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St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church: An Anglo-Franco Alliance in the Lowcountry

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ST. THOMAS AND ST. DENIS PARISH CHURCH:
AN ANGLO-FRANCO ALLIANCE IN THE LOWCOUNTRY

A Thesis Project
Presented to
The Graduate Schools of
Clemson University and the College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
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May 2011

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ABSTRACT

Now vacant and seldom used, St. Thomas and St. Denis Church is a small, neo-classical building constructed in 1819 to serve one of the original colonial parishes carved out of Berkeley County, South Carolina. Even though it has been included in numerous publications devoted to the history of religion in early South Carolina, this church has never been systematically recorded nor has its role been thoroughly explored. This thesis, which grew out of an effort to create a complete set of documentation drawings, explores the history of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Through the trees, just off Cainhoy Road in Berkeley County, South Carolina, is a small white church surrounded by an old graveyard. The simple three-bay church, with steeply-pitched pantiled roof has sophisticated details, like semicircular compass-headed windows and a multi-paned transom. Scored stucco covers its masonry walls. “1819 SC” is inscribed in stucco above the entrance of the church indicating the year of its construction (figure 1.1). A brick-paved terrace extends from the front of the church, hinting at a previous restoration. A smaller building with a half-hipped roof and chimney stands adjacent to the church (figure 1.2). These two relatively intact buildings, alone and isolated, evoke an earlier, more robust past.

St. Thomas and St. Denis Church originated during a period when the assembly of the Province of Carolina established the Church of England as the official church of the colony, extending English authority and influence throughout rural Carolina. St. Thomas and St. Denis was, at one time, separate English and French parishes, respectively. While the Parish of St. Denis was within the boundaries of the Parish of St. Thomas, the parishes were separated linguistically. The two parishes, which united after the French descendants learned English around the mid-eighteenth-century, are analogous to the two cultures meshing and, at times, clashing in a struggle to adapt to a more pluralistic society.

The church is the second on the site, built after the first church burned in a forest fire in 1815. The curious-looking building adjacent to the church is a battered vestry

house where the minister donned his vestments and records were kept. The structures which remain are tangible artifacts which give a window into the historic culture of the South Carolina Lowcountry. From its colonial beginnings as two distinct parishes to its restoration in 1937, St. Thomas and St. Denis Church reflects the central role of religious practice in South Carolina from the early eighteenth-century until the Civil War. The church also reflects the centrality of historic memory to twentieth-century South Carolina.

Today, St. Thomas and St. Denis is an Episcopal church that is rarely used. Descendants of former parishioners attend occasional annual services held at the church. While these descendants are aware of its history, few know it extensively. No comprehensive history of the parish church exists. In *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish*, compiled by the parish's rector in 1884, Reverend Robert F. Clute wrote, "owing to the neglect of recording details, much interesting and valuable parochial history has been lost."¹ Other writers have included short descriptions but no one has written a detailed history of the church. Such a history can draw attention to the importance of preserving the present church and vestry house. Until now, there were no measured drawings of the buildings and maintenance records were scarce. The likelihood of future neglect and deterioration seems high. By documenting the history of the structures, future decisions to preserve, rehabilitate, or restore can be made with

¹ Robert F. Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, in South Carolina, From 1680 to 1884* (Charleston, SC: Walker, Evans & Cogswell, Printers, 1884), 5.

confidence. These issues and questions regarding the church's history along with my appreciation of simple ecclesiastical architecture are the origins of this thesis.



Figure 1.1. Inscription in coffer above west entrance of church. Photo by author.



Figure 1.2. The vestry house of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church. Photo by author.

CHAPTER TWO

PROTESTANT PLURALISM

Huguenot Immigration to the Province of Carolina

St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church predates all of the buildings and roads that currently surround it. The present church and vestry house are the result of a late seventeenth century event when Huguenots, also known as French Calvinists or French Reformed Protestants, immigrated to the Lowcountry to flee religious persecution in France.¹

The great majority of Carolina-bound Huguenots immigrated after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, issued by King Louis XIV of France on October 22, 1685.² The Edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, was a confirmation of various treaties between Catholics and Protestants, which canceled all past grievances and injuries.³ Article I of the Edict of Fontainebleau, as it was called, repealed the Edict of Nantes and ordered that all Huguenot churches be demolished. The second and third articles prohibited any form of worship, public or private, other than Roman Catholic.⁴ By the late 1680s, Huguenots who refused to convert to Catholicism, who attended Protestant services, or who were caught leaving the Kingdom of France could be imprisoned, sentenced to the galleys, deported to the Caribbean, or even executed.⁵ Although Louis XIV's campaign against

¹ Arthur Henry Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), xix.

² Thomas W. Bacot, "Orange Quarter (St. Denis)," in *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 23 (1917), 38.

³ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 3.

⁴ Bertrand Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden: The Huguenots and Their Migration to Colonial South Carolina* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 52.

⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 51.

the Protestants began in the 1660s, the Edict of Fontainbleau was the tipping point which led to the exodus of 160,000 French adults and children between 1680 and 1690.⁶ It is estimated that no more than two-thousand Huguenots fled to British North America before 1700. By the end of the eighteenth-century nearly two-thousand more Huguenots arrived in the colonies.⁷ Some of the refugees arrived in South Carolina and assumed a significant position in the colony.

The Fundamental Constitutions of 1669

Many French Huguenots fled France to the Province of Carolina because of its reputation for religious tolerance. The colony of Carolina offered greater religious liberty and wider latitude in matters of religious conscience than its neighbors. John Locke, celebrated political philosopher, and Anthony Ashley Cooper, the Earl of Shaftesbury and one of the colony's Lords Proprietors, drafted the colony's Fundamental Constitutions of 1669.⁸ According to William J. Rivers' *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina* (1856), a mid nineteenth-century reflection of the colony's founding, Cooper had "no predilection for any particular form of worship," and Locke was the "most liberal in matters of religion," and thus "nothing was ordained in them in favor of episcopacy."⁹

Lockes' Fundamental Constitution assumed the establishment of the Church of England but restricted its authority. Article XCVI of the Constitutions stated:

⁶ Jon Butler, *The Huguenots in America: A Refugee People in New World Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 1.

⁷ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, xxv.

⁸ Louis P. Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness: Anglicanism and Architecture in Colonial South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 283.

⁹ William J. Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina to the Close of the Proprietary Government by the Revolution of 1719* (Charleston, SC: McCarter & Co., 1856), 116.

it shall belong to the parliament to take care for the building of churches, and the public maintenance of divines, to be employed in the exercise of religion, according to the church of England; which being the only true and orthodox, and the national religion of all the king's dominions, is so also of Carolina; and therefore it alone shall be allowed to receive maintenance by grant of parliament.¹⁰

A system of taxation supported the Church of England. Simultaneously, the Fundamental Constitutions extended the promise of religious freedom to all dissenters from that church.¹¹ Under the Constitutions it was legal for any group of seven or more people, with the exception of Roman Catholics, to constitute a church. The document said that “no person whatsoever shall disturb, molest, or persecute another for his speculative opinions in religion, or his way of worship.”¹² As a result, the early decades of Carolina's history were “characterized by colonists exhibiting significant religions and cultural diversity, ranging from Jews to English Quakers, French Huguenots, Welsh Baptists, Scots and Irish Presbyterians, and German Lutherans, in addition to English Anglicans, the majority population.”¹³

Orange Quarter

While the majority of Carolina-bound French Huguenot immigrants entered through Charles Town (now Charleston), a small colony came overland from Virginia to Santee, sixty miles north of Charles Town.¹⁴ Of the nearly eighty French families that settled in Santee, many dispersed along the tributaries of the Santee River and Wambaw

¹⁰ “Amendment I (Religion), Carolina Fundamental Constitutions,” http://press-pubs.uchicago.edu/founders/documents/amendI_religions7.html (accessed March 7, 2011).

¹¹ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 285.

¹² Walter Edgar, *South Carolina: A History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1998), 43.

¹³ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 285.

¹⁴ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 14.

Creek, to within a few miles of Lenud's Ferry, and back to the river into Orange Quarter, also known as French Quarter Creek (figure 2.1). In Orange Quarter the Huguenots "cultivated the vine, olive, and mulberry, and engaged in the manufacture of wine, oil, and silk." One observer described them as "impoverished artisans."¹⁵

This area became the Parish of St. Denis.¹⁶ The Huguenots constructed a church in Orange Quarter around 1687. The services were well attended and divine worship was occasionally celebrated by Reverend Élie Prioleau and Reverend Dr. Francis LeJeu.¹⁷ The first reference to the Huguenot church is mentioned in Cæsar Mozé's will, written in French on June 20, 1687. According to Thomas Wright Bacot, who helped organize the Huguenot Society of South Carolina in 1885:

Cæsar Mozé bequeathed Thirty seven Pounds *Sterling* to be used in the construction of a French Protestant church or 'temple' in the said Quarter—and it is most probable that, with the aid of this bequest, a building (said to have been of wood and small) was constructed as a French Protestant or Huguenot Church not long after the said probate of the said Will in July and August, 1687, and presumably upon the acre Site lying on the north-easterly side of the said '*French Quarter Creek*' [formerly known as Lynch's Creek]...¹⁸

Not long after the Huguenots settled in the Lowcountry, complaints and inquiries were made to the Lords Proprietors, the six men to whom Charles II had deeded Carolina.¹⁹ The Huguenots complained about the inconvenience of having to begin divine worship at the same time as the English, due to the fact that many of them lived in rural areas and were dependent on the tides for travel. Furthermore, the Huguenots were told

¹⁵ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 9; Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 141.

¹⁶ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 15.

¹⁷ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 9.

¹⁸ Bacot, "Orange Quarter (St. Denis)," 41.

¹⁹ Maxwell Clayton Orvin, *Historic Berkeley County, South Carolina, 1671-1900* (Charleston: Comprint, 1973), 11.

that their marriages were not lawful because their ministers were not ordained by an Anglican bishop. Therefore, their children were considered bastards.²⁰ In a favorable response, the Lords Proprietors sent instructions to the governor and his deputies. The Proprietors wrote on April 12, 1693:

We have power by our patent to grant liberty of conscience in Carolina; and it is granted by an act of parliament here; and persons are married here in Dutch and French churches by ministers that were never ordained, and yet we have not heard that the children begotten in such marriages are reputed unlawful or bastards. And this seems to us opposite to that liberty of conscience their majesties have consented to here; and we, pursuant to the power granted to us, have granted in Carolina. We desire that these things may be removed, and that their complaints of all kinds be heard with favor, and that they have equal justice with Englishmen, and enjoy the same privileges; it being for their majesties' service to have as many of them as we can in Carolina.²¹

Moreover, in March 1697 Governor Joseph Blake stated, “Whoever applied for citizenship obtained it on swearing allegiance to the crown of England. All Christians, ‘Papist only excepted,’ were confirmed in privileges of religious liberty and worship.”

Governor Blake was a Dissenter—a Protestant opposed to the establishment of the Anglican Church as the official church of the proprietary government.²² The tolerance of dissenting Protestants in public office would be short-lived with the rise of the Church Party, made up of the Anglican establishment, and their desire to establish the Church of England as the state church.

²⁰ Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 177.

²¹ Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 177-78.

²² Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 186; Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 123.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

The first efforts by the Anglican Church to absorb the Huguenots occurred in 1702, when the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) sent Reverend Samuel Thomas to Carolina as a missionary. In 1700, King William II of England chartered the SPG as an Anglican mission to the American colonies. Although initially founded as a missionary society, the SPG became a catalyst for spreading Anglicanism up until the 1730s.²³ Moreover, the SPG was particularly efficient with regard to “foreign Protestants,” especially the Huguenots. The SPG led rural Huguenot congregations toward conformity by using its financial resources and political shrewdness to send French Books of Common Prayer and Bibles, appoint French-speaking missionaries to Huguenot communities, and financially help conformist pastors in their posts.²⁴ Upon his arrival in Carolina, Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson appointed Reverend Thomas to attend to the families settled on the three branches of the Cooper River.²⁵

Pompion Hill Chapel

During this period, a Huguenot community to the north of Orange Quarter built Pompion (pronounced “punkin”) Hill Chapel in 1703. Just north of Middleburg Plantation, the chapel, situated on a high bluff, overlooked the east branch of the Cooper

²³ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 124.

²⁴ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 124.

²⁵ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 10.

River.²⁶ According to Arthur H. Hirsch's *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina* (1999), the Huguenot congregation at Pompion Hill:

worshipped according to the Reformed faith, unchanged, until 1706. Then poverty forced them to seek financial aid in the support of their ministry by submitting to the encroachments of the Established Church. But they maintained an independent Huguenot Anglican Church, until the original French refugees were all dead.²⁷

Frederick Dalcho (1770-1836), a physician and an assistant minister at St. Michael's Church in Charleston, wrote *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina: From the First Settlement of the Province to the War of the Revolution* in 1820 (figure 2.2). Dalcho stated that Pompion Hill Chapel was built by "the private subscription of the Parishioners, and the liberal assistance of Sir Nathaniel Johnson," who had a plantation along the Cooper River in Berkeley County.²⁸ Furthermore, Pompion Hill Chapel was described as a thirty foot square cypress structure. It is considered one of the first Anglican churches outside of "Charles-Town."²⁹ In *The Material Word: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina*, Louis Nelson wrote, "Besides that at Goose Creek," Pompion Hill "was the only other documented church erected in rural Carolina in the opening years of the eighteenth century."³⁰ However, Cæsar Mozé's will from 1687 indicates that the Huguenots had built a church in rural Carolina well before the opening years of the eighteenth-century.

²⁶ Henry A.M. Smith, "The Baronies of South Carolina, XVI, Quenby and the Eastern Branch of the Cooper River," in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 18 (1911), 163-64.

²⁷ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 78.

²⁸ Orvin, *Historic Berkeley County*, 3.

²⁹ Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South-Carolina: From the First Settlement of the Province to the War of the Revolution* (Charleston, SC: Arch'd. E. Miller, Printer, 1820), 284.

³⁰ Louis P. Nelson, *The Material Word: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial South Carolina*, Vol. I (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 2001), 544.

Pompion Hill Chapel had 420 acres in glebe lands for their minister.³¹ The chapel would later become the chapel of ease to St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, providing an additional place of worship for parishioners unable to travel to the parish church.

The Church Act

In the 1680s, Governor John Archdale, a Dissenter, said, “religious differences did not particularly distinguish parties.” Despite this statement, the opening decade of the eighteenth-century introduced a fervent “religiopolitical factionalism.”³² With the appointment of Nathaniel Johnston, an ardent Anglican who assisted with the building of Pompion Hill Chapel, and the rise of the “Church Party,” the religious liberty of the Dissenters was at stake. On May 4, 1704, the Carolina general assembly introduced a controversial bill that required:

persons that shall hereafter be chosen members of the commons House of Assembly, and sit in the same, to take oaths and subscribe the declaration appointed by this bill, and to conform to the religious worship of this province, according to the Church of England, and to receive the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper according to the rites of the said church.³³

Governor Johnston called an emergency session of the general assembly and passed the act before enough Dissenters could arrive to vote against it.³⁴

At this time there was but one Anglican church in a province of about 6,000 white inhabitants. The Dissenters, on the other hand, had four churches in Charles Town alone

³¹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 11.

³² Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 285.

³³ Rivers, *A Sketch of the History of South Carolina*, 218.

³⁴ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 285.

and at least three organized congregations in the country.³⁵ After facing vigorous opposition from Dissenters, the bill was nullified and a tempered version of the bill was finalized two years later. With money generated by a tax on the Indian trade, the 1706 act established the Anglican Church as the state church, partitioned the colony into parishes, and dedicated £333 of public funds per parish for the erection of parish churches and parsonages. It also opened the public coffers for the erection of Anglican churches and named church commissioners for the building of churches and chapels in the colony.³⁶

The proprietors and their aristocratic followers, aided by the French vote, passed the Church Act of 1706 despite that fact that a majority of the white inhabitants of the colony were in religious conviction dissenters. Thus the Huguenots played a prominent role in establishing the Church of England in the colony.³⁷ Particular aspects of the Church Act of 1706 may have garnered Huguenot support for the bill. Compared with the 1704 act, the 1706 act created Huguenot parishes and appointed a higher number of French commissioners.³⁸ Status may have played a role in attracting Huguenot support for the bill as “a striking feature of this small group of Huguenot conformists was their elite status, politically and socioeconomically, and the fact that several among them were closely related.”³⁹ Despite the idea that a minority of elite Huguenots led the way to conformity, no recorded complaint registered by the Huguenots against the act exists.⁴⁰

³⁵ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 125.

³⁶ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 125-26; Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 285-86.

³⁷ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 126.

³⁸ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 127.

³⁹ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 129.

⁴⁰ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 126.

Without Huguenot support the Church Act would not have passed. As Van Ruymbeke wrote, “In essence the 1704 and 1706 Church Acts were identical. They established the Church of England and lay the foundations of a parish-based religious, administrative, and political life that, refined by subsequent laws through the proprietary period, was to endure until the end of the eighteenth century.”⁴¹ From the Huguenot standpoint, the Church Act of 1706 was pro-Huguenot. Before the act, the French at least had the sympathy of the anti-Dissenter party.⁴² Furthermore, the Huguenots made no objection to the Act of 1698, which provided £150 annually to the rector of St. Philip’s Church. For the French to remain a separate sect they had to support the Established Church through continuous taxation while having to maintain their own churches through subscription. By the early 1700s their impoverished circumstances made it increasingly difficult to remain Huguenots.⁴³

The Huguenot settlers in Santee petitioned the assembly to make Craven County a parish and to give the French minister the same allowance received by the clergy of other parishes. The Santee Huguenots “pray[ed] that a Parish might be erected among them.” They were also “extremely desirous to be united to the Body of the royall Church of England.”⁴⁴ Their request was granted and Craven County became an Anglican parish seven months before the Church Act of 1706 passed. Like the Santee Huguenots, the Orange Quarter Huguenots requested to be ‘erected into a parish’ and join the Established Church. They likewise were given the privilege of holding services in the French

⁴¹ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 127.

⁴² Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 126.

⁴³ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 127.

⁴⁴ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babyon to Eden*, 128.

language.⁴⁵ Moreover, the Anglican Church catered to the Huguenots, seeking to win their support and allegiance, by distributing public offices to the French.⁴⁶

Whether or not the Huguenots of Orange Quarter met and voted on joining the Established Church is unknown. Undoubtedly, there were factions within the congregation as turbulence existed among the parishioners of St. Denis in the mid-1710s and again in the 1720s. Even so, as Van Ruymbeke wrote in *From New Babylon to Eden*, “Once the decision was made, however, as the dissident St. Denis parishioners would soon learn at their expense, a point of no return had been reached.”⁴⁷ Joining the Anglicans severed their communion with their old church.

The Church Act of 1706 created ten parishes (figure 2.3): St. Philip’s in Charleston; Christ Church, Mount Pleasant; St. John’s, Berkeley; St. James’s, Goose Creek; St. Andrew’s, Charleston; St. Bartholomew’s, Colleton County; St. Paul’s, Colleton County (in a portion of the county which has since been annexed to Charleston County); St. James’s, Santee; St. Thomas’s, Cainhoy; and St. Denis’, Orange Quarter. These parishes established English taste and solidified Anglican authority in rural Carolina. To help realize Anglican authority, the Church Act provided modest sums of money for the construction and ornamentation of Anglican churches in these remote areas. Despite being subsidized by the colony, these parishes usually lacked adequate

⁴⁵ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 128.

⁴⁶ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 128.

⁴⁷ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 131-32.

funds to finance their building costs and resorted to subscription and contributions throughout the eighteenth century.⁴⁸

St. Thomas and St. Denis Parishes

The colonial assembly defined the boundaries of St. Thomas Parish in December 1708.⁴⁹ The boundaries of St. Thomas Parish were defined as:

To the north-east by the bounds of Craven County, to the south by the bounds of Christ Church parish and Wando River, to the west by Cooper River, to that tract of land commonly called the Hagin, inclusive, and to the north by the western branch of the said Cooper River, to the plantation of the Right Honourable Sir Nathaniel Johnson, Knight, Governour, exclusive, and then by an east line from the northernmost part of the said plantation to the bounds of Craven County.⁵⁰

Also within the boundaries lay Pompion Hill Chapel.

The construction of St. Thomas Parish Church began in 1707. The brick church was erected on a neck of land about three miles from Cainhoy, on the old Clement's Ferry Road, on the northwest side of the Wando River. According to Frederick Dalcho, "1708" was inscribed on one of the bricks (it is not known if this brick survived the fire of 1815).⁵¹

To the north of St. Thomas Church, the small, simple wooden Huguenot church (circa 1687) in Orange Quarter became the parish church for the French. Under the provisions of the Church Act, Orange Quarter was constituted as a parish for the French under the name of "The Parish of St. Denis" (the patron saint of France) as a separate

⁴⁸ "Christ-St. Paul's," <http://www.christstpauls.org/history.php> (accessed December 29, 2010); Harriette Claire Hawkins, *Icons in the Wilderness: The Anglican Churches of Rural South Carolina* (Anna Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1987), 73, 45.

⁴⁹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 11.

⁵⁰ Orvin, *Historic Berkeley County*, 3.

⁵¹ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 285.

parish within the Parish of St. Thomas.⁵² Since few Orange Quarter Huguenots understood English, an act of 1708, which complemented the Church Act of 1706 by defining all the parishes territorially, defined St. Denis linguistically and authorized St. Denis to be disestablished when the French language disappeared.⁵³

Why the parish was named St. Denis is debatable. Some historians believe that the name commemorated the battlefield of St. Denis in the vicinity of Paris, where there was a memorable encounter between Catholics and Huguenots in 1567. South Carolina historian Henry A.M. Smith speculated that Huguenots did not typically name their churches after saints. He believed that the name of St. Denis was “probably conferred by the Church of England Assembly to whom the application had been made and who created the Parish. The patron Saint of France was St. Denis and in giving a Saint’s name to a French parish it was not unnatural to select his name. It is a case, however, of pure conjecture.”⁵⁴ As Van Ruymbeke explained, the parish was most likely “named St. Denis in honor of the patron saint of France. Incidentally, this name would not have appealed particularly to the Huguenots, who as Calvinists did not worship saints, but from an Anglican perspective it made the parish unmistakably recognizable as a French enclave.”⁵⁵ Having the name of a saint was one of the stipulations the Huguenots of Orange Quarter had to tolerate. St. Denis Parish became the chapel of ease—an

⁵² Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1990), 26; Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 23.

⁵³ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 115.

⁵⁴ Henry A.M. Smith, “Rivers and Regions of Early South Carolina,” *The South Carolina Historical (and Genealogical) Magazine*, vol. III (1998), 21-22.

⁵⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 130.

additional chapel in a parish used for occasional worship—to St. Thomas Parish Church in 1708.⁵⁶

St. Denis Parish was defined in the 1708 Act:

....it will be difficult at present to fix the bounds of the said parish of St. Dennis, lying in the midst of the bounds, and designed at the present only for the use of the French settlement which, at present, are mixed with the English, *be it therefore further enacted*,.... that the French congregation of the church of St. Dennis only shall be liable to the charges and parochial duties belonging to the said church during the time that the divine service of the said congregation be in the French language, and that for the future, when the service shall be performed in the English language, the said church of St. Dennis shall become a chapel of ease to the said parish church of St. Thomas.⁵⁷

Though there was undoubtedly a Huguenot church built several years prior to the Church Act of 1706, Bacot claims that a new church was built for the newly established Parish of St. Denis. According to Bacot,

The Rev. Albert M. Shipp, D.D., in his *History of Methodism in South Carolina*, says that their Church [St. Denis] was built in 1708, but he gives no authority for this statement—if built in 1708, it was probably a new building for their newly created and established parish of S^t Denis, previously whereto they must have had a “temple or place of assemblage”... because they would scarcely have remained without one for twenty-five (25) years or more after their settlement in this Quarter.⁵⁸

Bacot also stated that “Judge Smith, in his article on ‘The Orange Quarter and the First French Settlers in South Carolina,’ says ‘The Parish Church of S^t Thomas was commenced in 1707 and finished in 1708. About the same time a *new* church building was constructed for the French speaking members of the parish.”⁵⁹ Understanding the financial challenges of the Orange Quarter Huguenots and the fact that they were a

⁵⁶ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 11.

⁵⁷ Orvin, *Historic Berkeley County*, 3.

⁵⁸ Bacot, “Orange Quarter (St. Denis),” 50-51.

⁵⁹ Bacot, “Orange Quarter (St. Denis),” 49-51.

temporary subparish, it is more likely that the existing 1687 church continued to be used as the parish church. The Church Act of 1706 did not provide funds for the building of a temporary French church.⁶⁰

In 1708, Reverend John Le Pierre (or LaPierre) arrived in St. Denis Parish after being ordained and licensed in Great Britain.⁶¹ The only pastor of St. Denis Church, Reverend Le Pierre, received fifty Carolina pounds, half of what his English colleagues received. Van Ruymbeke explained in *From New Babylon to Eden* (2006), “Whether it was due to the small size of the congregation or the second-class status of the parish, this lower salary undoubtedly made the St. Denis cure unattractive and, in the long term, created an additional hurdle in the already difficult recruitment of French-speaking pastors.”⁶² It seems, however, that Reverend Le Pierre’s salary did eventually increase. Dalcho wrote in his *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, “The Rev. Mr. Le Pierre being in necessitous circumstances, the Assembly, Oct. 11, 1711, granted him £20, Cur. for ‘his present relief and support;’ and on April 2, 1712, they added £50 to his salary. An Act was passed June 7, 1712, increasing it to £100 *per ann.*”⁶³

Despite initially joining the Anglican Church, the parishioners of St. Denis violently rejected conformity in the mid-1710s and again in the 1720s.⁶⁴ Sometime in 1716, the St. Denis parishioners opted to leave the Anglican Church. Little is known of the four years or so when the Orange Quarter community regained its institutional independence, but Reverend La Pierre wrote in his letter to the SPG in 1719, “I have

⁶⁰ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 320.

⁶¹ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 137.

⁶² Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 130.

⁶³ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 289.

⁶⁴ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 131.

made for sometime my practice to extend my care to them when the Inhabitants of the French Parish of St. Denis by their defection and falling from the church of England have rendered my functions ineffectuall amongst them.”⁶⁵ It can be surmised that the community formed a Calvinistic congregation and assembled at the former St. Denis Church, which the separatists Huguenots likely considered their own. As one of the ministers of St. Thomas explained, St. Denis Church was “built by their own Contributions about the same time with the parish church.”⁶⁶

In an attempt to join the Huguenot church in Charleston, the Huguenots of Orange Quarter requested “to be admitted to communicate” with Pastor Paul L’Escot of the Charleston French Church. Unfortunately for the Orange Quarter Huguenots, L’Escot believed “his Conscience [was] much better inform’d than theirs,” and that “not Conscience but Malice or at best groundless Prejudice, made them quarrell at so good a Church.”⁶⁷ In other words, by joining the Anglican Church initially, the Huguenots of Orange Quarter, as well as those in Santee, caused a permanent fracture with those Huguenots who never joined the Anglicans.

Realizing they could not be in communion with the Huguenot church in Charleston, in 1726, “the French had again all become identified with the Anglican Church, for Thomas Hassel reported them to the London Society that ‘all ye French of St. Denis’s profess ymselves of ye Church of England exclusive of the French of Orange

⁶⁵ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 75-76.

⁶⁶ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 140.

⁶⁷ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 140.

Quarter.”⁶⁸ In 1732, there were thirty-two families in Orange Quarter, with fifty people belonging to St. Denis Church.⁶⁹

Thus, the transition from Calvinism to Anglicanism for the Huguenots, who had lived and worshipped in Carolina as Calvinists for more than twenty years, was not without difficulties. However, for the second generation of St. Denis parishioners, their religious practices were almost indistinguishable from British Anglicans. Furthermore, the conformity of the Huguenots appears to have been for them a practical rather than a spiritual move. It was difficult and costly for the Huguenots to find a minister, and the Church Act required that each Anglican church be provided with one. By petitioning the Assembly of the Province to become a parish, the Huguenots were able to get some public allowance for an episcopally ordained minister, who was allowed to preach in French, so long as the liturgy was from the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁷⁰

Moreover, the theology of the Anglican Church was in its essence more or less congruent with that of the Huguenots. In fact, many of the doctrines and liturgy of the Church of England were influenced by French Protestants 150 years prior to their conversion to it in Carolina.⁷¹ As Van Ruymbeke explained, the Huguenot emphasis on essential Protestant tenants over the nonessential rituals and structures “enabled the Huguenots to attend Anglican services without feeling they had betrayed their Calvinist

⁶⁸ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 76.

⁶⁹ Hirsch, *The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*, 76.

⁷⁰ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 131, 137; Park Ravenel Dougherty, “The Huguenization of the Anglicans,” *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (2008), 5; “The Huguenot Church, Orange Quarter,” *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 5 (1897), 63-66.

⁷¹ Dougherty, “The Huguenization of the Anglicans,” 5.

traditions.”⁷² In addition to their common Protestant faith, early eighteenth-century English and French Protestants were business partners in an extensive trading network throughout the North Atlantic and allies in a global war that their ancestors had waged for 175 years against the Roman Catholic Church and its allies—the Kingdoms of France and Spain, and the rest of the Holy Roman Empire.⁷³

Most of the objections to Anglicanism by the Orange Quarter Huguenots had to do with Le Pierre changing the posture of the body in the reception of the Lord’s Supper.⁷⁴ The Huguenots disagreed with the form in which Le Pierre wanted them to receive the Eucharist. When Le Pierre refused to comply with their request, the parishioners became angered by the minister’s “attempts to persuade them to change their behavior.” Le Pierre responded, implying that those parishioners who rejected Anglican worship were much more violent and much less rational than the rest. Furthermore, Le Pierre stated that the “agitators” were not just concerned with whether they should take communion sitting, standing, or kneeling, but rather they “expressed views that could potentially disrupt any kind of orderly religious life, Anglican or Calvinist.”⁷⁵

Meanwhile, the English Church of St. Thomas had been built by 1708. Reverend Thomas Hasell, who was appointed missionary to St. Thomas by the SPG, described the church in a letter, dated December 27, 1716:

a strong and well finished Piece of Brick work but very small and not above thirty-seven feet an half in length and twenty seven and an half in Breadth. There

⁷² Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 159-60.

⁷³ John Boshier, *Business and Religion in the Age of New France, 1600-1760* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press, 1994), 82-85; Park Ravenel Dougherty, “Ravenel Places and their Times in Vitre,” *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina*, no. 111 (2007), 34-36.

⁷⁴ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 138.

⁷⁵ Van Ruymbeke, *From New Babylon to Eden*, 139.

is a handsome porch on each side, upon Columns Painted double doors on south and north Sides opposite to one another, with a single door at the West End all Glazed on the Tops, as also the upper parts of the windows, the inside of the Church is furnished with a handsome Pulpit Reading Desk some Pews a Communion Table neatly railed in all of Cedar Wood, the rest of the floor is filled up with common seats and the Iles [aisles] are Paved... The Church was built at the charge of the publick out of a certain fund raised by an Imposition laid on Skins and furs by an act of the General Assembly passed Nov 4, 1704 and appropriated by the said Act for the Building of Churches, Parsonage houses.⁷⁶

By 1713, the population of St. Thomas Parish increased to 120 families, which included the families in St. Denis Parish. Ten years later, the Reverend William Bull, commissary (a representative of the bishop of London appointed to oversee the work of the Church of England in the American colonies), wrote to the SPG, “St. Thomas is a large and populous parish. There are two churches, two glebes, but no parsonage.”⁷⁷ In 1725, Hasell wrote that St. Thomas may need a gallery due to the increase in attendance: “Our Parish Church [is] now too small for ye Congregation yt sometimes meet at it especially at such times when ye Dissenters come to it which they seldom fail to do when their own Minister is sick or absent but we propose to enlarge it by building a Gallery in one part of it.”⁷⁸ Dalcho stated that St. Thomas Parish included 565 whites, 950 “negroes,” sixty Indian slaves, and twenty “free negroes” in 1728.⁷⁹

Prior to Dalcho’s account, Reverend Hasell wrote in 1716, the same year the St. Denis parishioners opted to cease being an Anglican parish, the French desired that the liturgy be translated into their own language. According to *The Huguenots in America* (1983), the Anglican authorities essentially ignored the special character of the

⁷⁶ Nelson, *The Material Word*, 545.

⁷⁷ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 12.

⁷⁸ Nelson, *The Material Word*, 545.

⁷⁹ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 287.

Huguenots after they joined to the Church of England. They furnished the refugees with no special religious literature besides Dr. John Durel's *La Liturgie*, a translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁸⁰ Durel served as chaplain of the French Church of the Savoy, Dean of Windsor, and Canon of Durham. His revision of the 1616 French translation of the *Book of Common Prayer*, in accordance with the 1662 English edition, was ordered by King Charles II "for use of his Majesty's Chapel of the Savoy and his Islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and such other parts of his said Majesty's dominions as should want the same."⁸¹ However, by 1720, Reverend Le Pierre, who was the first missionary to the French, reported that nearly all of his parishioners understood English except some "ancient persons who Humanely speaking cannot Live very long."⁸²

St. Denis Disestablished and United with St. Thomas Parish Church

Upon the death of the Reverend John James Tissot in 1768, the colonial assembly passed an act disestablishing St. Denis Church in Orange Quarter on April 12 of the same year. The vestry of St. Thomas received the records, monies, bonds and effects of St. Denis Parish for the benefit of the poor.⁸³ Furthermore, the land and the building belonging to the French congregation were sold to Dr. John Mayer, who used the wooden church as a residence.⁸⁴ In 1784, the title of St. Denis was renewed and joined with St. Thomas via an act of the South Carolina state legislature. Thus, St. Thomas and St. Denis

⁸⁰ Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 115.

⁸¹ Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer with A Rationale of its Offices* (Cambridge: MacMillan & Co., 1855), 143.

⁸² Butler, *The Huguenots in America*, 135-36.

⁸³ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 15.

⁸⁴ "Deed of Conveyance to the Society of Old 'Orange Quarter (St. Denis)' Huguenot Church Site," *Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina* (1922), 22.

became one parish. The same act allowed the vestry to sell the two glebes in order to purchase one more central to the parish church.⁸⁵

Pompion Hill Chapel

In 1747, an act passed declaring Pompion Hill Chapel to be the chapel of ease to St. Thomas Parish, repealing the 1708 Act, which declared St. Denis the chapel of ease to St. Thomas Parish. Eight years later, the Reverend Alexander Garden who succeeded Reverend Hasell, informed the SPG that the French refugees were dead, and their descendants, understanding English, had united themselves with St. Thomas Parish Church.⁸⁶

Pompion Hill Chapel had become ruinous and was rebuilt in 1763 in brick (figure 2.4). The chapel, which still stands today, is forty-eight feet long by thirty-five feet wide.⁸⁷ The chapel exterior cost £3,000 while the interior cost £1,000. According to *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish*, Gabriel Manigault gave £50 sterling and 960 brick tiles for the floor, valued at £10. The chapel was finished by private subscription with the brick masons' names, Zachariah Villeponteaux and William Axson, inscribed and inlaid in the bricks along with a Masonic symbol (figures 2.5 & 2.6). A trowel, mallet, and triangular pattern of dots are inscribed next to Axson's initials.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 17.

⁸⁶ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 14.

⁸⁷ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 291.

⁸⁸ Hawkins, *Icons in the Wilderness*, 67.

Described as deteriorated in 1842, Pompion Hill Chapel was restored in 1843, with trees and undergrowth removed from the avenue to the chapel and the grounds.⁸⁹ In 1855, the rectory was repaired and a vestry room was added to the chapel.⁹⁰ Pompion Hill was reported as being in good condition in 1884.⁹¹

According to Craig M. Bennett, Jr., structural and civil engineer at 4SE Structural Engineers in Charleston, the chapel was damaged by the Earthquake of 1886. In 1980, Robert Shoolbred and John Moore of Shoolbred Engineers, Inc., put a piling under the northeast corner, where there were some settlement issues. In addition, they remade connections in the roofing system. A study from 2001 found that ground movement due to drying of expansive clays in the 1997-2002 drought and the partial foundation repairs in 1980 had caused the building to settle unevenly.⁹² Only the northeast corner was stabilized when the soil shrunk. In 2004, 4SE repaired masonry, rebuilt the foundation and installed an underground irrigation system to keep the ground moist. In 2005, the roof trusses were repaired as they had been fractured.⁹³

1819 Church

A forest fire destroyed the original St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church (1708) in March 1815. Frederick Dalcho described the church as “burnt” in his *Historical*

⁸⁹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 18.

⁹⁰ Albert Sidney Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, 1820-1957: Being a Continuation of Dalcho's Account, 1670-1820* (Charleston, SC: Kessinger Publishing, 1957), 441.

⁹¹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 19.

⁹² “Pompion Hill Chapel,” 4SE, Inc. website, http://www.4seinc.com/pdf/historiclodge/Pompion_Hill_Chapel.pdf (accessed March 14, 2011).

⁹³ “Pompion Hill Chapel,” 4SE, Inc. website.

Account of the Protestant Church (1820). No other known first-hand descriptions of the destroyed church exist. Therefore, it is unclear how much of the original church survived the fire. In 1884, Reverend Robert Clute wrote in *The Annals and Parish Register* that the church was rebuilt, “27x37 and 22 feet high; much smaller than the old building.”⁹⁴ However, these dimensions, height excepted, are almost exactly the same as the original church, according to Reverend Thomas Hasell’s description. In 1716, he described the church as “very small and not above thirty-seven feet and an half in length and twenty seven and an half in Breadth.”⁹⁵

Why Clute thought the 1819 church was much smaller is unknown. No evidence suggests that the original church was larger than the present one. Despite the lack of evidence, the belief that the present church is smaller than the original has been perpetuated in numerous newspaper articles and publications, including Albert Thomas’ continuation of Dalcho’s *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (1957). Thomas wrote, “The present structure was constructed in 1819 on a smaller scale than the first.”⁹⁶

In fact, the 1819 church measures 37’-4” by 27’-7 ½”, within inches of Hasell’s description of the 1708 church. Unlike Clute’s description, the height of the church is actually 33’-8”, not twenty-two feet, which is closer to the height of the interior. It is unlikely that the church was ever twenty-two feet in height, as the rafters appear original.

⁹⁴ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 294; Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 18.

⁹⁵ Nelson, *The Material Word*, 545.

⁹⁶ Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 442.

Mill sawn framing, like the framing found in the attic of St. Thomas and St. Denis, was an available form of construction in the South in the early nineteenth-century.⁹⁷

Though speculation, it is possible that the brick foundation of the 1708 church survived the fire in 1815. The present structure may have been built upon its foundation, saving the congregation the money it would cost to reconfigure the plan. Moreover, the present church may have been a rebuilding of the earlier church. It is difficult to tell the condition and age of the brick walls since the majority is covered with stucco.

In addition to having the same dimensions, the congregation's lack of funding was also a reason to believe that the church was rebuilt on the same foundation. Since the Church of England, now the Protestant Episcopal Church, was no longer the established church, the second St. Thomas and St. Denis Church had to be built entirely with private money. Furthermore, without fire insurance, it undoubtedly took a long time to gather funds to rebuild. At this time the parish did not have the population it once had. In 1819, the white population of Berkeley County was 212, compared with 397 whites in 1790, and 565 in 1728.⁹⁸ This population decrease must have affected the church's funds and rebuilding on the same foundation of the 1708 church would have made economic sense. Therefore, it is possible that the 1708 and 1819 churches shared some of the same brick walls as well as the same site. It is also probable that the parish church reused any brick and other materials spared from the fire during the rebuilding.

⁹⁷ Carl Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), 88.

⁹⁸ J. Russell Cross, *Historic Ramblin's Through Berkeley* (Columbia, SC: R.L. Bryan, 1985), 138.

The Civil War, Cainhoy Massacre and Reconstruction

During the Civil War, the Reverend J. Julius Sams became rector, while the rectory, which the Reverend Sams occupied, was burned by Federal troops. A new house was erected there shortly after on the glebe which “had been purchased many years before.”⁹⁹ This more central glebe was probably purchased shortly after the former two glebes were sold in 1784. The cypress and heart pine mansion faced the Wando River in the old village of Cainhoy (figure 2.7). The house was built in the Charleston double-house style with a wide central staircase hall. It had a large front porch with square columns supporting the two-story gallery. The two spacious formal rooms on the west had massive but simple mantels. On the other side of the hall was a chapel with a side porch entry. There were four rooms on the second floor, and four in the garret. On the floor of two of the attic rooms bloodstains were attributed to the wounded of the Cainhoy Massacre of 1876.¹⁰⁰

On October 16, 1876, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish was the site of the Cainhoy Massacre, one of the more violent events of Reconstruction-era South Carolina. According to Maxwell Clayton Orvin’s *Historic Berkeley County* (1973), “the Negroes, many of them members of a militia company, had various firearms secreted in the area.” Fearing their lives were in danger by black Republicans, “Col. Delaney, Wm. E. Simmons, and several other aged white men took refuge in the brick house adjoining the church.”¹⁰¹ One account said that a white man, who climbed into the chimney of the

⁹⁹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ Jack Leland, “Reconstruction-Era ‘Cainhoy Riot’ Bloodied Berkeley County Church.” *The News and Courier* (Charleston, SC).

¹⁰¹ Orvin, *Historic Berkeley County*, 182.

vestry house, was pulled down and hacked to pieces on a table in the room.¹⁰² The “chapel,” which may be referring to the chapel in the rectory, was said to have been converted into a hospital.¹⁰³ Bullet holes were purported to have scarred the vestry house.¹⁰⁴ This scarring, if ever visible, probably disappeared when the vestry house fell into ruins in the late nineteenth-century.

Another account described the Cainhoy Massacre like this:

On October 16, 1876 the democrats held a meeting here at the Church. The Democratic party consisted of twenty-eight white men and two Negroes. The Republican party consisted of Negroes. The meeting never got started because within minutes of the Democrats arriving at the church, the Republican Negroes began firing on the Democrats. The chapel was converted into a hospital and the rectory and yard into an armed camp.¹⁰⁵

The massacre occurred in an election year which found white Democrats defeating “carpetbaggers, scalawags, and blacks,” with the election of General Wade Hampton as governor.¹⁰⁶ Furthermore, Mary Moore Jacoby stated in *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry* (1994), “Tradition has it that the sanctuary was used as a hospital while the yard and rectory served as an armed camp.”¹⁰⁷ Five whites were slain and sixteen were wounded.¹⁰⁸ Whatever the specifics, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish is remembered as the site of the bloody Cainhoy Massacre.

¹⁰² Leland, “Reconstruction-Era ‘Cainhoy Riot.’”

¹⁰³ Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 442.

¹⁰⁴ Cross, *Historic Ramblin’s Through Berkeley*, 138.

¹⁰⁵ “Brick Church: The Parrish of St. Thomas & St. Denis,” vertical file from The South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹⁰⁶ Leland, “Reconstruction-Era ‘Cainhoy Riot’ Bloodied Berkeley County Church.”

¹⁰⁷ Mary Moore Jacoby, *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1994), 17.

¹⁰⁸ Leland, “Reconstruction-Era ‘Cainhoy Riot’ Bloodied Berkeley County Church.”

Despite these violent encounters, the vestry house was described as still standing in 1883 according to *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish* (1884).¹⁰⁹ According to Albert Thomas's continuation of Dalcho's *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (1957), the parish church was repaired and refurnished in 1904 and at some point after 1883, probably during the Charleston Earthquake of 1886, the vestry house became ruinous.¹¹⁰ A photograph from a *News and Courier* article, dated September 20, 1937, depicts the vestry house in ruins with only the west wall remaining with the chimney still intact (figure 2.8). *The News and Courier* described the church as having deteriorated steadily after the Civil War.¹¹¹ During this state of deterioration and abandonment a herd of goats lived in the compact little brick building, and during Prohibition, moonshiners hid their whiskey in the tombstones.¹¹²

The Huguenot Society of South Carolina Erects Cross at Site of St. Denis Church

In 1922, the Huguenot Society of South Carolina purchased one acre, at the site of "The French Church" (St. Denis), for one dollar. The black owners, the heirs of Atlis Dickson, refused to take anything but a nominal sum for the property.¹¹³ According to a deed of conveyance, this acre and other land had been sold to John Huger by Dr. John Mayer on May 2, 1774. Dr. Mayer purchased the land from the church wardens and the vestry of St. Thomas Parish when St. Denis Parish was disestablished on April 12, 1768.

¹⁰⁹ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 19.

¹¹⁰ Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 442.

¹¹¹ "St. Thomas and St. Denis Church," *The News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), September 20, 1937.

¹¹² "Second Church of Name, Built in 1819, Serves Parish Founded in 1706—Land Now is Almost Reclaimed by Wilderness," *The News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), September 20, 1937.

¹¹³ John Beaufain Irving, *A Day on Cooper River* (Columbia, SC: The R.L. Bryan Company, 1969), 129.

The doctor used the buildings thereon as a residence.¹¹⁴ The Huguenot Society's purchase was made in an effort to "hold, possess, mark, and take care of the same as a Memorial of the establishment of the old but now extinct French Protestant or Huguenot Church at 'Orange Quarter' aforesaid about 1687 A.D. and of its church building's site with circumambient church-yard."¹¹⁵ Upon purchasing what the Huguenot Society referred to as "God's Acre," a simple granite cross was erected at the site (figure 2.9). It is not known when the church last stood but the Reverend Edward T. Walker, who became rector of St. Thomas and St. Denis in 1886, stated a year later that St. Denis (the former Huguenot church) was in "bad order" and he hoped for its repair.¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, Thomas Gaillard stated in 1897 that "The St. Dennis Church, *which was probably never of brick*, has disappeared for years."¹¹⁷ The cross commemorating St. Denis Church still stands at Orange Quarter today.

Guggenheim Restoration

During the 1930s, the game and wild fowl shooting preserves of the South Carolina Lowcountry attracted many wealthy northerners. The Guggenheims were no exception and in 1934, Harry F. Guggenheim (1890-1971), the former ambassador to Cuba, New York copper magnate and philanthropist, purchased seventy-five hundred acres, which surrounded St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church, for \$90,000. Harry was introduced to the Charleston area by his uncle, Solomon Guggenheim, who, for many

¹¹⁴ "Deed of Conveyance to the Society of Old 'Orange Quarter (St. Denis)' Huguenot Church Site," 22.

¹¹⁵ "Deed of Conveyance to the Society of Old 'Orange Quarter (St. Denis)' Huguenot Church Site," 23.

¹¹⁶ Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 442.

¹¹⁷ Bacot, "Orange Quarter (St. Denis)," 50.

years, was a winter resident of Charleston at the Robert William Roper House, a 1838 Greek Revival home on 9 East Battery St.¹¹⁸ For \$250,000, Harry Guggenheim built a relatively simple, one story, four bedroom house which he called “Cain Hoy.”¹¹⁹ Surrounded by broad lawns and gardens, with white columns across the front, one foreign visitor described Cain Hoy as looking like Tara from *Gone with the Wind*.¹²⁰ Besides entertaining guests and hosting hunts, Harry Guggenheim contributed to the local community by funding the restoration of nearby St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church.

By that time, the church had fallen into disrepair since the 1904 rehabilitation, resulting in Guggenheim funding repairs to the church and vestry house. The restoration was sponsored by the National Society of The Colonial Dames of America. A new pantile roof, said to be from Jamaica, was put on the church and on the ruinous vestry house, much of which had to be rebuilt.¹²¹ Guggenheim undoubtedly funded the installation of wire metal lath, which was used in lieu of a wood cove (concave or scotia), changing the eaves to a chamfered profile on the exterior elevations (figure 2.10).¹²² Some of the lath is now exposed, especially on the south-easterly cornice of the church (figure 2.11). It can be surmised that it was at this time when the brick terrace was added to the front of the west elevation, extending twenty feet. In addition, the interior of the

¹¹⁸ “H.F. Guggenheim, Cainhoy Plantation Owner, Dies At 80,” *The Charleston Evening Post*, June 22, 1971.

¹¹⁹ Irwin and Debi Unger, *The Guggenheims: A Family History* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), 243.

¹²⁰ John H. Davis, *The Guggenheims, 1848-1988: An American Epic* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers, Inc., 1988), 189.

¹²¹ “St. Thomas and St. Denis Church,” Historic American Buildings Survey, November 1, 1940; Cross, *Historic Ramblin’s Through Berkeley*, 138; “St. Thomas and St. Denis Church,” vertical file from the South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

¹²² “Rezoning Application,” Planning and Zoning Commission, City of Charleston, SC, November 26, 2001.

church has been replastered, doors and tombstones repaired, and a railed fence was erected to keep out the goats and hogs and to conform to the ancient structural plan.¹²³

According to J.V. Nielsen, Jr., Guggenheim and the Colonial Dames hired the Dawson Engineering Company of Charleston to “renovate” and “weatherproof” St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church. The company began the restoration by repairing the masonry, the windows, and making the roof watertight. He reported that the walls were crumbling in 1936.¹²⁴ Unfortunately, due to a lack of storage space the records of the Dawson Engineering Company have since been destroyed. *The Charleston Evening Post* said that the “actual work was conducted by a Mr. Barrister of Sumter.” It described the restoration as “one of the most complete jobs undertaken in the Lowcountry.”¹²⁵

The same *News and Courier* article from September 20, 1937, which depicted the ruinous vestry house, stated that “Mr. Guggenheim has purchased the land on which the rectory stands and plans to tear it down. His land surrounds the church, and he became so much interested in it that he gave money for the restoration.” Furthermore, the article stated that visitors were impressed with the restored church’s “finish, uniformity, and durability of the brick work. In general appearance, as far as skill of workmanship is considered, it is probably not surpassed by any church of equal age in the Lowcountry. The interior of the church is interesting and unique with its queer old straight back

¹²³ “Do You Know Your Lowcountry: St. Thomas and St. Denis Church,” *News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), September 20, 1937.

¹²⁴ J.V. Nielsen, Jr., “Harry Guggenheim Saves St. Thomas’s Church,” *News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), November 8, 1936.

¹²⁵ “Guggenheim Restores St. Thomas and St. Denis,” *Charleston Evening Post*, July 16, 1937.

pews.”¹²⁶ Despite the restoration, the church remained dormant, as it had been since 1925, with the exception of intermittent services.¹²⁷

1937 – Present

In June 1939, Thomas Tileston Waterman (1900-1951) photographed and surveyed St. Thomas and St. Denis Church for the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS). HABS, a New Deal agency launched by the National Park Service (NPS), worked in cooperation with the American Institute of Architects and the Library of Congress. Waterman was a restoration architect who was one of four draftsmen hired to design reconstructions of vanished or altered eighteenth-century buildings in Williamsburg, Virginia, in the late 1920s and early 1930s.¹²⁸ From 1933-42, Waterman was an assistant and then associate architect for the HABS division of the NPS. In the 1930s, HABS primarily focused on architecturally significant buildings that were considered vulnerable and in danger of being demolished.¹²⁹

Waterman’s conditions assessment of the church stated that it was “good; recently restored.” He described the church as:

masonry, plastered; high gable roof covered with tile said to have come from Jamaica; main entrance in gable end; double doors with fanlight in recessed arch; side elevation three bays; two arched-head windows, flanking recessed arch with glazed lunette; cornice and rake mould; a large Greek Revival cyma reversa. Interior very simple, with old woodwork.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ “Do You Know Your Lowcountry: St. Thomas and St. Denis Church,” *The News and Courier*.

¹²⁷ Jacoby, *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry*, 17.

¹²⁸ Fay Campbell Kaynor, *Thomas Tileston Waterman: Student of American Colonial Architecture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985), 108-09

¹²⁹ Kaynor, *Thomas Tileston Waterman*, 125-27.

¹³⁰ “St. Thomas and St. Dennis Church,” Historic American Buildings Survey.

Waterman's photograph of the vestry house shows a gutter and that the chimney had curiously been knocked off where the chimney meets the ridge of the roof only two years after its restoration (figure 2.12). The different colored stucco of the repaired chimney top is still noticeable today.

Despite being dormant since 1925, the church was reopened as a mission by the Church of the Holy Cross in Sullivan's Island on September 15, 1957.¹³¹ Unfortunately, during the 1950s, the church became the target of vandals. Despite this threat, it was not until the early 1980s, when the Guggenheim heirs hired a caretaker to live in a mobile home near the church. At this time an employee of Cainhoy Plantation lived there and the vandalism ceased.¹³² On September 22, 1971, St. Thomas and St. Denis Church was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in South Carolina under the name "White Church."¹³³ In *Historic Ramblin's Through Berkeley* (1985), J. Russell Cross stated that two ladies of Cainhoy have taken an interest in the building and, with Guggenheim funds, have cleaned and restored the church and graveyard.¹³⁴

In 1991, the church, located at 1507 Cainhoy Road, was annexed to the City of Charleston and in February 2002, the church was incorporated into Charleston's Landmark Overlay Zone. St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church, and its surrounding 4.25 acres, which are geographically located in Wando, Berkeley County, is now part of the City of Charleston and a protected structure that cannot be demolished or altered

¹³¹ Jacoby, *The Churches of Charleston and the Lowcountry*, 17-19.

¹³² Leland, "Reconstruction-Era 'Cainhoy Riot' Bloodied Berkeley County Church."

¹³³ "National Register of Historic Places in South Carolina," <http://shpo.sc.gov/NR/rdonlyres/24616C51-E931-4DBB-A5C9-ED041069F269/36788/NationalRegisterofHistoricPlacesinSCMasterListasof.pdf> (accessed January 10, 2011).

¹³⁴ Cross, *Historic Ramblin's Through Berkeley*, 138.

without the Board of Architectural Review's approval.¹³⁵ Despite having a more protected status, St. Thomas and St. Denis is in need of repair work, especially on the south elevation where a leaky roof is causing wood to rot and the exposure of metal lath along the cornice. In 2002, Cummings and McCrady, an architectural firm, estimated that repairs to the church could cost up to \$38,000. The Episcopal Diocese of South Carolina could not afford to proceed with the recommended repairs.

In 2010, Julian V. Brandt III founded The Society of St. Thomas and St. Denis. The Society's purpose is "to lend material aid and support to the Diocese of South Carolina in the preservation, and maintenance of the Church of St. Thomas and St. Denis, Cainhoy, and its Churchyard. Another purpose is to celebrate the Christian faith of those early French and British parishioners who made Carolina their home," and to hold occasional services.¹³⁶ The Society had an evening song service in the fall of 2010 and in the spring of 2011 to raise money and support for the church. Also in 2011, HABS took photographs of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church, adding to their collection that Thomas Waterman started in 1939.

¹³⁵ "Rezoning Application," Planning and Zoning Commission, City of Charleston, SC, November 26, 2001.

¹³⁶ Julian V. Brandt III, "A brief history, The Society of St. Thomas and St. Denis, 1706," (2010).



Figure 2.1. Excerpt of map depicting Church of St. Denis on French Quarter Creek from “Map Showing the Plantations along the Cooper River as they were in the year 1842,” from the South Carolina Historical Society at <http://www.southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org/?name=Site&catID=18041&parentID=17496>



Figure 2.2. Frederick Dalcho (1770-1836). From a miniature by Charles Fraser (1823).

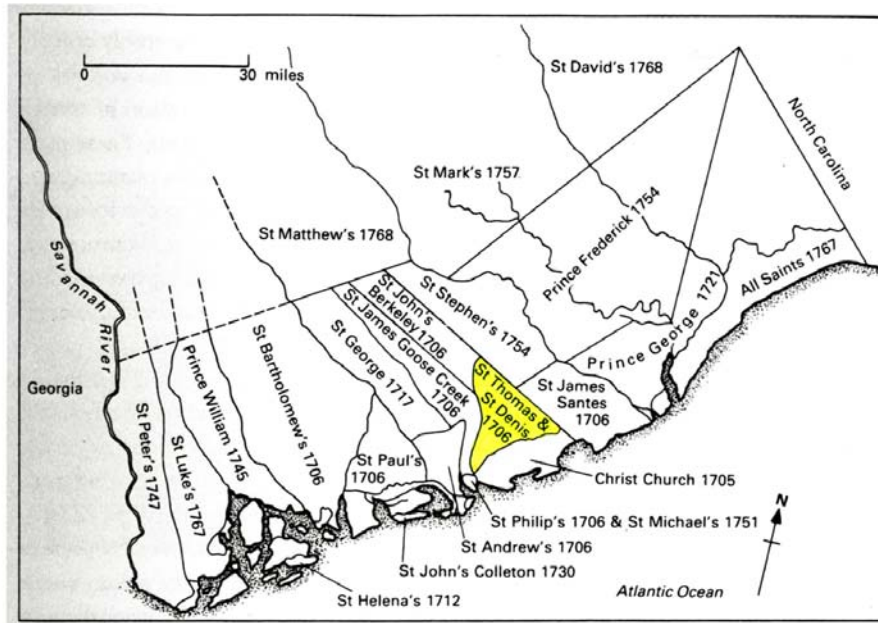


Figure 2.3. Map of historic Anglican parishes of South Carolina. From Louis Nelson's *The Beauty of Holiness*, 5.



Figure 2.4. Pompion Hill Chapel, circa 1763. Photo by author.



Figures 2.5 & 2.6. Symbols inscribed in bricks at Pompion Hill Chapel. Photos by author.

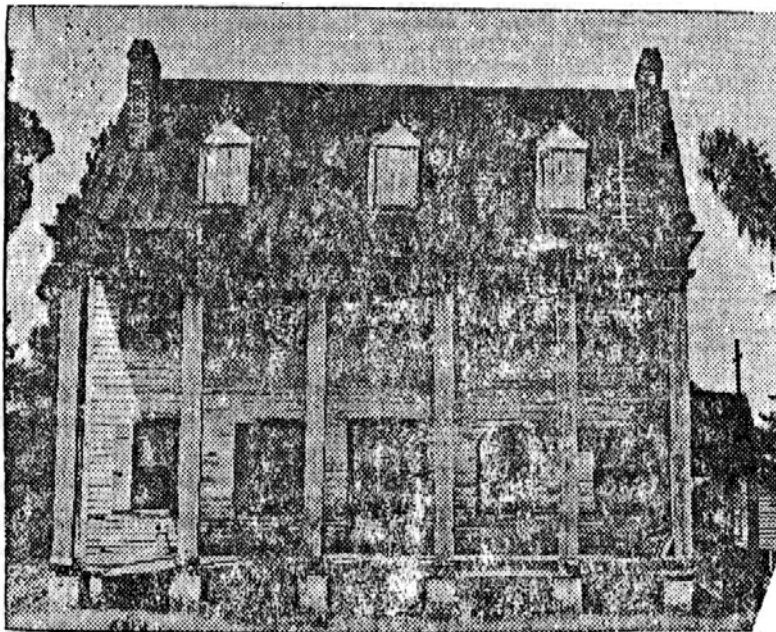


Figure 2.7. St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish rectory, built around the time of the Civil War. Photo courtesy of *The News and Courier* (September 20, 1937).



Figure 2.8. Vestry house before 1937 restoration. Photo courtesy of *The News and Courier* (September 20, 1937).



Figure 2.9. Cross erected by Huguenot Society at site of St. Denis Church. Photo by author.



Figure 2.10. Profile of cornice of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church. Photo by author.



Figure 2.11. Exposed metal wire lath on southeastern cornice of church. Photo by author.



Figure 2.12. Vestry house with damaged chimney. Photo from Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STRUCTURE OF WORSHIP

The present Church of St. Thomas and St. Denis reflects shifts in architectural tastes, changes in worship styles, and an increase in the parish's population in the late antebellum period. Little is known about the configuration and plan of St. Denis, the late seventeenth-century church in Orange Quarter. Since this church was built as a Huguenot church and located a few miles north of the present St. Thomas and St. Denis Church, it will not be considered as one of the building phases relating to the current structure. The first phase this chapter will discuss begins with St. Thomas Church, constructed in 1708, which occupied the current site of St. Thomas and St. Denis until it was destroyed by forest fire in 1815. The evidence for this first phase is essentially archeological and remains to be retrieved. In addition to the first phase, the present church encompasses three distinct building phases: its completion in 1819, the alterations of the 1850s, and the restoration of 1937. Each of these phases represents either congregational needs, larger ecclesiastical changes in worship, and in the case of the 1937 restoration, a wealthy northerner's philanthropic effort to save a local deteriorating church.

Phase I: St. Thomas Parish Church, 1708

The first building phase began with St. Thomas Parish Church, the first church constructed on the site in 1708. The specifics of the architecture of the church are unknown, due to the fact that there are not many physical descriptions of the structure before it burned in 1815. The current church, which was rebuilt as a twenty-seven by

thirty-seven foot structure in 1819, is purported to be much smaller than the previous church. However, according to Reverend Thomas Hasell's description of the 1708 church, the 1819 church is approximately the same dimension as the original church. The 1708 church is said to have been brick, thirty-eight feet by twenty-eight feet in dimension.¹ In 1714, a porch was built on the south side and for "£18 3s. 7d" and, by 1716, the church is described by Reverend Thomas Hasell as having "a handsome porch on each side, upon Columns."² With double doors opening under porticos on the north and south sides, it can be surmised that an aisle connected the two entrances, forming a crossing with the other aisle from the west door to the altar at the east end.

Perhaps the best documented description of the 1708 church is from Reverend Hasell's letter to the SPG, written December 27, 1716. Hasell wrote that all of the doors of the church were "Glazed on the Tops, as also the upper parts of the windows." This could possibly be referring to semicircular compass-headed transom windows above doors and windows, a typical feature of Anglican churches and chapels of the period. St. Andrew's, Charleston County (1706, enlarged in 1723); St. James, Goose Creek (1714-19); St. Stephen's, Berkeley County (1762-67); Pompion Hill Chapel (1763-66); and St. James, Santee (1768), all had semicircular compass-headed transom windows (figure 3.1).³

In 1728, Hasell wrote to the SPG that only a small door with no porch flanked the western elevation.⁴ He also described the church as having "a handsome Pulpit Reading

¹ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 317.

² Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 12; Nelson, *The Material Word*, 545.

³ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 371-74.

⁴ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 62.

desk some Pews a Communion Table neatly railed in all of Cedar Wood.”⁵ Hasell added that the church had some pews, but the rest of the floor was filled up with common seats. The aisles were likely paved with brick paving tiles. It is possible that these pavers may have survived the fire of 1815, which may explain the brick pavers currently covering the floor of the sacristy.

As part of the first building phase, the vestry house was likely built alongside the original church in 1708. In *The Annals and Parish Register of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish* (1884), Reverend Robert Clute wrote, “The old vestry-room, in one corner, is probably about 175 years old. It is mentioned in R. Beresford’s will, 1715, and very likely was built at the same time as the church, in 1708.”⁶ The vestry house, which the rector used as an office, was described by Thomas Hasell on June 4, 1728 as “a small brick house with a Chimney in it, the floor paved and the room furnished with a convenient Table and seats for the use of the vestry.”⁷ This description, minus the furniture, could easily describe the vestry house today.

Nevertheless, sometime between the publication of *The Annals and Parish Register* in 1884 and 1937, the vestry house fell into ruins. J. Russell Cross wrote in *Historic Ramblin’s Through Berkeley* (1985) that “several years ago, the building was practically abandoned.”⁸ Moreover, the *News and Courier* reported in 1937 that the vestry house was “destroyed by fire a few years ago” and in a ruinous state.⁹ A

⁵ Nelson, *The Material Word*, 545.

⁶ Clute, *The Annals and Parish Register*, 19.

⁷ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 121.

⁸ Cross, *Historic Ramblin’s Through Berkeley*, 138.

⁹ “Second Church of Name, Built in 1819, Serves Parish Founded in 1706—Land Now is Almost Reclaimed by Wilderness,” *News and Courier* (Charleston, SC), September 20, 1937.

photograph from the *News and Courier* article shows the vestry house with only the west wall remaining.

The vestry house today bears evidence of numerous phases of repair and rebuilding. Major reconstruction occurred in the fourth building phase in 1937. During that period, Harry Guggenheim, a wealthy northerner who owned surrounding land, funded the restoration of the church and vestry house. Guggenheim essentially reconstructed the vestry house, building new walls, a new roofing system, and new pantiles.

Phase II: 1819 Church

Four years after a fire destroyed the original church, the parish rebuilt a new church in 1819. Much of the original design can be seen today, particularly from the exterior of the church. Evidence of the original fenestrations remain on the north, west, and south sides. The obvious differences between what remains today and what was originally built are the addition of the rectangular enclosure on the east end and the blocking of the south entrance.

Following the precedent of the first church, the second church also had a prominent central door on the south side. Like the colonial church, it can be surmised that an aisle proceeded from this entryway crossing the church from south to north. The aisle likely led to a pulpit at the center of the north wall, in front of the compass-headed window. The aisle would have crossed the other aisle which proceeded from the west door to the altar (figure 3.2). In “The Material Word: Anglican Visual Culture in Colonial

South Carolina” (2001), Louis Nelson believed that the 1819 church “followed the colonial plan fairly closely.”¹⁰

The church was built 27'-7 ½" in length, extending from east to west, by 37'-4" in width, extending from north to south, with a semi-hexagonal polygonal chancel projecting 6'-6" off the east end. This church was almost identical in size to the building it replaced. It is possible that the present church shares the foundation of the 1708 structure. Since few primary sources describe the extent of damage to the 1708 church in the 1815 fire, it is unknown how much of the original church survived. It is possible that much of the brick survived the fire and was reused in the second building phase.

The present structure may have been either built upon the earlier church's foundations or be a reconstruction of the earlier structure. Without an extensive investigation it is difficult to know whether any of the brick walls of the present structure were a part of the original. It is clear, however, that the 1819 church shares the same dimensions as the 1708 church. Unlike the original St. Thomas and St. Denis Church, the 1819 church had to be rebuilt without government subsidies. As the population of Berkeley County decreased, from 397 in 1790 to 212 in 1819, the population of the parish church certainly followed. With a smaller population it is probable that the church lacked the funds to build a completely new church. Instead, they likely reused the brick walls that survived the fire and built a similar church to the colonial original.

¹⁰ Nelson, *The Material Word*, 552.

The brick structure was laid in an English bond with a stucco finish, scored to simulate coursed stonework (figure 3.2). The church was constructed on a shallow foundation, five courses (18") below the ground surface. The first course was laid on a material that consists of a mortar course and, where leveling was necessary, broken and fragmented bricks. The brick walls on the east and west ends extend to the peaks of the gabled pediments. A stuccoed water table bears a cyma recta profile.

The south entry likely contained double-doors as the opening was just over 6'-5" wide. Flanking the former south entry are two compass-headed windows, mirroring the three on the opposite side. The double-hung sash windows are fifteen-over-fifteen with semicircular heads, containing fifteen lights. A semicircular transom window over the now blocked doorway also contains fifteen lights. The windows of the north and south sides have green louvered shutters with the semicircular upper portions covered by fixed louvered shutters. The louvered shutters are carried by cast hinges, or cross garnets, T-shaped hinges with stationary vertical members fastened to the window cases (figure 3.3). The windows on the north and south sides have tooled sandstone sills (figure 3.4). The cyma reversa profiled muntins of the windows and transoms are 3/4" wide. The compass-headed windows of St. Thomas and St. Denis would have set the church apart from its surroundings as they were rarely found in domestic architecture.

Doric pilasters flank the red west double-doors. Above the doors a semicircular transom window has twenty-nine lights. The west-facing double-doors appear to be mortised with a rabbet (a long channel near the edge of a surface, cut at right angles to receive another member). The doors each have six-panels with beads (small, convex

rounded molding, and semicircular). Radiating from the transom window are five flat paneled coffers. The inscription, “1819 SC,” is set in the stucco of the center coffer.

The wainscoting on the west and north walls have a quirked (sharp) ovolo and bead molding with flat panels. This molding was undoubtedly present on the wainscoting of the south wall before the alterations in the 1850s. The quirked ovolo and bead molding continues around the polygonal chancel. These panels are likely original as the Greek form of the ovolo gradually replaced the Roman ovolo in the early nineteenth-century. Furthermore, the molding matches that of the west doors.

In *Plantations of the Low Country* (1987), William P. Baldwin, Jr. described the 1819 church as “Greek Revival,” and “the only ‘new’ church remaining from this post-Revolutionary period, and the high walls and full gable treatment are an interesting contrast to earlier designs” (figure 3.5).¹¹ Three of the previously built churches, St. James’s, Goose Creek; Strawberry Chapel; and Pompion Hill Chapel, have jerkin-head roofs, while St. James’s, Santee and Christ Church have hipped roofs (figure 3.6).¹² None of the aforementioned churches have a pantiled roof like St. Thomas and St. Denis. Furthermore, the 1819 church differed from other Anglican churches in the Lowcountry in that it included a projecting chancel.

The attic of the church contains mill sawn framing (figure 3.7). Though sawmills began in the second quarter of the eighteenth-century, very few buildings in the South contained mill sawn timber until the early nineteenth-century.¹³ The ceiling joists are

¹¹ William P. Baldwin, Jr., *Plantations of the Low Country: South Carolina, 1697-1865* (Charleston, SC: Legacy Publications, 1987), 61.

¹² Hawkins, *Icons in the Wilderness*, 51.

¹³ Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary*, 317.

about 10 ½” by 3” and span the width of the church. The joists and the rafters are spaced 1’-7 ½” apart. The roof consists of common rafters, uniform in size and evenly spaced along the length of the roof, supporting the sheathing.¹⁴ The rafters meet at the ridge, joined by mortise and tenon. (figure 3.8). Treenails, about an inch in diameter, go through the mortise and tenons of the rafters. Vertical struts rest on the joists and support each rafter.¹⁵ Sheathing nailed to the rafters support the pantiles (figure 3.9). Outlookers, double tenoned into end girders and plates, support the cornice beyond the face of the gable (figure 3.10). The mortise and tenon joint is secured with a treenail, an inch in diameter, driven into holes bored through both blades and tenon. In the corners of the attic are short dragon beams, diagonal girders, also double tenoned, projecting out to the corners to support the overhang of the cornices (figure 3.11).

Similar plans to the 1819 church were seen in colonial churches throughout the South, including Virginia. In *Holy Things and Profane* (1986), Dell Upton discussed the origins of this plan:

Another large-church plan was introduced at the end of the pre-Revolutionary era. It altered the proportions of the rectangular plan, retaining the major elements of it, but increasing the depth of the church. This plan moved the south entry to the center of the long side, and the pulpit to the center of the north.¹⁶

This form of ecclesiastical architecture embodied two dichotomies. As Upton explained, with the altar at the east end and the pulpit to the north, this plan “juxtaposed the traditional Catholic mystery of the communion sacrament—the sacrifice of the mass—with the Protestant emphasis on the spoken word as an instrument of religious

¹⁴ Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary*, 88.

¹⁵ Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 42.

¹⁶ Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane: Anglican Parish Churches in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1986), 96.

transformation.”¹⁷ Few examples exist—Christ Church in Alexandria, Virginia, is one example—where the pulpit is positioned behind the altar of an Anglican church. In *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900* (1991), Nigel Yates explained, “There was, however, a theological conservatism in Anglicanism which deprecated the placing of the pulpit behind the altar as it appeared to imply that the word was more important than the sacrament.”¹⁸

Phase III: Late Antebellum Alterations

The changes during this phase are a result of an increase in population in the parish and changes in ecclesiastical architecture within Christendom. The north-south aisle was eliminated, creating a center aisle running west to east. The pulpit moved closer to the altar. Thus, the shorter west side of the church replaced the longer south side as the prominent entryway and focal point of the church. Slip pews and a balcony were added onto a new raised floor and a rectangular sacristy enclosed the projecting polygonal chancel on the east end.

The floor was painted brown along with the trim and scrolled ends of the pews. The kneeler, altar rail, wainscoting, pews, balcony, columns, and windows are all painted a creamy white. The plaster on the walls are painted white. Unlike the sanctuary floor, the floor of the chancel is not painted. It was likely carpeted originally as there are tack marks on the floorboards. The wainscoting appears to be from 1819 as its height is the

¹⁷ Upton, *Holy Things and Profane*, 96.

¹⁸ Nigel Yates, *Buildings, Faith, and Worship: The Liturgical Arrangement of Anglican Churches, 1600-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 85.

same on the north, east, and chancel walls, despite the fact that the chancel floor was raised higher than the sanctuary. Furthermore, the slip pews butt crudely into the original wainscoting, indicating that it was a later alteration.

Unlike the quirked ovolo and bead molding on the west, north, and east wainscot, the baseboards of these walls have no molding, further indication that they were added later. The chair rail, however, is consistent on the west, north, east, and south walls. It is evident that a separate piece of wood forms the chair rail that covers the former south doorway. It is unclear why the two-tiered wainscoting of the south wall extends the full length of the wall rather than just the portion over the former south doorway. While the wainscoting of the south wall is uniform, it contrasts with the east and west wainscot, especially in the corners where the walls meet.

In 1856, the 1819 chancel was encompassed by a larger rectangular enclosure. This addition created a sacristy to store communion elements and vestments.¹⁹ The original polygonal chancel was contained by a nearly square enclosure, extending 12'-4" to the east and 14'-11 1/2" from north to south. The water table of the east exterior wall of the original chancel was made flush with the rest of the wall, chiseled away to create more space in the sacristy. The exterior walls of the polygonal chancel are scored, further evidence that the sacristy is not original to the church. Also, the profile of the water table of the sacristy has a slightly different profile than the original portion of the church. The floor of the sacristy is covered with brick paving tiles, ranging in colors, from salmon to gray to red. While the sacristy provided for more storage and a place to change

¹⁹ Nelson, *The Beauty of Holiness*, 341; Carl R. Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary of Early Southern Architecture and Landscape* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 314.

vestments, the room is awkward. Acute angles were formed where the walls of the addition meet the original polygonal walls, allowing just enough room for the exterior sacristy door to open without swinging into the now interior wall. This south door of the sacristy has four flat panels and appears to be from the twentieth-century.

The double-hung sash window of the sacristy is eight-over-eight with eight lights in the upper semicircular portion of the window. A louvered shutter is fixed on the exterior of the upper semicircular portion. The shutters for the eight-over-eight sacristy window have become unhinged. In addition, the sill of the sacristy window is wooden, unlike the sandstone sills of the north and south sides, indicating a later construction period.

Also during this phase the south central doorway was blocked off creating a dead wall. Where the doorway has been filled-in the stucco has not been scored (figure 3.12). The water tables to the left and right of the blocked doorway turn ninety degrees, terminating into the dead wall. Below the water table, there are three vents on the north and south sides, beneath each of the three bays on the north and south sides of the church. The vents are 8 ¼” by 10” with seven openings about 9/16” wide. These vents were likely added after the floor was raised in the third phase as the church floor was originally at ground level.

To the west elevation, the doors have a brass knob containing an elaborate embossed design, a common design feature in the Victorian period.²⁰ “245 J” and “Clark

²⁰ J. Randall Cotton, “Knobs & Latches,” *Old-House Journal*, Nov.-Dec. (Burlington, VT: The Lane Press, 1987), 41.

& Co.” are inscribed on the hinges of the west doors (figure 3.13). The doors close at the ground level indicating that they were part of the original construction phase.

Proceeding through the west doors to the sanctuary, changes to the church are more easily seen. During the 1850s the floor of the church was raised 7 1/8” above the sandstone step at the west entryway (figure 3.14). The tongue and groove flooring ranges from 5” to 6 1/2” in width. The altar is raised one step, 6 1/8” above the floor.

One of the most visible changes to the interior of the church was the insertion of a balcony. According to Albert Thomas’ *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (1957), “increased accommodations were provided for the colored people at the parish Church at a cost of 600 or 700 dollars.” While little is known about the specifics of the “increased accommodations” provided for them, other factors may have contributed to the alterations of the late-antebellum period. For example, the population of the parish nearly tripled in the 1850s. The Charleston census records (of which St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish was a part of at the time), listed thirty-one blacks in the parish in 1860. Thomas also described St. Thomas and St. Denis and Pompion Hill Chapel as being “in good condition at this time.”²¹

According to Albert Thomas’ *Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, the balcony was installed in the church around 1858.²² The balcony is supported by four square, fluted columns topped with Doric cavetto capitals. A cavetto architrave runs the width of the balcony, which contains six flat panels (figure 3.15). These panels

²¹ Thomas, *A Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 441-42.

²² “The White Church (Brick Church)/ St. Thomas Episcopal Church,” Nomination Form, National Register of Historic Places, March 23, 1972.

match the flat panels on the wainscoting of the south wall, indicating that both were added during the same period. There is a space between the side of the balcony and the window, where light can shine through. The balcony is four-tiered with the top tier extending to the base of the west transom window. The interior cavetto cornice and coved ceiling were probably added at this time. Steep steps lead up to the balcony along the western wall of the church in a southward direction. The steps and the balcony were painted brown like the floor. The stairs, which would have been added during the construction of the balcony, had a later alteration at some point. On the treads of the steps earlier doveled balusters have been replaced by the present square balusters, two per each tread (figure 3.16). The underside of the railing has been trenched for the present balusters. The eleven steps land near the west entrance of the church. The newel post and the posts supporting the railing surrounding the stairwell have chamfered edges.

As previously mentioned, the wainscoting on the south side of the church was altered during this phase. It was divided into two tiers and has no moldings. This differs from the quirked ovolo and bead molded paneling on the west, north, and chancel walls, another indication of the church's late antebellum renovation (figure 3.17). Sixteen slip pews (eight on either side) with Italianate moldings on the end panels were added sometime after the floor was raised (figure 3.18). Benches line the west corners and two small pews for the ministers face the altar, opposite each other and perpendicular to the other pews. Slip pews allowed for all members of a congregation to face toward the

pulpit and communion table. They began to appear in the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.²³ They also allowed for more seating.

To the east end of the chancel, through an archway leading into the sacristy, a door, separating the sanctuary and the sacristy, has Italianate molding similar to the moldings on the ends of the slip pews. It is possible that this doorway, behind the altar, used to be the location of a window, similar to the sacristy window. A doorway behind the altar is an unusual feature, not commonly found in historic churches.

As previously mentioned, the main reason for the church's alterations resulted from practical considerations regarding the parish's population. In a decade (1850-1860), the parish's population nearly tripled. In 1850, 84 people (52 families) resided in the Parish of St. Thomas and St. Denis. In 1860, 249 people (also 52 families; 31 black and 218 white) resided in the parish.²⁴ Though not all of these residents were parishioners of St. Thomas and St. Denis, many of them must were.

Other contributing factors to the alterations of St. Thomas and St. Denis dealt with wider ecclesiastical trends in architecture. The original configuration of the 1819 church, with the principal entrance on one of the longer walls and subsidiary ones on the two shorter walls, was commonly found in Protestant churches in America after the 1650s.²⁵ According to Carl Lounsbury's analysis of ecclesiastical architecture, "After

²³ Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary*, 268.

²⁴ "St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Charleston County, SC (1850)," State Census, Microfilm Collection, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library; "St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish, Charleston County (1860)," State Census, Microfilm Collection, South Carolina Room, Charleston County Public Library.

²⁵ Carl Lounsbury, "God is in the Details: The Transformation of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Early Nineteenth-Century America," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. 13, no. 1 (Vernacular Architecture Forum, 2006), 2.

much experimentation in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the English Church acknowledged its pre-Reform[ation] heritage by maintaining the position of the altar in its traditional location at the east end of the church, but placed the pulpit in a prominent location where all congregants could hear the minister.”²⁶ This plan had colonial precedence as numerous churches in the Lowcountry, including Pompion Hill Chapel, St. Stephen’s Church, St. James Goose Creek, and St. James Santee, had principal entrances on the longer walls. However, even before the 1819 church was built, many churches across the country were rearranging their entrances and aisles. According to Lounsbury:

the old-fashioned meetinghouse arrangement had been superseded by a plan whose principal entrance was located on one of the shorter gable-end walls. The pulpit stood at the other end of this long axis. Instead of seats and box pews configured in three directions, a linear arrangement of long, low slip pews, divided by one or two central aisles, faced the pulpit on the main floor while galleries at one end or extending along the long walls provided additional seating.

Furthermore, “For many Episcopalians whose earlier churches had dual liturgical centers—the pulpit on one of the long walls and the altar located against the shorter east wall—this new plan made it possible to locate the pulpit and altar in the same place.”²⁷

Phase IV: Restoration of 1937

The exact reasons why Harry Guggenheim, a wealthy Jew from the north, restored the church and vestry house of St. Thomas and St. Denis, are unknown. He purchased seventy-five hundred acres which surrounded the church’s property. There he

²⁶ Lounsbury, “God is in the Details,” 2.

²⁷ Lounsbury, “God is in the Details,” 10.

built a simple, one-story, four bedroom house, to host hunts and entertain guests, escaping the harsh northern winters.²⁸ As an outsider and a carpetbagger, the philanthropist contributed to the local landmark, helping his standing in the community. Furthermore, during the interwar period other wealthy northerners had funded restoration projects. In 1931, Victor and Marjorie Morawetz, of New York, hired Charlestonian restoration architect, Albert Simons, to restore Fenwick Hall (circa 1730) on Johns Island, and on a much larger scale, in the late 1920s John D. Rockefeller, Jr., championed the restoration of colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.

By the 1930s, the vestry house had become ruinous while the church had fallen into disrepair since it was rehabilitated in 1904. The majority of the vestry house today is a result of the restoration of 1937. Only the west wall remained prior to Guggenheim's arrival. According to a 1936 *News and Courier* article, Guggenheim and the National Society of the Colonial Dames hired the Dawson Engineering Company of Charleston to "renovate" and "weatherproof" the church and vestry house. The same article described the walls as crumbling. The company began the restoration by repairing the masonry, the windows, and making the roof watertight.²⁹

The roughly 15'-9 3/4" square vestry house is brick covered in stucco and scored to simulate coursed stonework. The historic west wall is laid in a Flemish bond, though the brick does not always line up. Wooden French doors, each with six glass panes above two flat panels, open into the vestry house through the center of the south wall. The

²⁸ Irwin and Debi Unger, *The Guggenheims: A Family History* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2005), 243.

²⁹ Nielsen, "Harry Guggenheim Saves St. Thomas's Church."

French doors are likely a 1930s interpretation of how the vestry house appeared before its deterioration. The panels on the lower sections of the doors initially had molding. Originally, a single door was probably used for the entrance, though it is uncertain. The north and east sides each have window openings, 3' by 5'-6", covered by louvered shutters. Behind the shutters are six-over-six double-hung sash windows. The unpainted muntins are approximately 11/16" wide. Portland cement is evident on the brick on the south, east, and west walls. A chimney extends from the base to the west wall 2'-3 1/2". An ovolo water table extends 3 1/8" from the building. The interior floor of the vestry house is brick arranged in a herringbone pattern. Presently, there is no mantel over the fireplace. The firebox is 4'-3" by 1'-8 1/2". Like the church, the roof is covered with pantiles. The pantiles are supported by common rafters. With no other known images of the original vestry house it is not clear how faithful Guggenheim's restoration was. Whether accurately restored or not, the vestry house is undoubtedly an architecturally unique structure (figure 3.19).

The church was also restored during this phase. The profile of the cornice of the church changed as a result of the restoration. Instead of keeping with a coved cornice, wire metal lath replaced the original wood cove (concave or scotia) to a chamfered profile.³⁰ Pantiles, rectangular and transversely curved into S-shaped profiles, cover the roof.³¹ The tiles are coated in tar from the Guggenheim restoration (figure 3.20). The roof sheathing is spaced so the lips of the pantiles can each rest on them. Some mortar is present on the underside of the pantiles to keep water out. Furthermore, the interior of the

³⁰ "Rezoning Application," Planning and Zoning Commission, City of Charleston, SC, November 26, 2001.

³¹ Lounsbury, *An Illustrated Glossary*, 374.

church was replastered, doors and tombstones repaired, and a railed fence was erected to keep out animals and to conform to the ancient structural plan.³²

Another visible remainder of twentieth-century construction is the paved terrace, which extends twenty feet from the front of the west elevation. The twentieth-century bricks were probably laid during the 1937 restoration. In April 2011, Dr. Carter L. Hudgins and Richard Marks III, professors at Clemson University/College of Charleston's graduate program in historic preservation, excavated a small area where the church and the paved terrace meet. They found that the brick was laid on a bed of sand and that the upper courses appeared to be salvaged bricks. Incidentally, the brick paving tiles in front of the west door are very similar to the brick paving tiles on the floor of the sacristy. It is not clear if these tiles were original to the sacristy or if they were added during the 1937 restoration. The terrace butts up against the historic masonry of the church's foundation, signifying that it was a later addition. During the excavation, Dr. Hudgins and Professor Marks found mortar bearing the imprint of the roofing pantiles, evidence that an earlier roof was probably replaced.

The 1937 restoration was considered a success and certainly prolonged the church's longevity. *The Charleston Evening Post* described the restoration as "one of the most complete jobs undertaken in the Lowcountry."³³ Moreover, a *News and Courier* article from September 20, 1937, wrote that visitors were impressed with the restored church's "finish, uniformity, and durability of the brick work. In general appearance, as

³² "Do You Know Your Lowcountry: St. Thomas and St. Denis Church."

³³ "Guggenheim Restores St. Thomas and St. Denis."

far as skill of workmanship is considered, it is probably not surpassed by any church of equal age in the Lowcountry.”³⁴

³⁴ “Do You Know Your Lowcountry: St. Thomas and St. Denis Church.”



Figure 3.1. Compass-headed windows and transom at Pompion Hill Chapel. Photo by author.

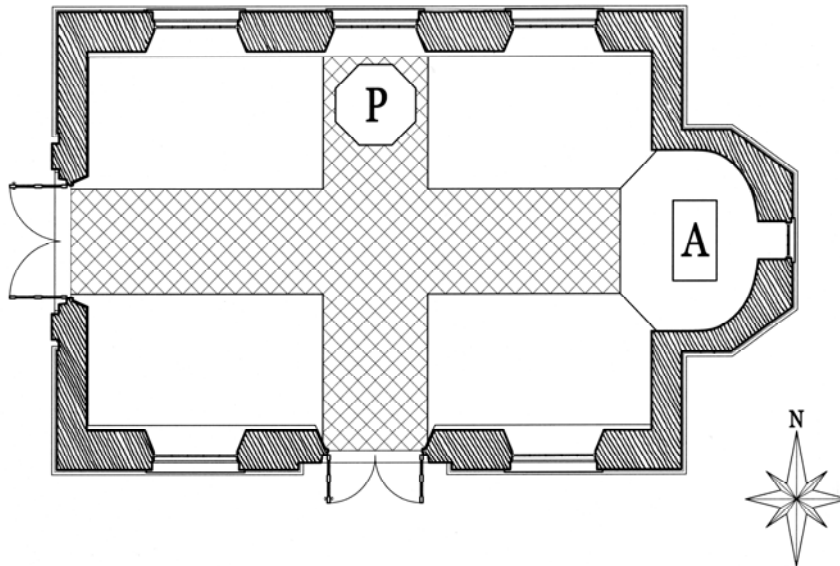


Figure 3.2. Conjectural drawing of original 1819 plan, with cross aisles. P=pulpit; A=altar. Drawing by author.



Figure 3.3. English bond in attic of church. Photo by author.



Figure 3.4. Cast hinges supporting louvered shutters. Photo by author.



Figure 3.5. Tooled sandstone sills. Photo by author.



Figure 3.6. Full gabled roof contrasted with earlier Anglican churches. Photo by author.



Figure 3.7. Photo of St. James, Santee, depicting hipped roof. Photo by author.



Figure 3.8. Mill sawn framing in attic of church. Photo by author.



Figure 3.9. Rafters joined by mortise and tenon. Photo by author.



Figure 3.10. Photo of attic depicting sheathing supporting the pantiles. Photo by author.



Figure 3.11. Double tenoned outlookers in attic of church. Photo by author.



Figure 3.12. Dragon beams in corners of attic. Photo by author.



Figure 3.13. Photo depicting where former south doorway was blocked. Photo by author.



Figure 3.14. "245 J" inscribed in hinge of western door. Photo by author.



Figure 3.15. Raised floor from 1850s. Photo by author.



Figure 3.16. Balcony of church. Photo by author.



Figure 3.17. Square balustrades on balcony steps. Photo by author.



Figure 3.18. South wainscot (left, circa 1850s) meets west wainscot (right, circa 1819). Photo by author.



Figure 3.19. Slip pews, featuring Italianate moldings. Photo by author.



Figure 3.20. Restored vestry house. Photo by author.



Figure 3.21. Pantiles coated in tar from 1937 restoration. Photo courtesy of 4SE Structural Engineers.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

In an area that has seen dramatic change, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church remains a constant. It has been a part of Berkeley County, in some shape or form, almost since its founding. In the late seventeenth-century the origins of this parish formed out of two distinct settlements. Then, at the dawn of the eighteenth-century, the Anglicans asserted their dominance in Carolina with the Church Act of 1706. Meanwhile, the Huguenots of Orange Quarter, poor and without a permanent minister, opted to join the Anglican Church so long as they could worship in their native tongue. Facing much opposition from Dissenters, the Anglicans courted the Huguenots in their quest for control.

These are the beginnings of the parishes of St. Thomas and St. Denis. Unfortunately, none of the original buildings exist today. After having lost their first church in a forest fire, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish erected a new parish church in 1819. This understated, yet aesthetically pleasing structure is historically significant in its own right. The church changed dramatically in the 1850s, resulting from an increase in population and changes in ecclesiastical architecture and worship formats. A remnant of the Old South, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church was where black slaves worshipped with their masters. Furthermore, it was the site of New South change, when it became the battleground of the Reconstruction-era Cainhoy Massacre in 1876.

During the interwar years St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church became the object of nostalgia. Hereditary societies such as the Huguenot Society of South Carolina

erected a cross in 1922, commemorating where the “French Church” (St. Denis) once stood. Furthermore, in 1937, the National Society of The Colonial Dames of America sponsored the restoration of St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church with the financial assistance of the parish’s new neighbor, Harry Guggenheim. Despite, having been dormant since 1925, the church and its history became a popular subject among the affluent of the day. Today that tradition is continued with the formation of the Society of St. Thomas and St. Denis in 2010, whose mission is to “lend material aid and support to the Diocese of South Carolina in the preservation, and maintenance” of the church.¹

Hopefully, St. Thomas and St. Denis Parish Church will continue to remain a constant in the ever-changing Lowcountry. Its fascinating history and unique structures are worthy of being preserved. Moreover, the church is a visible reminders of South Carolina’s diverse religious heritage and a great example of ecclesiastical architecture from the first quarter of the nineteenth-century.

¹ Julian V. Brandt III, “A brief history, The Society of St. Thomas and St. Denis, 1706,” (2010).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MORTAR ANALYSIS OF VESTRY HOUSE

Sample 1

Project/Site: Vestry House of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church			
Location: Cainhoy, Berkeley County, SC		Date sampled: 11/20/10	
Analysis performed by: Shelton Converse		Date analyzed: 11/28-29/10	
Description of sample: in firebox		Sample no.: 1	
Type/Location: mortar in the firebox of the vestry house			
Surface appearance: tan colored, sandy/dusty mortar			
Color: 10YR 8/3		Texture: silt<1/16mm, sandy	
Hardness: 2		Gross weight: 20.25g	
Components			
Fines:	Color:	%weight: 11.75%	Weight: 2.38g
	Organic Matter:		
	Composition:		
Acid soluble fraction:	%weight: 7.71%	Weight: 1.56g	
	Description of reaction: fizzed and bubbled		
	Filtrate color:		
	Composition:		
Aggregate:	Color: crystal w/ black particles	%weight: 80.54%	Weight: 16.31g
	Grain shape: subrounded		
	Minerology:		
	Sieve analysis:	Screen	%retained
		10	0%
		20	0.12%
		40	0.3%
		60	9.13%
		100	67.5%
	200	18.51%	
	pan	2.02%	

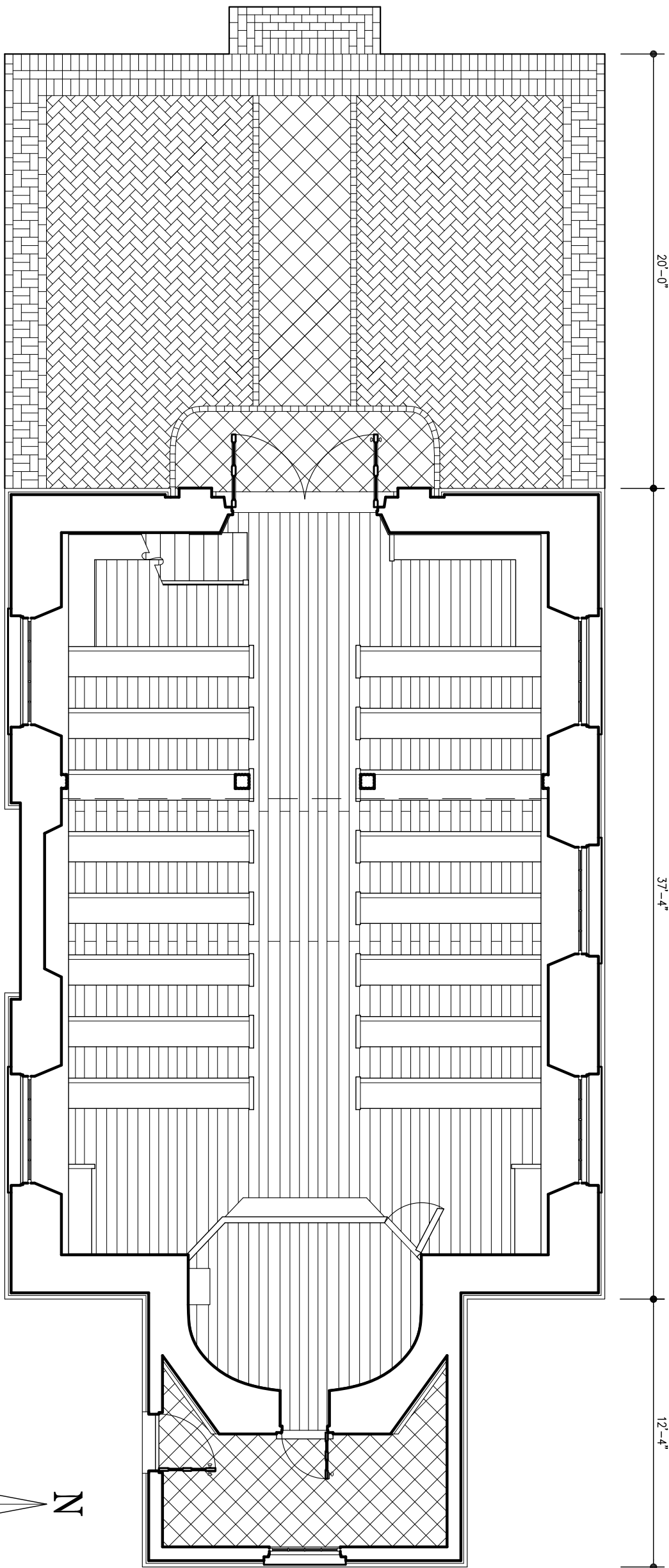
Sample 2

Project/Site: Vestry House of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church			
Location: Cainhoy, Berkeley County, SC		Date sampled: 11/20/10	
Analysis performed by: Shelton Converse		Date analyzed: 11/28-29/10	
Description of sample: to the right of the fireplace		Sample no.: 2	
Type/Location: mortar from the immediate right of the fireplace in the vestry house			
Surface appearance: chalky colored with visible aggregate			
Color: 2.5Y 8/1		Texture: silt<1/16mm	
Hardness: 3		Gross weight: 8.23g	
Components			
Fines:	Color:	%weight: 23.33%	Weight: 1.92g
	Organic Matter:		
	Composition:		
Acid soluble fraction:	%weight: 12.03%	Weight: 0.99g	
	Description of reaction: fizzed and bubbled		
	Filtrate color:		
	Composition:		
Aggregate:	Color: crystal w/ salmon colored clay	%weight: 64.64%	Weight: 5.32g
	Grain shape: subangular		
	Minerology:		
	Sieve analysis:	Screen	%retained
		10	0%
		20	0%
		40	0.18%
		60	2.06%
		100	25.56%
		200	42.66%
	pan	21.43%	

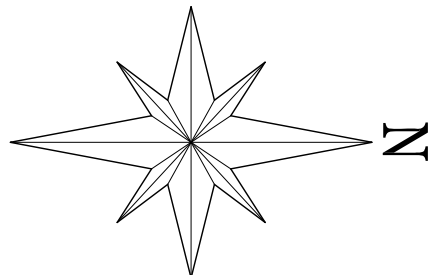
Sample 3

Project/Site: Vestry House of St. Thomas and St. Denis Church			
Location: Cainhoy, Berkeley County, SC		Date sampled: 11/20/10	
Analysis performed by: Shelton Converse		Date analyzed: 11/28-29/10	
Description of sample: mortar from the left of the fireplace		Sample no.: 3	
Type/Location: mortar from the left of the fireplace			
Surface appearance: chalky colored with visible aggregate			
Color: 10YR 7/3		Texture: silt<1/16-1/8mm, jagged, sandy	
Hardness: 3		Gross weight: 25.21g	
Components			
Fines:	Color:	%weight: 13.84%	Weight: 3.49g
	Organic Matter:		
	Composition:		
Acid soluble fraction:	%weight: 43.59%		Weight: 10.99g
	Description of reaction: a lot of fizzing and bubbling		
	Filtrate color:		
	Composition:		
Aggregate:	Color: crystal w/ clay colored smaller particles	%weight: 42.57%	Weight: 9.73g
	Grain shape: subangular and irregular		
	Minerology:		
	Sieve analysis:	Screen	%retained
		10	13.67%
		20	3.39%
		40	2.46%
		60	19.73%
		100	50.25%
		200	11.3%
	pan	1.23%	

APPENDIX B
MEASURED DRAWINGS



PLAN OF CHURCH
 3/8" = 1'-0"
 1:32
 0 1 2 3 4 5 10
 FEET
 3/8" = 1'-0"



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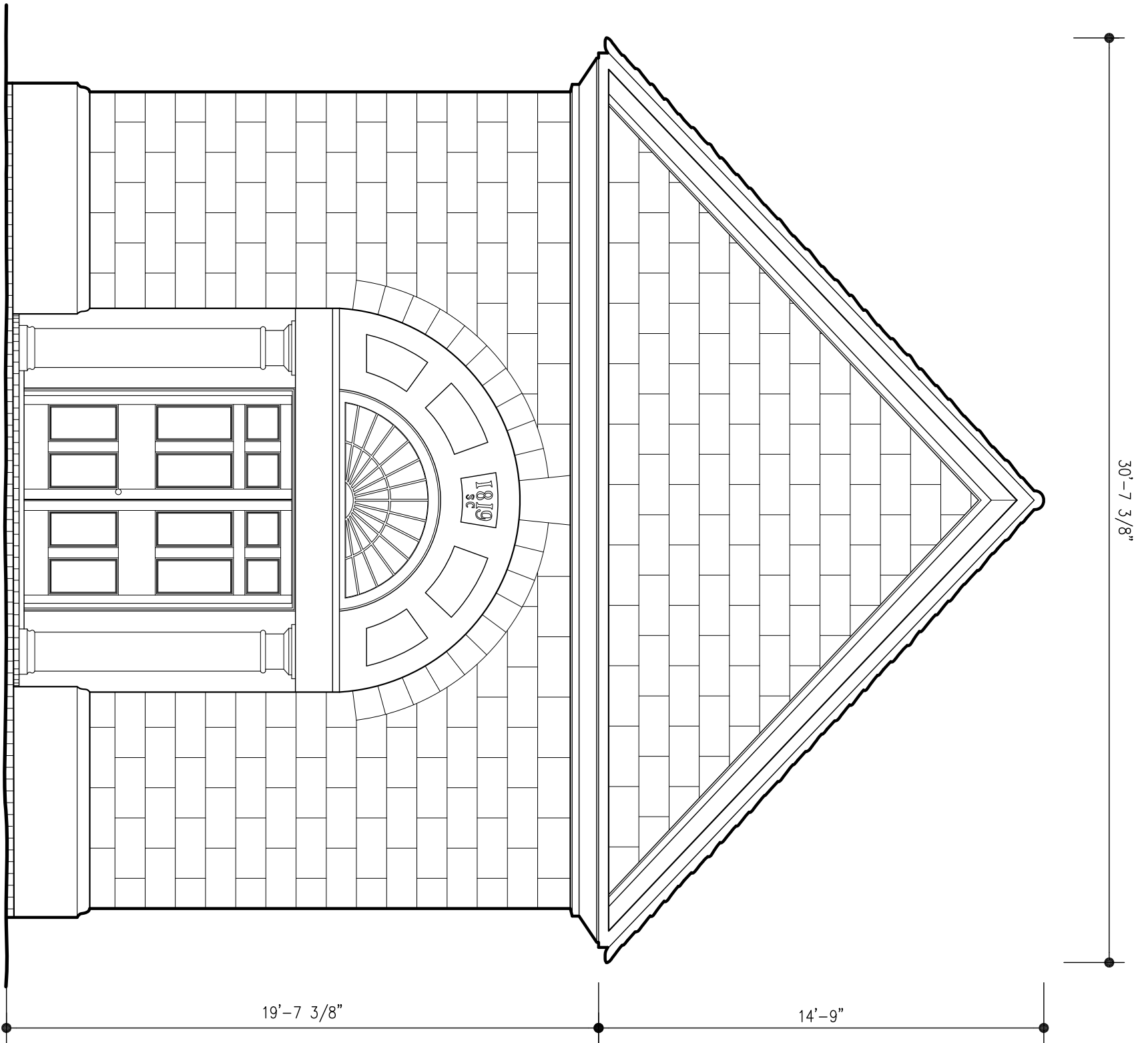
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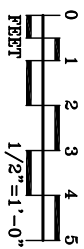
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WEST ELEVATION
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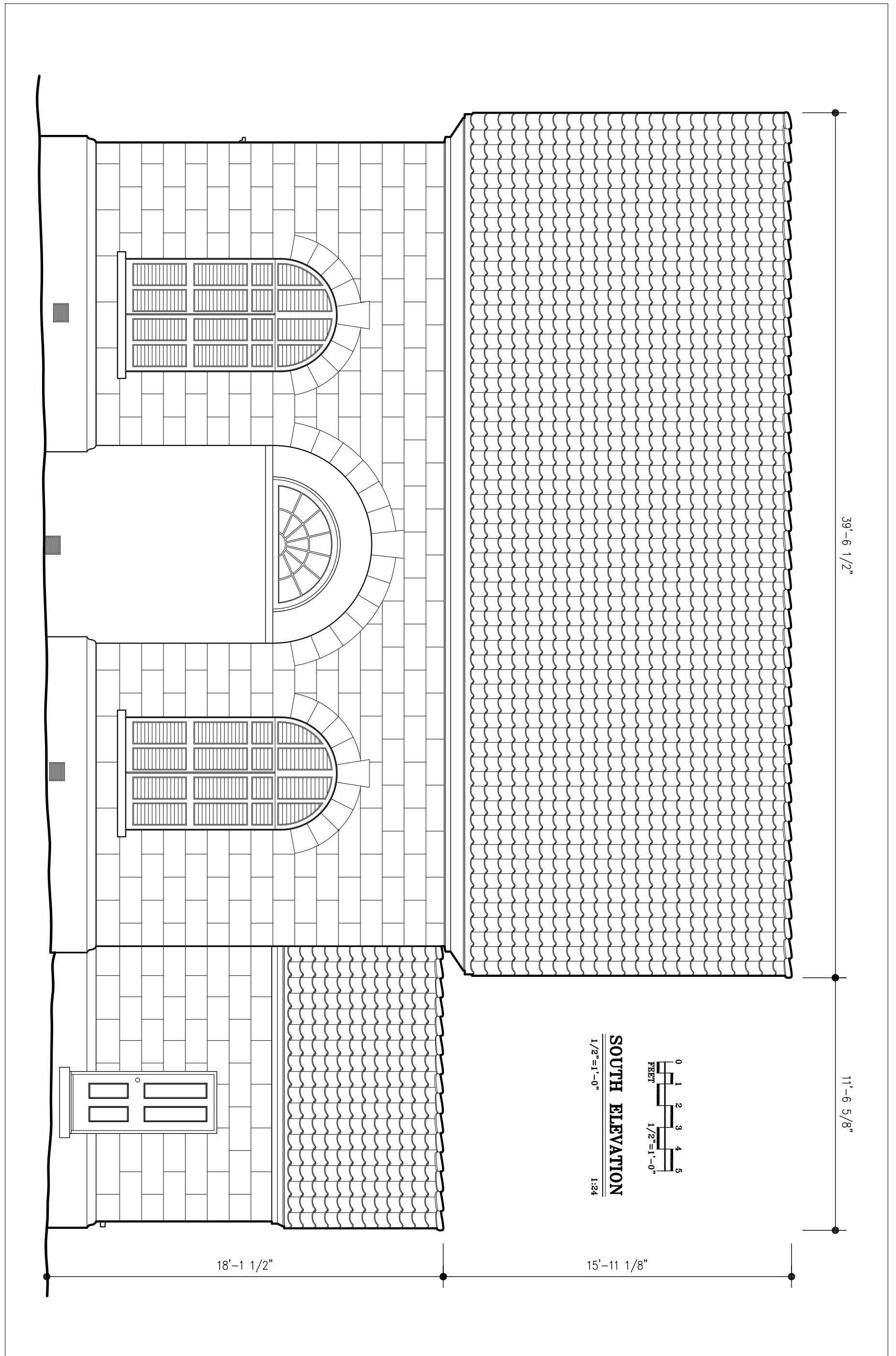
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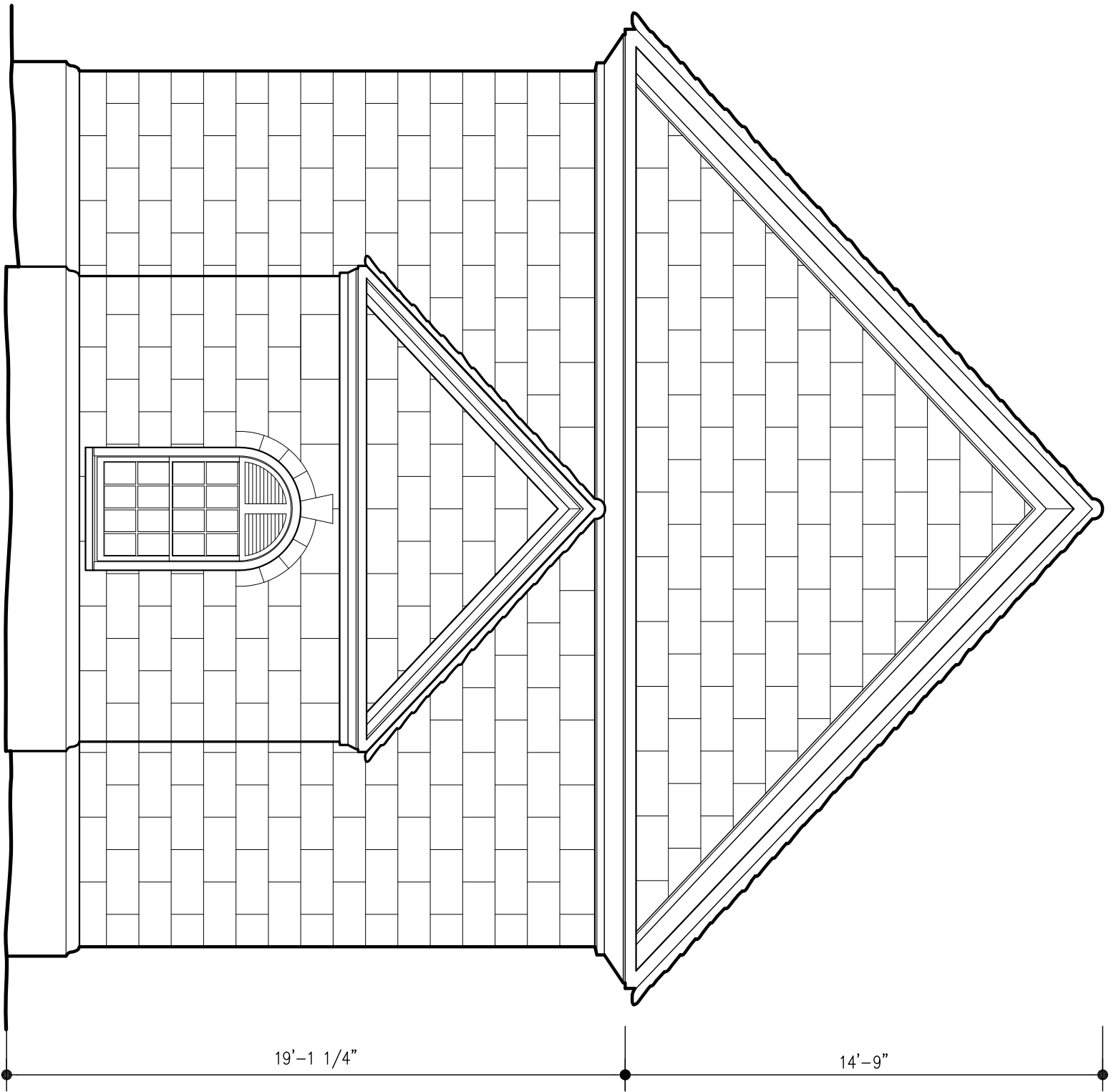
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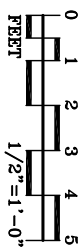
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EAST ELEVATION
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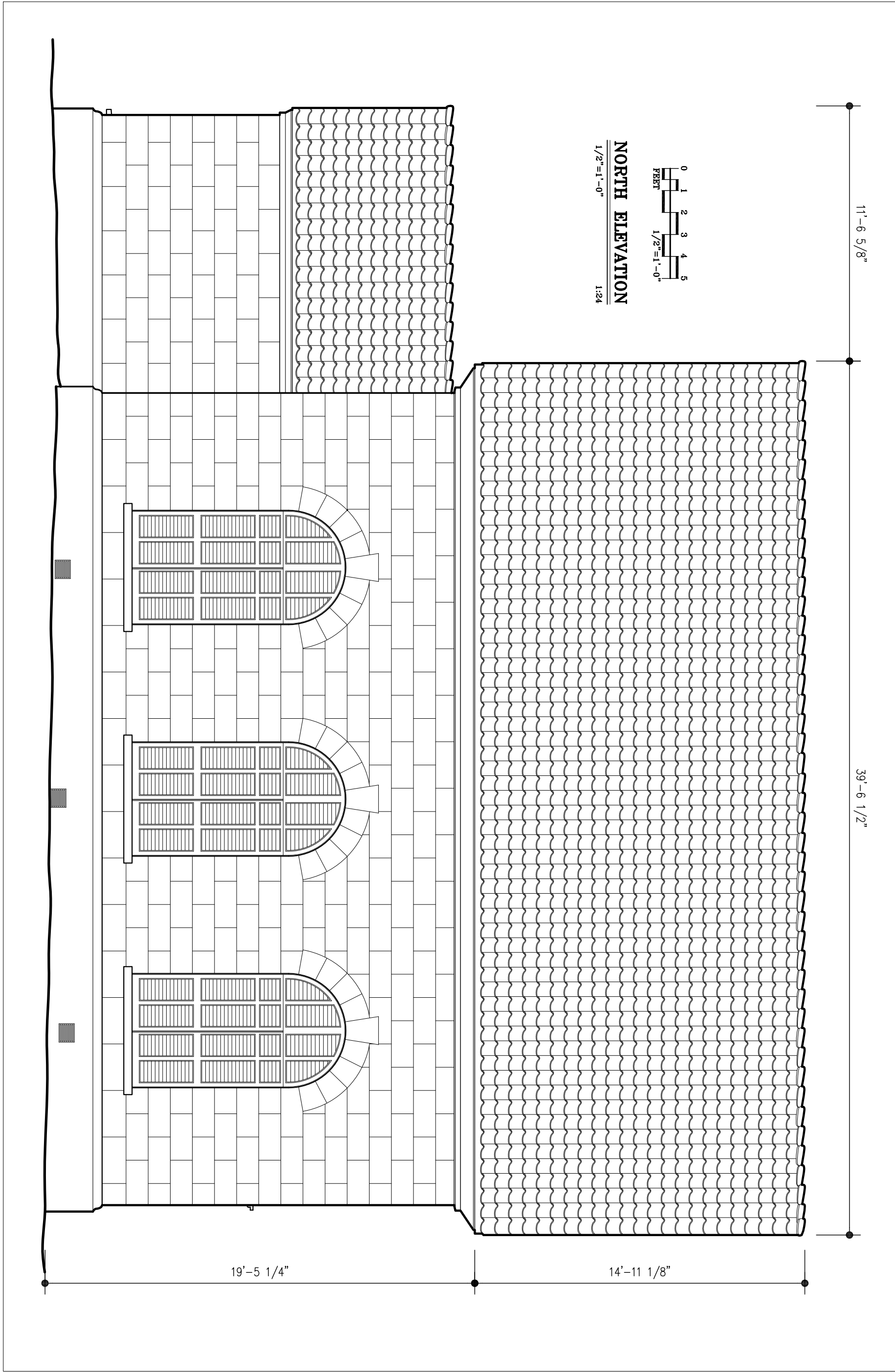
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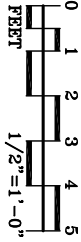
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NORTH ELEVATION
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11'-6 5/8"

39'-6 1/2"

19'-5 1/4"

14'-11 1/8"

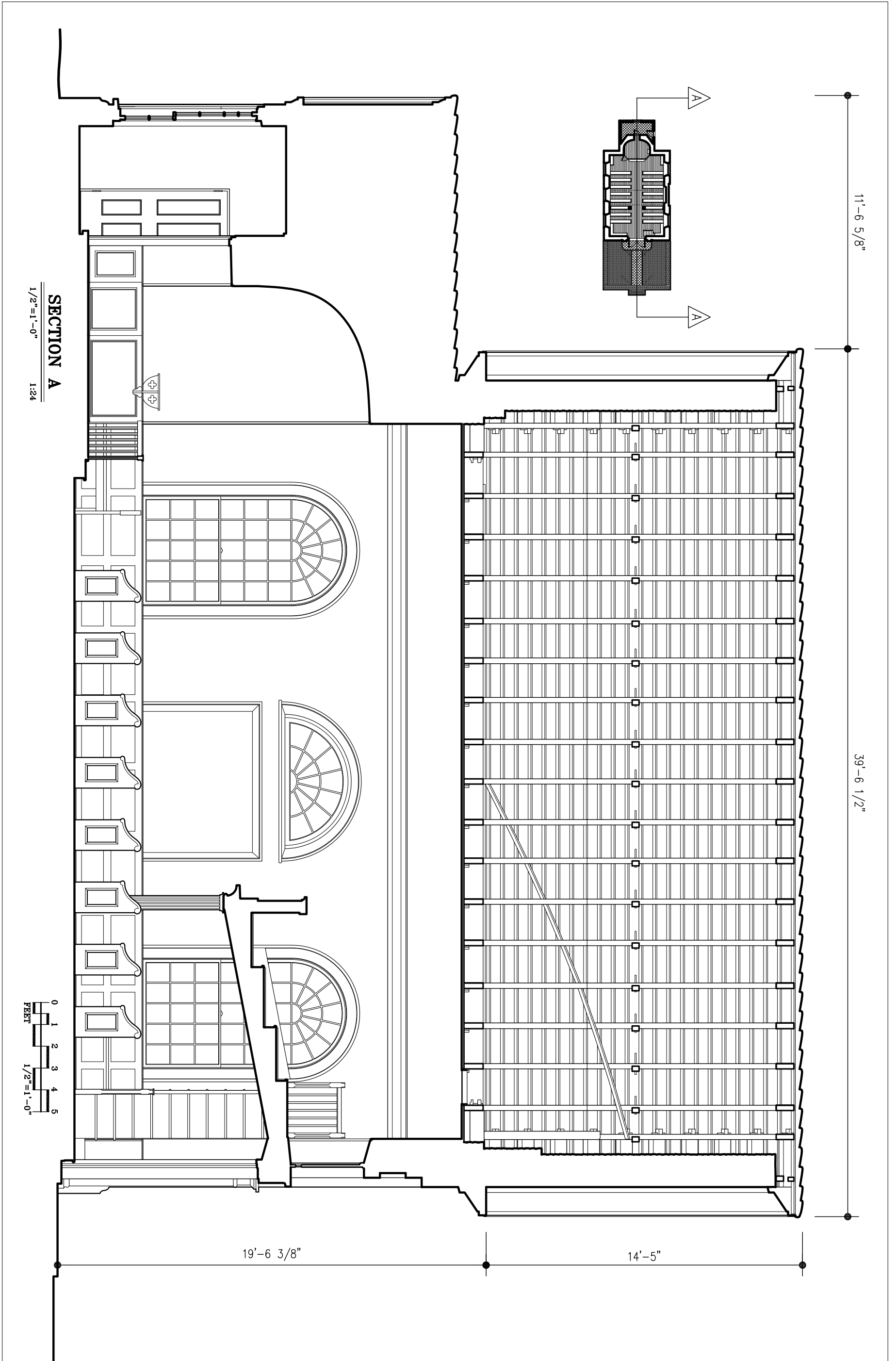
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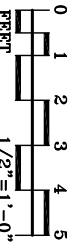
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SECTION A
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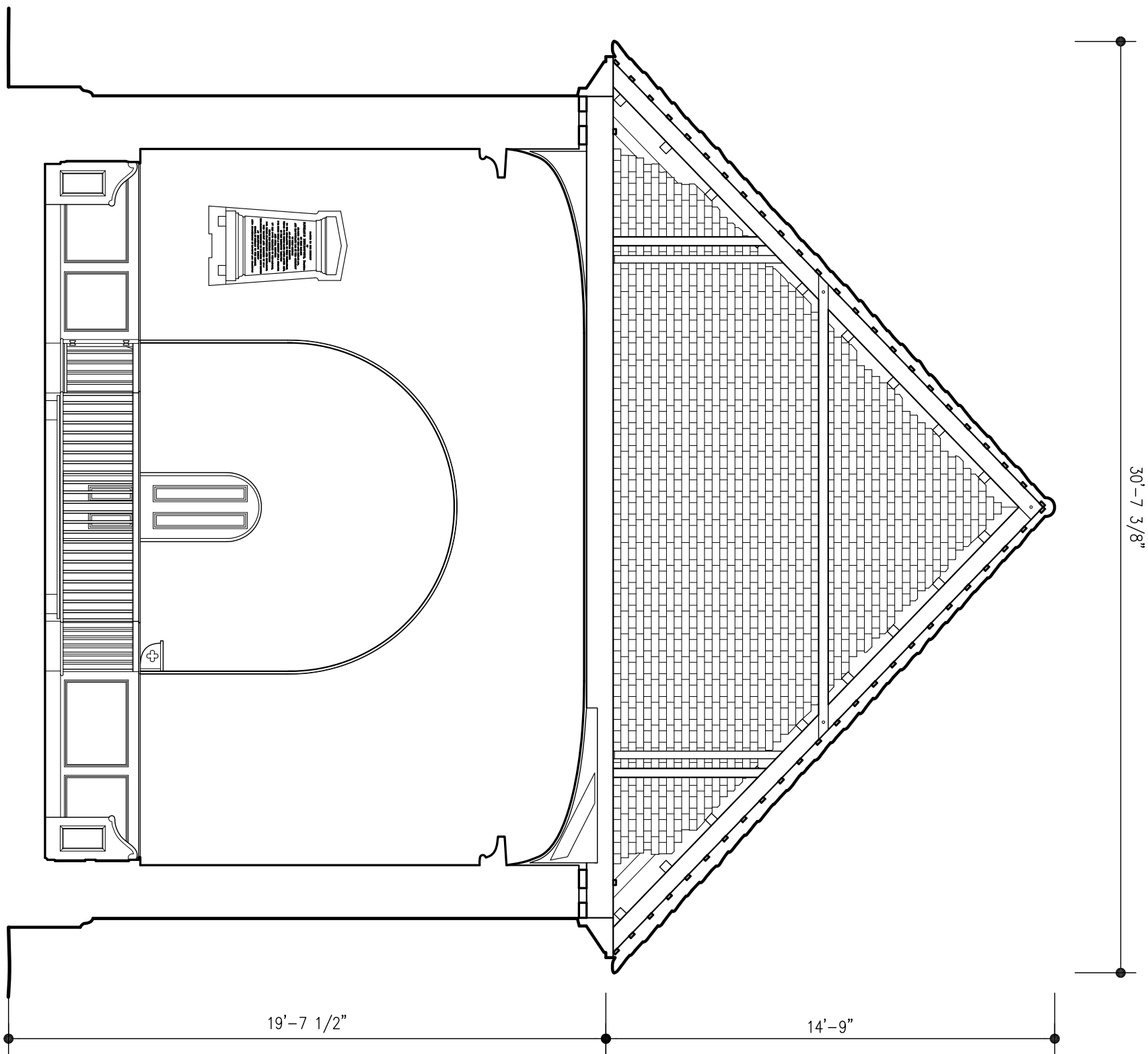
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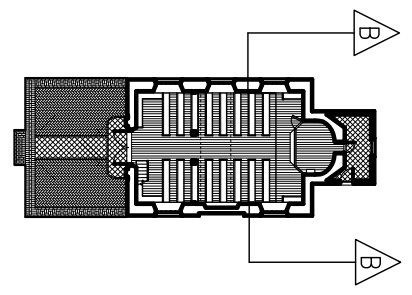
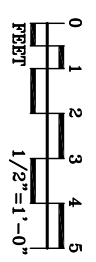
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SECTION B
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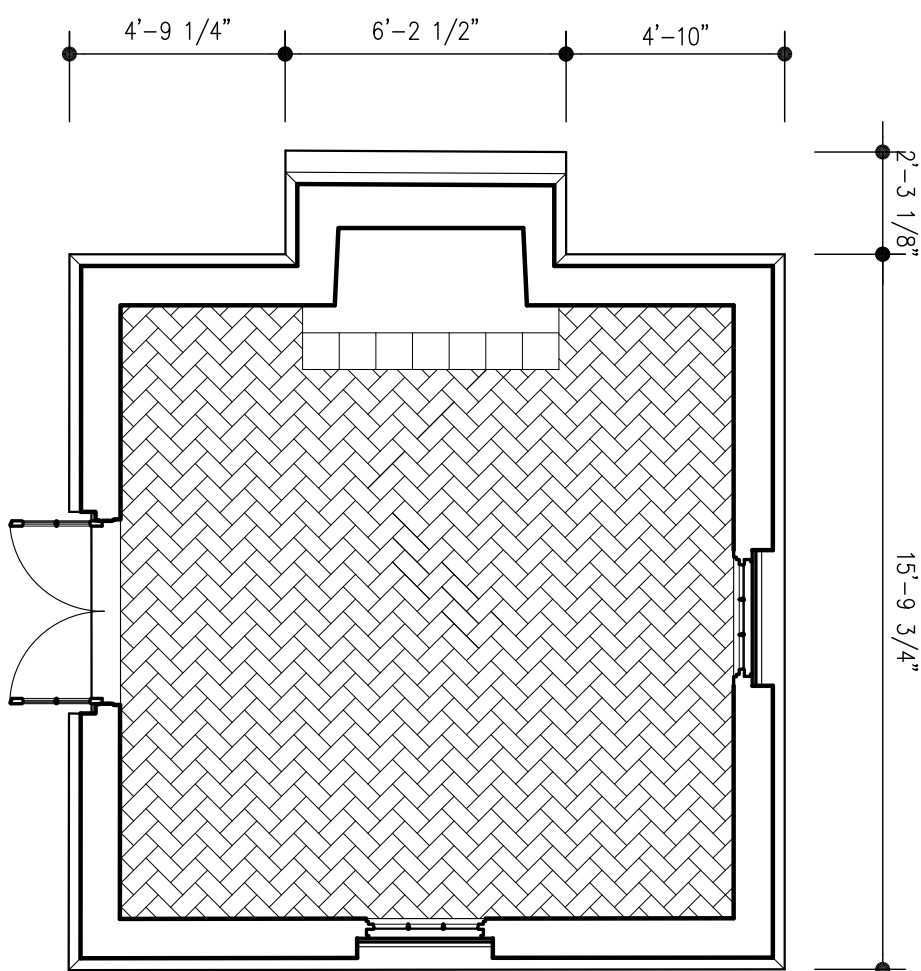
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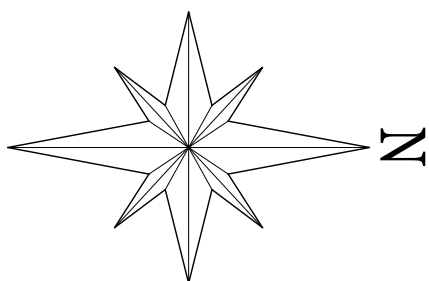
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VESTRY HOUSE PLAN
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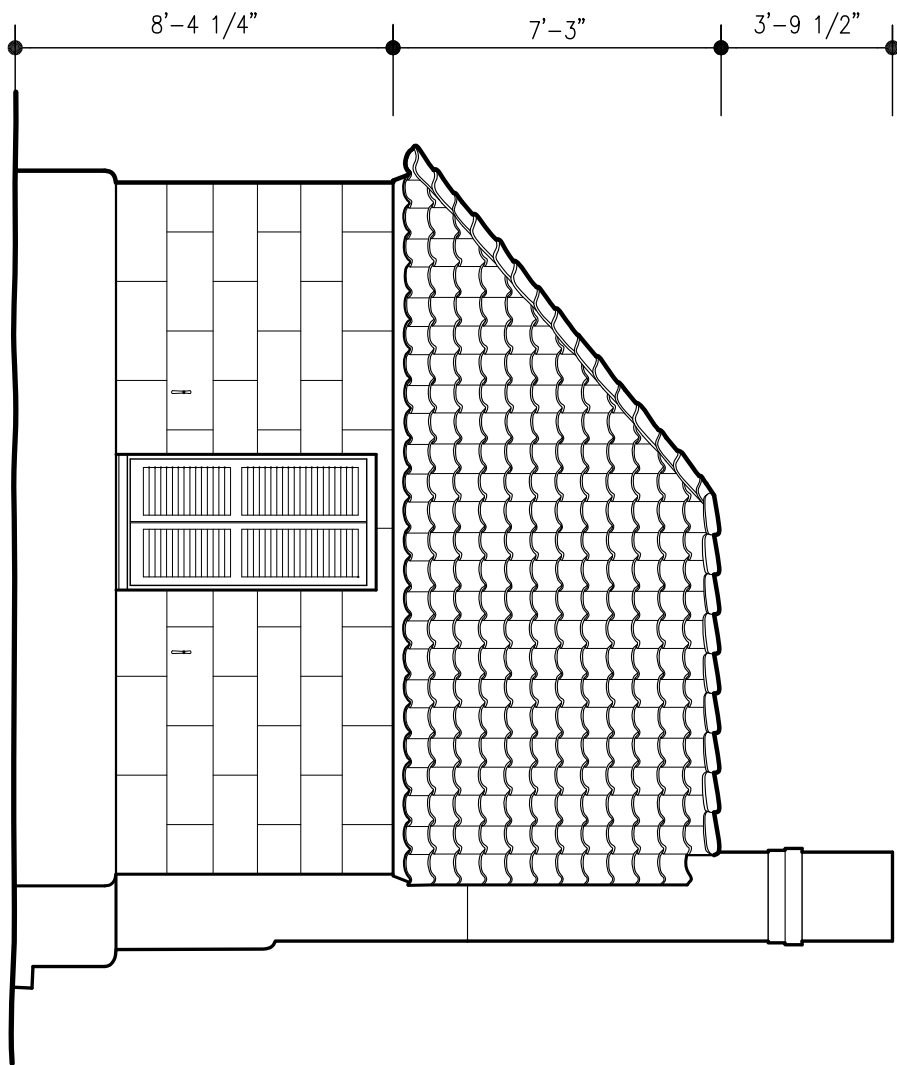
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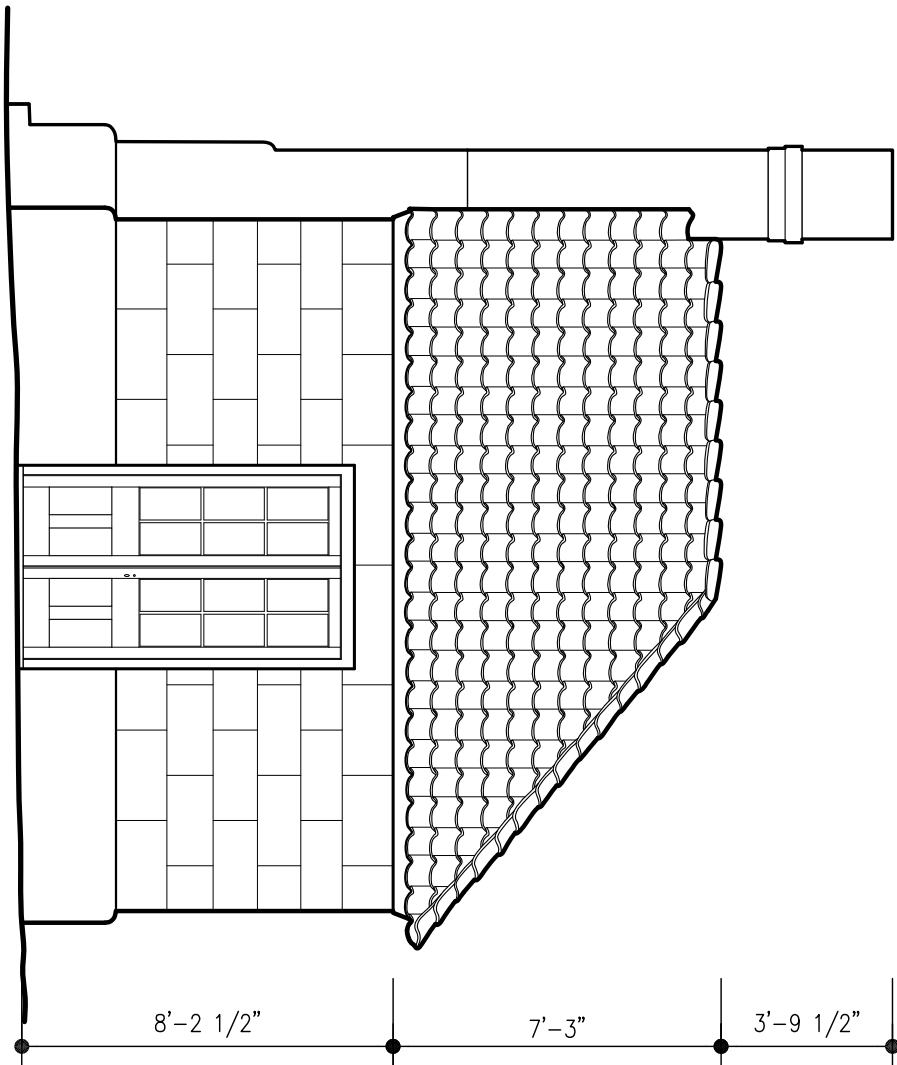
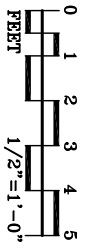
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VESTRY HOUSE NORTH ELEVATION
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VESTRY HOUSE SOUTH ELEVATION
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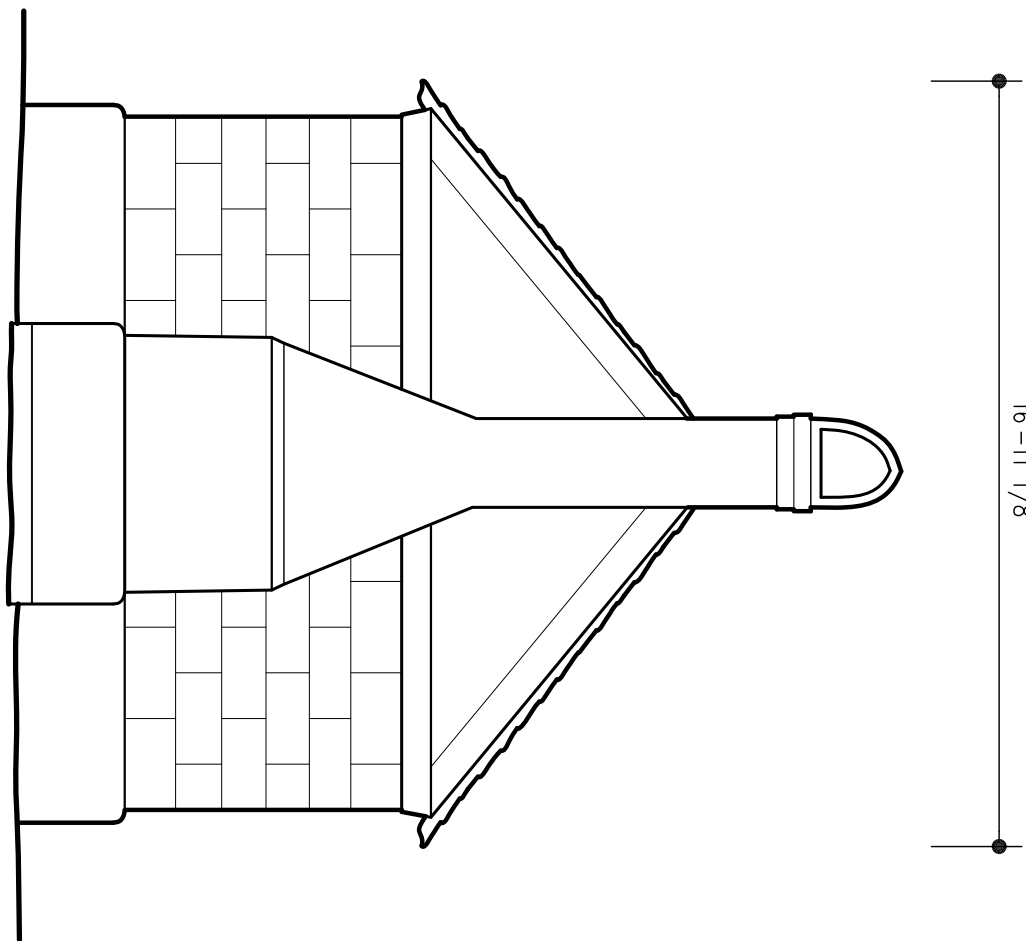
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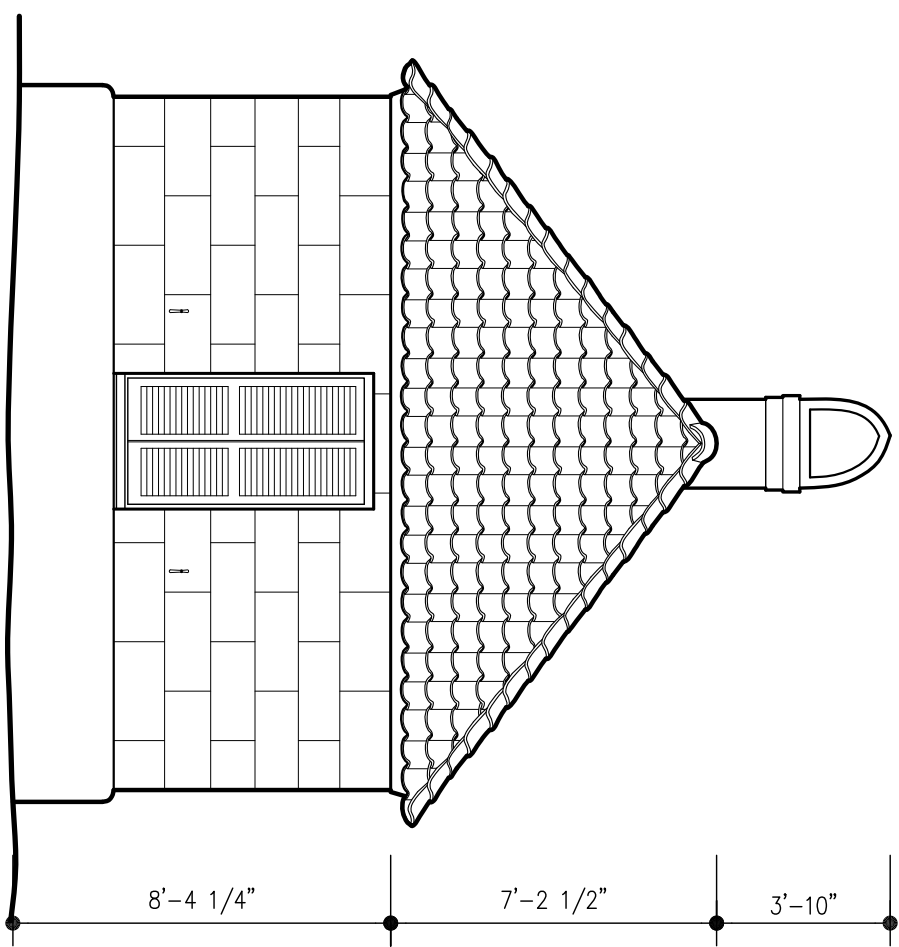
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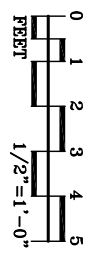
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VESTRY HOUSE WEST ELEVATION
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VESTRY HOUSE EAST ELEVATION
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