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THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS OF COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA: ASSIMILATION OR ACCULTURATION?

by

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M.Ed., University of South Carolina, 1987

A thesis submitted to the

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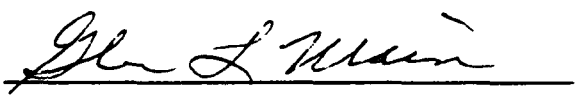

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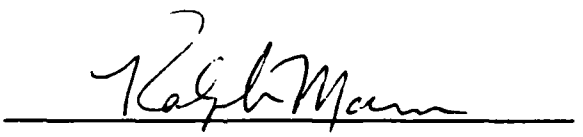

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The French Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina:

Assimilation or Acculturation?

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Gloria L. Main

The question of assimilation versus acculturation is one that should be tested. The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina provide a forum to look at the experience of a minority group in colonial society and how they dealt with the process. This paper advocates that the French Protestants in Carolina did not disappear as a separate cultural group but rather, they adopted certain behaviors that brought them economic and political success in the colony. These behaviors included acquiring large pieces of land, amassing fortunes, and moving into elite South Carolina society. As a result, they threatened those who thought of them as aliens which caused conflict in the colony between political factions. These conflicts refute the notion that the Huguenots disappeared as a separate identity by 1750. Cultural groups that vanish do not threaten or create conflicts because the dominant group absorbs them. The story of Huguenot acculturation in South Carolina shows how immigrant groups can change the host society and how the dominant group is also altered as a result of the intermingling of cultures. Keywords: Minorities, Colonial America, Theses, Work, ↪ Communities, Marriage, Political Science, Religion (JG)

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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF HISTORY

The history of the French Huguenots and their immigration to South Carolina centers around two events: the Edict of Nantes issued in 1598 and the repeal of that decree in 1685. Although the Edict confirmed various treaties and agreements between Catholics and Protestants and supposedly cancelled all previous grievances and injuries. it failed to stop persecution aimed at the French Protestants. [1] The Edict freed prisoners. legitimized Protestant children who had settled abroad. and restored Catholic worship where it had been interrupted. [2] but it still severely limited privileges: freedom to worship was confined to certain villages. towns. and cities and Protestants were prohibited from having congregations in towns where a Catholic bishop presided. [3]

In 1685. the Edict was revoked by Louis XIV. The Revocation ordered Protestant clergymen to leave France or convert to Catholicism. Protestants who remained in France and did not convert had their properties confiscated. Louis' plan worked as 650 of France's roughly 800 Protestant ministers migrated to other countries. and the rest converted. Eighty percent of the laity remained in France but they too submitted to the pressure. [4] After the Revocation. many French Protestants left France in large

numbers. They fled to Switzerland. Germany. Holland. the British Isles. and some finally to America. [5]

Huguenots were first attracted to South Carolina as a result of a recruitment effort sponsored by the English Government in the late seventeenth century. In 1663. Charles II granted the Carolina colony to eight titled Englishmen. called the Lords Proprietors. Most of these men do not figure significantly in the history of the colony. but one of them. Anthony Ashley Cooper. the Earl of Shaftesbury. was largely responsible for settling Carolina. [6] The Lords Proprietors. with Lord Ashley leading the group. not only hoped to bring glory to the English empire through their New World ventures. but also expected to make fortunes for themselves. Ashley desired a staple crop that could be grown profitably in South Carolina. By 1675. the proprietors realized that their colony could never fulfill their expectations with so small a population. [7] In the early 1680s. they launched a recruiting drive aimed at French Huguenots and British Dissenters (mostly Presbyterians. Quakers. and Lutherans) living in England. [8] The proprietors wanted colonists who could bolster the Carolina population and establish a viable economy. Between 1680 and 1682. three different group migrations began: a small band of French Huguenots. a large body of British Dissenters. and a group of Scottish immigrants. These migrations are a direct result of the proprietary recruitment effort and their insistence that economic potential and religious toleration in

Carolina afforded them more opportunities than existed in European society. [9]

The Lords Proprietors hoped to encourage immigration through attractive land offers, the promise of economic opportunities, and religious toleration. The number of French Protestants who accepted the proprietor's offers was disappointingly small. [10] The proprietors had expected eighty Huguenot families to arrive in Carolina in 1680, but only forty-five people were aboard "The Richmond" when it docked at Charles Town harbor. [11] These forty-five French refugees were the only expedition of an organized Huguenot group to take up the Proprietors' offer. Most of these early French Protestant immigrants settled on the Santee River sixty miles north of Charles Town to raise silk worms for silk manufacturing in Carolina. [12]

However, more Huguenots ultimately arrived in the colony as time went on according to a census from the papers of a colonial official, Sir Edmund Andros, dated March 14, 1699. This record enumerated 438 Huguenots living in South Carolina in 1699 with "195 in Charles Town and 243 in three country locations: 31 at 'Goes Creek' (Goose Creek), 101 on the 'eastern branch of the Cooper River,' and 111 at the 'French Church, Santee River.'" [13] Other records agree with these figures. Peter Girard wrote a letter that same year to the proprietors giving the number of French Protestants as 438, most of them living in Charles Town. [14]

We must look beyond numbers, though, to gauge the true extent of Huguenot contributions to the evolving South Carolina society. As one obviously partial historian says, the Huguenots "exercised an influence beyond their proportional numbers, and thus their numerical strength has been overestimated. Their influence has been due to their moral and intellectual fibre." [15] Unlike those who emigrated from France to European countries like England, Switzerland, and Germany, Huguenot refugees who came to Carolina were a young group who wanted to start over in a new community. They were interested in their families and in acquiring wealth in the form of land, to secure their children's place in the new society. The promise of economic and political gains motivated the French Protestants to move toward the dominant English-Anglican culture. This process can best be termed as acculturation and did not eventuate in the total suppression of a distinctive Huguenot culture in Carolina. The process of acculturation is a complicated one and, as we shall see, involves all areas of the Huguenot existence in South Carolina.

NOTES-CHAPTER I

1. Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina. (Durham, NC. 1928) 3.

2. For the text of the Edict of Nantes, see Abbe' Soulier. Histoire Du Calvinism. 598.

3. Emile G. Leonard. A History of Protestantism. II (London. 1967) 162-171.

4. Jon Butler, The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society (Cambridge, 1983) 20. According to Butler, the major French Huguenot settlements in America were New York, Boston, and Charleston. Also see Orest and Patricia Ranum (eds) The Century of Louis XIV (New York. 1972) 358-362.

5. Butler. 13-40.

6. Converse D. Clowse. Economic Beginnings In Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1730 (Columbia, SC. 1971) 7-8

7. Ibid. 72.

8. Robert M. Weir. Colonial South Carolina: A History (New York. 1983) 64.

9. Clowse. 73.

10. Hirsch. 11-13: Also see Henry A. DeSaussure, "Huguenot Immigration in South Carolina." Huguenot Society of South Carolina Transactions, No. 12 (Columbia. SC, 1905) 16-29.

11. Henry A.M. Smith. "The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina." South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine. XVIII (Columbia. SC. 1917) 107.

12. Wesley Frank Craven. The Southern Colonies In the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689 (Monroe, LA. 1949) 355.

13. Butler. 47. His figures come from two sources. A census of Huguenots dated March 14. 1699. from the papers of a colonial official. Sir Edmund Andros. and from a list titled. "List of French and Swiss refugees in Carolina desiring English Naturalization." 1697. found in the papers of Rene Ravenel.

14. David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Chapel Hill. NC, 1951) 62.

15. Ibid, 62-63.

CHAPTER II

ASSIMILATION VERSUS ACCULTURATION

The French Protestant story in South Carolina offers opportunity to explore what happens when diverse cultures coexist. Throughout its history, America has been a nation of many different ethnic backgrounds and behavioral patterns. This is also true of colonial America. As many different social and cultural groups came to America, they created heterogeneous societies, many of which have been the object of historical study. Major questions are: What happens to the groups and individuals who make up these societies? How did they respond to their new environments and to each other? Were they simply and inexorably absorbed by the dominant culture or did they retain fragments of their separate identity?

The above questions bring us to larger inquiries concerning questions of ethnic identity in fluid social conditions. In an article titled, "Assimilation and Pluralism," Harold J. Abramson states that the diversity of American life has meant social change and dislocation for the groups and individuals involved. He says, the fluidity of American social life has not resulted in the disappearance of ethnic distinctiveness, but in the persistence of separate cultures with their own special institutions. Total assimilation and homogenization, according to Abramson, is not necessarily a result of the varied social structure of America.

Rather. there is change and flexibility within the distinctiveness. making possible multiple responses and varying degrees of adaptations. [1]

Abramson describes assimilation as the process which leads to homogeneity in society. Assimilation invzolves deep social change. he writes. and it has many levels and stages. Abramson discusses three possibilities: assimilation to the dominant Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethnicity: assimilation to another "ethnic collectivity." which may also be a minority in terms of size and power: and last. groups and individuals may create a "new ethnicity" such as the mixed-background Americans who supposedly make up the "melting pot." [2]

Assimilation in America. Abramson says. means that different ethnic groups with attachment to their origins and cultures would begin to identify more with the dominant culture. in our case. the English-Anglicans. Examples given by Abramson include German Lutherans. Dutch Calvinists. and French Huguenots. Complete assimilation. he continues. would mean that the dominant culture would be large enough to receive others into their ethnic group. In this case. the dominant group would not change. but the minority culture would be absorbed into the larger ethnicity and literally cease to exist as a separate culture. In America. he said. everyone would possess English ethnic identity and there would be complete homogenization. Theoretically. the idea of separate cultures would completely disappear. [3]

Milton Gordon, in Assimilation In American Life (1964) distinguishes between "assimilation" and "acculturation." Gordon borrows from anthropology to provide an authoritative definition of "acculturation." Groups of individuals acculterate, he says, when they come into first-hand contact with other groups, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. In other words, acculturation results when different cultures interact continuously and changes to one or both social structures occur. [4]

Assimilation, on the other hand, is realized when persons and groups acquire the "memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups. . ." By sharing their experiences and history, a common cultural life arises. [5] To acculterate means to share cultures while to assimilate calls for the ultimate disappearance of the minority group into the host society.

Gordon lists seven different variables that are present in the process of complete assimilation (see table, page 10). In order for a group to change their culture as well as behavior entirely to that of, what Gordon calls, the "host society," they must: 1. change their cultural patterns, including religious belief and observance, (cultural/behavioral assimilation or acculturation) 2. take on large-scale primary group relationships, (structural assimilation) 3. intermarry and interbreed fully, (marital assimilation or amalgamation) 4. develop a sense of "peoplehood" of the dominant culture, (identificational assimilation) 5. reach a

TABLE 1

ASSIMILATION IN AMERICAN LIFE

Subprocess or Condition	Stage	Term
1. Change of cultural patterns to those of host society.	Cultural or behavioral assimilation	Acculturation
2. Large-scale entrance into cliques. clubs. and institutions of host society. on primary group level.	Structural assimilation	None
3. Large-scale intermarriage.	Marital assimilation	Amalgamation
4. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on host society.	Identificational assimilation	None
5. Absence of prejudice	Attitude Receptional assimilation	None
6. Absence of discrimination.	Behavior Receptional assimilation	None
7. Absence of Value/ Power Conflict.	Civic assimilation	None

From Milton M. Gordon. Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York. 1964) 71.

point where no discriminatory behavior is encountered. (attitude receptional assimilation) 6. encounter no prejudicial behavior. (behavior receptional assimilation) and 7. raise no issues involving value and power conflict by their demands (civic assimilation). Gordon states that the assimilation process is not absolute and that each stage may take place in varying degrees. 6

Several historians have characterized the Huguenot experience in Carolina as "assimilation." It was, however, more correctly an acculturation process, in which Huguenots did not simply "become" English-Anglican. Minority groups in any society that acculterate do not disappear as a subculture, but they do adapt to their new environments by making behavioral and cultural changes. The acculturation process began almost immediately as the Huguenots moved into the dominant culture with ease. They arrived in Carolina soon after it was established and the primitive conditions they found there supplied the backdrop for them to use their skills and talents to effect changes in a dynamic Charles Town society and to take advantage of economic opportunities found in Carolina. French Protestants understood the importance of the blending of their culture with that of the host society while maintaining the continuity of their distinct traditions of communal and religious life. They adapted Old World practices to New World demands, but as they did so the dominant society did not completely engulf them.

Historians have misunderstood the Huguenots in South Carolina and as a consequence, treat them as a group that could not

withstand pressures imposed on them by the dominant cultural group. singling out their move to the Anglican Church as the most important indicator of their assimilation. Although by 1706 French Protestants in South Carolina gave up their separate churches to join the Anglicans. this "conversion" should not be seen as cultural capitulation leading directly to complete assimilation. Assimilation was neither abrupt nor immediate for the Huguenots. Rather. it occurred over several generations and can best be described as a series of conscious decisions by a self-selected group of opportunists to embrace those behaviors and institutions of the dominant English-Anglican culture which would give them a political voice and protect their economic base.

Arthur H. Hirsch depicts the "assimilation" of the French in Carolina in religious and familial terms. "The rapid assimilation of the French in Carolina." he begins. "into the Established church and their intermarriage with other nationalities are remarkable features of their early history." He states that the assimilation occurred only after much reluctance and pain. even though the French Protestants had made social and political changes for centuries. Hirsch believes that their disappearance as a cultural and social group in South Carolina was not a voluntary choice. but was a result of economic. social and ecclesiastical necessity. The French. he said. made the change to the dominant culture because their original ecclesiastical bonds were weakened. The Huguenots. according to Hirsch. were also divided into factions within South Carolina and as

they were cut off from their native land. they turned to England rather than France. [7]

David Duncan Wallace also organizes his views of French Protestant "assimilation" around their religious beliefs. He states. "The Huguenots thus occupy a position of distinction in South Carolina history as the group who had endured the most for their faith." [8] Their assimilation. Wallace writes. was complete by approximately 1710. as they intermarried and had business dealings largely with the English. He goes on to say that obscurity surrounds the Huguenots' early readiness to become a normal part of the society. Frenchmen at that time. according to Wallace. were hopeful that conditions in France would improve and they could return. This, coupled with the inherent dislike Englishmen had for the French. created tension between the two ethnic groups. Focusing on the ecclesiastical and political conflicts, Wallace tells us that the Anglicans absorbed the "great body of the Huguenots" by 1706 and became the supreme group in the province. [9]

Jon Butler agrees with both Hirsch and Wallace. He refers to the Huguenot "assimilation" in South Carolina as a "swift disappearance as a cohesive refugee group." involving the pace and extent of their movement into non-Huguenot religious groups. [10] Unlike Hirsch. however. Butler associates the Huguenot assimilation with agriculture. He states that the South Carolina Huguenot refugees began assimilating when they no longer cultivated the products traditionally associated with them: wine and silk.

Additionally, French Protestant assimilation, according to Butler, occurred because Huguenot numbers were much too small to withstand eventual Anglicanization. [11]

This paper departs from the orthodox view that the transfer to the Anglican fold is evidence of the Huguenot loss of ethnic identity. Although the Establishment Act of 1706, which formally brought the French Protestants to Anglicanism is important, it is not the primary yardstick for measurement of the Huguenot ethnic identity in South Carolina as other historians have maintained. Instead, we will examine the Huguenots as an immigrant group with dual motives--freedom from Catholicism and freedom to make their fortunes. We will first focus on the Huguenot economic activities, looking closely at their occupations and how protecting their property and businesses was important to them. Secondly, we will look at the Huguenot communities and how they withstood the test of time. We will look next at the political conflicts between the French Protestants, the Dissenters, and the English-Anglicans. These conflicts, that lasted up to the eve of the Revolution, refute the assumption that the Huguenots disappeared as a separate identity by 1750. If the Huguenots had completely assimilated, as others have said, there would have been an absence of conflict, prejudice, and discrimination. Cultural groups that vanish do not threaten or create conflicts because the dominant group absorbs them. Lastly, we will examine the Huguenot move to the Anglican Church and question the sincerity of their "conversion." We will discuss the

depth of their loyalty to both Calvinism and their new-found religion while examining the decline of French Protestant ecclesiastical identity as part of a larger world-wide move away from Calvinism.

The central theme of this paper is one of motivation and deals more with why the Huguenots chose to move into the dominant culture than with arguing for or against the reality of such a move. One of the factors influencing acculturation is that of class. From the beginning of settlement in Carolina, the elite played a dominant role. At the time of their settlement in 1680, the French Protestants represented a bourgeois class, but through their industry and shrewd business moves, they moved into South Carolina elite society prior to the Revolutionary War. Therefore, class figures prominently into the Huguenot motivation to embrace certain English-Anglican attitudes and institutions.

NOTES-CHAPTER II

1. Harold J. Abramson, "Assimilation and Pluralism." Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Cambridge, 1980) 160.

2. Ibid. 150.

3. Ibid. 151.

4. Milton M. Gordon. Assimilation In American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York, 1964) 61.

5. Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, Introduction To The Science of Sociology. (Chicago, 1921) 735. quoted in Gordon. 61

6. Gordon. 61.

7. Arthur Henry Hirsch. The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham, NC, 1928) 90.

8. David Duncan Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History, 1520-1948 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1951) 62.

9. Ibid.

10. Jon Butler. The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society (Cambridge, 1983) 7.

11. Ibid. 7-8.

CHAPTER III

HUGUENOT OCCUPATIONS

Economic gains and prosperity was the first step in the Huguenot acculturation process. Records disclose that the French Huguenots possessed varied skills and talents. They brought these occupations as well as their desires to be among the landed gentry of South Carolina with them. Aside from merchandise and trade, the basis for their prosperity lay in land. Huguenots who had large amounts of property turned to black slaves, like the English, as a source of labor. Land and slaves coupled with the Huguenot's skillful economy and shrewd business management produced abundant assets. Probate records show that many French Protestants died in possession of abundance and great wealth. [1]

The French Protestants were recruited for their skills, primarily those associated with the production of silk and wine, but those not engaged in agriculture were free to follow other occupations as merchants and artisans. Jon Butler quotes figures from the 1697 South Carolina Naturalization Act to show the different skills the Huguenots brought with them. He writes that out of the 58 Huguenots on the list, twelve described themselves as planters (20.7 percent), fourteen were in cloth manufacturing (24.1 percent), seven were merchants (12.1 percent), and twenty-five others practiced fifteen different trades, including a wheelwright,

saddler, sailmaker, gardener, apothecary, two goldsmiths, three blacksmiths, and four shipwrights. Twenty-five of the forty-six Huguenots listed as merchants and skilled tradesmen in the 1697 Naturalization Act also received grants of land from the government before 1700. [2] Louis B. Wright agrees with Butler that the Huguenot immigrants added numerous occupations to the crude economy of early Carolina. Among their number, he says, were "carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, weavers, sail-makers, silk-workers, vignerons (wine makers), leather workers, gold and silver smiths, shipwrights, gardeners, and farmers." [3]

The Carolina market system that the French found upon their arrival was rudimentary and there was little competition from the English settlers. According to Peter A. Coclanis, Charles Town in the late seventeenth century resembled a medieval society more than the one settlers had left behind in England, and the English settlers were ill equipped to deal with the multitude of problems they faced. Livestock roamed the unpaved, muddy streets, waste disposal problems and lack of water added to existing health concerns, and food shortages complicated the harsh realities of day-to-day life. [4]

As trade and commerce struggled during the early years of settlement, it is probable that everyone in the colony, including the Huguenots, had to farm. The goal of both French and English was self-sufficiency and investment in land improvements, at least at first. After the turn of the century, commerce expanded and rice

cultivation became more profitable. [5] Rice eventually brought wealth to the planters of Carolina, supplying surpluses to finance the merchants, many of which were Huguenots.

The Manigaults provide one example of how Huguenot families succeeded. Two brothers, Pierre and Gabriel, reached Charles Town in 1695 with only a small amount of capital and one black slave. Gabriel was a carpenter but soon after his arrival, he fell from a scaffold and was killed. Pierre acquired a tract of land among his fellow countrymen on the Santee River and tried farming for a short time. He gave it up early on, though, and decided to open up a tavern in Charles Town instead. Pierre married Judith Giton, a widow who had lived in Charles Town since the colony's first decade. Judith and Pierre soon left tavern-keeping to operate a distillery and they built a warehouse and store on the Charles Town docks. When Pierre died in 1729, he left a legacy of land, slaves, warehouses, and mercantile establishments. His son, Gabriel, increased the assets his father left to him and went on to become one of the richest men in South Carolina. [6]

Although the Manigaults do not represent all Huguenots, their story shows how they took advantage of the economic opportunities in Carolina. Huguenots persevered in the colony while many Englishmen fled the disease-ridden low country in favor of either the Northern colonies or back to England. As land became available either by sale, abandonment, or through proprietary favor, Huguenots obtained large parcels of property, for their own use or

for speculation. For example, on January 26, 1686, the proprietors awarded Arnold Bruneau a land grant of 3,000 acres for "having merited well." [7] M. Charasse, on October 23, 1684, also received 3,000 acres from the proprietors for being "well skilled in Drugs & divers other secrets of nature." [8] In July, 1685, Jean Francis Gignilliat, for "being the First of his Nation that hath made knowne his desires of settling in Carolina And having showed Testimonyes of his Honourable Extraction," received 3,000 acres. [9] Many other cases are on record, and show that for providing needed skills, Huguenots were well rewarded. [10]

While most of the French Protestants who arrived in the colony were not rich, many of them had funds to purchase land, which they did in London from the proprietors, or from agents in Carolina. In September, 1683, Robert Stevens and Bartholomew le Roux purchased 350 acres and received another 250 on which they had to pay rent. The proprietors preferred that the entire 600 acres be laid out in a town but only if Stevens and le Roux wanted it. Some of the purchased tracts were sold on credit. James Le Bas bought three thousand acres for 150 British pounds in September, 1685. He paid 90 pounds in cash and mortgaged the remaining 60. [11] According to Arthur Hirsch, there are records of at least 33,000 acres sold to French Huguenots before 1698 at a rate of five pounds per 100 acres. [12]

Although many of the French immigrants received land as payment for their skills and others bought property, the largest

number of Huguenots in South Carolina acquired land under the headright system. After 1679, the proprietors reduced the headright from 100 acres to 70, and in 1682 it was diminished to 50 acres for each free person sixteen years or older. Fifty more acres could be obtained for each adult member of the family or for each imported adult slave or servant. Every male servant under sixteen brought forty acres each. [13] This was by far the cheapest way to acquire land, but the recipients had to pay the passage of the persons upon whose arrival the grant was based. [14] Additionally, the proprietors charged quit rents on the land granted through this system--one penny per acre annually. Generous land allotments, although reduced after 1679, were sufficient enough to ensure that grantees acquired more than they could possibly work alone. [15]

While land was recognized as a valuable commodity, it was useless without labor to work it. French Huguenots understood the necessity of bound labor upon which South Carolina's economy was based. Slave traders brought Negro slaves into Charles Town in large numbers, mostly from West Africa. [16] and planters bought Indian slaves locally. Like many of their English neighbors, the Huguenots owned both Black and Indian slaves. [17] Some Huguenots brought blacks with them to Carolina, as in the case of Gabriel Manigault and Henry Le Noble. [18] Others made slave traffic their principle occupation, while still others did it only as a sideline. [19] As the area inhabited by whites expanded, the need for

cheap labor intensified. By 1735-1740 slaves were imported at the rate of 3.000 to 5,000 a year to supply the demand. [20]

There is evidence that a few French Protestants continued their efforts in the silk industry up until the American Revolution. After the 1719 Revolution against the proprietary government. the Royal Government still sought to promote silk production in the colony. and actively recruited the Huguenots. England's annual bill for silk in the early eighteenth century was approximately 500.000 British Pounds. and there was a significant need for England to develop a silk trade of its own. [21] In 1679. when the first Huguenots embarked for Charles Town. they left with intentions of cultivating silk worms in Carolina. but the eggs they transported with them hatched prematurely and died aboard ship. [22] In the next decade they realized some success. but Butler says that the zenith of the industry was probably around 1710. In fact. he writes that by 1764. so few French Huguenots remembered how to go about silk production that promoters solicited outside help from Swiss immigrants. [23] However. the Royal Government hoped that silk production would reach 200.000 pounds annually. thus. freeing Britain of a reliance on the use of foreign silk. [24] In 1759 silk production in South Carolina produced only 10.000 pounds. [25] John Lewis Gilbert from the French community of Hillsboro interested Gabriel Manigault in silk production on his plantation "Silk Hope" in the late eighteenth century. They sought aid from English capitalists and even though the political unrest between the

colonies was mounting. a silk spinning factory opened in Charles Town in 1766 or 1767. In spite of growing political pressures. Huguenot silk production increased until it was cut short by the Revolutionary War. Silk production continued up to the eve of the War when in 1770, growers sent 240 pounds of finished silk to London from Charles Town. [26]

Wine production in the colony also received continual support from the Huguenots. The first recorded grant of land was to Francis Derowsery in 1683 for 800 acres of land to grow wine grapes. Little was done in the first several years because of the time it took to establish the vineyards and graft the imported vine tops to the wild roots. Interest in wine making was revived when Lewis Gervais and Lewis St. Pierre planted numerous vineyards in the back country. Although their attempts showed promise. St. Pierre was unable to secure adequate financial backing to continue their ventures so in 1772 he abandoned the project and returned to Charles Town. [27]

In their agricultural society, we find that French Huguenots. as well as the English. attempted to make a living by working the land. In the beginning of settlement and prior to the extensive cultivation of rice. both French and English farmers engaged in subsistence farming. They cultivated a variety of crops. grew fruit. and raised cattle. [28] Indian corn was probably the chief subsistence crop grown in Carolina. at least until rice became popular around 1700. [29] The only real distinction between the

French and the English was that the Huguenots were also interested in silk production and viticulture, but in a diversified economy, these ventures provided, at best, only supplemental income. In other words, wine and silk did not provide ample income for the French Protestants, and they eventually abandoned these traditional agricultural ventures in favor of more lucrative ones. Since they were already growing and harvesting rice, for example, the choice to plow up their wine grapes for a more profitable crop could not have been a difficult one. [30]

The important question is what did the Huguenot settlements and their agricultural pursuits mean in the acculturation process? They moved away from silk and wine production, as Butler complained, but there is evidence that they never totally abandoned the prospects. Rather, they were more interested in finding the best crop to make money in Carolina and less concerned about retaining their traditions. Yet, the decision to forego the silk and wine industry does not mean that they gave up their ethnic identity. It more correctly shows that wine and silk were not the most profitable crops to grow and that wise French Protestants recognized that early and made the move toward prosperity, not away from their "Frenchness." In fact, given the diversity of Huguenot occupations in the colony, it is probable that not all French Protestants who left France originally came from the wine-growing or silk-producing districts of France. Therefore, the association of the French ethnic identity with these two products borders on modern-day

stereotyping. More than likely, only a few French Protestants actually arrived in the colony with the intention of taking up silk or wine production.

NOTES-CHAPTER III

1. Arthur Henry Hirsch. The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham. NC. 1928) 170.

2. Jon Butler. The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in the New World Society. (Cambridge. 1983) 95-96.

3. Louis B. Wright, South Carolina: A Bicentennial History (New York. 1976) 52.

4. Peter A. Coclanis. A Shadow Of A Dream: Economic Life and Death In the South Carolina Low Country 1670-1920. (New York. 1989) 4.

5. Converse P. Clowse. Economic Beginnings in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1730. (Columbia, SC. 1971) 81

6. Wright, 52-53.

7. This grant is mentioned in his will. Probate Court Records. 1692-93, 172: reprint in the Huguenot Society of South South Carolina Transactions X, (Columbia, SC. 1907) 39

8. Hirsch. 171.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid. 171-172.

11. Alexander S. Salley, Jr.. (ed) Warrants for Land In South Carolina, 1680-92 (Columbia, SC. 1912) 6. 96 197.

12. Hirsch. 173.

13. Clowse. 76.

14. Hirsch. 174.

15. Clowse. 76-77.

16. Peter H. Wood. Black Majority: Negroes In Colonial South Carolina From 1670 Through The Stono Rebellion (New York. 1974) xiv.

17. Salley (ed). Journal Of the Grand Council, April to September, 1692 (Columbia. SC. 1907) 31: Rene Peyre owned an Indian woman 50 years old, South Carolina Gazette, January 2. 1744: John Gendron owned four Indian slaves in 1725 and eighty-three black slaves. Probate Court Record, 1722-27, 285.

18. Manigault brought one and LeNoble brought five. See Salley. Warrants for Land in South Carolina 1692-1711, 86, 88.

19. Hirsch, 175.

20. Ibid, 176.

21. Wright, 63.

22. Thomas Ashe in Salley (ed), Narratives Of Early Carolina, 1650-1708 (New York, 1911) 143.

23. Butler, 98-99.

24. Hirsch, 198.

25. Wright, 54.

26. Hirsch, 200-202.

27. Ibid, 205-208.

28. Butler, 99.

29. Clowse, 81-82.

30. Butler, 99.

CHAPTER IV

HUGUENOT SETTLEMENTS

Although it is difficult to ascertain exact numbers of French Protestants living in any of the communities designated for them, by looking at probate records, land grants, warrant records, and newspaper advertisements, we can see that Huguenots congregated together. The French Santee men and women continued to live on large plantations in the area after James Town expired. Similarly, the communities of Goose Creek, Orange Quarter, and St. John's Berkeley hosted many French Protestants and from the records we can see that they prospered.

Land represented wealth and status in Carolina and we find that the Huguenots purchased large amounts to ensure their stations in society. The documents reveal that the Lords Proprietors initially set aside specific regions for the French Protestants. Yet, as land in other areas became available, Huguenots quickly took advantage of these sales. They did not abandon their old settlements, though, in favor of new ones. The combination of separate communities and the purchase of additional land in other parts of the low country shows that both community and wealth accumulation were important.

By purchasing land outside their designated settlements, the Huguenots moved easily among their English neighbors. This should

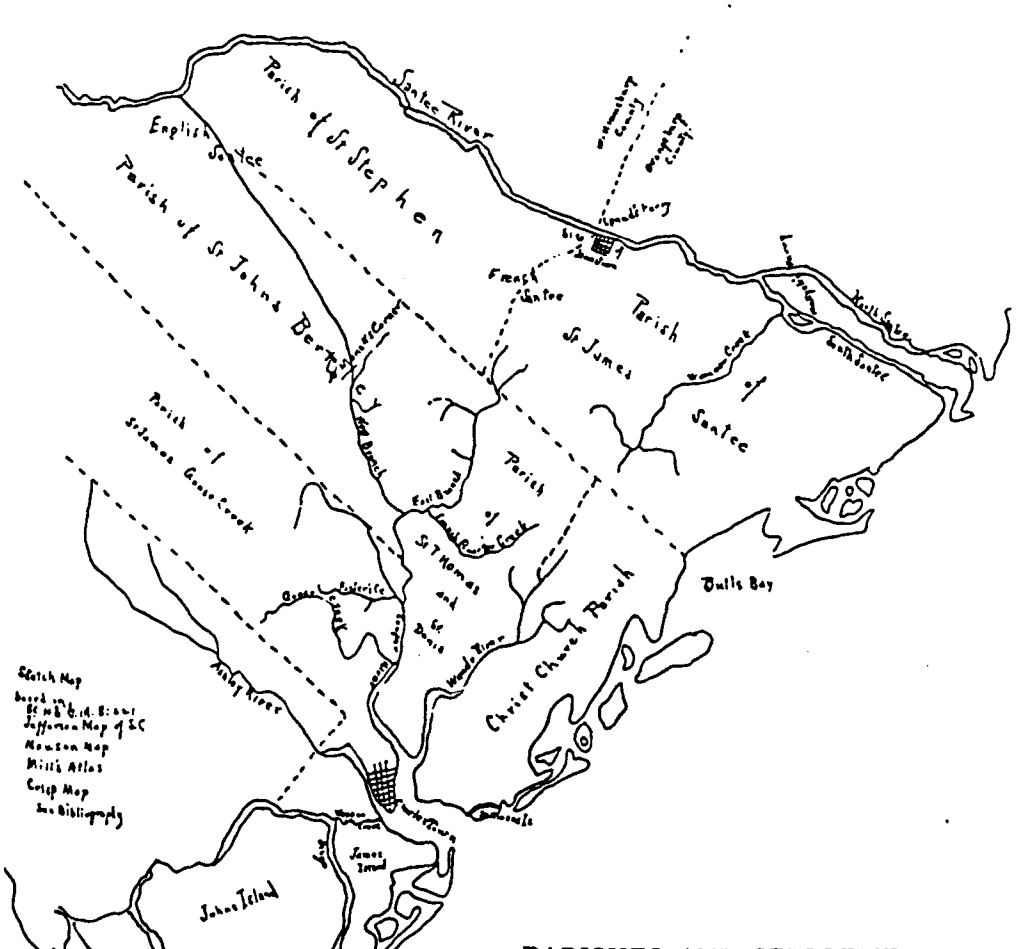
not be seen. however. as evidence that they disappeared as a cohesive group. The fact that they acquired land through purchase and grants reveals that the Huguenots took advantage of the best the colony could offer--large amounts of land in an emerging agricultural society. Despite purchases of large tracts whenever these became available. they continued to reside in French neighborhoods.

The largest French settlement outside of Charles Town was the Santee community 60 miles north of the city. (see settlement map. page 30) On October 10, 1687. the Lord Proprietors. writing from England. issued an order for the measurement of 600 acres to Joachim Gaillard in "James Town precinct." [1] No grant for 600 acres is on file but on January 18, 1688. three grants of 200 acres each on the Santee River were issued to Francois de Gignilliat. [2] According to the records. Gignilliat conveyed all of the 600 acres to Joachim Gaillard and his sons. Bartholomew and John on May 5, 1690. [3] By that year, about 80 French families settled there. and by 1706. 100 French families lived in Santee. [4] The French refugees settled on plantations to cultivate grapes for wine. olive trees. and silk worms and to produce naval stores. [5]

James Town. the only town ever erected in Santee was laid out in 1705 to accommodate the needs of the French Protestants who lived there. A grant dated 15 September 1705. went to Rene Ravenel. Bartholomew Gaillard and Henry Bruneau. The land. (although

MAP 1

SETTLEMENT MAP



PARISHES AND SETTLEMENTS,
SOUTH CAROLINA COAST

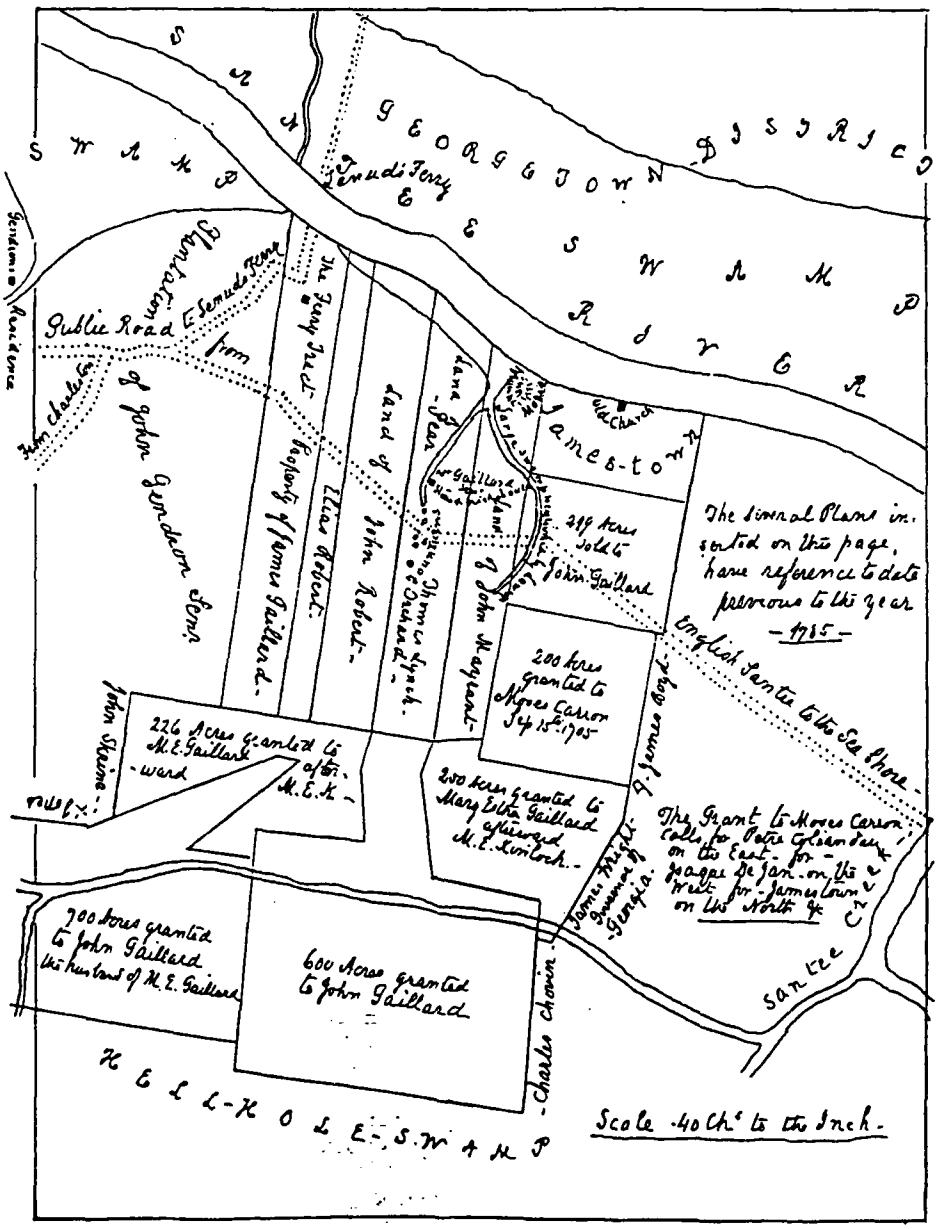
Map copied from Arthur H. Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina, (Durham, NC, 1920) facing 14.

relatively unsettled), came from the plantations of Philip Gendron and Alexander Chastaigner. A total of 370 acres was allotted for a town. [6] On 29 January 1706, the area inhabitants called a public meeting and appointed Bartholomew Gaillard the surveyor and commissioner to lay out the town. [7] (See James Town maps, pages 32 and 33). Gaillard surveyed and distributed the lots, with the more expensive ones near the river: lots 1-24 were 40 shillings each: 25-30 inclusive were 60 shillings: 31-36 inclusive were 40 shillings. [8]

James Town, however, did not prosper. In 1708, Rene Ravenel relinquished money belonging to James Town's church and prepared to leave. Ravenel went north and others followed until about 1720. [9] James Town was eventually abandoned and sold as a plantation. [10] To what extent the lots in the town were ever actually built upon is impossible to say. It is likely that James Town was abandoned because it was too far from Charles Town and too inaccessible to serve as a distributing station for goods. [11] The settlers in the neighborhood were agriculturists who lived on farms or plantations and it is doubtful that the town was ever occupied to any extent. [12] After James Town expired, the area became "Mount Moriah." and reverted back to one of the original owners, Philip Gendron. The remaining 229 acres were conveyed by the commissioners to John Gaillard on February 6, 1715. John Gaillard, son of Joachim the immigrant, left the land to his widow, Mary Esther Gaillard, who

MAP 2

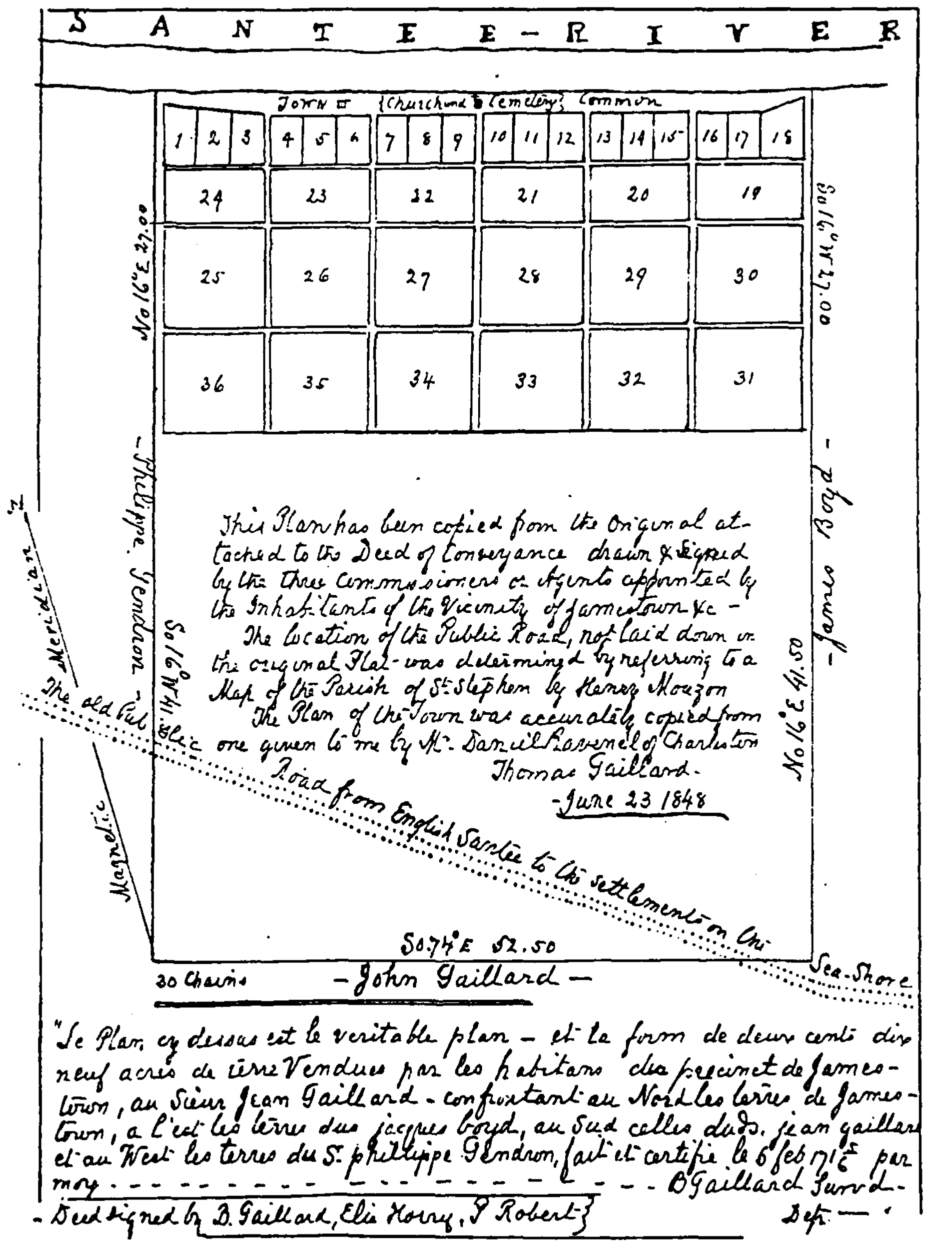
JAMES TOWN PRECINCT MAP



Map copied from Henry A. M. Smith, "French James Town." South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, No. 4 (October 1908) 229.

MAP 3

JAMES TOWN PLAT MAP



Map copied from Henry A. M. Smith, "French James Town." South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, No. 4 (October 1908) 228.

married the Honorable James Kinloch. Mary in turn left the land to her son by James Kinloch. [13]

The Gaillard and DuBose families were among the more prosperous and influential Huguenots who lived in the Santee community. Both families were large landowners and as such were leaders among their Huguenot neighbors. As we have seen, Joachim Gaillard, the immigrant, received 600 acres of land in "James Town precinct" in 1687. [14] Joachim came from Lanquedoc in France, and by 1696 when his name appeared in the "List of French and Swiss who desire to be naturalized in Carolina, under the Act of 1696," he had married Ester Paperel, daughter of Andre and Catherine Paperel of Bouin, and had three children, Bartholomew, Jean (John), and Pierre. [15]

John Gaillard became one of the more prosperous landowners in the Santee community. South Carolina records show that he received a total of 3,780 acres in fourteen years through grants and purchases. [16] John lived with his wife (Suzanne LeSerrier) and their four children on his plantation, "Hayden Hill." He also owned several other plantations including "The Oaks," "Brush Pond," and his father's residence, "Windsor:" all in Santee. Besides these properties, John purchased several tracts from his neighbors. [17] Most of his land acquisitions were purchased for speculation, but he did provide well for his children, three daughters and one son, by passing on to them his plantations in Santee. We lose track of the estates and John's descendants, however, as his son never married

and records reveal only one grandson, Charles. Yet, from existing sources, we can see that John Gaillard, the second son of Joachim, limited his land purchases to the area surrounding his original property in the Santee region. [18]

Bartholomew Gaillard, Joachim's oldest son, married Elizabeth Guerry and they also lived in Santee with their five children. Theodore, one of Bartholomew's sons, sat in the Commons for Prince Frederick Parish after 1754. Another son, Tacitus, was a Regulator in St. Stephen's Parish around the same period. While it appears as if both Theodore and Tacitus had moved from Santee, in reality they had not left at all. In 1754, St. James Santee Parish was divided into three separate parishes: St. James Santee, St. Stephen's, and St. Frederick. In fact, Theodore died in 1781 leaving his rural estates to his son, Theodore, II. It was confiscated and sold, however, in 1782 because Theodore, II was a Tory. [19] This Theodore, the great grandson of Joachim the immigrant, also owned property in Charles Town where he built a house on the corner of Montague and Gadsden Streets. [20]

Also included on the "List" were Isaac DuBose and his wife Suzanne Couillandeau. Isaac immigrated to South Carolina around 1685, where he met and married Suzanne in 1688. We do not know if they knew one another prior to their arrival in Carolina, but records show that he was born in Dieppe, Normandy. Isaac and Suzanne DuBose were naturalized in 1689, as was Pierre Couillandeau, Suzanne's father. Isaac and his father-in-law were among the

founders of James Town where they purchased lots 12, 28, and 33 respectively. [21] The DuBoses owned a plantation on the Santee called "Atthoe" which they purchased from Catherine LaPoste and retained in the family until after 1744. Isaac also owned a plantation called "Milford," which was north of Beaufort, South Carolina. [22]

The Goose Creek community became a favorite residential resort for Charles Town residents, French and English alike. [23] The community developed at the headwaters of Goose Creek which lay north of the city in Charles Town Neck. (see settlement map) This area had rich soil for planting and was far enough north of the city for inhabitants to escape the hot sultry summers common along the coast. No records exist that would give us an accurate enumeration of Huguenots living there, but Peter Girard wrote to the Lords of Trade in March, 1699, stating that there were thirty-one Huguenots (men, women and children), in Goose Creek at that time. [24] The Huguenots received property in Goose Creek as early as 1680, according to land grant records. [25] One source states that by 1702 many members of the Goose Creek community were "taking part in the government" and that some of the members of the Governor's Council and the Assembly lived there. [26] Among the prominent members of the Goose Creek Community were the French families of Peter Bacot, Elias Prioleau, Benjamin Marion, Dr. Isaac Porcher, Paul Mazyck, Elie Horry, and Gabriel Manigault, whose estates appear in the probate records. Gabriel Manigault owned "The Elms" in Goose Creek until 1781, but he

also held property in Charles Town. His house on the corner of Meeting and George Streets was one of the more elaborate ones in the city. [27] Other sources show that many French Protestant residents of Goose Creek owned large portions of land. Gideon Faucheraud settled there in 1707 and added land to his estate until he owned 3,300 acres [28] Benjamin Godin was a Charles Town merchant who lived at Goose Creek and he retired to his country home there in 1748. [29] The South Carolina Gazette reveals that Paul Mazyck owned a plantation of 900 acres at Goose Creek in 1736 with an eight-room house, two stables, coach houses, stock barns, sheep pens, and slave quarters. [30]

Little is known of the French settlement called Orange Quarter, or French Quarter, except for the life of the local Huguenot church. (see settlement map) No town was ever established, but Orange Quarter was divided into two distinct communities, one English and one French when the county was divided into parishes in 1706. Under the provisions of the Act of 1706, Orange Quarter was constituted as a parish for the French under the name of "The Parish of St. Denis," and the English portion was called "St. Thomas Parish." [31]

As with other French settlements, the total number of Huguenot inhabitants in the French sector of Orange Quarter cannot be ascertained. Yet, Hirsch estimates that the first French families arrived in Orange Quarter between 1680 and 1690. [32] Advertisements in the South Carolina Gazette reveal the names of

some of the planters who lived there after 1731: Daniel Jaudon, James Bilbeau, the Trezvants, Henry Videau, Anthony Bonneau, John Dutarque, and Benjamin Simons, to name a few. These families held on to their property, passing them on to their children and grandchildren. [33]

The Huguenot settlement of St.John's Berkeley was located near the fertile banks of the Cooper River thirty miles closer to Charles Town than the Santee region.(see settlement map) St. John's Berkeley was established in 1706 and was the child of both the Orange Quarter and the Santee community. [34] This colony was apparently led by Dr. Anthony Cordes who arrived in Charles Town in 1686 with ten Huguenot families. [35] The Huguenots of this parish, like most others, were principally planters and among their numbers were some of the more prominent members of colonial South Carolina society. Inventories of property and probate records in Charles Town from the mid-eighteenth century show that great plantations were maintained in St. John's Berkeley. Their parlors were rich with mirrors, drapery, elegant furniture and silverware. Their libraries contained the best books. [36] Until 1746, James St. Julien operated a large stock farm there. [37] At his death in 1749, St. Julien's estate was advertised for sale which included fifty slaves, horses, sheep, hogs, and plantation tools. Other advertisements in the Gazette are equally revealing. Henry Laurens, famous as a statesman during the American Revolution, lived in St. John's Berkeley. John Guerrard owned extensive acreage. His executors

disposed of more than 5,000 acres of land after his death. [38] Many of the St. John's Berkeley plantations were known by name. "Somerton," was the home of the Ravenels and "Somerset" was the property of the Mazycks. "Dawshee" was once owned by the Gignilliats and was purchased by the Gaillards. "Chelsea" was one of the oldest plantations in the parish. It was the home of the Porchers, St. Juliens, and the Ravenels--all prominent families in Charles Town society. [39]

NOTES-CHAPTER IV

1. Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1685-1688 (Columbia, SC) 451.

2. Office of Historical Commission, Proprietary Grants, Vol 38 (Columbia, SC) ; Smith, H.A.M., "French James Town," South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine, No. 4 (Columbia, 1908) 222.

3. Smith, "French James Town," 222.

4. Thomas Cooper (ed) Statutes At Large of South Carolina. II (Columbia, SC, 1836) 268.

5. Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham, NC, 1928) 16.

6. Smith, "French James Town," 222.

7. Ibid.

8. For a list of the first lot holders of James Town, see Thomas Gaillard, "The Huguenots of South Carolina and Their Descendants," reprinted in Huguenot Society of South Carolina Transactions, V, XIV (Columbia, SC, 1897, 1907)

9. Hirsch, 18.

10. Smith, "French James Town," 226.

11. Hirsch, 18-19.

12. Smith, "French James Town," 226.

13. Ibid, 227.

14. Ibid, 222.

15. Dorothy Kelly MacDowell, Gaillard Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972) xxix.

16. Based on a survey of the records in Salley, Warrents For Land in South Carolina, 1672-1711 (Columbia, SC, 1912).

17. John Gaillard bought the Wilson Tract, St. Julien Tract, Newman, Godfrey Tracts, and Rett Thompson Tract.

18. Harriete Kershaw Leiding, Historic Houses of South Carolina (Philadelphia, 1921) 149.

19. George C. Rogers, History of George Town County, South Carolina (Columbia, 1970) 78, 100, 110, 158.

20. MacDowell, Gaillard Genealogy, xxvi. Also see Alice R. and D.E. Huger-Smith, The Dwelling Houses of Charleston (New York, 1917). 25-50.

21. Dorothy Kelly MacDowell, DuBose Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972) 2.

22. Ibid, xvi.

23. Hirsch, 20.

24. Letter from Peter Girard to Lords of Trade, Manuscript Collection, Documents of South Carolina, IV (Columbia, SC) 75.

25. Office of Historical Commission, Register's Record, 1675-96 (Columbia, SC) 120.

26. Letters, Reverend Thomas to Lords Proprietors, reprinted in South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine. V. (Columbia, SC).

27. Probate Court Record, 1671-1727, (Charleston, SC) 51; 1754-58 357.

28. South Carolina Gazette, February 12, 1737 and Huguenot Society of South Carolina Transactions, XVI.

29. South Carolina Gazette, August 31, 1748.

30. South Carolina Gazette, February 28, 1736: May 15, 1736: January 7,1751.

31. Cooper (ed) Statutes, II, 236.

32. Hirsch, 23.

33. South Carolina Gazette, July 27, 1734: September 14, 1734: December 21, 1738: January 4, 1739: February 26,1741: March 5, 1741: June 8, 1747: September 14, 1747: May 21, 1753. Probate Court, 1671-1727: 1754-58.

34. George Howe, History of the Presbyterian Church of South Carolina I (Columbia, 1870) 112.

35. Hirsch, 24.

36. From an inventory of property, Probate Court Records, 1754-58 Charles Town County (Charleston, SC).

37. South Carolina Gazette, July 14, 1746.

38. South Carolina Gazette, November 5, 1764.

39. Hirsch, 25-26.

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE AND NAMING PATTERNS

In an article entitled, "Intermarriage," David M. Heer states that the elements that distinguish ethnic groups include "a common heredity, a common language, a common geographic locale, and common behavioral norms." Heer writes that when people want to preserve their distinctiveness, they discourage marriage outside their own culture. This reluctance to marry outside their own separate community, he says, relates to a resistance to have other forms of contact with other groups. [1] Modern historians seem to agree that the exogamy rate, marrying outside one's ethnic group, is a major indicator of assimilation because marriage patterns are vehicles for maintaining and enhancing ethnicity. Unfortunately, historians and sociologists have not come to an agreement as to how exogamy promotes assimilation or undermines group loyalty. They do agree that immigrant marriage patterns either sustain familial cohesion or divides loyalties. [2]

Jon Butler states that the Huguenots of New York and South Carolina provide an interesting forum for testing effects of exogamy. In the first place, Huguenots lived in close contact with English and Dutch colonists. Secondly, they developed close personal ties with many of their neighbors which could have led to

marriage. Butler contrasts the Huguenots with later immigrants, such as the German, Scots, and Scotch-Irish, who frequently settled in isolated communities where they had little contact with different ethnic groups. [3]

The marriage customs of South Carolina Huguenots after 1720, according to Butler, mirror the extent of their assimilation into the larger society and reflects the disintegration of a distinctive Huguenot community. [4] Butler's figures do show a decline in the propensity of Huguenots to marry one another. Using parish records, he states that between 1721 and 1730, endogamous marriages accounted for 14 of 36 (38.9 percent) of Huguenot marriages performed in St. Philip's Parish. The degeneration continued and by the 1750s, 10 out of 38 were endogamous (26.3 percent). According to Butler, exogamy rates also affected rural Huguenots. In St. Thomas Parish, 15 out of 21 (71.4 percent) marriages in the 1740s were endogamous, and 16 out of 24 (66.7 percent) of the marriages performed in the 1750s were French marrying French. [5]

Published genealogies reveal Huguenot marriage patterns and how they varied from family to family. Such records offer an opportunity to look at changes over time and as genealogists do not rely solely on parish records, we form a more complete picture of Huguenot marriage practices in Carolina. No single conjugal model emerges from the analysis, but printed genealogies are helpful to determine marriage patterns because church registers before 1720 are

sketchy and even after that time, estate records are fragmentary and cannot successfully be linked to genealogies. [6]

The immigrants Joachim and Esther Gaillard had four children. Two sons, Bartholomew and John, survive to carry on their father's name. Out of thirty-two descendants of Joachim, inclusive through the fourth generation, there were twenty-two first marriages, three second marriages, three who never married, and four unions remain unknown. Of the twenty-five marriages through the fourth generation of Gaillards (Joachim and Esther being number one as they were the first to immigrate), sixteen were endogamous unions (sixty-four percent). [7]

The DuBose family is a bit more complicated to interpret than the Gaillard line. Isaac and Suzanne DuBose had ten children but the published genealogy traces only four sons. We do know something about the other six children of Isaac DuBose, but we lose track of their descendants after the second generation. Isaac's offspring married later than the Gaillard children, making a generational comparison difficult. While one may trace the Gaillard genealogy through the fourth generation up to the middle of the eighteenth century, only those of the third generation of the DuBose family fill the same time frame. With this in mind, the figures show that out of thirty-four first marriages, fourteen DuBoses married Huguenot spouses (forty-one percent), and of twelve additional marriages, four of them chose French spouses (twenty-five percent). One should point out that the majority of the endogamous

marriages occurred in the lines of Isaac DuBose's oldest sons, Isaac II and John. [8] Thus, the pattern of endogamy appears to decline as time passes. Perhaps younger children were not expected to marry within their own cultural backgrounds or by the time they reached marrying age, the acceptability of the marriage pool had broadened. Of the forty-six marriages in the DuBose family, sixteen were endogamous (thirty-five percent).

The Gignilliat family, unlike the Gaillards and DuBoses, took a circuitous route to South Carolina. These French refugees came through Switzerland on their way to the colony, arriving in 1685. Jean Gignilliat and his wife Suzanne had eight children with a total of sixty-seven descendants through the fourth generation. Forty-two married with sixteen marrying French spouses. Of the subsequent four marriages, one was to a Huguenot bringing the total to seventeen endogamous marriages out of the forty-six (thirty-seven percent). [9]

While the Gaillard, Gignilliat, and DuBose genealogies show a tendency to marry Huguenot spouses, a third such genealogy, the Legares, reveals an opposite pattern, but one fully explained by their mother's non-French origins. Of twenty Legare descendants. through the fourth generation, eleven were married, one remained unmarried, and eight are unknown. None of the eleven Legare marriages were endogamous. Solomon Legare came to the New World by way of Boston. While there. Solomon met and married an English woman named Sarah. By 1696, Solomon had moved to Charles Town with

his wife and their daughter, Sarah. There he took up his trade as a silversmith and was granted 280 acres in Berkeley County on 12 February 1701. Solomon went on to prosper in the colony as a merchant and landowner. Although his name was associated with the French Huguenot Church of Charles Town when it was first built, he became a pew holder in the Independent (Circular) Church in 1732. [10]

These Huguenot genealogies reveal entirely different marriage and family patterns. While the majority of the Gaillard descendants married largely Huguenot spouses, endogamous marriages of the DuBoses occurred in the lines of the oldest two sons. At the other end of the spectrum, the Legare geneaiogy reveals no endogamous marriages. The choice of a Huguenot spouse was more often made in families where both parents were Huguenot. Joachim Gaillard and Isaac DuBose both married Huguenot spouses and were first settled in the Huguenot settlement of French Santee. Solomon Legare, on the other hand, had married an English woman and settled in the city of Charles Town as a merchant.

If we compare the Huguenot endogamy rate with the English during the same time frame, we find a higher percentage of those who married within their cultural group. Four English families were studied: The Barksdales, Parkers, Pinckneys, and Heywards. The Barksdales had twenty descendants with only seven first marriages. Two of the seven married Huguenots with no exogamous unions in the three subsequent marriages. Eight of the ten total Barksdale marriages were to British colonists (eighty percent). The Pinckneys

twenty-six descendants had fifteen marriages: twelve first marriages and three second with thirteen endogamous unions (eighty-seven percent). The Parker family had nineteen descendants: thirteen first marriages, three second marriages. Of those Parkers who married, all chose English spouses. The Heywards had the fewest descendants with a total of twelve. Only four of the twelve married and none of the first marriages occurred outside their cultural group. However, three of the four subsequent Heyward marriages were to Huguenot spouses. [11]

While the total endogamy rate of the French colonists was lower than the English (thirty-eight percent to eighty-six percent). this must be viewed in perspective to the proportional population that these groups represented. The Huguenots were approximately eight percent of the colony's population in 1700 and grew to twenty-one percent by 1723. [12] English endogamy rate of eighty-six percent approximates their proportional population of eighty-three percent. The Huguenots, on the other hand, showed a higher propensity to marry within their culture based on the limits of their smaller population group. While representing only an average of seventeen percent of the population prior to 1723, the endogamy rate of the French Protestants (thirty-eight percent) more than doubled the expected rate based on available population. [13] Table 2 on page 49 compares French and English endogamy rates.

TABLE 2

ENDOGAMY RATES OF SOUTH CAROLINA FAMILIES (1680-1775)

Name	Number of Marriages	1st Mar. Endogamy	2nd Mar. Endogamy	Total Endogamy
Gaillard	22/32	15/22	1/ 3	16/25
Gignilliat	42/67	16/42	1/ 4	17/46
Legare	11/20	0/11	0/ 2	0/13
DuBose	34/43	14/34	4/12	16/46
Total	109/162	45/109	6/21	49/130
% Total	67	41	29	38
Barksdale	7/20	5/ 7	3/3	8/10
Heyward	4/12	4/ 4	1/4	5/ 8
Parker	13/19	13/13	3/3	16/16
Pinckney	12/26	10/12	3/3	13/15
Total	36/77	32/36	10/13	42/49
% Total	47	89	77	86

Sources: Dorothy Kelly MacDowell, Gaillard Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972), DuBose Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972); Silas Emmett Lucas, Jr., History of the Gignilliat Family (Columbia, 1977); Linda D. Smith, Gare Legare: Some of the Descendants of the Legares of South Carolina (Easley, SC, 1987); Captain John Barksdale, Barksdale: Family History and Genealogy (Richmond, 1940); Thomas Heyward, The Heyward Genealogy (Columbia, 1970); William Henry Parker, Genealogy of the Parker Family (Philadelphia, undated); Mary Pinckney Powell, Over Home: The Heritage of Pinckney Colony (Columbia, 1982).

One possible explanation for Huguenot marriages outside of their cultural group was an increasing unavailability of French females in the marriage pool. Comparing sex between the French and English, the French sired ninety-three males (fifty-seven percent) to the English forty males (fifty-two percent). The female population within the Huguenot community revealed that there were fourteen percent fewer females available for endogamous marriages. In the English families, forty-eight percent were female which was only four percent less than the percentage of English males in the colony. The ratio of French Protestant males to females coupled with the increased birthrate of Huguenots led to higher exogamous marriages. While immigration of Huguenots slowed after 1700, the proportion of French colonists increased significantly from 1700 to 1723. In studying the eight families selected, the French immigrants had 162 descendants in four generations compared with only seventy-seven English descendants. [14]

Another cultural pattern that denotes a cultural awareness is family naming patterns. A developed community and family identity tends to repeat names throughout the generations. In this respect, the French showed a significant stability in their naming patterns. Considering the number of descendants named after fathers, uncles, and other family members, the French had eighty-six of a hundred sixty-two maintaining family names (fifty-three percent). Their English neighbors maintained a fifty-two percent rate (forty out of seventy-seven). This indicates no significant

loss of family identity among the French throughout the century. Both English and French cultural groups under equivalent frontier conditions retained their family associations. Thus, the loss of identity among the French relative to the English emerges from the analysis. [15]

While available records militate against easy assumptions about the early disintegration of a Huguenot ethnic identity, the evidence for continuing acculturation cannot be denied. In all likelihood, the fact that Huguenots married outside their own cultural group shows nothing more than "marital assimilation," as defined by Milton Gordon. This, Gordon says, is "amalgamation," not complete assimilation and represents only a step in the process. According to Gordon, large-scale intermarriage outside one's ethnic group does not even represent "acculturation." Gordon places "acculturation" and "amalgamation" in separate stages and although he says that the stages can overlap, according to his definitions, they do not mean the same thing. [16]

NOTES-CHAPTER V

1. David M. Heer, "Intermarriage," Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups (Cambridge, 1980) 513.

2. Jon Butler, The Huguenots In America: A Refugee People In New World Society (Cambridge, 1983) 81.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid, 132-134.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid, 132-134.

7. Dorothy Kelly MacDowell, Gaillard Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972) 1-9. The last son of Theodore Gaillard (3rd generation) was born in 1757 and married in 1782.

8. Dorothy Kelly MacDowell, DuBose Genealogy (Columbia, SC, 1972) 1-5. The last son of John DuBose (2nd generation) was born in 1745, marriage date unknown.

9. Silas Emmett Lucas, Jr., History of the Gignilliat Family (Columbia, 1977), iii-xi.

10. Linda D. Smith, Gare Legare: Some of the Descendants of the Legares of South Carolina, (Easley, SC, 1987).

11. Information compiled from genealogies: Captain John Barksdale, Barksdale: Family History and Genealogy (Richmond, 1940). Thomas Heyward, The Heyward Genealogy (Columbia, 1970). William Henry Parker, Genealogy of the Parker Family (Philadelphia, undated). Mary Pinckney Powell, Over Home: The Heritage of Pinckney Colony (Columbia, 1982).

12. James G. Harrison, PhD., "Colonial Carolina's Huguenots," Huguenot Society of South Carolina Transactions, No. 75 (Columbia, 1970).

13. Also based on English genealogies.

14. Based on French and English genealogies

15. Ibid.

16. "Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York, 1964) 71.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL CONFLICTS

According to Milton Gordon, "the absence of prejudice, discrimination and value/power conflict, is a subprocess or condition of assimilation." [1] Such conflicts represent a continual threat posed by the Huguenots to both the English-Anglicans and the Dissenters (English and Scottish Protestants). As a result, cohesion among the French Protestants intensified and they became a formidable force within the colony. The political conflicts that occurred in South Carolina involved three factions--the English-Anglicans, the English Dissenters, and the French Huguenots.

The major political groups were formed around ecclesiastical affiliations and their primary religious persuasion identified to which faction they belonged. The original settlers (1670-1680) immigrated largely from Barbados and were a loosely knit group, primarily followers of the Church of England. Although they believed the King of England to be the leader of the Anglican Church, they held a philosophy of relaxed interpretation of Royal law and decrees. In opposition were Protestants from England, Scotland, and New England, usually referred to as Dissenters. Dissenters were non-Anglicans who tended to strictly interpret laws and viewed themselves as morally superior to the English-Anglicans. Dissenters insisted on absolute adherence to the Navigation Laws

which forbade any goods to be transported on non-English ships. While Anglicans were largely farmers and accustomed to dealing with foreign shippers, Dissenters also owned ships and saw the use of foreign vessels as an infringement on their trade. The Huguenots, in the Dissenters' eyes, were aliens even though many of them were naturalized as English subjects. Because the Dissenters controlled the South Carolina Commons, French Protestants were blocked from owning ships and had to transport their goods on vessels owned by others. [2] Therein lies the beginning of the conflict between the Dissenters and the Huguenots.

Early proprietors favored the Dissenters and appointed from among them colonial governors, and because of increasing Dissenter immigration, they soon had a majority in the Commons as well. [3] Although the proprietors had provided basic governmental guidelines to the colonists through the Fundamental Constitutions and guaranteed religious toleration, the Commons House never approved the Constitutions. [4] Since political control in the Commons yielded economic gain, Dissenters jealously guarded any perceived incursion on their turf. As early as 1695 Dissenters lodged a complaint with Governor Archdale about French representation in the Commons. [5]

Governor Archdale, however, passed on directives from the proprietors which hastened the demise of the Dissenter power in the colony. The Archdale laws, as they were called, altered the representation of the three colonial counties (Berkeley, Colleton, and Craven). Craven County, the predominant Huguenot stronghold,

under the Archdale Laws received more representation in the Commons than they had previously. [6] French Protestants, embittered by Dissenter oppression, deserted their philosophically-aligned fellow Calvinists and flocked to the side of the English-Anglicans in Berkeley County, who in turn provided legislative support for the Huguenots.

The Dissenters became increasingly anti-French which led to a deepening of factional feelings. [7] Queen Mary's War, which began in 1702, brought the conflict to a head. This war between Britain and the coalition of French/Spanish especially affected South Carolina since it was the closest province to the Spanish colony of St. Augustine. Governor Moore, replacing Archdale in 1700, was the first English-Anglican governor elected by the colony, and he engendered the wrath of the Dissenters by ordering an attack on St. Augustine and regulating the Indian trade. Dissenters were against such actions and saw these measures as Moore's attempt to completely control the government. Subsequently, the Dissenters walked out of the Commons when asked to support the Governor's programs. Therefore, the Dissenters called Moore's laws fraudulent and asked for new elections. They utterly failed in their aims because the elections returned an even stronger English-Anglican and Huguenot majority. Since the Huguenots held the key to this majority, and the Dissenters were already bitter toward the Huguenots, they determined to eliminate the French Huguenots as a political and economic force. [8]

Governor Moore, irritated by the Dissenters' actions, went further to secure his power by passing three acts through the Commons in 1704. All were aimed at eliminating Dissenter influence. The first, the Exclusion Act, excluded non-Anglicans from the Commons. Although technically excluding Huguenots, their English-Anglican benefactors were careful to protect French Protestant interests to ensure continued electoral support. The second act, The Establishment Act, had significant impact on the Huguenots. This legislation made the Anglican church the state-supported institution. The Establishment Act called for formation of parishes and levying of a church tax, and the church recording of births, baptisms, marriages, and deaths took on a quasi-legal status. Thirdly, the Regulation Act defined enfranchisement of aliens. Allowed to vote but not able to hold office, this act formally gave Huguenots, the largest alien group in the colony, a voice in their representation. [9] Dissenters, under the leadership of John Ash, signed a petition to the proprietors requesting relief from this perceived tyranny. The proprietors were split in their support, so the Dissenters sought the aid of Daniel Defoe, who wrote a pamphlet to the House of Lords for redress. [10]

> As to the French, they have hitherto liv'd peaceably, and with due encouragement amongst us; but when we see and consider, that they are often made Tools of, and imposed upon, and persuaded by Ill designing Persons here, to carry on sinister designs to the General disadvantage of the Country, and how easily they are drawn into Errors, by reason they have not a right understanding of our Language, and are ignorant of our Laws, we can't imagine that we do them any hurt, by making good and wholesome Laws for us and for them, since we Oblige them by no other Laws

whatsoever. or upon any Account, than what we ourselves are Obliged by. and live under. [11]

Although the Dissenter's claims were self-serving and highly inaccurate, the House of Lords supported their complaints and the Queen ordered a suspension of the Exclusion and Establishment Acts. Governor Johnson, who replaced Moore, expected the Acts to be repealed and preempted the action of the House of Lords by revoking them in 1706, but he reinstituted a new Establishment Act with a more moderate tone, which was acceptable to the Lords. This Act of 1706 remained in force until the Revolution. [12]

Anti-Huguenot pressures did not stop even after the temporary joining of forces during the 1719 Revolution to throw off proprietary rule. In 1722-3, the old alliance of English-Anglicans and Huguenots versus the Dissenters re-emerged over the issue of money. The result of this controversy was a rekindling of the French enfranchisement question. French and English-Anglican merchants in Charles Town submitted a petition against the use of credit and bank bills for payment of purchased goods. Their opposition were French and Dissenter planters who wanted to continue the practice of credit and bank bills. French Huguenots supported each faction depending on their own economic viewpoint. Both French and English merchants threatened to write to fellow traders in London for support, but a grand jury injunction forbade such an action. However, the French and English merchants, undaunted by the grand jury decision, wrote to London anyway. Members of the Commons

claimed that the French had insulted the Assembly, so they took action against the Huguenots by imprisoning them. The French petitioned the Governor to listen to their case, but the Assembly refused to honor the Governor's directive. Only after the imprisoned Frenchmen paid a fine were they released and able to defeat the bill calling for continuation of the use of credit. [13]

Another incident seriously threatened subsequent Huguenot immigration and colonial French Protestants claimed that they might be forced to move from the colony. The South Carolina Commons secretly introduced a bill in 1723 under the title "An Act for the Better Government of Charles Town." It provided for life terms for city civil officers who would fill their own vacancies by a "closed corporation." This Act had the potential of preventing the Huguenots and others from holding office in the city government. A protest to the Act was submitted by Charles Town merchants to Governor Nicholson, but he sided against the merchants. [14] The situation was potentially volatile and Governor Nicholson sailed to England to avoid the issue. In 1727 the controversy became so critical that Charles Town citizens against the Act refused to pay their taxes. As a result, from 1727 to 1731 the government collected no taxes. [15]

In 1733, some members of the Assembly revived the franchise issue by questioning voting practices in the colony. English Assemblymen believed that non-qualified voters were casting ballots (voters had to own land or have a certain amount of money and be

naturalized). Two Huguenots, Isaac Huger and Tacitus Gaillard were political rivals, and because they engendered zealous French participation during elections, the Assemblymen targeted them as a group. As a result of this conflict, the Commons directed stricter qualification of voters. Although not specifically aimed at the Huguenots, as the largest group of aliens, they found themselves affected the most. The issue was resolved, but close scrutiny of voters continued until the Revolutionary War. [16]

The continuing perception of the Huguenots as a separate group that was in competition with the dominant factions continued until the Revolutionary War. Only when faced with a common enemy such as the proprietary monetary policy or the Revolutionary War would the Dissenters and the English-Anglicans overcome their differences and the Huguenots accepted as equals.

NOTES-CHAPTER VI

1. Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (New York, 1964) 71.

2. Clarence L. VerSteeg, Origins Of A Southern Mosaic: Studies of Early Carolina and Georgia (Athens, GA, 1975) 31-36.

3. Wesley F Craven, The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689, (Monroe, LA, 1949) 180-181.

4. VerSteeg, 14-15.

5. Ibid, 35.

6. Ibid, 36.

7. Louis B. Wright, South Carolina: A Bicentennial History (New York, 1976) 51.

8. VerSteeg, 38; Wright, 52.

9. Ibid, 42-44.

10. Alexander S. Salley Jr., (ed) Narratives Of Early Carolina 1650-1708 (New York, 1911) 222.

11. Ibid, 246.

12. VerSteeg, 47; Wallace, 71.

13. Arthur Henry Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina (Durham, NC, 1928) 143-144.

14. Ibid, 148.

15. Ibid, 149-150.

16. Ibid, 150-151.

CHAPTER VII

CHURCH AFFILIATIONS

The French Protestant move toward the Anglican Church in 1706 has been placed by many historians at the heart of their arguments for Huguenot assimilation. While the "conversion" of most French Protestants in Carolina was abrupt, the sincerity of the change is questionable and casts doubt on the depth of their loyalty either to Calvinism or to their new-found religion. The decline of a cohesive Huguenot ecclesiastical identity was part of a larger world-wide move away from strict Calvinism. In South Carolina, the Huguenot "conversion" was driven by their economic interests and by anxiety to preserve the legality of their sacraments.

As stated earlier, the Huguenots left France to escape persecution. [1] In the light of all the trials through which they had suffered, their rapid "conversion" to the Anglican Church within twenty years after their arrival in Carolina is surprising. The seeming ease with which French Protestants in South Carolina turned to Anglicanism is proof of a disintegration within their church itself. Starting around 1610, the Huguenot ministers who were ill-trained and full of doubt, lost their missionary zeal. Competing philosophies further weakened the church to the point that no national organizational meetings were held after 1659 and the internal mechanisms of the church deteriorated. [2] The church

hierarchy split between the local congregational upper-class and bourgeois. This allowed the church to become regionalistic and so disunited and enfeebled in its resistance to Louis XIV's Revocation. By then, French Protestants were embracing Catholicism at the first indication of persecution or pressure from the French government. Louis XIV's plan to retain the laity while ridding himself of the Protestant clergy succeeded as four-fifths of the ministers fled while only one-fifth of their parishioners did so. [3] Although the overwhelming majority of those who stayed converted to Catholicism. we must remember that allegiance to Protestantism was not the same thing as allegiance to a distinctive church organization. Perhaps those who converted did so to preserve their homes and not out of a denial of their Protestant beliefs. [4]

The Huguenots established five churches within the colony by 1700, more than the congregational strength of the Anglicans and Dissenters combined. Although small, these congregations served the local communities of Santee, Orange Quarter, Goose Creek. Berkeley, and Charles Town. with an active ministry and lay support. [5] The subsequent decline of the Huguenot Church between 1700 and 1710 led to the Berkeley and Goose Creek congregations disbanding, conversion of the Santee and Orange Quarter groups to Anglicanism. and a struggle within the Charles Town church. [6]

Although during the first twenty years of their immigration. French Protestant congregational growth was promising. after the turn of the century, Huguenots readily surrendered their last ties

to Calvinism. The absence of a viable church organization in England in effect left each French Protestant congregation on its own with respect to organization, worship service, and leadership. Unable to secure sufficient well-trained clergy from abroad, the colonists relied on lay or circuit ministers. A vacancy in the Charles Town French Church was filled by an Anglican sympathizer, and the congregation had no voice in the selection. The Threadneedle Street Church in London sent Paul L'Escot from Geneva, a minister with strong Anglican sympathies and a considerable ecumenical background. He requested permission for an Anglican ordination in 1710, but denied this, he worked for Anglican/Huguenot congruity until his departure for London in 1719. Other Huguenot ministers in the colony had similar leanings or refused to oppose Anglican conformity. This advocacy and benign acceptance of Anglican supremacy by the ministers weakened the congregations' spirit to resist their eventual move toward Anglicanism. [7]

French Protestant "conversion" to Anglicanism stemmed directly from the political instability in the colony. Although the Huguenots were the objects of Dissenter criticism and were hampered in their economic activities, their abilities to thrive economically and politically even under adverse conditions testify to their resilience. Yet, the political polarization which split the colony in the early eighteenth century served to hasten French Protestant acceptance of Anglicanism. Although a few individual families had converted prior to 1706, the congregations of Santee,

Goose Creek, Orange Quarter and Berkeley voted to join the state church in 1706, with the Santee region actually pre-empting the Establishment Act by several months. The old Huguenot settlements with their respective churches were formed into parishes with the Santee congregation incorporated into St. James Santee, Orange Quarter became St. Denis Parish, and Berkeley and Goose Creek consolidated into the above parishes. As a consequence, the French Church of Charles Town remained the only French Protestant Church in South Carolina. [8]

However, the conformity of the Huguenots was only a surface phenomenon. The congregations retained their ministers, performed services and sacraments in their traditional manner and continued to use French to conduct their services. The parish of St. Denis was specifically French-speaking, the only Anglican parish in the colonies to be defined by language. St. Denis shared the same geographic boundaries as St. Thomas parish and was allowed to co-exist until all the French-speaking adherents died. [9] The congregation in St. Denis Parish proved especially reluctant to change their customs. In 1712, a revolt within the congregation forced their minister to abandon the Anglican-style services in favor of their familiar French ones. The rebellion was suppressed by 1720 only to have another controversy, known as the "Dutartre Affair," kindle yet another division between the St. Denis Huguenots and their Anglican neighbors in 1723/24. The "Affair" challenged Anglican hegemony in the colony and resulted in several Huguenot

deaths. These challenges to Anglican power show continuing loyalty to the French faith. [10]

Although the Anglican victory appeared to be complete with the executions of Dutartre, Rombert, Bonneau and the imprisonment of the Dutartre sons, resistance persisted. There is further evidence that many Huguenots were Anglican in name only, joining the Anglican congregations but refusing to participate in sacraments that carried no legal status. Numerous families refused to partake of communion or baptism and requested French forms for their burial services. Marriages were most often performed in the church to provide a legal basis for their children's birthrights and burials performed in Anglican services established probate. Moreover, some wills continued to direct internment in French Protestant cemeteries up to 1750. [11]

A practical consideration behind the Huguenot "conversion" was the unquestioned legitimacy of French births and marriages. [12] French Protestants had been challenged by the Dissenters on the lawfulness of their sacraments, their marriages were declared illegal, their children claimed to be bastards, and their inheritance rights questioned. The Huguenots saw the validity of Anglican sacraments as insurance against future challenges to their economic well-being. [13] Having seen their parents lose their possessions in their diaspora from France, Switzerland, and England, the French of early eighteenth century Carolina decided to change their allegiance from a weakly organized Protestant church to a

state-supported one. Anglicizing their churches ensured their survival as a potent political, economic and social force in South Carolina. It was a small price to pay. While the "conversion" of the Huguenots to Anglicanism has been explained by the numerical superiority of the Anglicans and their over-riding economic and political power, it should be seen as only one step in the process of acculturation of the French Protestants.

NOTES-CHAPTER VII

1. Walther Kirchner, Western Civilization Since 1500 (New York, 1958) 80.

2. Jon Butler, The Huguenots In America: A Refugee People In New World Society, (Cambridge, 1983) 15-16.

3. Ibid, 17-20.

4. Ibid, 54-58.

5. Arthur H. Hirsch, The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina, (Durham, NC, 1928) 47.

6. Butler, 110.

7. Ibid, 111-112.

8. Ibid, 113-115.

9. Hirsch. 73-74.

10. Ibid, 73-79; Butler, 116-120.

11. Butler, 136-142.

12. Louis B. Wright, South Carolina. A Bicentennial History, (New York, 1976) 52.

13. David D.Wallace, South Carolina: A Short History. 1520-1948, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1951) 67.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have argued that there is a difference between acculturation and assimilation and that the former more accurately describes the Huguenot experience in South Carolina. We saw how acculturation means an intermingling of cultures without a significant loss of a separate identity. In this respect, ethnic identity can be compared to knowledge. One can share it, but it is not diminished. Ethnic identity, though, can be measured easier than knowledge over time and this has led many to look at factors such as community, marriage patterns, and church affiliations to conclude that all change represents a loss.

We found that the Huguenots were well qualified to make their fortunes in South Carolina. Most had been urban merchants and artisans but they quickly adapted to the emerging agricultural society in the colony. They amassed large amounts of land, and even those who did well as Charles Town merchants had country estates. They readily embraced all aspects of the slave trade. Others have argued that these factors add up to a complete disappearance of the Huguenots as a separate culture. If we look closer, however, we can see that the threads of a distinctive French Protestant culture existed even though they moved in the same direction as the English

colonists. The French were able to gather assets while still maintaining portions of their own culture.

However, in the process of becoming an economic force in Carolina, the Huguenots also angered their rivals. The political struggles that followed continued until the American Revolution and signify that French Protestants remained sufficiently distinctive to threaten those who sought to exclude them. By definition, assimilated groups do not intimidate or demand consideration. If the Huguenots "became" English by the middle of the eighteenth century, numerous English residents of South Carolina did not recognize them as such.

Although most historians have made the French Protestant conversion to Anglicanism central to their arguments, in this text it was the last facet of their lives covered. The "conversion" does not represent a complete disappearance of the Huguenots as a separate culture. They moved in the direction of the English-Anglicans for economic, political, and legal reasons. Practicality made such an action desirable, not coercion by outside forces or a lack of cohesion.

In conclusion, the Huguenot acculturation process in colonial South Carolina does not represent a failure of the French Protestants to maintain their separate culture. Nor does it expose some sort of fatal weakness of their French values, ideas, or attitudes. Acculturation proceeded in a series of steps, the result of conscious decisions by an intelligent, hard working and energetic

group who, among many other ethnic alliances, had to compete for survival in the infant colony. The French possessed skills and talents that made them wealthy as well as a force in Carolina politics. Their adaptability led to them making cultural and behavioral changes that would ensure their place in the colony.

The value of a study based on one ethnic group such as the Huguenots is that it demonstrates the importance of reexamining what we know about the diversity of colonial America. We continually explain aspects of colonial life from an English perspective, often assuming unconsciously that minority groups who do not live separately quickly assimilated to the English ethnic collectivity. Although we cannot determine from the evidence presented how long or how well the Huguenots sustained their ethnic identity, we can argue that their adaptability did not mean simple absorption by English society in Carolina.

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