed a law permitting the church officers of St. George's parish to enlarge, repair, and add new pews to the church. The same law also gave the churchwardens and vestry full power, right and authority to grant, give and dispose of the said pews and seats, or the ground for pews and seats of and in the said church, to such persons and in such order and situation as the said churchwardens and vestry . . . shall think proper. 

The box or square pews favored by most rural congregations in South Carolina fragmented and partitioned what had begun as a simple unified space (Pl. 4). Like the pews in English churches, Carolina box pews have seating on three sides, with a hinged door on the fourth side. In England, the allotment of seats was based on rank and position, the most prestigious seats naturally being those nearest the chancel area. The same principles appear to have applied in South Carolina as well. The vestry of St. James, Goose Creek, was fully aware of the social implications of pew assignments. It ordered that for and in consideration of the Pious Contributing and zealous industry and care of Arthur Middleton, Esq. in promoting this holy work of building this church; and also, by giving four acres of land, or thereabout, to the Parsonage of this Parish, That one enclosed Pew or Seat, containing about 5 feet 6 inches, by 7 feet of ground, shall and is hereby Ordained, Given and Appropriated Solely and only to the use of the said Arthur Middleton, Esq. and his Heirs Forever.
The vestrymen and churchwardens were also quick to appropriate seating befitting their office, ordering "that the two lower Pews of the Middle two Rows of Pews be and are for the use of the Churchwardens and Vestrymen of this Parish, and their successors in the same for ever." 

In its purest sense, the liturgy of the Anglican service celebrates corporate worship. The church was "not a collection of pious individuals, but humanity . . . in Christ, a humanity which has become the Church. . . ." Like its English model, however, the rural Carolina church maintained a firm grip on worldly individualism. Though the congregation might worship with one voice in the most intimate of spaces, social distinctions were nicely maintained. Through its artifacts and spatial divisions, the complex social hierarchy of each community was clearly etched into the simple worship format.
CHAPTER III

THE MOVEMENT OF IDEAS:
THE CLASSICAL STYLE AND THE RURAL ANGLICAN CHURCH

With their prominent sites and academic allusions, the surviving Anglican churches of South Carolina suggest a dominance which the Anglican church never really enjoyed in most of rural South Carolina. The true importance of the rural church lay in its civil, not religious, functions. In plan and decoration, however, these eighteenth-century churches show an extraordinary fidelity to the basic design of reformed Anglican worship. In every case, the changes in format established by Christopher Wren's London parish churches are faithfully adapted to the South Carolina landscape. However, adoption of classical detail was a gradual process, for only in the last half of the century do most of the churches approach the refinement of detail or richness of decoration that characterized the most modest of the London parish churches. The increased use of decorative orders and other classically-inspired details after 1750 is symptomatic of two major changes in the landscape of rural South Carolina: the wider availability and the increased use of pattern books, and the
greater prosperity which accompanied the introduction of such cash
crops as rice and indigo.

The Church Act of 1706 created ten parishes in the new
colony. The parishes were not only ecclesiastical divisions; they
served as the principal units of civil administration in the rural
areas. The 1706 Act created St. Philip's as the parish for
Charleston. The remainder—Christ Church; St. Thomas'; St. John's;
St. James's, Goose Creek; St. Andrew's; St. Dennis'; St. Paul's;
St. Bartholomew's; and St. James's, Santee—were created to
stabilize the fledgling Anglican population in the hinterlands.
At the time of the 1706 Act, the Anglicans could claim only two
areas of strength outside the city, in St. Andrew's parish and in
the area near Goose Creek. It is no accident, therefore, that two
of the most stylish churches built before 1730, when the colony
still sought economic and political stability, are located in
these parishes. St. Andrew's, located a few miles from Charleston
on the west side of the Ashley River, one of the major waterways
leading into the interior, was one of the few pockets of pros-
perity in the colony. Its church of 1706 was the first in the
colony built with monies provided from the Church Act funds. The
famous parish church at Goose Creek (1713-19) with its elaborate
stucco work, was located in what was described in 1702 as one of
the "largest and most populous country towns, and settled by
English families entirely, well affected to the Church of
England. Its congregation included several wealthy planters who had left Barbados to seek their fortunes in Carolina.

As immigration to the colony increased, especially after 1720 and new colonists sought farmland further into the interior, the Assembly created new parishes. These first additions were strategic areas in terms of their military and religious importance. In 1712, the Assembly created St. Helena's parish, which lay in a crucial buffer zone at the southern edge of English settlement in North America. In 1717, a second parish, St. George's, Dorchester, was carved from the upper part of St. Andrew's parish in order to provide better legal definition and control of territory on the colony's western frontier. The area had been settled by a group of Puritan Congregationalists from Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1695. The Congregationalists had built a brick meeting house in 1700 on the road to Charleston, and this flourishing Dissenter presence on the fringes of the colony clearly made the Anglicans nervous, for they set about the business of building a church with a dispatch rare in rural Anglican building programs.

The next two parishes established by the Assembly, Prince George's, Winyaw (1721), and Prince Frederick's (1734), pushed the frontier of the colony farther to the northwest. Increasing population in the more remote coastal parishes and in the
interior was accompanied by a succession of new parishes: St. John's, Colleton (1730); Prince William's (1745); St. Peter's (1747); St. Stephen's (1754); St. Mark's (1757); St. Luke's and All Saints, Waccamaw (1767); and St. David's (1768).

Of the twenty rural parish churches in use at the beginning of the American Revolution, ten remain. Nearly all of the most extensive parishes had one or more chapels for the convenience of their parishioners. However, these usually modest places of worship, frequently built of wood, have virtually disappeared. Only two eighteenth-century chapels of ease remain: Pompion Hill (1763-65) in the parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis, and Strawberry (1725) in the parish of St. John (Pls. 2 and 5). This poor rate of survival is not surprising. These rural buildings have been assaulted by a destructive semi-tropical climate, hurricanes, fire, two invading armies, and at least one earthquake, not to mention frequent shifts of population as the soil became exhausted, health conditions worsened, or the base of economy changed.

The Church Act provided modest sums for the construction and ornamentation of Anglican houses of worship in these remote areas. The funds provided by the state, however, were usually inadequate to finance building costs. Throughout the eighteenth century, parishes had to turn to subscriptions and contributions to complete their churches. Until 1730, for example, rural
colonists were dependent on the erratic revenues derived from exports of deerskins, naval stores, corn, and salted pork which formed their economic mainstay. The result is that progress in church building was often slow. The interiors of some churches were not finished until years after the basic construction was completed. The few Anglican churches built prior to 1706 were of wood, probably cypress, which was then in plentiful supply. None of these wooden buildings has survived, but the fragmentary evidence suggests that only the size and degree of embellished detail changed as more permanent structures of brick were built over the course of the eighteenth century. Although brick was both scarce and expensive during the first three decades of the eighteenth century, the continual financial support provided by the Church Act encouraged vestries to undertake ambitious construction programs in this more durable material. Clearly, prestige was a factor in the deliberate choice of a "high-style" building material, despite the additional financial burdens it imposed. Although brick became the nearly universal material for Anglican buildings after the Church Act, some of the poorer and remote areas of the colony had to be content with wooden structures. According to Dalcho, poor settlers in the remote parts of St. John's parish "raised a log house" for their church.² In the late 1750s, the Anglicans in the nearly established parish of St. Mark on the western edge of the colony built a wooden church
which was subsequently burned by the British. The new churches in
the frontier parishes of St. David and St. Matthew, created in
1768, were also built of wood.

Of the nine rural parish churches authorized by the Church
Act of 1706, three are still in use: St. Andrew's (1706); St.
James's, Goose Creek (1713-19); and Christ Church (1724) (Pls. 6,
7, and 8). Although St. Andrew's and Christ Church were con­
siderably modified over the course of the eighteenth century, and
Goose Creek has a richness of classically-inspired detail that was
unmatched for nearly half a century, these three churches illus­
strate well the design principles which governed Anglican church
building in South Carolina through the third quarter of the eight­
eenth century. The use of decorative orders and the refinement of
detail is generally greater in the churches built after mid-century,
yet all the surviving Anglican churches are remarkably similar in
the design and ornamentation of their interior space.

The persistent characteristics include one- or one-and-
one-half-story rectangular plans, typically five bays in length
and three in width, with a main aisle and a single non-projecting
cross aisle. Only St. Andrew's, where a rectangular plan became
cross shaped with the addition of a chancel and a transept in
1723, and Christ Church, which also has a cross-shaped plan, vary
from the rectangular format. Length ranged from forty to
fifty-three feet, with, as would be expected, the rural churches
erected after the 1740s tending to be longer. Both the churches and chapels built over the course of the century tend to be uniform in width and are rarely over thirty feet wide.

All of the surviving churches have double doors on three sides and large sashed windows surmounted by semicircular transoms. The majority of the churches also have a large window at the east end. There are records of chancels for several of the churches. The exterior ornamentation of these churches, usually in brick or stucco, is relatively restrained.

As was the case of London churches built under Wren's direction, economic feasibility was an important consideration in the choice of design and the degree of decorative elaboration. Both London and South Carolina church-building programs were ultimately constrained by limited public funds. Thus, Wren recommended St. James's, Piccadilly, as a model for modern Anglican church building not only because it was convenient and beautiful, but because it was also cheap to build.⁴

Economic considerations, as well as the cramped medieval sites, were undoubtedly factors limiting exterior decoration in most of Wren's churches to simple stone dressing and pilasters. Although South Carolina's rural churches did not have to contend with the restrictions of a crowded urban site, they faced similar economic constraints. Brick, for example, remained expensive in
the colony, despite its increased availability by mid-century. The cost of basic materials undoubtedly helps explain why exterior decoration was so simple. The cost of materials, in addition to the prominent sites enjoyed by rural churches, were two major reasons why so few South Carolina churches bothered to add a costly steeple.  

Although the public financial support for church building increased gradually over the course of the century, building costs continued to be supplemented by subscriptions and donations. The increased prosperity of some of the important centers of rice and indigo production after 1740 parallels the increased display of classically-inspired ornament and the refinement of brickwork in these churches. There is a single important exception to this generalization, however. Goose Creek church of 1713-19 has an extraordinary wealth of classically-inspired detail. All of the doorways are surmounted by exterior pediments and framed by Doric pilasters. The pediment over the main entrance on the west elevation contains a famous bas-relief sculpture of a pelican tearing out her breast to feed her young, a symbol both of Christian piety and of the S.P.G. In the metopes are flaming hearts, a symbol of charity. And, on the interior of the church at the east end are fluted composite pilasters supporting a broken serpentine pediment which frames the royal arms, an evocative symbol of the unity of the English church and crown (Pl. 9).
Stucco was used with a great deal of skill in this early church, and, although never used with the same abandon, it continued to be a popular medium for ornamenting the churches of rural South Carolina built before 1760. After that date, brick seems to be the favored medium for decorative detail. One reason for the widespread use of plaster is that it was an inexpensive means of duplicating the more expensive stone dressings in the urban English churches. Plastered quoins, for example, were popular through the 1760s in South Carolina. Quoins form part of the exterior decoration at St. Andrew's (1706); St. James's, Goose Creek (1713-19); St. Helena's (1724); Prince George's, Winyaw (1750); and the parish church of St. John, Biggin (1764). Wooden or stucco architraves were another embellishment popular through the 1750s in South Carolina. In addition to St. James's, Goose Creek, they form part of the decoration at St. Helena's and Prince George's, Winyaw. Lack of funds may have limited the vestry of Strawberry Chapel in St. John's parish to a simple stucco keystone with no architrave. After mid-century, segmental brick arches which offered a more subtle contrast, became a favored device for framing windows and doorways. Segmental arches were used to emphasize semi-circular transoms above the doors and windows of St. John's (1764); Pompion Hill (1763-65); St. Stephen's (1767-69) and St. James's, Santee (1768). (The Palladian windows on the east and west elevations of the parish church of St. Helena, Beaufort, may have been added in the nineteenth century, when the church was repaired and enlarged.)
There is no consistent pattern evident in the choice of roof profiles. Two of the earliest churches, St. James's, Goose Creek, and Strawberry Chapel, have a jerkin-head roof. Among the churches built after mid-century, only Pompion Hill Chapel has such a roof. St. James's, Santee, and Christ Church have hipped roofs; St. Andrew's and Prince George's, Winyaw, have gable roofs. Of the surviving churches, only Stephen's has a gambrel roof. In addition, a few of the churches feature either stepped gable ends, as at St. Andrew's, or curvilinear Jacobean end gables as at the parish churches of Prince George, Winyaw, and St. Stephen.

Major indicators of the increased prosperity of many rural South Carolina parishes by mid-century are the refinement and detailing of the brickwork. Although it was burned twice, the remains of Sheldon Church (1753) suggest some of the most elaborate brickwork in the colony outside Charleston. In addition to glazed pattern work, the church had half-round colonnettes on each side, two half-round columns on the gable ends, and three quarter-round columns at the corners. Some of the brick columns in the Tuscan order which supported a portico at the western end of the church still stand. Prince George's, Winyaw, built about the same time, is decorated with brick pilasters in the Doric order. St. Stephen's has six Doric pilasters on the north and south sides and four pilasters on the east and west ends. Other than Sheldon Church, only the parish church of St. James, Santee, built fifteen
years afterward, features Tuscan columns of molded brick which support pedimented porticos on the north and south ends (Pl. 11); (unfortunately, the north portico has been walled in).

Although the exterior decoration of the churches became more elaborate as the eighteenth century progressed, the interiors of the churches remained quite simple, though demonstrating the same reverence for symmetry. The churches are oriented along an east/west axis with a center aisle and cross aisle; most have double doors opening onto the cross aisle. In a few of the later buildings, such as Pompion Hill and Prince George's, Winyaw, the chancel area receives special definition with a semi-circular apse (Pls. 11 and 12). The chancels, however, were never the rule in South Carolina, and most of the churches which had them were content with a simple rectangular addition at the east end. Otherwise, churches appear to have been satisfied with altar rails and large windows to designate this sacred space. Few of the later churches have very elaborate reredoses, and certainly none of the churches approached the baroque exuberance of the reredos at Goose Creek. Again, this may be a function of economics. By the time churches turned to finishing the interior, funds were usually exhausted.

Another architectural embellishment popular by the 1760s was the coved or tray ceiling. It was used to great effect in
the new church of St. Michael in Charleston, ca. 1754. New churches in the rural areas soon followed this example. Most of the churches built in the 1760s, including the quite remote church in St. David's parish, have a coved ceiling, although the degree of detailing varies. With the exception of several pulpits, the interiors of the churches are quite plain. The walls are typically of white plaster, although use of a more adventurous palette cannot be ruled out. Most churches have brick floors. A few bothered to add costly tiles, but these are generally restricted to the altar areas. Most of the parish churches added galleries at the west end to accommodate new parishioners, but this space is kept deliberately simple.

In general, the Anglican churches of South Carolina whatever their date, demonstrate a great deal of uniformity in their symmetry, their simple plans, and their uncluttered interiors. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the major change was not in format but in the increased sophistication of external decoration, particularly in the quantity of the building details inspired by classical sources. The transition is from mere quotation or grafting on of classical detail to an integrated, programmatic application of the classical orders in these rural buildings by the 1760s.

Part of the reason for this change is economic. With the
introduction of rice production in the 1720s and indigo by the 1740s, "backcountry" parishes such as St. James's, Santee; St. Stephen's; Prince William's, Prince George's and the parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis found a new economic base and sudden prosperity. The church buildings of these parishes reflect their congregations' eagerness to flaunt their new affluence and to demonstrate their economic power to the world passing by. The addition of such classically-inspired details as pilasters, Palladian windows, columns, and porticos denoted power and sophistication equal to that of Charleston's Anglican congregations.

The presence of classically-proportioned and ornamented buildings in a wilderness landscape, often as far as forty or sixty miles from Charleston, offers dramatic evidence for the movement of the architectural and intellectual fashion for classical allusion into the hinterlands of South Carolina by the middle of the eighteenth century. As the most visible representation of the state and Crown in rural South Carolina, the Anglican church was the principal conduit for the ideological and political fashions which underlay the revival of classical forms. The sophistication of these remote structures is equally powerful testimony for the importance of architectural pattern books and texts in codifying and disseminating a classically-inspired decorative vocabulary into rural areas.
English building manuals and pattern books were an important means for establishing a uniform decorative vocabulary for high-style urban and rural buildings in eighteenth-century South Carolina. Through an examination of source material as well as the artisans associated with two of the best examples of classically-inspired church decoration in rural South Carolina, much can be learned about the organization of building programs there and of the human ties to a distant classical landscape.

**Pattern Books and the Classical Style in Colonial South Carolina**

It is arguable that of all pre-Revolutionary American seaports, Charleston maintained the closest commercial and ideological ties with England. The notices of Charleston's booksellers reflect the population's ready response to prevailing intellectual fashions in England. One of the first documented references in America to treatises on Renaissance classical architecture is found in Charleston. The first identifiable architectural texts advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* were a ten-volume set of Alberti's designs and a two-volume edition of Leoni's folio version of Palladio. The notice, published in April 1761, suggests that the books were part of a library which was to be sold at public auction. An earlier interest in, or knowledge of, classical ornament is harder to corroborate.
In 1756, the Charlestown Library Society posted in the Gazette a recall notice for overdue books. Of the forty-eight titles advertised, two appear to deal with architectural fashion and are identified only as "Givins [sic] designs" and "Adam's designs." It is unclear to what books the notice refers. The Library Society owned surprisingly few books on the subject of classical architecture, although the Society maintained a brisk correspondence with London booksellers, and its collection certainly reflected the current tastes of the reading public in England. An edition [Folio] of Leoni is the only treatment of classical architecture listed in the 1770 catalogue of the Society's collection. A general interest in ancient civilization is very much in evidence, however. Surviving inventories of the private libraries in pre-Revolutionary South Carolina suggest that the colony's wealthy merchants and planters owned few books on architectural subjects. There was undoubtedly a general acquaintance with the decorative orders among the educated of the colony; being conversant with new classically-inspired architectural systems added polish to a gentleman's grasp of the polite arts. It was also perhaps a logical and visual parallel to a classical education.

No single architectural title appears with regularity in the small proportion of enumerated inventories from South Carolina, although the expected interest in classical civilization is very
much in evidence. Descriptions of the classical landscape seemed popular. Historical studies, such as Charles Rollins' *The Ancient History of the Romans* and John Potter's *Archaeologia Graecae*, appear with some frequency among the history titles owned privately. The colonists undoubtedly owned practical texts, such as building manuals which never enjoyed the care or regard given less utilitarian, and generally more expensive, books in their libraries.

The use of pattern books and building manuals is a difficult thread to follow in surviving records, since most of these books were destined for use by craftsmen working in the building trades. The Charlestown Library Society, one of the best libraries in the colonies, apparently owned few of these books. The sole pattern book listed in the 1770 catalogue is a 1765 edition [*Builders Companion*](Folio) of William Pain's *Builders Companion*. The book was aimed at those in the building trade and includes measured designs for architectural components, such as soffits, niches, and trussed roofs "for churches, pavilions, and private buildings," as well as ornamental woodwork.

As they were utilitarian books intended for a small audience, pattern books were probably not imported in large quantities, nor would they be valuable enough to be noted in the inventories of the tradesmen who would have owned them. One of
the earliest probable references to imported pattern books in South Carolina is contained in a 1756 notice published by the bookseller Robert Wells. A lengthy listing of titles concludes with a tantalizing reference to "sundry books on architecture."^16 By the 1760s, however, there are more numerous references to architectural books scattered among the bookseller's notices.

By the late 1760s, for example, Wells seems to have found a wider audience for architectural treatises and pattern books. In a notice of 1769, he advertised a surprisingly large selection of pattern books and builders' manuals imported from London. Included in his shipment were "Swan's Designs on Architecture, British Architecture, Carpenter's Instructions and Chimney Pieces," "Modern Builder" by Morris Lightoler, etc., "Cronden [sic] Convenient Architecture," and "Paine's Builder."^17 In a notice of 1767, he advertised several drawing books, such as the "artist's vademecum" and "complete drawing master." He also gives notice in the same advertisement of recent imports such as Vitruvius Britannicus (three volumes) and the Modern Builders Assistant, Paine's Builder, and other "treatises on architecture" in stock.^18

In a lengthy notice published by another Charleston bookseller in 1767, there was a single reference to "Langley's Designs in Architecture";^19 a year later, the same bookseller advertised "15 vols. Langley's designs of architecture."^20 Although this
could refer to any number of books by Batty Langley, the word "designs" may be an abbreviation for The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs, which was printed intermittently from 1741 to 1756. Other publications by Langley more contemporary with the notice are The Builder's Compleat Assistant (fourth ed., 1766) and The Builder's Jewel. The eleventh edition of this popular book was published in 1766 and a twelfth edition in 1768.

These advertisements offer strong evidence for the use of popular English pattern books by builders, carvers, and carpenters working in the Charleston area by the 1760s. Most artisans probably owned one or more copies of the more popular authors, such as Pain or Langley, although there is unfortunately limited documentary evidence available in the few sketchy inventories which can be traced to artisans who worked in Charleston in the eighteenth century. One of the strongest links in this chain of influence is provided by the inventory of Ezra Waite, one of the city's leading artisan-builders. Waite's library inventory provides one of the best-documented links between the English publications and the diffusion of classical motifs into a local craftsman's vocabulary. Waite, a London-trained carver who worked on the Miles Brewton house in Charleston, owned one of the largest architectural libraries in South Carolina. Waite's collection included a number of popular pattern books by Abraham Swan, Robert Morris, and Batty Langley.
Two rural Anglican churches offer firm evidence for the use of a Langley edition by a craftsman working outside of the city. The geographic and stylistic versatility suggested by the title *The City and Country Builder's Treasury of Design* (1740) would have obvious appeal for Charleston-based craftsmen who served a substantial clientele often living forty or fifty miles from the city.

**Design Sources and Builders in Rural South Carolina: The Example of Pompion Hill Chapel and St. Stephen's Church**

Two of the best surviving examples of the classical influence in buildings of the colony are the remote churches of St. Stephen's and Pompion Hill, built in the 1760s in parishes to the west and north of Charleston (Pls. 2 and 13). Although thirty miles apart, the churches are very similar in plan and elevation. Both buildings are five bays wide, with half-round fanlights above sash windows. Each features a cross aisle and a Palladian window at the chancel end, and they are both constructed of brick laid in Flemish bond. Although the roof profiles differ, both interiors have elaborate woodwork. The stylistic parallels between Pompion Hill Chapel and St. Stephen's church suggest that the same builders and design sources were employed in the construction. The surviving material and documentary evidence offer important insights into the organization of church building programs in rural South Carolina,
as well as the migration of classical building fashions through pattern books and freemasonry into the remote parts of the colony.

The same two individuals are, indeed, associated with Pompion Hill (1763-65) and St. Stephen's (1767-69) and their activities provide important information about the organization of the building trades and the interaction between the urban and rural builders and craftsmen in eighteenth-century South Carolina.

The name "Villepontoux" is incised into bricks framing doors which open onto the cross aisles of each church. Local tradition attributes the Villepontoux mark at Pompion Hill to Zachariah Villepontoux, a second-generation Huguenot and planter who operated a brick manufactory on his Back River plantation.23 Evidence suggests that the other individual who left his mark at Pompion Hill and St. Stephen's is William Axson. Axson left only his initials at Pompion Hill, but was considerably more conspicuous at the later church. It is perhaps telling that Axson's mark has excited far less attention than Villepontoux's, who is occasionally suggested as the architect and builder of Pompion Hill Church, although there are no extant church records to support this claim.24 It is known that Villepontoux furnished bricks for the walls, curved bricks for the columns, and "small numbers of bricks especially prepared for the moldings of the capitals of
the columns and the pilasters," of St. Michael's, Charleston.  

There is, however, no documentation to support claims for an additional career as a designer. Newspaper notices and vestry accounts from St. Stephen's, however, do suggest that the Villeponteaux family's involvement in local building was more extensive than a single member's lucrative sideline in brick making.

The vestry records from St. Stephen's indicate that much of the construction was carried out under the supervision of another member of the Villeponteaux family, Francis Villeponteaux, who was a planter in St. Stephen's parish (formerly known as the French Santee) and a nephew of Zachariah Villeponteaux. Although Dalcho identifies Francis Villeponteaux as one of the architects of this church, the surviving records suggest that his role was more that of a contractor. The vestry records note that arrangements were made in 1769 and 1773 with Francis Villeponteaux for simple construction projects. He was "to remove the old church from the place it formerly stood, and to convert the same into a vestry house . . ." Other members of the Villeponteaux family also seem to have taken on contract work. The following February, the vestry commissioned Paul Villeponteaux (either the nephew or brother of Francis) to repair the Glebe house. In 1773, the vestry again commissioned Francis Villeponteaux to "build a store room and milk house under one roof, 12 feet by 25 feet . . . with four windows and projecting shelves."
Although it is not at all clear that Francis Villeponteaux was a designer, it seems natural, based on family interests, that he would seek a profitable sideline in local building projects. In addition, another income source would have certain attraction for a planter who had to contend with often disastrous vagaries of weather and market conditions for his rice or indigo. Building projects had another attraction; it was a way of using surplus slave labor during the slow autumn and winter months.

The St. Stephen's accounts suggest that Villeponteaux may have formed a partnership with the Charleston artisan William Axson. On 13 November 1767, the vestry book records payment of £1048 to "Axson & Pontoux" for "woodwork" and "brickwork."31 The "Pontoux" is Francis, who was elected a churchwarden the following April. As a superintendent for the maintenance and repair of church property, it was the ideal post for the entrepreneurial Villeponteaux, who served in the position from 1768 to 1770. Once the frame and foundation were completed, work began on finishing the interior, albeit in the halting manner associated with church building in the eighteenth century. In September 1768, the church commissioners "agreed with Messrs. Pontoux & Axson to do the wooden work compleat for the sum of Two Hundred & Fifty Pounds Currency."32 The contract was presumably for interior and ornamental woodwork. Plaster work and the foundations for pews seem only to have been recently completed. Other payments totaling
£219 were made to Axson for unspecified services from July to October 1768.\(^{33}\)

The evidence of these accounts and the similarities of plan and interior fittings strongly suggest that the local planter and the Charleston cabinetmaker were the builders of both churches. Although it is impossible to say with any precision what the division of labor was, Axson undoubtedly worked on or supervised most of the handsome woodwork, using Langley's *Treasury* and perhaps some of the designs in Pain's *Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant*.\(^{34}\)

The "New and Genteel Pulpit of Cedar" described by the rector of Pompion Hill,\(^{35}\) for example, is almost a direct copy of Plate 114 in the 1750 edition of Langley's *Treasury*. It faithfully follows the details of Langley's design, from the faceted stem to the plump dove crowning the tester. Similarly, the Palladian window and the simple wooden reredos decoration at St. Stephen's are probably adapted from other designs in the same edition (Pls. 14, 15, 3, 16, and 17).\(^{36}\)

Given the upward mobility which characterized the mechanic and artisan classes in the eighteenth century and the loose definition of the building trades, it would not necessarily follow that Axson's function in these buildings was strictly limited to joinery, carving, and general carpentry. Design was not the
exclusive province of the as yet only dimly-defined architectural profession in Axson's time. John James, successor to James Gibbs in the Office of Surveyor to the Church Building Commission and designer of St. George's, Hanover Square, 1720-25, and St. Mary's, Twickenham, ca. 1713-15, was originally a carpenter and subsequently a Master of the Carpenters' Company. James, evidently a well-educated man, was officially employed as a carpenter on St. Paul's Cathedral and other churches built by the Commission. Another example of accomplished design by a carpenter is St. George's, Gravesend, by Charles Sloane, a local carpenter and architect, who was also principal contractor. Versatility among craftsmen employed in the building trades was a commonplace even earlier during the building program engendered by the Great Fire of London. One of the names which recurs in the Wren building accounts, for example, is that of Edward Pierce, a carver and a mason.

There are also other contemporary examples of entrepreneurial ambitions among Charleston's craftsmen. Thomas Elfe is probably the best local example of a cabinetmaker who was also an enterprising businessman. Elfe's extensive holdings, for instance, included a slave identified (and valued accordingly) as a bricklayer. Ezra Waite, another local artisan, announced himself as both "carver" and "architect." Thus it seems very likely that Axson's abilities could easily have extended beyond woodworking.
and carving to encompass architecture and masonry. Certainly his knowledge of pattern books indicates a basic comprehension of the proportional systems and decorative orders which are the heart of classically-inspired buildings. If Axson owned or had access to Langley's Treasury, he also must have owned or been familiar with other volumes by Langley or other equally popular authors which afforded a simple program of self-instruction in the classical style of building.

From the fragmentary evidence available, it is possible to make some conjectures about the work of the Charleston cabinetmaker and artisan who left his name on two of the best surviving examples of Georgian classicism in the Low Country of rural South Carolina. The remaining biographical and material evidence suggest that William Axson had ties of marriage as well as commerce with the parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis. It also seems likely that at one point he owned land or was a resident of that parish or of the adjoining parish of St. Stephen.

In 1763, William Axson is identified as a carpenter and as a cabinetmaker in Charleston. It may well be that he practiced both trades successfully after the fashion of his contemporaries in England. There are also several connections with the parishes of St. Thomas and St. Dennis and of St. Stephen in public and private documents associated with him. The marriage of William...
Axson in 1761 and the baptism of his children in 1763 and 1765 is recorded in the records of St. Thomas and St. Dennis. In 1778 and 1779, William Axson, apparently acting as executor, posted notices relating to the estate of Captain John Howell, a resident of St. Thomas's parish. A William Axson is also listed as a witness to the will of John Davis, a planter of St. Stephen's parish who died in 1770.

The Masonic symbols which Axson placed with his mark at Pompion Hill and his name at St. Stephen's are additional evidence of a wider net of social and commercial ties that he maintained between Charleston and these rural parishes.

Indeed, the prominence of Axson's signatures at Pompion Hill and, especially, at St. Stephen's (where it surmounts a Palladian window at the chancel end) may provide some indication of his role in the construction of the church and the choice of classically-inspired motifs in the building's design.

At Pompion Hill, a trowel, mallet, and triangular pattern of dots are inscribed next to Axson's initials. The mallet and trowel are the most important tools of the mason's craft. They were also widely recognized symbols of Freemasonry, which was well-established in the colony by mid-century. The mallet, for example, was an object parable of the Enlightenment: it represented the powerful new ideal of the force of reason.
triangular pattern may be intended to announce Axson's status in a Masonic Lodge, for the trowel is the chief symbol associated with a master or third degree Mason. It also symbolizes the fraternal bond.\textsuperscript{46}

Axson made his fraternal association even more conspicuous at St. Stephen. There his name (and accompanying Masonic regalia) are placed on the south doorway and above the center of the Palladian window on the eastern façade (Pl. 16). The latter are slip-glazed bricks in an upside-down "T" configuration. This curious arrangement of symbols is a complicated allegory of Freemasonry. The source is probably an English print of 1754 (Pl. 17), which is said to illustrate the Master Mason and his emblems. It was probably intended for the general print-buying public and was popular enough to be copied by a Boston engraver in 1763.\textsuperscript{47}

One symbol which is especially prominent in the design at St. Stephen's is the Mason's square,\textsuperscript{48} one of the most important emblems in Masonic philosophy. Craftsmen used it to lay out their work and to test the "true" or exactness of an angle. The Freemasons adopted it to symbolize morality; it is also a reference to the highest grade of masonry, the Master Mason. In Masonic jewelry, it is his special emblem of rank.\textsuperscript{49} Axson's office within his lodge may be suggested by another element in this composition. The crescent moon seems to be an emblem associated with the office
of senior warden within a lodge. Axson may thus be announcing his Masonic rank as well as his position in the lodge hierarchy.\textsuperscript{50}

William Axson obviously wished to boast of his association with one of the eighteenth century's most important social and philosophical organizations.\textsuperscript{51} Once these iconographic and biographical puzzles are solved, why should the congruence of a craftsman's name, his Masonic affiliations, and an isolated, vernacular interpretation of classical architecture concern us any further?

Axson's signatures are important clues in establishing the connections between Freemasonry and classically-inspired buildings in colonial South Carolina. Freemasonry is an important, although elusive thread running through the science, arts, and politics of the eighteenth century. Membership in a Masonic fraternity held powerful attractions for the fluid and upwardly-mobile societies of the eighteenth century. In England and on the Continent, lodges were the common meeting ground for nobility, gentry, and an emerging professional class. Freemasonry was both egalitarian and universal in spirit; in the lodge "masons meet as members of the same family and representatives for the time being of all brethren throughout the world."\textsuperscript{52} The temperament of Freemasonry had obvious appeal for the fluid and pluralistic culture taking shape on the American continent.
Although the social and philanthropic aspects of Freemasonry have survived, its historical role as a society devoted to the advancement of "useful learning" is not well understood. The educational role of Freemasonry is one of the least understood aspects of an undeniably obscure movement. Yet, as the author of a recent study of Freemasonry points out, European lodge records in towns removed from urban centers of Masonic leadership confirm that "members were taught that knowledge of geometry and architecture distinguishes 'the true masons from the ignorant.'"  

As an organization which espoused Newtonian science and venerated a mechanistic view of nature, Freemasonry found heroic symbols for these ideals in the buildings of classical antiquity. In Masonic philosophy, these orderly and systematic buildings represented the supreme embodiment of applied mathematics. Knowledge of classical architecture and the corresponding science of applied mathematics were clearly encouraged by Masonic literature. An improved understanding of these arts became an important educational mission for many lodges. The oldest draft of bylaws for an American lodge, dated 1732, underscores the importance attached to the study of architecture and geometry:

That since the excellent Science of Geometry and Architecture is so much recommended in our ancient Constitutions, Masonry being first instituted with this Design, among others . . . total ignorance of this Art is very unbecoming a Mason who wears the worthy name and character of Masonry. We therefore conclude that
it is the Duty of every Member to make himself, in some Measure, acquainted therewith ... 

That every member may have the opportunity of so doing, the present Cash be laid out in the Best Books of Architecture, suitable Mathematical Instruments, Etc. ... 53

The literary impetus for the revival of these branches of the liberal arts was Anderson's Constitutions of the Freemasons. 56 This influential statement of Masonic traditions and ritual was published in 1723 under the name of the Reverend James Anderson, a Scottish minister who also wrote Whig propaganda. 57 The Constitutions were well known in American Masonic circles. Benjamin Franklin issued the first American reprint in 1734; 58 the English edition was available in Charleston as early as 1732. 59 Revised versions of the Constitutions and other Masonic literature continued to be advertised by booksellers and printers in the city throughout the eighteenth century. 60

According to Anderson's instructions to new members, the "Augustan Stile" was an important symbol of the ideals of Freemasonry:

... the Remains of which are the Pattern and Standard of true Masonry in all Future Times ... and which we are now only endeavouring to imitate, and have not yet arriv'd to its Perfection. 61

New candidates, if instructed from Anderson's text, would be taught that the true revival of the "Augustan Stile" began with
James I's patronage of Inigo Jones, although Palladio, "who has not yet been duly imitated in Italy," Bramante, Michaelangelo, Raphael, Vignola "and many other bright Architects" were acknowledged as instrumental in raising the classical style "from its Rubbish in Italy."62

The patronage of Royal Masons is claimed as the primary force in the diffusion of classical building styles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The claim is made repeatedly in Masonic literature. Classical architecture and, by extension, its decorative orders are the material expression of the Masonic ideals.63 At this time, English Masonry was closely associated with the Crown. The Masonic Constitutions suggest other political, if not nationalistic, motives for the revival of classical styles in the English landscape:

And if the disposition for true Masonry prevails, for some time, with Noblemen, Gentlemen and learned Men (as it is likely it will) this Island will become the Mistress of the Earth, for Designing, Drawing, and Conducting, and capable to instruct all other Nations in all things relating to the Royal Art.64

Much remains to be learned about the connections between the building trades and Masonic fraternities. It is very probable that master craftsmen like William Axson brought a widened appreciation and knowledge of classical forms to their work as a result of Masonic teachings. By extension, the transplanting of
classical forms to rural outposts of the Church of England no longer seems so incongruous. It may be seen as the lonely assertion of the combined power of Church, Crown, and English culture.
CONCLUSION

Seventy years of public support proved a mixed blessing for the Anglican church in South Carolina. The Church of England formally withdrew its support in 1778. In 1809 the historian David Ramsay remarked the peculiar predicament of the disestablished church. Parishioners, he observed, "were not so immediately impressed with the necessity of advancing their private funds . . ."1 He noted that for several years after the Revolution, the Episcopal church languished in South Carolina; "though it maintained a respectable standing in their two ancient houses of worship in Charles Town, it made for some time but little progress in the country."2

It was not the first time the Church of England faced an uncertain future in South Carolina. Anglicanism did not establish the religious hegemony in rural areas of the colony that its supporters in London and Charleston had envisioned. Despite the underpinnings of state revenue, the missionary church in South Carolina met with mixed success. The grand schemes for the conversion of the heathen Indians and then of the slave population were soon abandoned. The Anglican church made equally little
headway with errant Protestants, who proved a great deal more recal-
citrant and prolific than had been thought possible. Much has been
made over the absorption of the Huguenot colonists into the Anglican
culture. Closer examination, however, reveals that even this
ethnic population moved slowly and hesitantly into the dominant
English culture and that their unique religious traditions proved
remarkably tenacious. The missionary ambitions of the Church of
England were also frustrated by powerful and frequently hostile
vestries, a difficult climate, and clerics with a limited sense of
duty and low tolerance for frontier hardships. High turnover and
long vacancies were common in rural South Carolina. For the first
five decades of the eighteenth century, the Anglican church was
preoccupied with cutting its losses and consolidating its tenuous
foothold in rural South Carolina.

It is necessary to look further than religion to take the
true measure of the Church of England in rural South Carolina. The
importance of the rural church was rooted in its success as a symbol
of English culture and as the most tangible and immediate link
with the institutions of English civilization in the hinterlands.
The church was a conduit for the infusion of intellectual and
artistic currents into these remote rural areas, as the example
of classically-styled churches thirty and fifty miles from Charleston
indicates. The artifactual and documentary evidence presented
by these churches offers additional insight into the migration of
craftsmen and ideas from urban centers into the hinterlands and the organization of the building trades in South Carolina.

In its plan and appointments, the rural Anglican church affirmed its place as a satellite of the contemporary church. The South Carolina churches are strikingly uniform in their design and decoration and faithfully echo the strict conventions which governed Anglican prayer book worship. They were also the heirs of the revolution in church design inaugurated by Christopher Wren's London parish churches. The modern view of church as auditory is clearly the model which guided church building in South Carolina. Like churches in England, the rural churches of South Carolina were vehicles for defining and elaborating social and political relationships within the context of an orderly and unified worship space. Memorials, hatchments, engraved silver, pulpit hangings and altar cloths were material expressions of individual social and political hierarchies. The church was an ordered universe where everyone had an assigned place; it was as much a celebration of God as an affirmation of social organization.

The Anglican churches in rural South Carolina were more than isolated houses of worship. With the Establishment Act the Anglican church became the center of an English cultural system transplanted to the country parishes. Several important secular functions were grafted onto the rural Anglican church by the
Establishment Act and later statutes. By the 1730s, the parish church served as the welfare agency, tax office, census bureau, and polling place for parish residents.\(^3\) These civil functions were, like many of the Carolina statutes, based on older colonial models. In Virginia and the British Indies, parish churches performed many of the same functions.\(^4\) There were, however, several important differences between South Carolina and the nearest cultural models. Care of the poor was conducted on a broader scale and free public education was more widely available through church sponsored schools. Only in South Carolina were church officials empowered to conduct and supervise public elections.\(^5\) The Anglican-administered schools offered the only route to literacy for many of the settlers in the back country parishes and operated the only libraries in rural areas.

The Anglican church was therefore an impressive consolidation of secular functions and sacred interests. It was the only material expression of the state in rural parishes. In the final analysis, it was these secular functions, and the authority associated with them, which ensured the survival of the Anglican church in rural South Carolina.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter I


2 Thomas Cooper and David McCord, eds., The Statutes at Large of South Carolina (Columbia, S.C.: A.S. Johnston, 1836-1841), 2: 232-35. This law was an attempt to restrict membership of the Commons House of Assembly and was repealed shortly after its passage.

3 This papist paranoia gained the force of law in many British outposts. The British colony of Nevis enacted at least one blatant anti-Catholic law. Similar measures passed in Barbados and the Bermudas (1690) were designed to enforce observance of Sunday. The Barbadian law and a similar one passed in South Carolina (1712) gave church officials right of search and seizure in the aggressive pursuit of offenders. The Barbadian laws were far more strict, however, and required mandatory attendance at prayers twice daily for all Anglicans living within two miles of a church. See Nicholas Trott, The Laws of the British Plantations in America Relating to the Church and Clergy, Religion and Learning (London: B. Cowse, 1721).


5 Robert L. Meriwether, The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729-1765 (Kingsport, Tenn.: Southern Publishers, 1940), p. 15.

6 Ibid., p. 6.

S. Charles Bolton, "The Anglican Church of Colonial South Carolina, 1704-1754: A Study in Americanization" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973). My interpretations of the Anglican Church and its personnel in South Carolina are based, in large measure, on the insights presented in this thoughtful study. I am also indebted to this study for bringing the Society correspondence to my attention.

Trott, Laws of the British Plantations, pp. 56-59. See "An Act for the Further Encouragement of the Clergy of This Province by Advancing Their Salaries." An earlier act of 1714 attempted to offer some relief by making rector's salaries retroactive to the day of their arrival in the colony. The state salary, however, was available only after the minister was elected. A grant of £24 was also provided before the election by the church commissioners if the prospective rector's credentials were approved.


Frank L. Klingberg, ed., Carolina Chronicle: the Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1706-1716, University of California Publications in History, vol. 35 (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), p. 60. The letter was written to the Secretary of the S.P.G., 5 July 1710. Johnston may have had the situation of the Goose Creek rector in mind. Francis Le Jau conscientiously served this major center of Anglicanism outside Charleston. He had arrived in the colony in 1706, yet in a pathetic letter to the Society in 1707 reported that he had neither parsonage nor settlement, but only good intentions to rely upon. "My parishioners use me well and design to do something for me. I hope they'll do it in time, but as I have received nothing yet but a small matter to keep me in necessary cloathes. I must beg the charitable continuance of the Hon'ble the Society bounty to me else it would be very hard upon me." Le Jau to Sec., S.P.G., 5 September 1711. Ibid., p. 92.

William Tredwell Bull to Sec., S.P.G., 3 January 1716, Fulham Palace Papers, S.P.G. MSS, Series C.


William Tredwell Bull to Sec., S.P.G., 3 January 1716, Fulham Palace Papers, S.P.G. MSS, Series C.


Rev. Lewis Jones to Sec., S.P.G., 8 June 1731, Fulham Palace Papers, S.P.G. MSS, Series B, vol. 6. Jones was sent to St. Helena's parish on the southern frontier in 1726, yet five years later the congregation had not built a parish house for him.

Trott, Laws of the British Plantations, p. 31. See "A Further Additional Act to An Act . . .," 8 April 1710, sections IV and V.


Trott, Laws of the British Plantations, pp. 41-42. See "Amendments to the Church Act and the Library Act, 7 June 1712, section VIII.


These various schemes have been fully described by Bolton, pp. 232-33 and 235.

Cooper and McCord, eds., 3: 174-76.


Ibid., p. 16.

Frederick L. Weis, The Colonial Churches and Colonial Clergy of the Middle and Southern Colonies, 1607-1776 (Lancaster, Mass., 1938), cited in Ronald W. Long, "Religious Revivalism in
the Carolinas and Georgia, 1740-1805" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1968), p. 73.

28Long, pp. 326 and 349.

29Ibid., pp. 19-20.

30Ibid., p. 315. The author argues that revivalism was an important factor in unifying distinct geographical and denominational subgroups.

31Ibid., p. 74.

32Ibid., p. 103.

33David Ramsay, History of South Carolina from the First Settlements in 1670 to the Year 1808 (Charleston: David Longworth, 1809), 2: 28.

34Meriwether, pp. 17-30.

35Ibid., p. 98.


41The question of religious precedence in the rural parishes is a sensitive issue. Some historians have contended that a church was built by French Huguenots in the Orange Quarter in the late 1680s, making the French "the pioneers in Carolina
of the Christian Church." See Elizabeth Poyas, Our Forefathers:
Their Homes and Their Churches (Charleston: Walker, Evans and
Co., 1860), p. 91. A highly respected local historian disputed
the claim, noting there is no record of a church, only a congre­
gation. See Henry A.M. Smith, "The Orange Quarter and the First
French Settlers in South Carolina," South Carolina Historical and

42David Humphries, An Historical Account of the Incor­
porated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (London:

43Hannah Lee, The Huguenots in France and America (1843;
1: 82-86. John Lawson's journal was published in 1709 as A Jour­
nal of a Thousand Miles Travelled Through the Several Nations of
the Indians.

44The Carolina model closely follows the experience of
the French who settled in other colonies. French settlers at
Manakin town along the James River in Virginia had petitioned
the General Assembly to be constituted as a separate parish
(King William). By 1707 their minister petitioned the council
for an extension of the exemption from public and county levies
and for redress for damages arising from dissension between the
French and Anglican settlers.

45An official history of the Anglican church in South
Carolina asserts that "Within about twenty-five years, practically
all the Huguenots and their churches were absorbed into the
Establishment, the only exceptions being the church in Charles
Town ..." Albert Sidney Thomas, A Historical Account of the
Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957

46In 1731, an Act appropriating money for buildings in the
French parish of St. James, Santee, urged total conformance to
the rituals of the English church, with the rector being required
to "preach and perform Divine Service in the English tongue"
See Cooper and McCord, eds., 3: 304-5, "An Act to Repeal an Act
for Appointing a Chapel at Echaw, in the Parish of St. James,
Santee, in Craven County ... and to provide that the Rector
for the time being, of the said Parish, do preach and perform
Divine Service in the English tongue." Similarly the French
congregation in the parish of St. Dennis was not given any
public funding for construction or maintenance of a church
"during the time that the Divine Service of the said congregation
Chapter II


8Although pulpits were occasionally placed at the west end of English churches, Pompion Hill Chapel is the single exception to this rule in surviving South Carolina churches. The pulpit is at the west end of the church, possibly due to the constraints imposed by a small apse at the chancel end.
Vestry Minutes, St. John's, Colleton, April 1789.
Charleston Library Society, Charleston, S.C. The quotation is from a report made by commissioners appointed to inspect the repairs of the church. One member did dissent from the consensus regarding pulpit placement. In the surviving churches, only one other pulpit, that of Pompion Hill Chapel, is situated at the west end of the church.

Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 75. A variation is the combination of pulpit and reading desk.

Addleshaw and Etchells, pp. 52 and 138.


The number of communicants was never very large in rural areas. In 1761, one rural missionary reported that his communicants "continues about 70 ... and I do not believe so many do not meet in any parish of this province except Charleston at least in my neighborhood nothing like." Robert Baron, St. Bartholomew's Parish to Sec., S.P.G., 24 June 1761, Fulham Palace Papers, S.P.G. MSS, Series B, vol. 5.


Addleshaw and Etchells, pp. 52 and 138.

Altars in English churches could be elaborate pieces of furniture executed in the latest fashion. One example is the communion table with carved eagles and cherubs which stood at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London. Nor were fashionable communion tables found only in London churches. Babington Church, ca. 1750, in Somerset has a stylish communion table with cabriole legs. See Marcus Whiffen, Stuart and Georgian Churches (London: B.T. Batsford, 1948), p. 132.

Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 166. The authors point out
that "There was no doctrinal significance attached to a stone as distinct from a wooden altar."


21Records of St. John's Berkeley, 30 October 1760. Microfilm, Archives of the State of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.

22Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 158.

23Ibid., p. 103. Use of decalogues was sanctioned by the "orders of 1560/61 and Canon LXXXII of 1604 [which] enjoined that Commandments be set up at the east end of the Chancel."


25Joseph I. Waring, St. James, Goose Creek: A Sketch of the Parish, 1706-1909 (Charleston: Doggett Publishing Co., 1909), p. 14. The tablets were given by William Middleton and were placed on the east side of the east window.

26Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 158.

27The Gazette of the State of South Carolina, Charleston, 28 April 1777, 3-3. The notice is datelined St. John's, Berkeley County, 18 April 1777.

28Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 110.


30The assistance of Professor Dell Upton is gratefully acknowledged in helping shape my interpretation of these ornaments in the worship setting.

31Stephen P. Dorsey, Early English Churches in America, 1607-1807 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 25. According to the author, there are only two examples of these hatchments in American churches. One is at Christ Church, Philadelphia; the other is at Goose Creek.
32 Charleston Daily Courier, 6 August 1859 (typescript), MSS Collection, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.

33 Vestry Records, St. Stephen's Parish, 19 September 1759. Misenhelter, p. 38. Once a part of St. James's, Santee, St. Stephen's parish was created by an Act of Assembly 11 May 1754. The parish is sometimes referred to as the "English Santee" to distinguish it from St. James, which is commonly known as the French Santee.

34 The service bears English hallmarks. Although gifts of plate from the Crown were not unknown in the colonies, the funds may have been provided by an ardent Royalist.


36 Addleshaw and Etchells, pp. 101-02.

37 Ibid., p. 166.

38 Ibid., p. 93.


40 Ibid., p. 170.

41 Ibid.

42 The accounting of pew titles seems to have been a less formal procedure in the rural parishes. References from one parish, St. John's, Berkeley, are sporadic in this regard. An entry of 22 March 1731, notes that the parish officers signed a title for "A pew in the Gallery No. 5 to Mr. David Peyre" for £30. On April 4, the records note: "We signed a title to Mr. Abraham Sanders for a Pew in the Middle Isle No. 4." Vestry Book of St. John, Berkeley, MSS Collection (typescript), South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C.


44 Ibid.
Addleshaw and Etchells, p. 90.

Williams, p. 156. The first list of pew indentures (1760) indicates that "pews were held in fee simple upon payment of subscription . . . from £30 to £250 Currency. The larger the subscription, the more desirable was the location of the property."


Ibid., pp. 219-20.

Addleshaw, High Church Tradition, p. 192.

Chapter III


Ibid., p. 271.

The cross shape of these two buildings may have been inspired by St. Philip's in Charleston, finished around 1733. St. Philip's was considered one of the most impressive churches in the colonies. The building was destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century.


Only the parish church of St. George, Dorchester, had a steeple, which was added ca. 1753. The vestry of St. Andrew's discussed adding a steeple but never did. The steeples of St. Helena's parish church in Beaufort and Prince George, Winyah, were added in the nineteenth century.

Marl, a form of limestone unsuitable for building, was the only locally available stone, and no quarries were in operation until the early 1800s.

Again, St. Philip's in Charleston may have been the prototype. The church had three porticos supported by Tuscan columns.
8 Hennig Cohen, The Charlestown Gazette (Columbia, S.C.: The University of South Carolina Press, 1954), p. 144. Helen Park's authoritative book does not list Alberti among the architectural titles available in America before the Revolution, although, as the notice indicates, it was clearly a desirable addition to a library. Leoni's two-volume translation of Palladio was first issued in 1715-16, a second edition was printed in 1721 and a third in 1742.

9 Cohen, pp. 140-41. There is no catalogue of the Society's holdings prior to 1770. "Givins designs" may refer to James Gibbs's A Book of Architecture (London, 1728, 1739). The "Adams designs" may refer to plates printed for a projected volume which was later issued as Vitruvius Scoticus (1810).

10 Books on classical subjects owned by the Charlestown Library Society in 1770 included Kennet's Antiquities of Rome (1746), Rollins' History of the Arts and Science of the Ancients (1737), and Mountfaucon's Antiquities of France (1750). As was the case with private libraries, classical literature was a prominent component of the collection.


12 These titles were compiled from 438 inventories of private libraries in the colony and represent books which appeared at least five times. Edgar, Appendix II, p. 227.

13 Peter Manigault (d. 1773), one of the best educated and traveled Carolinians of his generation, may have been the original owner of Robert Morris' Lectures on Architecture, Consisting of Rules Founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building (1734), which is now owned by the Charleston Library Society. Although the book is inscribed "Gabriel Manigault 1802," it seems likely that the original owner was either Peter Manigault, who owned one of the largest private libraries in South Carolina, or Peter's father Gabriel (1704-1781), who was a vice-president and major benefactor of the Charleston Library Society.

14 Presumably the shortened title of The Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant, originally published in 1758.

15 The long title of this book suggests the many uses for this manual: "... Being not only useful, but necessary to all Masons, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Carpenters, Joiners and other concerned in the several branches of building ..."
16. Cohen, p. 14. The notice was published in the 1 July 1756 edition of the Gazette. Volumes on architecture are listed under the heading "quarto," which may suggest they were building manuals and/or design books.

17. South Carolina and American General Gazette, 24 July 1769, 2-3. MESDA Clippings File: "Architecture, design sources, Charleston." Books referred to in the advertisement are: Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture (1757), The British Architect (1745), The Carpenter's Complete Instruction in Several Hundred Designs . . . (1759), Designs for Chimneys and the Proportion They Bear to Their Respective Rooms (1765); The Modern Builder's Assistant (1757) by William Halfpenny, Robert Morris and Timothy Lightoler; and John Crunden's Convenient and Ornamental Architecture (1767). "Paine's Builder" could be either The Builder's Companion and Workman's General Assistant (1758) or The Builder's Pocket Treasure or Palladio Delineated and Explained (1763), both by William Paine.


22. Ibid., pp. 122-127.


manufactories, Villeponteaux's brick seem to have set a generally acknowledged standard of quality. Minutes from St. Stephen's indicate that local orders for brick were to be made to the size of Villeponteaux bricks.

26In official records, Francis Villeponteaux is only identified as a planter. A deed of lease for 950 acres, made in November 1776, is assigned to "Francis Villeponteaux, planter," of St. Stephen's parish. Charleston Co., S.C., Land Records Miscellaneous, Pt. 87, Books R-6-S6, 1796-1798, pp. 203-207, BK R-6.

27Dalco, p. 329. At the time this book was written (ca. 1820) the church records were presumed lost, p. 331. Dalcho notes the inscriptions "A. Howard Ser. 1767" and "F. Villeponteaux Ser. 7, 1767" and surmises that they are the "names of the architects." Curiously, William Axson's equally conspicuous inscription is not mentioned. The identity of "A. Howard" remains a mystery. He is not mentioned in church records as vestryman, supplier or workman. No additional information could be gleaned from MESDA Archives or the Prime File (Winterthur Museum).


29Ibid., 19 February 1770, p. 49.

30Ibid., 1 June 1773, p. 53.

31Ibid., 13 November 1767, p. 45.

32Ibid., 14 September 1768, pp. 46-47.

33Ibid., 5 October 1768, p. 47.

34The 1756 edition of this book contains a design for a Palladian window with classical pilasters which is similar to those at the chancel end of each church.

35The description is from a letter written at St. Thomas' Parish, 6 May 1765, by Reverend Alexander Garden to Sec., S.P.G. Fulham Palace MSS, Series B, vol. 5, no. 22.


40 In a 1794 directory, William Axson is listed as "carpenter." A William Axson, Sen., "lumber measurer," is also listed at a separate address. MESDA Archives, Directory published by Jacob Milligan. On 5 January 1763, "William Axson of Charles Town carpenter" sold a lease for land in Charles Town. Charleston County, S.C., Land Records, Miscellaneous, pt. 31, Book ZZ, 1762-63. On 12 February the South Carolina Gazette announced that Stephen Townsend and William Axson, jun., carried on a cabinet-making business at their shop in Tradd Street, South Carolina Gazette, Charleston, 12 February 1763, 3-1.


43 The first notice, dated 26 October 1778, advertised a reward for pieces of missing plate. The second, dated 20 January 1779, advertises the Howell estate sale at Axson's house.

44 Albert Mackey's rare History of Freemasonry in South Carolina (Columbia, S.C.: S.C. Steam Power Press, 1861), p. 57. Several Masonic lodges were established outside of Charleston by mid-century. Solomon's Lodge, warranted by the Grand Lodge of England in 1734, was the First Scottish Rite Masonic Lodge in South Carolina and one of the first Masonic organizations in the colonies.

46 Albert Pike, Liturgy of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry for the Southern Jurisdiction of the United States (Charleston, 1878), 1: 7.

47 This is the earliest source for this design I have been able to locate. It is possible that it derives from a seventeenth-century source and may have originally been part of a Masonic "primer."

48 In addition to its prominence in the composition, Axson also placed the square and compass within his name below the composition and again at the south doorway.

49 Masonic Emblems in American Decorative Arts, pp. 21 and 52.

50 In Plantations of the Carolina Low Country, Samuel Stoney laconically noted that these markings were associated with the Wambaw Lodge, which he identified (without further explanation) as a Blue Lodge (p. 68, 1964 ed.). Although I could locate no record of the Wambaw Lodge, my research into Masonic symbolism seems to corroborate Stoney's observation. A Blue Lodge is a lodge of Master Masons authorized to confer the three basic degrees of Scottish Rite Masonry: Entered Apprentice, Fellow Craft, and Master Mason. At one time these were the only degrees conferred to as ancient craft masonry. See Albert Mackey Encyclopaedia of Freemasonry (Chicago: The Masonic History Company, 1873), 1: 109 and 2: 753-54.

51 One Masonic historian has noted the use of Masonic emblems as a form of advertising: "It was extremely common over much of the seventeenth century for all kinds of trade announcements, but chiefly trade cards, to exhibit Masonic devices for the obvious purpose of influencing business, particularly in England." See Bernard E. Jones, Freemason's Guide and Compendium (London: Harrap, 1956), p. 335.

52 William Preston, Illustrations of Freemasonry, 10th ed. (London, 1804), p. 15. Preston, who was educated at Edinburgh University, was a partner in a London printing house. He joined Lodge No. 111 of the Antients in 1763 and published this popular Masonic primer in 1772.


54 Jacob, p. 48.

James Anderson, *The Constitutions of the Free Masons: Containing the Charges and Regulations &c. of that Most Ancient and Right Worshipful Fraternity; for the Use of the Lodges* (1723; reprint, ed., New York, 19th c.).

According to Jacob, the first Masonic Constitutions was in fact the work of many writers. The Reverend James Anderson (d. 1739) was a Presbyterian minister with strong royalist sympathies. Anderson and J.T. Desaguliers were principal figures in the formulation and dissemination of the doctrines of speculative Freemasonry.


Cohen. See printer's and bookseller's notices.

Anderson, p. 25.


Alan Gowans has made this argument in "Freemasonry and the Neoclassical Style in America," *Antiques*, 77 (1960): 172-75.

Anderson, p. 48.

**Conclusion**

David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina from the First Settlements in 1670 to the Year 1808* (Charleston: David Longworth, 1809), 2: 23.

Ibid., 2: 24.
The important civil functions of the Anglican church in South Carolina have been largely unappreciated by historians, who have tended to see these churches as units of ecclesiastical government only. Eleanor Clarke Hannum's "The Parish as a Civil Unit in South Carolina, 1706-1868" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1970) is one of the few political analyses of the Anglican church in South Carolina. Another useful study of the civil functions of the Anglican churchmen in South Carolina is Edward Joseph Boucher, "Vestrymen and Churchwardens in South Carolina, 1706-1779" (M.A. thesis, University of South Carolina, 1948). I acknowledge the importance of both papers in reshaping my understanding of the role of the Anglican church in rural South Carolina.

Boucher, pp. 40-49.

Tbid., p. 51.
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7. Watercolor ca. 1796-1806 of exterior, St. James, Goose Creek, Parish Church (1713-19). From A Charleston Sketchbook . . . by Charles Fraser.


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APPENDIX I

SURVIVING ANGLICAN CHURCHES AND RUINS
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Parish Church of St. Andrew, 1706
  (addition in 1723; partially rebuilt ca. 1764)

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