



5-2012

“... unto Seynte Paules”: Anglican Landscapes and Colonialism in South Carolina

Kimberly Sue Pyszka
kpyszka@utk.edu

Recommended Citation

Pyszka, Kimberly Sue, “... unto Seynte Paules”: Anglican Landscapes and Colonialism in South Carolina. " PhD diss., University of Tennessee, 2012.
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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Kimberly Sue Pyszka entitled "... unto Seynte Paules": Anglican Landscapes and Colonialism in South Carolina." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Anthropology.

Barbara J. Heath, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

David G. Anderson, Gerald Schroedl, Elizabeth DeCorse, Katherine Ambroziak

Accepted for the Council:

Dixie L. Thompson

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

**“... unto Seynte Paules”: Anglican Landscapes and
Colonialism in South Carolina**

A Dissertation Presented for
the Doctor of Philosophy Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Kimberly Sue Pyszka
May 2012

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research presented here would not have been possible without the assistance of several people along the way. Dr. Barbara Heath, my committee chair, has taught me to think differently about what can be said about the archaeological record and other forms of material culture. Her guidance and vast knowledge of the historical archaeological literature has been invaluable and this final version benefitted greatly from her editorial comments of the numerous drafts she read. Dr. David Anderson's extensive knowledge of South Carolina archaeology was extremely helpful, particularly with the prehistoric component of the churchyard. He also assisted me with the identification of many of the prehistoric ceramics. Dr. Gerald Schroedl has an amazing eye for editing details and many of the questions he raised led me to clarify what I was saying, which improved the final project. Dr. Elizabeth DeCorse's comments, advice, and background in historical archaeology helped me to shape and rethink some of the directions this research took along the way. My "outside" committee member, Katherine Ambroziak, provided a non-archaeologist point of view to the research. Her architectural background and ways of thinking about sacred places was invaluable.

I would also like to thank the various sources that provided funding for this research. The Patricia Black Scholarship Fund, awarded by the archaeology faculty of UT's Department of Anthropology, assisted with travel funding for the 2008-2010 field seasons. The Archaeological Society of South Carolina provided financial assistance in 2011 to fund an archival research trip through their Graduate Student Grant-in-Aid Program. The Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the College of Charleston,

through department chairs Dr. Maureen Hays and Dr. Heath Hoffman, provided campus housing and other forms of funding.

The College of Charleston community provided a tremendous amount of support. Dr. Maureen Hays, my co-field director and fellow UT alum arranged the field schools and recruited student volunteers. Maureen has also taught me a tremendous amount about a career in academia – her advice has been priceless. My former professors and colleagues in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology have been extremely supportive in my research and throughout my career. The department will also be responsible for curating the artifacts and all excavations notes, maps, and other primary data. Barney Holt from the College of Charleston Foundation provided documentation about Dixie's history and he kept up with the maintenance of the sites - literally clearing the path to the parsonage. Dr. Scott Harris collected and analyzed the GPR data, which was such an invaluable piece of evidence. Thanks to all the students who have assisted with the fieldwork – this project really couldn't have happened without them. Special thanks to Casey Jenkins, Lizzy Laforgia, and Kalen McNabb who have been with me at Dixie since the very beginning and also Nathan Fulmer, who has been a vital part of the research at the parsonage site. All four of them have put their heart and soul into Dixie Plantation and the St. Paul's sites.

There are a number of other people from the Charleston area who have assisted me along the way. Eric Poplin, David Jones, Rebecca Shephard, and Sarah Stroud all generously provided me with reports and information from their respective sites. Harold Robling from the present-day St. Paul's Church in Summerville shared with me the history of St. Paul's that he had gathered over the years. The staff at the South Carolina

Historical Society helped me to locate a number of documents and plats. Katherine Saunders from the Historic Charleston Foundation arranged my visit to the privately-owned Strawberry Chapel. Ron Anthony from the Charleston Museum assisted with the identification of the Historic Indian pottery and other artifact identification. Martha Zierden, also with the Charleston Museum, provided me with a number of archaeological reports, as well as some artifact identification. Her advice and feedback during this entire process is very much appreciated.

I'd also like to thank all the faculty, staff, and fellow graduate students in the Anthropology Department at UT. A special thank you goes out to Dr. Walter Klippel and his graduate assistant Katie Lamzik for assisting with the zooarchaeological analysis when I hit a "dead-end." Lauren McMillan provided her tobacco pipe dating expertise in calculating the dates with the various methods. And while there are far too many of graduate students to name individually, thank you all for your support, advice, and the occasional "Senor Taco night". A special "shout-out" goes to three grad students – Bobby Braly, Eleanor Breen, and Shannon Koerner. Your friendship, advice, and support along the way have been amazing. It has been an honor to take this incredible and often times insane journey with the three of you!

Last, but definitely not least, I have to thank my family, particularly my parents, Jim and Connie, for their emotional (and occasional financial) support. I promise them that this is my last degree!

ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of the Anglican Church in early colonial South Carolina, using for case studies the sites of St. Paul's Parish Church (1707) and its associated parsonage, located near Charleston, South Carolina. The combination of archaeological excavations, historical documentary research, material culture analysis, and geophysical testing allows for three broad topics to be discussed - the architecture of St. Paul's Parish Church, the use of the landscape by the Anglican Church, and studies of early-18th century life within a developing frontier. These topics contribute new information about colonial South Carolina on a number of scales. At the most local level, this study provides new information about the original St. Paul's Parish Church, namely architectural details and the use of the landscape by its parishioners. Also, research at the parsonage site provides a rare opportunity to study an early-18th century homestead, addressing the daily activities of those people who lived there, as well as the social functions of the parsonage to the wider St. Paul's parish community. On a more regional level, the role of St. Paul's Church and Parish in the lives of parish residents is discussed, namely their role in maintaining English identity and the formation of a community within the frontier regions of the colony. A significant part of this research examines the ways the Anglican Church modified the landscape of South Carolina. The placement of Anglican churches in the rural areas appears to have been a material expression of the goals of the Church, namely to show its presence and power in the culturally and ethnically divided colony. The effects of the Anglican Church on the development of colonial South Carolina can then be studied alongside previous

works in order to better understand the role that the Anglican Church and other major religious institutions played in colonization. The results indicate that the South Carolina Anglican Church played much larger, and often unseen, roles in the development of the colony during the early decades of the 18th century, beyond their religious and political roles.

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CHAPTER 1:

“... UNTO SEYNTE PAULES”¹: INTRODUCTION

“And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That Colleton county shall be divided into two parishes, that is to say, one on the South side of Stono River..., which shall be called by the name of St. Paul’s”

– South Carolina General Assembly, Church Act of 1706

With the passing of the Church Act in 1706, the General Assembly of South Carolina established the Church of England as the official church of the colony. Very quickly churches were erected and the Anglican Church sent missionaries to the colony to minister to them. A few of these early colonial Anglican churches still stand today in South Carolina, but most have fallen to ruins and very little exists, archaeologically or historically, to document their history. One such church is St. Paul’s Parish Church that was built in 1707 along with its associated parsonage. From 2009-2011, I have co-directed archaeological fieldwork at the site of St. Paul’s Parish Church and churchyard (38CH2270) and its parsonage (38CH2292). The archaeological research, combined with geophysical testing, material culture analysis, and archival research, forms the basis of this dissertation. By focusing on three broad topics – the architecture of St. Paul’s Parish Church (subsequently referred to as St. Paul’s Church or St. Paul’s), the use of the landscape by the Anglican Church, and studies of early-18th century life

¹ Quote from the Parson’s Portrait of the Prologue to Geoffrey Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales*.

within the developing frontier areas of colonial South Carolina - I examine the role of the Anglican Church in the development of the colony.

The overall research goals in my dissertation will be to add to the growing literature investigating the role of major religious institutions in the process of colonialism, using the Anglican Church in early-18th century South Carolina as a case study. Archaeological research at St. Paul's offers an opportunity to examine the larger, and often unseen, social role of the Anglican Church in the Carolina colony, along with its religious and political roles. To address the Church's roles, my research centers on four general questions – 1) How did the Anglican Church influence the development of the South Carolina frontier and help lead the colony in the plantation era?; 2) In what ways did Anglican Church parishioners, missionaries, and leaders modify the landscape, what were their reasons for doing so, and how successful were their attempts?; 3) What can be said regarding the architecture and visual appearance of St. Paul's Church and its parsonage and how do they express the beliefs, wealth, and goals of the Anglican Church and its parishioners?; and 4) What were the material conditions of life for the Anglican missionaries at St. Paul's parsonage and how did the colonial experience differ from England? This research will indicate that the Anglican Church further structured the English colonial landscape already in place in the Carolina colony through the deliberate placement of churches as a means to communicate messages of the Church's power, presence, and influence to all who lived in the colony - European Americans, enslaved Africans, and indigenous populations. Further, these calculated decisions about church site selection in the early-18th century unintentionally affected later 18th-century settlement patterns throughout the region, as roads, bridges,

and ferry crossings were often constructed for the specific purpose of making travel to church easier. Additionally, the Anglican Church played a major social role in the colony, especially in the developing frontier areas. At their local parish churches, Europeans and European Americans came together to worship, regardless of their religious background. Missionaries sent from England had explicit goals to Christianize African and Indian slaves, which when successful, allowed for greater control over them, while excluding those “heathens and infidels” who did not convert. In addition to the parish churches, the parsonage houses were also important socially, serving as central social meeting places within the parish. In the outlying areas of the colony, Anglican churches and parsonages became places where English identity was upheld and a new Carolina identity was formed.

Significance of Research

Archaeologists working in the Charleston area have made important contributions to the field of historical archaeology over the past 40 years. Most of their studies focus on the large plantations and their effects economically, commercially, and socially on the urban center. Plantation studies suggest that some traditional African material culture practices survived in the New World in the form of architecture (Wheaton, Friedlander, and Garrow 1983; Wheaton and Garrow 1985; Ferguson 1992), while other African traditions, such as pottery making, were reinterpreted resulting in creolized artifacts, namely colonowares (Ferguson 1992; Joseph 2005; Espenshade 2007; Anthony 2009). In downtown Charleston, historical archaeologists have also contributed greatly to a better understanding of the development of urban life in the city

during the colonial period and beyond (Zierden and Calhoun 1986; Zierden 1996; Zierden and Herman 1996; Zierden 1997, 1999, 2000; Joseph 2002; Zierden 2009).

Fewer studies have focused on the earlier decades of the colony and its development, especially in the rural areas. Archaeologists have identified few sites that date from the late-17th to early-18th centuries, with many of these identified through CRM projects which allowed little, if any, time for investigation beyond their identification (Eric Poplin, 2009, pers. comm.). This is not to say that there have not been any significant archaeological contributions to the study of rural South Carolina during the early colonial period. Early rural sites such as Archdale Hall (Zierden et al. 1985) and Daniel's Island (Zierden et al. 1986) have been studied archaeologically with research focusing primarily on the domestic life of the planter class, intrasite patterning, and the origins, production, and use of colonowares. More recently, CRM projects have contributed to a better understanding of this time period by identifying functional activity zones and the locations of structures and how both changed over time (Rust et al. 2000; Poplin et al. 2003; Poplin 2004).

Currently, archaeological research is on-going on two early-18th century rural domestic sites – one at Drayton Hall Plantation and the other at the Miller Site, located at Charles Towne Landing State Park, the site of the original English colony of Charles Towne. At Drayton Hall, archaeologists are focusing their attention on the colonial landscape of the property prior to occupation of the Drayton family in the 1730s. Of particular interest are a palisade ditch and foundation remains of a structure that pre-dates the c. 1738 Georgian Palladian house that stands today. Current research questions revolve around the date of the pre-Drayton structure and ditch and who

constructed them (Stroud 2009). At the Miller Site, archaeologists are researching a site first identified in 1968 by Johnny Miller, an amateur archaeologist, just north of the palisade trench that surrounded the original colony. Based on the relatively large number of recovered glass bottle pieces and pipe stems, Miller hypothesized that the site was a tavern and that it likely dated to the late-17th century. Recently, archaeologists have revisited the site in order to determine if Miller's initial assessment of the site as a tavern is upheld and to narrow his occupation date range. Preliminary results indicate the structure is more likely to be a house than a tavern and that it does indeed date to the late-17th or early-18th century (Jones and Beeby 2010).

These studies have largely focused on the domestic sites of white planters and their roles in the development of South Carolina's plantation economy. There are other important aspects to colonial life as well. Religion played a significant role in colonial people's lives. It was important enough that many people left their homes and families in Europe for the freedom to practice their religion openly. This was especially true for the Carolina colony, as its founders designed it to be a place of religious tolerance. Throughout the colonies, religious institutions played important social roles and influenced politics. The Anglican Church in South Carolina was no exception (Sirmans 1966; Brinsfield 1983). With the passing of the Church Act in 1706 by the South Carolina General Assembly, the Anglican Church became the official state church. This act gave the Church political and social power over *all* South Carolinians.

The history of the Anglican Church in South Carolina is well documented (Dalcho 1820; Bolton 1982). Historians have largely focused on its role in South Carolina politics (Sirmans 1966; Brinsfield 1983), while art historians and architectural historians have

provided detailed descriptions of extant churches (Dorsey 1952; Linder 2000; Nelson 2001; Nelson 2008). These studies are important to an understanding of colonial South Carolina, but they all lack an archaeological and anthropological perspective. The research conducted at St. Paul's Parish Church has been the first significant archaeological study of an 18th-century South Carolina Anglican church. Archaeological testing has occurred at two other Anglican buildings, but has been very minimal. This testing included a series of shovel-tests at the church for St. James', Goose Creek (Martha Zierden, 2009, pers. comm.) and one day of excavations at the ruins of the chapel for St. James, Goose Creek as part of a public archaeology project (Andrew Agha, 2009, pers. comm.; Johnson 2009). Because of a remarkable lack of disturbance over the past 300 years, the ruins of St. Paul's Church provide a unique opportunity for archaeological research on one of South Carolina's earliest Anglican churches. Additionally, the St. Paul's parsonage site is the only known example of an early-18th-century parsonage house still available for archaeological study in the area, as others have been lost to development or their locations are unknown. Therefore, both the church and parsonage site are rare cultural resources in the area and have much to contribute to a better understanding of early colonial life in South Carolina through an underrepresented area of study – sacred sites and the effects of a major religious organization on the people of the colony and its development.

Historical archaeological research with its multidisciplinary view of the past will be an important addition to the previous studies of Anglican churches in South Carolina. As historians' primary evidence is historical documents, their research is typically based on those aspects of the past that someone felt were important enough to write down and

on those documents that survive today. Additionally, the written record is often biased, reflecting the viewpoints of the writer, who in the colonial period was typically a wealthy, educated, white male. Art historians and architectural historians focus on extant structures, many of which have been remodeled several times throughout their existence. In addition, they may also use documents and works of art such as paintings and drawings that reflect the bias of their creators. Archaeology on the other hand, provides information about elements of the church and its cultural role that historians, architectural historians, and art historians do not see. Generally speaking, archaeologists have the opportunity to gain insight into the daily activities into the people whose lives were recorded and unrecorded, including the activities of parishioners, ministers, and other people associated with churches. Archaeological research can also provide information regarding construction of these early churches, the types of materials used, the multiple functions of the church building, and how it appeared on the landscape during the colonial period. With archaeological investigations it is often possible to view changes to the building's appearance over time that may not be preserved in documents or other forms of material culture that architectural historians, art historians, and historians study. Episodes of remodeling, reconstruction, destruction, and preservation provide insight into how parishioners and non-parishioners alike view a sacred space, even long after it is no longer actively used.

Archaeologists are also limited to the items that they can study. The archaeological record is biased in favor of those objects that past peoples purposely disposed of, lost, or abandoned. Therefore, more valuable, durable, or sentimental objects are often not studied by archaeologists. Environmental and soil conditions can

also lead to poor preservation of many artifacts, especially those made of metal or of organic materials. As a way to at least partially overcome the inherent biases of archaeology, historical archaeologists typically use a combination of traditional archaeological excavations and material culture analysis with archival research, architectural studies, ethnographies, and oral histories, to allow for a more holistic picture of the past.

Site Description

The ruins of St. Paul's Parish Church, its churchyard, and its parsonage site are located near Hollywood, South Carolina, approximately 15 miles west of Charleston (Figures 1-1, 1-2, and 1-3). The sites are located on the College of Charleston's 900+-acre research center, known as Dixie Plantation, located between the Stono River and Highway 162. The College received this property from John Henry Dick, a world-famous naturalist artist. Dick had inherited the property in 1940 from his mother, Madeleine Astor Dick Fiermonte. Mrs. Fiermonte was famous in her own right as a survivor of the Titanic that claimed the life of her first husband, John Jacob Astor IV. Upon his death in 1995, John Henry bequeathed Dixie Plantation to the College of Charleston Foundation in order to conserve the property and to provide students and faculty with the opportunity to use this place as an outdoor classroom and laboratory.

The Stono River runs along the eastern side of the property and is separated from the mainland by a tidal, saltwater marsh. From the marsh, the land rises fairly rapidly to a height of 20-25 ft. above sea level. Most of the acreage is wooded,



Figure 1-1. Location of South Carolina within the United States (Image courtesy of: <http://www.lesstutor.com/usawhitemap3.gif>).



Figure 1-2. Map of South Carolina. Charleston and Dixie Plantation are indicated.

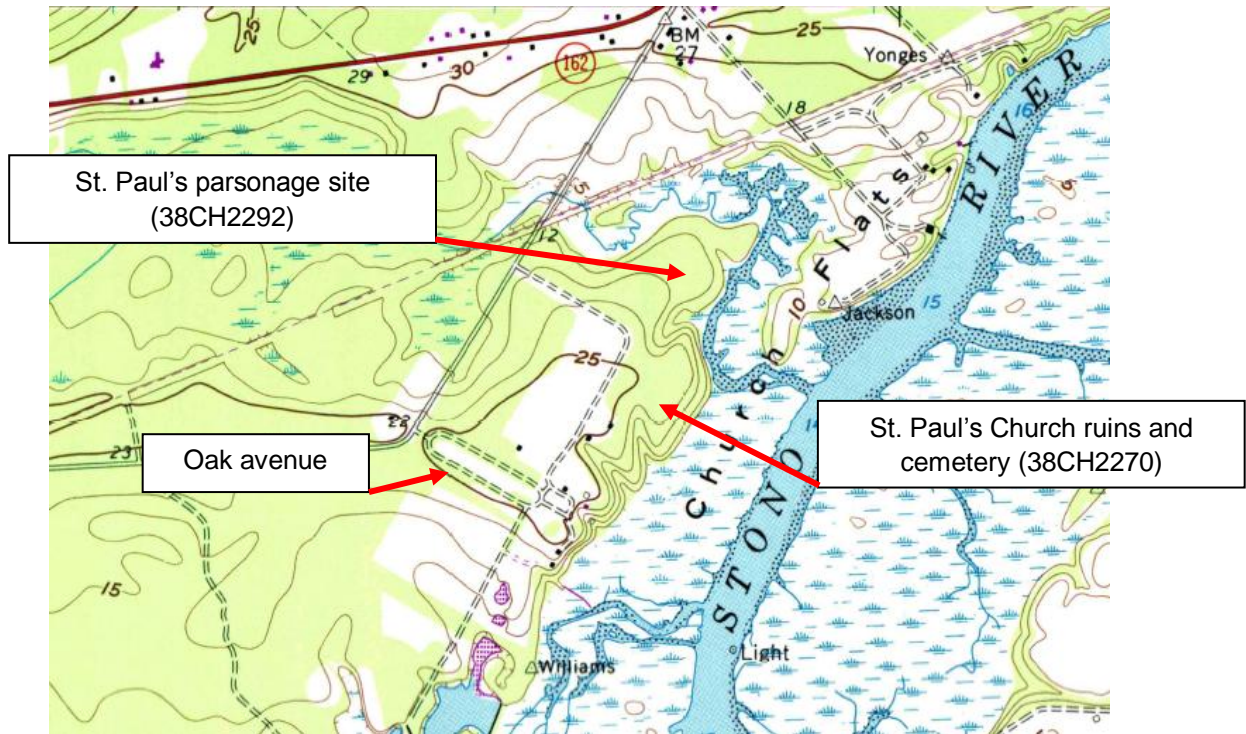


Figure 1-3. Detail of USGS quad map (Wadmalaw). Map shows northeastern portion of Dixie Plantation and indicates specific locations of the St. Paul’s church ruins and parsonage site.

consisting primarily of pine trees that show evidence of logging in recent decades. Dixie Plantation Road (formerly Willtown Road) runs through property. At the bend in the road is located the formal main gate that provides an entrance to the avenue of oaks. Two parallel lines of live oaks draped with Spanish moss stretch for approximately 383 yards towards the Stono River. Two gravel roads are located on either side of the live oaks.

Three standing structures remain at Dixie Plantation – a two-story brick building that likely dates to the mid-to-late-19th century and two small, wood-framed 20th century cabins that belonged to tenant farmers. Within the past year, John Henry Dick’s 1947 house and a 20th-century barn have been razed. These structures were located in a grassy area between the avenue of oaks and the Stono River. A gravel road runs

north-south through this grassy area, near the foot of the avenue. To the south of the oak avenue is an intact double rice canal and several single canals are located throughout the property. Possible rice dikes, small earthen embankments which were constructed around rice fields in order to contain the water, can also be seen throughout the property. Even today, the area between Dixie Plantation Road and Highway 162 is very low, with ferns covering the ground and frequent periods of standing water.

While the property has many rich prehistoric and historic archaeological resources, this research focuses only on the very northeastern portion of the plantation. Here in an approximately 75 x 80 ft. clearing in the woods, about 50 yards west of the Stono River, is the only above-ground visible evidence of St. Paul's original church - a cemetery (Figure 1-4). In the northeastern portion of the clearing is a low mound, while a smaller, less obvious mound lies just to its south (Figure 1-5). There are five visible gravestones in the cemetery. The earliest three stones belong to members of the Seabrook family – Robert (died 1710), his wife Sarah (died 1715), and their son, Benjamin (died 1717). The fourth gravestone is that of Amerinthia Elliott Lowndes who died in 1750. The most recent gravestone marks the burial location of John Henry Dick. Today the churchyard is partially enclosed by a fence of cement pillars with a chain connecting them. In 1964, Dick wrote a letter to one of the Seabrook descendants that he would place a fence around the cemetery in order to help maintain it and to protect the gravestones (John Henry Dick to Sophia Seabrook Jenkins, February 28, 1964, SCHS). It is likely that this is the same fence seen today. Two large brick pillars sit near the center of the cemetery, creating an informal entrance to the churchyard (Figure 1-6).



Figure 1-4. View of St. Paul's cemetery, facing southeast. (Photo by the author).



Figure 1-5. View of mounds, facing northeast. Larger mound is to the left and smaller mound is to the right. (Photo by the author).



Figure 1-6. St. Paul's commemorative plaque. Plaque was placed by members of St. Paul's, Summerville Church in 1970. (Photo by the author).

These pillars and a plaque placed on one of them were put in place in 1970 by a women's group from St. Paul's Church in Summerville, the descendant church of the original St. Paul's Parish Church. The commemorative plaque is engraved with a brief history of St. Paul's Church and reads,

1706
St. Paul's Parish, Stono
One of the Nine Original Carolina Parishes
On this site, given by Landgrave
Edmund Bellinger, a brick church
35 by 25 feet was built in 1708. The
parsonage was burned by Indians
in 1715. The parish was divided in 1734

and in 1746, the church was relocated
8 miles N.W. of here at Beech Hill
15 miles south of Summerville, S.C.
Erected 1970

My research has shown that the wording on the plaque is fairly accurate, with the exceptions of the church's construction date and the date of the church's relocation in 1736.

Unlike the churchyard, there is no above-ground evidence of the parsonage complex. Its location remained unknown until the discovery of a ca. 1807 plat. This plat provided a clue to the location of the parsonage and subsequent shovel-testing and excavations confirmed its location approximately 165 yards to the northwest of the church ruins. A series of paths runs through the wooded area between the churchyard and the parsonage site, but it is not known if these are more recent paths or if they may have been in use since the early-18th century. Today, this area is wooded, with pine and oak being the predominant type of trees (Figure 1-7). A tidal creek that has since been dammed runs along the east side of the parsonage site. While water no longer flows into the creek, it is still possible to see the outline of the former creek due to the lower elevation, the presence of ferns, and the occasional standing water during very high tides or after periods of significant rainfall. While plowing and logging of the parsonage area have occurred, archaeological excavations have shown the site to be relatively intact underneath the plow zone.



Figure 1-7. Location of parsonage. (Photo by the author).

Overview of Methods

In order to address the proposed research questions, I employ a combination of archaeological and geophysical testing, artifact analysis, archival research, and studies of the material culture of Anglican churches, especially their architecture. Archaeological fieldwork began in February 2009 under my supervision and that of my co-field director, Dr. Maureen Hays, professor of anthropology at the College of Charleston. Most of the fieldwork occurred during the course of the 2009 and 2010 College of Charleston archaeological field schools. In addition to field school students, crew members also included volunteers from the College and the community. Dr. Scott Harris, assistant

professor of geology at the College of Charleston, conducted the geophysical testing and analyzed the data.

To date I have examined two archival collections for information regarding St. Paul's - the Special Collections Library at the College of Charleston and the South Carolina Historical Society (SCHS) located in Charleston. The College of Charleston collections are comprised mostly of papers related to or compiled by John Henry Dick. His personal correspondence, drawings, and maps of Dixie Plantation provide excellent primary sources for life at Dixie and landscape changes from the late 1930s to his death in 1995. However, with the exception of hearsay and rumor, his papers provide little information regarding Dixie prior to 1936 when his mother and stepfather purchased the property. Surviving records from St. Paul's Parish are housed at the SCHS.

Unfortunately, these records are very sparse prior to 1786, but from that time on vestry minutes and correspondence provide a great deal of information regarding land use by the vestry of St. Paul's after they moved their church elsewhere. It is through these records that I have been able to piece together much of Dixie Plantation's history from the 1780s through the early 1800s. The SCHS also houses several plats of the plantation. These plats provide information regarding the property, but with none dating prior to 1799, there is little focus on St. Paul's Church or parsonage.

My archival research has relied heavily on letters written by the missionaries and vestries of Anglican churches in the colonies to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The SPG was a privately-funded group based in London that supplied the Anglican Church with missionaries. The original letters are held at the Rhodes House Library at Oxford University, but are

readily available on microfilm including holdings at the College of Charleston Addlestone Library and the University of Tennessee's Hoskins Library. Additionally, George W. Williams, historiographer for the Diocese of South Carolina, indexed the SPG letters relating to South Carolina. His index includes summaries of the SPG letters but it also contains copies of letters written to the SPG by prominent South Carolinians of the period. Williams' index is available on-line through the College of Charleston Addlestone Library Special Collections (Williams 2008). These letters provide information regarding parish histories, architectural details of churches and parsonages, as well as parish statistics, such as population, births, deaths, conversions, and baptisms. Additionally, South Carolina missionaries kept SPG leaders updated on important political, economic, social, and religious developments in the colony.

While these letters are invaluable, they contain many biases. First, they only offer one point of view of life in the colony. Generally speaking, Anglican missionaries in South Carolina were highly educated, white, English males who found themselves living in a very different world from the one they left behind. Their parishioners included dissenters from a number of different religions, the climate made many deathly ill, and they lived under fear of attack by the Spanish and Indians. The missionaries often made their personal viewpoints very clear, especially when speaking of the dissenters in their parishes and their own hardships in adjusting in the new land and environment. It is also important to take into account for whom they wrote the letters. Since they were sent to the Secretary of the SPG, were there topics that the missionaries could not write about, or that they did not feel comfortable writing about? What were their motivations for reporting the information that they included in their letters? These potential selections or

omissions are important to understand because it helps the reader to overcome the bias of the missionaries. Additionally, missionaries often wrote their parish histories and other accounts several months or years after they took place. Time lags frequently led to details not being remembered correctly or details being forgotten. South Carolina historians have placed so much emphasis on these letters that it leads me to question the accuracy of the picture of early-18th century South Carolina presented by researchers (Wood 1974; Brinsfield 1983; Morgan 1998; Linder 2000; Nelson 2008).

The third broad category of evidence I use are extant Anglican churches, including churches in England and South Carolina, as well as other plantation societies in the New World, primarily Virginia and Barbados. The Virginia churches are useful to this study for a number of reasons. First, Virginia established the Anglican Church from a very early date and became a model for Anglican practices and architecture for many other colonies. Second, Virginia was the one colony on the North American British mainland in which the Anglican Church played an equally powerful, or more powerful, social, religious, economic, and political role as it did in South Carolina. Third, a large number of Anglican churches were built in Virginia and many still stand, allowing for their study. Barbados is included as nearly one-half of South Carolina's earliest English settlers were Anglicans who emigrated from Barbados. While most were already wealthy sugar planters, they aspired to further increase their wealth in the new colony. While natural resources would vary between the two colonies affecting the construction material of their respective churches, it would be expected that the material culture between Barbadian and South Carolina churches would be similar to each other. On the other hand, differences would indicate South Carolinians had begun to separate

themselves from Barbados by the early-18th century and began to create their own identity. My study of the churches is based on previous studies by archaeologists, historians, architectural historians, art historians, as well as site visits to those 18th-century churches that I have been able to gain access to in South Carolina.

In particular, three extant churches in the areas surrounding Charleston are discussed throughout this dissertation - St. Andrew's Church, the church for St. James, Goose Creek, and the chapel for St. John's, Berkeley Parish, commonly referred to as Strawberry Chapel (Figure 1-8). St. Andrew's Church, constructed in 1706, is located just to the northeast of St. Paul's Parish and has remained in use through the present (Figure 1-9). Reverend Guy, a missionary with the SPG, described the original St. Andrew's Church as "40 feet long and 25 broad, built of brick, the roof of pine, with 5 small windows in it" (Guy to SPG Secretary, January 22, 1727, SPG). Over the centuries renovations and remodeling have taken place, most notably an addition that was added in the 1720s that altered the rectangular church into the shape of a cross.

Construction of the 45 x 40 ft. brick church for St. James, Goose Creek, began in 1708, but it was not completely finished until 1719 (Figure 1-10). The parish of St. James, Goose Creek bordered St. Andrew's Parish to the northeast. The church's interior and exterior is by far the most elaborate of the rural Anglican churches that remain from the 18th century (Figure 1-11). While the church has been renovated many times, especially after it was nearly destroyed in the 1886 earthquake, the basic

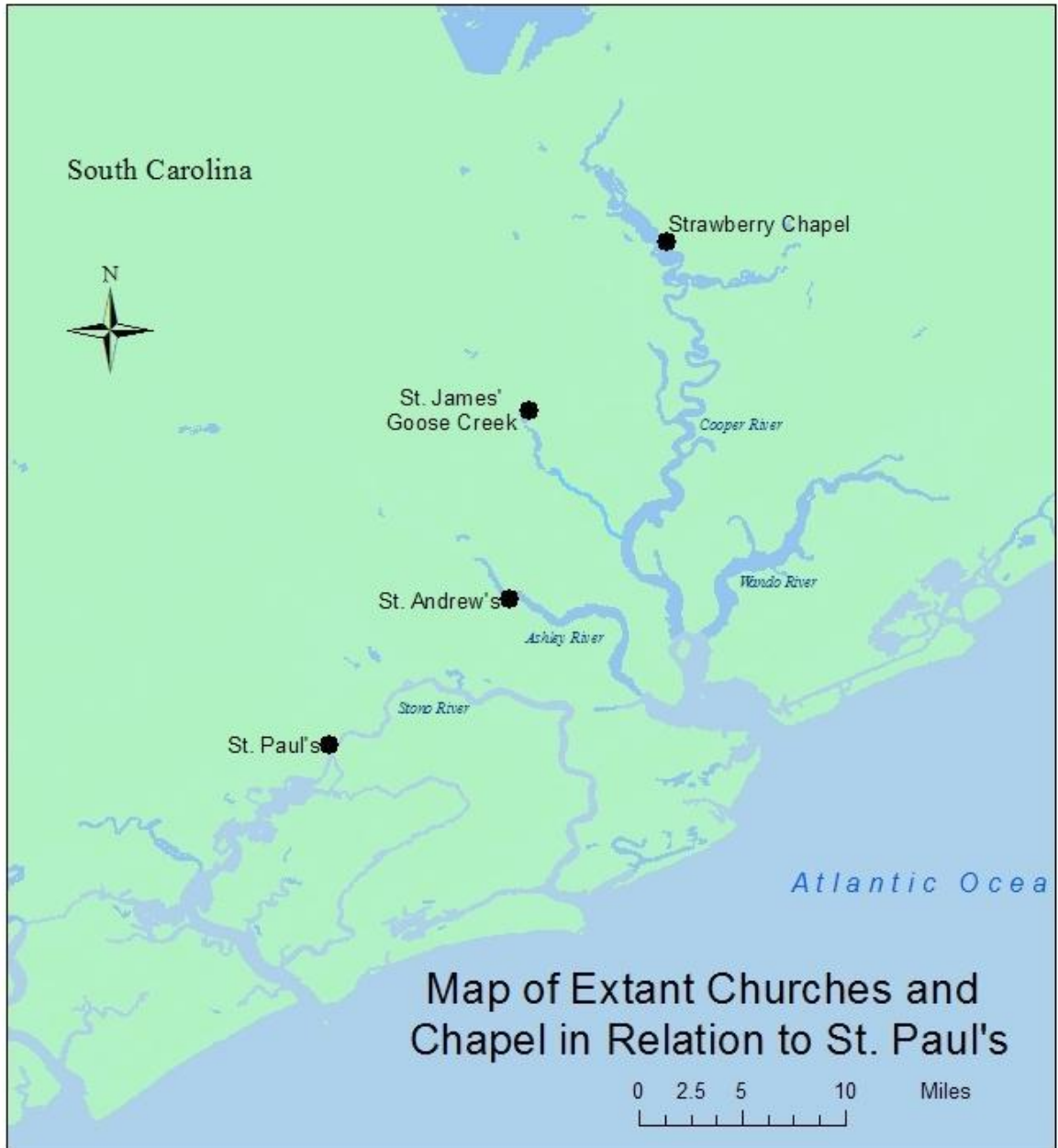


Figure 1-8. Location of extant churches in relation to St. Paul's.



Figure 1-9. Exterior of St. Andrew's Church, facing northeast. Photo by HABS photographer Frances B. Johnston, 1938.(Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress).



Figure 1-10. Exterior of St. James, Goose Creek, Church, facing northwest. Photo by HABS photographer C.O. Green, 1940. (Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress).



Figure 1-11. Interior of St. James, Goose Creek, Church. View is facing east towards the altar. Photo by HABS photographer C.O. Green, 1940. (Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress).

footprint of the church has not been altered and most of the interior furnishings appear today very much like they did during the 18th century.

Moving to the northeast again, Strawberry Chapel was used as a secondary place of worship for parishioners of St. John's, Berkeley, Parish (Figures 1-12 and 1-13). Like the church for St. James, Goose Creek, the chapel is rectangular in shape with dimensions of 40 x 45 ft. The brick chapel has since been overlaid with stucco, but otherwise since its completion prior to 1725, it has remained virtually unchanged except for minor repair work and renovations. Because of the lack of changes, Strawberry Chapel is likely the best representation of an early-18th century Anglican church that still stands in South Carolina today.

Organization of the Dissertation

In this first chapter, I have provided an overview of my research questions and goals, descriptions of the two sites, and methodology. In Chapter 2, I will present a literature review of the previous research that has influenced the areas of landscape studies, religious site studies, and frontier studies. This information situates my work within a broader literature by providing the reader with a background of these various fields of research, and introducing scholars and theoretical frameworks that have influenced my research and interpretations.

Chapter 3 offers a historical context for the Church of England in England and the New World. To truly understand the architecture and material culture of South Carolina Anglican churches it is necessary to begin with an understanding of Church of England history. The historical background of the Church continues in Chapter 4,



Figure 1-12. Exterior of Strawberry Chapel, facing northeast. (Photo by the author).



Figure 1-13. Interior of Strawberry Chapel. (Photo by the author).

focusing on its development in colonial South Carolina. In addition to the Church's history in the colony, this overview also includes discussion of important historical developments and events that affected the future of South Carolina including European settlement, colonists' use of the landscape, the growth of rice production and slavery, relations and trade with Indian societies, and the Yamasee War. A detailed history of St. Paul's church and parish from its inception in 1706 to the time its vestrymen sold the glebe lands in the early-19th century will also be provided.

Both Chapters 5 and 6 examine the Anglican Church's use of the colonial landscape. Chapter 5 focuses on the construction and architecture of St. Paul's Parish Church and the ways that its parishioners and church leaders used the immediate surrounding landscape. In Chapter 6 I expand the study of land use beyond St. Paul's Parish and examine the Anglican Church's use of the landscape and its consequences on a regional scale. Chapters 7 and 8 concentrate on the St. Paul's parsonage house. Chapter 7 reviews the fieldwork conducted at the site and provides architectural descriptions and interpretations based on findings from the fieldwork. The recovered artifacts and what they tell us about life at the parsonage is the focus on Chapter 8. Additionally, I will examine the various social functions of the parsonage and its importance to the parish community.

In the final chapter, I will bring together the data and interpretations from Chapters 3-8 to address the broader questions regarding the role of the Anglican Church in the development of the South Carolina colony. A discussion of future research will also be included here.

CHAPTER 2:

ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO SACRED LANDSCAPES AND COLONIALISM

“Ideology, as part of culture, is an integral component of human interactions and the power strategies that configure sociopolitical systems.”

- Elizabeth DeMarrais, Luis Castillo, and Timothy Earle, 1996

This chapter includes a review of theoretical frameworks and research conducted by archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians into the major themes of this dissertation – sacred or religious sites, landscape studies, frontier studies, and colonialism. Many scholars have used these themes in combination, especially when considering the effects of religious institutions on the colonial landscape. An overview of each theme will be presented, followed by a discussion of how my research and interpretations were influenced by them.

Sacred Sites

Sacred places can be found anywhere that has spiritual significance to an individual or a group of people (Carmichael et al. 1994). This definition obviously includes churches, synagogues, temples, and mosques associated with major organized religions. Cemeteries, gardens associated with religious areas, prehistoric burial mounds, and monuments such as Stonehenge can also be considered sacred. Sacred sites are not limited to religious or spiritual places, but may also include places that commemorate or mark an historical event to a group of people. For example,

places of historical significance such as Elmina Castle in Ghana or Ground Zero in New York City are considered sacred sites, especially to those whose ancestors passed through Elmina's gate or to those people who lost family and friends at the World Trade Center. Natural landscapes such as creek or rock formations may also be considered sacred places. For example, Uluru (Ayers Rock) in Australia and Devils Tower in Wyoming are examples of natural rock formations considered to be sacred sites by native populations. Because of the diversity of what is considered sacred, sacred places are not universally recognizable and often are only identified due to public outcry when they are on the verge of destruction (Hubert 1994).

Sacred sites of all types have been studied by archaeologists throughout the world. In the case of the archaeological study of churches, some of its deepest roots are in England. English church archaeologists have documented hundreds of churches spanning several centuries, primarily focusing on architectural plans, construction techniques and phases, and churchyard spaces, mainly cemeteries.

Through architectural material culture, church archaeologists have been able to study changes in religious ideology and practices – such as are represented by murals or stained glass windows (or lack thereof). Doctrinal changes often result in changes in religious material culture, especially in church architecture and interior furnishings, a topic studied by archaeologists since the 19th century and even earlier by other scholars interested in post-Roman churches. In England these changes are most evident during the Reformation. Catholic churches had elaborate decorations including stained glass windows and painted murals on the walls. Architectural features emphasized the separateness of priests and their parishioners. Chancel screens were the most obvious

of these features. They were used to separate the nave, where the parishioners sat or stood, and the chancel, where the altar stood and which was considered the domain of priests. After the Reformation, Protestant churches and their furnishings were far less elaborate with little, if any, interior division. Since the 1970s, English church archaeologists have turned to other areas of study beyond church architecture and construction. For example, petrographic analysis of tile, glass, and marble has been used to inform archaeologists of trade networks and therefore, transportation routes for material used in church building. English churchyard studies provide information about demography, genealogy, and ritual practices among congregations (Morris 1983).

In North America, there has been much less of a focus on the archaeological study of historic churches and cemeteries. In their introduction to a special edition of *Historical Archaeology*, "Historical Archaeology of Religious Sites and Cemeteries," co-editors Richard Veit, Sherene Baugher, and Gerald Scharfenberger (2009) provide a number of reasons for this lack of research into churches and cemeteries. The first reason is that the amount of documentary evidence related to religious institutions leads to the mistaken belief that everything to be learned from them is found in their documents. Secondly, religious sites rarely fall under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 that mandates archaeological survey because, 1) they are rarely impacted by development, 2) private funds are often used in renovations, and 3) they are seldom deemed eligible for the National Register of Historic Places, unless they qualify based on criteria other than religious grounds. Thirdly, there is an overall lack of interest from historical archaeologists regarding religious sites, possibly because of the belief that churches and cemeteries cannot

contribute to a better understanding of the past. Closely related, is their fourth reason which is that archaeologists are less interested in studying the religious and spiritual beliefs of past people because it is not quantifiable (Veit et al. 2009:3-4).

Despite the general lack of interest in churches and other religious sites by historical archaeologists, there has been some significant research in North America over the past few decades. In their introduction, Veit et al. (2009) provide an overview of archaeological studies of historic-period religious sites and cemeteries in North America. These studies indicate that those few North American historical archaeologists who have studied religious sites have moved beyond just answering questions regarding building construction and architecture as seen among English church archaeologists. Instead they are addressing broader questions, such as how religious sites can inform us about expression of religious and social identity, consumerism, trade networks, and colonialism.

Expression of religious identity is a commonly-addressed topic in recent religious sites archaeology. For example, in his study of the early-18th century Holmdel Baptist Church in New Jersey, Scharfenberger (2009) explored how church members materialized their ideology and its practice, and examined broader social patterns, such as changing ideas of consumerism and social values of parishioners (Scharfenberger 2009:13). He concluded that while parishioners considered drinking alcohol morally wrong, they did not abstain from its consumption and that the Great Awakening's ideas of simplicity did not sway church members from the latest and most fashionable consumer goods available. Similarly, Ward and McCarthy (2009) researched a late-17th century Quaker Meetinghouse in Burlington, New Jersey. Their research questions also

revolved around the material expression of Quaker social and religious values; however, with different conclusions. Unlike the Baptists at Holmdel, the Quakers in Burlington primarily used relatively inexpensive and undecorated ceramics, reflecting their values of simple material goods. A similar study by Francine Bromberg and Steven Shephard (2006) questioned if members of the Quaker community in Alexandria, Virginia continued to follow their values of simplicity in mortuary practices, as expressed through coffins, coffin furniture, gravestones, and personal items recovered from their Friends Burying Ground. Their analysis indicates that during the 19th century as most Americans began to have more elaborate funerals and rituals surrounding death, most Quakers continued to use relatively simple material goods. There were a few exceptions, however. The Friends considered ornate coffin hardware expensive and unnecessary, but of the 63 wooden coffins recovered 21 (33%) had some sort of decorative hardware (Bromberg and Shephard 2006:76). Nevertheless, this percentage is still far lower than that seen at two other Quaker burial sites from the same period, the Weir Family Cemetery and the Uxbridge Potter's Field, that contained 45% and 75% of wooden coffins with decorative hardware, respectively (Bromberg and Shephard 2006:77). These three studies suggest that through the study of material culture recovered from religious sites, it is possible to examine the roles that objects played in defining church members' religious identity. Contrary to these studies, John Chenoweth warns archaeologists that such outward signs of religious expression, in particular Quaker religious expression, change over time. Therefore, we need to consider religious expression along with material expressions of other social identities such as gender, class, and ethnicity in their historical contexts (Chenoweth 2009).

The descriptive approach of English church archaeologists is important to the study of sacred sites, especially in regard to how changes in religious ideology in the colonies were expressed in the material culture of colonial churches. However, as shown by North American archaeologists and others who study the past, broader questions about social and religious identity and consumerism can also be addressed. Similar to the Quakers in Burlington and the Baptists at Holmdel Church, parishioners at St. Paul's Parish Church and other Anglican churches likely expressed their Anglican, English, and colonial identities through church architecture and other forms of religious material culture. While these ideas have and will continue to influence my research and the work of others, due to the largely architectural nature of recovered artifacts from churches, it is often extremely difficult to move beyond architectural questions. To address this problem, many archaeologists include in their work not just those artifacts that are recovered archaeologically, but also other forms of material culture that may also express religious and social beliefs.

In addition to the religious building itself (if there even is one), the surrounding land, in particular the churchyard, is also an important aspect of many religious sites. The ways past peoples modified the landscape, including the construction of churches and other buildings, are material expressions of religious and social beliefs. Therefore, a landscape approach to the study of the Anglican Church's role in early-18th century South Carolina is beneficial in that it can provide insight into the thought processes behind the use and design of Anglican religious sites.

Landscape Studies

The word “landscape” invokes different images and meanings to different people. Some individuals may think of landscape simply as nature, something that is part of a larger natural system, or simply the background space of human activity. Others may view landscapes as an accumulation of cultural features that represent human practices over time (Meinig 1979). These different viewpoints of landscape led D.W. Meinig, a cultural geographer, to describe landscapes as attractive, important, and ambiguous. They are attractive because they are usually seen as aesthetically pleasing; important, because they are where all aspects of human life occur; and ambiguous because they have been defined and used in so many ways (Meinig 1979:1-2).

Cultural geographers have always focused on studies of the landscape and in more recent decades, archaeologists and historians have begun to include examinations of the landscape in their research. Archaeologists, historians, and cultural geographers study the cultural landscape – landscapes that have been built or somehow altered by humans. These types of landscapes may occur on a number of different scales from the modification of the land to construct a single house, to the construction of a large city, or the development of an entire region. Cultural landscape features such as buildings, transportation networks, gardens, and general clearing of the land are just a few of the countless ways past peoples have modified the landscape, often with a specific purpose in mind. What makes cultural landscapes especially interesting to study for archaeologists is that because they are social constructs that reflect the cultural practices and traditions of their designers, they can be used alongside other forms of material culture to tell us about past human culture and

behavior. In particular, this study will explore how past peoples of colonial South Carolina, including Anglican Church leaders, modified the cultural landscape in order to express their religious ideology along with their social and political power.

While cultural geographers have a relatively unified definition of landscape as “those works of man that are inscribed into the earth’s surface and give to it characteristic expression” (Winberry 1997:11), archaeologists have yet to agree upon a single definition of the word landscape (Winberry 1997:11; Young 2000:1). In reviewing the various ways archaeologists have defined landscape, there are two distinctive categories within which definitions fall. Dalan et al. (2003) refers to these categories as objective versus subjective definitions. Objective definitions of landscape refer to the physical space that we actually see. Traditionally, landscapes referred to scenes that were to be viewed from afar, such as in landscape paintings where the main subjects were in the distance. Today, many scholars define landscapes as the places where humans live – where we build our houses, roads, bridges, yards, fields, and gardens, where food and craft production occurs, and also where we socialize through community, government, and religion (Stilgoe 1982; Ruberstone 1989). Based on these ideas of landscape, it is easy to understand why Deetz (1990:4) called landscape the largest artifact that archaeologists could study. He felt that the areas in between traditional archaeological sites (buildings) were just as interesting and important as the buildings themselves.

On the other hand, subjective definitions focus more on what we see based on our own experiences and cultural background. Johnson (2006:4) refers to these ideas about landscape as “land-scapes”, meaning that they are more of the mental image we

see, rather than the physical land, structures, and other cultural features that are actually there. Therefore, individuals will envision the landscape differently, depending on their land-scape.

An example of these two distinctive viewpoints of landscape can be seen in how the words “space” and “place” are used by landscape scholars. Space refers to any area –a room, a building, or an open area, while place refers to a space that has been experienced by a person or group (Ryden 1993; Pauls 2006; Casey 2008). Therefore, any area is a space, but it is a place only to those that ascribe specific meaning to that space. Many scholars consider landscapes to be a combination of both ideas of landscape – landscapes are physical spaces, but they are also places where people express cultural meaning.

In addition to the numerous functional ways past people modified landscapes, they also modified landscapes to express social, racial, political, religious, economic, and personal meaning (Leone 1984; Deetz 1990; Kryder-Reid 1994; De Cunzo et al 1996; Kryder-Reid 1996; Yamin and Metheny 1996; Zierden and Stine 1997; Young 2000; Leone et al. 2005; Heath 2007, 2010; Heath and Lee 2010). Ucko and Layton (1999) summarize these diverse approaches by stating that landscapes can *explain* how humans lived on the land, but they can also help us *understand* how humans interacted on that land. Due to the multiple cultural meanings of landscapes, scholars have studied them to gain information about broader topics such as cultural identity, socioeconomic status, gender, ethnicity, and colonialism.

The ways that archaeologists have approached studies of landscape have evolved throughout the past several decades, along with the study of material culture in

general. In the 1950s and 1960s, Julian Steward's ideas of cultural ecology stressed the interactions between past humans and their environment (Steward 1955). Cultural practices and change were responses to one's environment. Ecological approaches regarding how natural landscapes shaped everyday life and attempts to reconstruct past environment conditions can be considered the first studies in what would later become known as landscape archaeology (Patterson 2008:78). With the beginnings of processual archaeology in the 1950s, archaeologists began to think about landscapes in regard to settlement patterns. For Gordon Willey (1953:1), this approach included how humans organized themselves on the landscape, including their structures, spatial patterning, and social interactions. Studies of "settlement archaeology" continued well into the 1960s and beyond (Chang 1968).

Settlement pattern studies have been commonly used among South Carolina archaeologists. In particular, these studies have examined the locations of historic houses and settlements, the spatial layout of plantations, and the reasons why these patterns developed. South and Hartley's (1980) deep water and high ground model for 17th-century settlement in the South Carolina Lowcountry is one such example. Using the 1695 Thornton-Morden Map (also called the *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*) they attempted to identify the approximate location of late-17th century houses along the Stono and Edisto Rivers. South and Hartley conducted surface surveys where the map indicated houses were located, primarily looking for 17th-century artifacts. Most of the late-17th century sites they did identify were located on high ground (defined as 5 ft. above mean high water) above sea level with deep water access (at least 3 ft. deep at low tide) (South and Hartley 1980:24). Their model states that as the earliest European

settlers in Carolina began to move away from the city center of Charles Towne during the late-17th century, they established their residences on high ground along the deep water rivers and tidal creeks. These locations were advantageous as deep water would have provided the easiest form of communication and transportation to Charles Towne and throughout the region, at a time when few roads existed. Additionally, the high ground would have kept property safe during high tides and storm surges. Hartley (1984) followed this study up in 1984 along the Ashley River with similar conclusions.

Settling along the waterways of South Carolina became advantageous for other reasons as the colony began to grow and colonists found ways of supporting themselves. By the turn of the 18th century, South Carolinians realized that rice grew very well in the swampy areas along the waterways. Land along the waterways that was once prized for its ease in transportation later became valued for its potential to cultivate rice. Even in areas not suitable for the production of rice or other cash crops, other natural resources dictated settlement along the Lowcountry's waterways. As seen in Wayne's (1996) research, European and European-American settlement of the Wando Neck, the area of land between the Wando River and the Atlantic Ocean, was largely dictated by the clay along the river and its tributaries. The soil of the Wando Neck was too wet to support indigo or cotton production to any great extent and the water was too salty to grow rice. Despite these poor growing conditions, the area was settled through the 18th century as people created their wealth from brick production. Clay and the sand needed to temper it were abundant enough to meet the demands for bricks in Charles Towne, a short distance away by water. Such studies of settlement patterning along the waterways of South Carolina are not limited to the Lowcountry. In the Inner Coastal

Plain of South Carolina, Crass and Brooks (1997) examined the way settlement patterns changed from the 18th to 20th centuries. Their findings indicated that early settlement occurred mainly along major waterways, similar to the development of the Lowcountry. Over time with the construction and expansion of roads and later railroads, settlements moved away from the waterways, into the higher elevations. The authors attribute the changes seen in settlement patterning to changes in the distribution of natural resources, as well as social and cultural factors, such as land tenure and monocropping (Crass and Brooks 1997:80).

These three studies of settlement patterns in colonial and post-colonial South Carolina indicate just how important the waterways were in dictating the settlement and economic growth of the colony. I will expand on these ideas in Chapters 5 and 6 by showing that the waterways also affected the location of early-18th century Anglican churches and discuss how their locations did not necessarily fit into these models.

However, settlements did not just arise along the waterways. Beginning in the 1720s and in full force by the mid-18th century, settlement began to move into the interior, commonly referred to as the Backcountry. Kenneth Lewis (1984) examined economic practices, namely subsistence, technology, and exchange, as the driving forces behind the movement of settlers into the frontier areas of the colony and their settlement of the interior. An important part of his model is that settlements developed along the transportation networks that linked the Backcountry to the entrepôt, Charles Towne. While there is no doubt that this occurred, I believe it is important to consider the role of the Anglican Church in the placement of those transportation networks that later helped to settle the Backcountry. Of particular interest to me is Lewis' use of

churches to map changing settlement patterns in South Carolina during the 18th century. Working off the assumption that churches will be placed in areas to make them centrally located within a population, he mapped the location of all South Carolina churches, Anglican and dissenter, to track changes in the population distribution of the colony. Lewis concludes that there was an approximately ten year lag between the time an area first became settled and when the first church appeared. Also, the distribution of churches throughout the colony indicates that by the 1780s, white settlers had populated most of South Carolina (Lewis 1984:64).

While studies of settlement patterns are still a part of landscape archaeology in North America, historical archaeologists have begun to examine other aspects of the landscape, namely what its creators were trying to express through its modification and use. Since the 1980s when landscape studies became popular among North American historical archaeologists, critical materialism has been one of the leading theoretical approaches in discussing landscapes and how they were modified to express power. Critical materialists, building on the ideas of Marx, believe that studies of the past should be grounded in the rise and development of capitalism. In regard to landscapes, research has often focused on how past peoples modified the landscape in order to express their power and social status and to mask the ideological conflicts of the inequality between classes (Leone 1984; Epperson 1990; Delle 1998, 1999; Leone 2005; Leone et al. 2005). Mark Leone's (1984) study of William Paca's 18th-century Annapolis garden is a hallmark of this approach. He states that Paca and other mid-18th century elite designed their gardens to mask the contradictions of their lives - namely that although they promoted Revolutionary ideas of liberty, their wealth and status were

based on enslaved labor. By manipulating nature through experimenting with grouping, breeding, and transplanting trees and other plants, manipulating plane geometry to create illusions of the garden's depth, and by frequent references to antiquity in the landscape, Paca naturalized his role in society and created a past for it.

A primary criticism of Leone's ideas of critical materialism is that it assumes that subordinate groups were persuaded by elite constructions of the landscape rather than examining how they viewed, interpreted, and negotiated the landscape (De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006:261). Today many researchers continue to base their research questions on the idea that landscape was used by elites as one way to represent their social, economic, and political power. However, their interpretations are also based on the realization that subordinate groups contributed to the landscape and that relationships between elite and subordinate classes could be negotiated. For example, in his research at Limerick Plantation, outside of Charleston, David Babson (1987) followed Leone's ideas that the plantation owner used the landscape to convey social meaning and function. Where Babson departs from Leone is in his belief that the relationships between classes were negotiated through dialog between enslaved people and their owners. At Limerick Plantation, early-19th century enslaved peoples primarily used the peripheral areas of the plantation. These relatively isolated areas allowed them greater freedom to express their own cultural identities, away from the watchful eyes of their white overseers and owner. Around the turn of the 19th century, archaeological evidence indicates more of a white presence in the peripheral lands. Grapes, a high status crop, were grown in these areas at Limerick Plantation and European ceramics began to be seen alongside colonowares. Babson suggests this represents a change in dialog

between Limerick's owner and his enslaved people due to the closing of the slave trade in 1808. By replacing the traditional black headman with a white overseer in the peripheral areas, the owner provided a white presence in that area and likely allowed enslaved people less freedom to express themselves than before. This reorganization of the plantation landscape expressed and reinforced the power and control the planter had over his enslaved people and the land itself.

Like Babson, J. Joseph (2004) also examined changing plantation landscapes in the South Carolina Lowcountry. Throughout the region, a major shift in plantation layout is seen around the turn of the 19th century. These changes resulted in what is now the idealized landscape of a southern plantation – a grand oak alley entry way leading to an elaborate main house, with its English architecturally-styled slave cabins and dependencies in a tight, nucleated compound. Similar to Babson, Joseph also attributes these changes in planter ideology to increasing social and racial tensions related to the end of the slave trade. By moving slave cabins, now free of African architecture influences, closer to the planter and overseer, landowners reinforced their power and position over their enslaved people and made their plantations appear more ordered and controlled. Additionally, changes in other material culture such as elaborately styled houses, gardens, clothing, and tablewares expressed the planter's social rank to neighbors and visitors.

Historical archaeologists have also researched the ways past peoples expressed religious identity through modification of the landscape on a variety of scales ranging from small gardens associated with religious buildings to larger missions. De Cunzo et al. (1996) studied the garden of Father Rapp, the founder of the Harmony Society, a

communal society in which religion played a role in all aspects of its members' lives. Through documentary and archaeological research, De Cunzo and her colleagues discovered several ways that Father Rapp designed his garden to express his memories and ideas from his homeland of Germany, biblical references, the ideas of his Harmony Society, and traditional monastery garden design. Elizabeth Kryder-Reid (1996) provides another example in her studies of the Redemptionists' garden in Annapolis. This group converted a mid-18th century pleasure garden, originally designed by resident Charles Carroll to be ordered and to express his wealth, power, and status, into a garden that conformed to their ideas of poverty, hard work and labor, obedience, and the rejection of worldly goods. They accomplished this transformation through the addition of walkways and buildings to make a more functional and communal space, in line with their ideology of hard work and community.

Scholars from other disciplines – namely history, art history, and architectural history, have also focused on the expression of religious and social identity through the built landscape. Of particular interest to my research are those studies focusing on Anglican churches. Many of these studies provide general descriptions of church architecture and material culture, while some scholars have gone beyond simple descriptions to search for meaning in the material culture. For example, art historian Harriett Hawkins (1983) examined rural South Carolina Anglican churches to study their role in maintaining and expressing English culture. By continuing London church style architecture, builders ensured that parishioners felt more connected to England. This connection also helped preserve English identity as parishioners were able to present themselves as being wealthy and sophisticated, even though they were living in the

relatively isolated South Carolina colony. Hawkins's belief that Anglican architecture was used as a way for South Carolinians to connect with and preserve English identity is an example of McCracken's idea of material goods being used as "... a kind of 'ballast' that works against cultural drift" (McCracken 1988:131).

Architectural historian Dell Upton (1986a) has written on Virginia's Anglican churches, providing detailed architectural studies of a number of them, including descriptions of the layout and use of the surrounding churchyards. He searched for meaning in church layout and the movement of people throughout the landscape, concentrating on the ways that churches reflected and upheld Virginia's social distinctions. In a similar fashion, art historian Louis Nelson (2001, 2008) has extensively researched the extant 18th-century Anglican churches in South Carolina to show how religious material culture can be used to learn more about colonial America. Nelson discussed how Anglican material culture represented 18th-century thinking and how changes in broader social thought are reflected through architecture, use of landscape, interior furnishings, gravestones, and other forms of religious material culture. Nelson argued that South Carolina's Anglican leaders purposely used church architecture and landscape to illustrate their presence and power in the religiously tolerant colony.

Colonialism and Frontier Studies

The process of colonialism involves the development of a colony by a state society outside of its own geographical boundaries on lands they appropriated from indigenous people (Gosden 2004:3; Silliman 2005:58). This colonization of the land typically results in the immigration of a large number of colonists, the extraction of raw

materials through the controlled labor of the indigenous populations, as well as political control of the colony administered from the homeland (Gosden 2004:3). This type of colonialism has occurred for thousands of years, dating back to some of the earliest city-states of Mesopotamia (Gosden 2004). Colonialism as seen in the past 500+ years is somewhat different in that it is often based on “fixed orders of racial and cultural differences” (Gosden 2004:22). Colonialism still involves the occupation of new lands and control over indigenous peoples, but with capitalism as its underlying, driving force (Orser 1996; Silliman 2005).

Archaeologists have contributed much to studies of colonialism. Because of our unique position of being able to study examples across time and space, archaeologists can compare different types of colonialism and study their differences and similarities (Gosden 2004:6; Murray 2004:3). Some of the major themes of the archaeology of colonialism include study of the different people and cultures colonizers encountered, the reasons for colonization, relationships between the colonizers and the colonized, the effects of colonialism on the various parties, native resistance, the chronology of colonization in various places around the world, and the role objects and other forms of material culture played (Deagan 1990:226; Lyons and Papadopoulos 1999; Murray 2004:4). Historical archaeology is particularly important to studies of European colonialism and colonization in the Americas, due to the interaction between societies that had written records and those that did not. Therefore, the best way to study cultural interactions between Europeans and indigenous peoples and colonialism in the New World is through a combination of material and documentary evidence (Deagan 1990:226). Colonialism and its effects are extremely important to historical

archaeologists. Virtually every aspect of colonial life we study, whether it is initial contact sites, African Diaspora archaeology, landscapes, consumerism, or the rise of industry, just to name a few, all have their roots in European colonialism and the development of capitalism. In fact, colonialism has been called the “*the* major cultural and historical fact of the last 500 years” (Gosden 2004:6). It is also important “because the legacies of colonialism pervade our societies and have even helped shape the consciousness of Americans in all the nations of the Western hemisphere” (McEwan and Waselkov 2003:1), making studies of colonial processes, and their effects on the world today, significant to anthropologists and other social scientists as well.

One way of examining colonialism is to study its effects at local and regional levels within the frontier areas of the New World. Frontiers are important places to study for anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians because they were where people from distinct cultures interacted, worked, and fought against one another. Frontier interactions altered the course of human settlement and history wherever they occurred as typically one culture came to dominate the area. That group could have been an indigenous one, an intrusive one, or more often than not, some combination of the cultures that were present in the formerly contested land.

Archaeologists are able to contribute to the study of frontiers in two ways. First, documentary evidence places an emphasis on the perspective of the European colonizers who most often created and are represented in historical documents, namely the English (Thomas 1989). To counter this bias, our study of artifacts, various other forms of material culture, and documents allows for a broader understanding of the contributions of *all* groups living within a colonial or frontier context – indigenous

peoples, the various colonizers, and other peoples affected by European colonialism, namely enslaved Africans.(Deagan 1990:266; McEwan and Waselkov 2003:1; Blanton and King 2004:1; Murray 2004:10).The recognition of multiple groups is especially important in regions such as early South Carolina where a variety of different cultures and ethnicities were present. As discussed by Joseph and Zierden, artifacts, architecture, and landscape may provide evidence of the ethnic identities of those who constructed them, as well as evidence of the multiple cultural and ethnic interactions often involved in frontier areas (Joseph and Zierden 2002:8-9). Second, archaeologists go beyond identifying and describing the various groups within frontiers by applying anthropological models, such as acculturation, adaptation, creolization, hybridity, or ethnogenesis to explain frontier interactions and culture change (Joseph and Zierden 2002:6; Murray 2004:2; Lightfoot 2005; Voss 2008).

The definition of a frontier has been a subject of much debate for over a century, but it is most often defined as a meeting place of peoples from different cultures. In his 1893 essay, Frederick Jackson Turner defined the American frontier as “the line of most rapid and effective Americanization” (Turner 1999:3-4). To Turner, *the* frontier was a single line of European-American advancement, one that could be drawn on a map, moving westward across the continent. This line was the “outer edge of the wave” of American culture that steadily advanced westward (Turner 1999:3). With each westward advancement adaptations needed to be made in order to survive and lessons were learned, resulting in life behind the frontier line becoming more American and less European. In 1890, when Euro-American stretched from coast to coast, US census

officials declared the frontier closed – a statement with which Turner agreed (Turner 1999).

While Turner's "Frontier Thesis" had support for many years, in more recent decades, historians and other frontier scholars have become more critical of Turner's ideas, specifically their ethnocentric and racist undertones, his disregard for the settlement advancements of cultures from all directions, and his agreement that the frontier closed in the late 19th century (Limerick 1994: 72-73). Out of this criticism, a variety of theoretical perspectives on the study of frontiers have arisen. Some of the more vocal critics categorize themselves as New Western Historians. Their aim is to understand the history of the West, without focusing on the word "frontier" and all its negative connotations. To New Western Historians, there is no single frontier line advancing westward, or in any single direction; rather the borders between groups are "fuzzy" (Limerick 1991:85). They also treat European-American settlement history of the West as a process that involved cultural diversity, along with "heroism and villainy, virtue and vice, and nobility and shoddiness" (Limerick 1991:86). Studies by New Western Historians have shown that frontier interactions were not just about conquest, but also about failures (Limerick 1991, 1994), accommodation between different groups (White 1991), and the transformation from frontier to region (Cronon et al. 1992).

New Western History has its share of criticisms also, mainly regarding its focus on the West and historians' inability to define the West (Aron 1994). Others suggest that by focusing on one region in particular, New Western Historians lose the opportunity to apply their frontier models elsewhere, missing the chance to compare different frontier areas in search of universal patterns (Thompson and Lamar 1981). Additionally, while

they recognize the involvement of multiple cultures in the processes of regional formation, they do not focus on the interactions of those groups. In answering these critiques, Thompson and Lamar have led the movement to examine the importance of cultural interactions in the formation and development of frontiers. They define a frontier as “a territory or zone of interpenetration between two previously distinct societies” - an indigenous one and an intrusive one (Thompson and Lamar 1981:7). The frontier remains “open” until one group reaches political homogeneity. They also promote a comparative approach in order to study frontiers that permit researchers to test hypotheses while looking for universal patterns of frontier cultural interaction. Their approach also allows for the application of theoretical models beyond one specific region (Thompson and Lamar 1981:12-13).

Following Thompson and Lamar, frontier scholars today commonly think of frontiers as zones of cultural interactions, namely an indigenous society and an intrusive one, where frontiers remain open until political homogeneity is obtained by one of the groups. However, frontier interactions rarely involve only two distinct societies. Indigenous societies, such as Native Americans, were not a single cultural group, but multiple cultural groups with their own unique characteristics and practices. The same can be said regarding the intrusive cultures, as European explorers and settlers came from a number of different ethnic, social, religious, and cultural backgrounds. The recognition of all indigenous and intrusive cultures can be seen in the writings of historians Adelman and Aron who define a frontier as “meeting place of people in which geographical and cultural borders were not clearly defined” (1999: 815). This is similar to Thompson and Lamar’s definition but with more emphasis on the idea that frontiers

often involved multiple intrusive and indigenous cultures. Adelman and Aron stress the importance of all frontier cultural interactions, as it is these interactions, or intersections as Aron calls them, that “make the most interesting history” as any number of twists and turns can happen, leading to a variety of outcomes (Aron 1994:144). Unlike Limerick and other New Western Historians, Adelman and Aron believe that we should not ignore the “conquest, colonization, and capitalist consolidation” as they did in fact occur as European Americans moved west across the continent and are important themes in American history (Aron 1994:127). While Adelman and Aron acknowledge multiple intrusive and indigenous peoples, they concentrate their discussion on the relationships and frontiers between the various European and Native American groups. In doing so, they neglect a third important group - the unwilling intruders to the New World, enslaved Africans.

One reoccurring theme among archaeologists and historians who study frontiers is the idea that they were places of identity and community formation. In the introduction of their edited volume, *Another's Country*, J. Joseph and Martha Zierden (2002) do not address frontiers directly; however, they do focus on the importance of cultural interactions in colonial South Carolina. These interactions were especially important during the late-17th and early-18th centuries due to the number of different cultural and ethnic groups that lived in the colony. The authors, “attempt to understand how cultural identity was expressed, why cultural diversity disappeared, and how these various cultures intermeshed” (Joseph and Zierden 2002:2). Another theme of the volume is a better understanding of which facets of the various European, African, and Native American cultures remained a part of the new Carolina identity (Joseph and Zierden

2002:5). In her chapter of this same book, Zierden (2002) continues with the book's theme of the significance of cultural interactions. Using the multi-cultural South Carolina frontier town of Willtown as an example, she discusses how European groups formed a new Carolina identity. White settlers in South Carolina had been divided culturally, ethnically, and religiously due to their various backgrounds. However, the Yamasee War in 1715 and later the Stono Rebellion of 1739 led white settlers to put aside their differences with each other to form a stronger European alliance against the threats they felt Native Americans and Africans imposed on them (Zierden 2002:184).

In *The Southern Colonial Backcountry* (Crass et al. 1998), the various authors take an interdisciplinary approach to study the development of communities within the backcountry, a region that includes most of the interior Carolinas, parts of Virginia, and East Tennessee. In defining the difference between a frontier and the backcountry, Crass et al. state that in comparison to the fluid boundaries of a frontier, the backcountry had relatively fixed borders that rarely moved. Otherwise, frontiers and backcountries were very similar, especially in the multi-ethnic and multi-cultural nature of its population (Crass et al. 1998:xvi-xvii). In addition to the idea of community formation, a second theme of the book is the importance of an interdisciplinary approach in the study of frontiers, or of the backcountry in this case, due to their diverse character. Therefore, the individual chapters' authors include historical archaeologists, historians, cultural geographers, and material culture specialists.

Other archaeologists have approached the study of colonial relationships specifically through the study of objects. The ability to obtain natural resources and their production into goods that could be traded or purchased was one of the driving forces

behind European colonialism, but it was also about the consumption of those goods and the relationship between people and objects, an idea stressed by Gosden (2004). He believes that it was the desire of “things”, namely luxury and exotic goods such as sugar, spices, and coffee, that shaped people. Gosden believes that colonialism existed (or still exists) “where material culture moved people ... to accept new material forms and to set up power structures around a desire for material culture” (Gosden 2004:153). Lyons and Papadopoulos bring the idea of colonial identity formation and material culture together. In their edited book, *Archaeology of Colonialism*, they state that objects are “active agents in shaping identities and communities” (1999:8). While even everyday objects have the ability to affect and direct human culture, they believe that art, architecture, and rituals “exert an overwhelming influence on the shape and substance of people’s lives” (Lyons and Papadopoulos 1999:8). Therefore, they have the potential to communicate their importance to past peoples, more so than texts can do alone (Lyons and Papadopoulos 1999:8).

Religious Institutions and Colonialism

While the main goal of most efforts of colonization was to obtain natural resources to produce food and other desired goods, many colonizers also felt it was their cultural and spiritual duty to “raise savages and barbarians to a more acceptable state” (Gosden 2004:2). European colonialism in the Americas was no different, and a number of major religious institutions, namely Spanish Catholics and German Moravians, established missions throughout the New World. Other religious groups, such as the Church of England, did not establish missions, but did set out to convert

native peoples to Christianity. These religious institutions played important roles in colonial life, often times beyond their religious ones. Their role was even more important in frontier areas where they had the most effect on indigenous peoples (Deagan 1990:230).

The Spanish mission system had the most widespread presence in the Americas. The Spanish constructed numerous Jesuit and Franciscan missions primarily in California, across the Southwest, and into Florida. These missions have long been of interest to archaeologists (Deetz 1978; Thomas 1987, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, 1993; Cordell 1989; Costello and Hornbeck 1989; Hester 1989; McEwan 1993) and represent some of the earliest archaeological research into North American religious sites (Veit et al. 2009:1). Archaeologist David Hurst Thomas considers these missions especially important to understanding New World colonialism because they were, “the single most important biethnic frontier institution, deliberately modifying Native American culture to suit Spanish ethnocentric values” (Thomas 1987:75).

One of the many missions Thomas has studied is Santa Catalina de Guale, located on St. Catherines Island, Georgia. His research at Santa Catalina grew out of his desire to study two groups that have traditionally received little attention in colonial studies by historians – the Spanish colonizers and native peoples, in this case the Guale Indians (Thomas 1987:67-68). Thomas’ main goals at Santa Catalina included identifying the location of burials in order to investigate demography and biological stress on the individuals. Examining skeletal evidence of stress would allow him and his colleagues to address if the Guales practiced agriculture to any great extent before Spanish contact and the effects of Spanish colonization and mission life on the

population (Thomas 1987:63). The results of the bioarchaeological research indicate that the Guale had a diet based largely of maize prior to European contact. Additionally, dependence on maize coupled with stresses caused by the introduction of European diseases, hard labor, and living in the crowded missions contributed to nutritional stress as seen in their skeletal remains (Schoeninger et al. 1987:92-93). Thomas and his colleagues also identified the sites of the two churches that stood at Santa Catalina one that was burned in the late-16th century and the other one constructed shortly thereafter (Thomas 1990a:9).

Kent Lightfoot (2005) has also studied colonialism and its effects through his archaeological research of Spanish Franciscan missions in California. Lightfoot examined the impact of colonial encounters on Native Californians through a historical anthropology perspective that takes a holistic, multidimensional, and diachronic approach to his research (Lightfoot 2005:13). Spanish Franciscans established these 19th-century Spanish missions as agricultural centers, designed to house and convert Native Americans from hunter-gatherers who practiced their own religions to Catholic field workers, under the ever-watchful eye of padres and soldiers (Lightfoot 2005:5). Utilizing native texts, ethnographic studies, documents from the padres, and archaeological research of the missions, Lightfoot concluded that even while living in a fairly controlled and stressful environment and adopting some aspects of Spanish life, Native Americans maintained aspects of their own identity in their daily lives through active and passive forms of resistance, negotiation, and the maintenance of their own practices such as the use of native foods, stone tools, and the continuation of social activities (Lightfoot 2005).

Several recent archaeological projects bring together many of the above discussed ideas of the expression of religious identity, landscape, frontiers, and colonialism. Religious institutions were important to colonialism because they brought order to the colonies – over indigenous groups, Africans, and Europeans. Largely through the presence of missions, religious institutions imposed their ideas and practices on indigenous peoples. By housing them and instructing them in religious beliefs in return for their labor, religious institutions brought them into the colonial world. Through conversion and reliance on European goods they made indigenous peoples more European, while imposing European ideas of social order, morals, and expected behavior through landscape and spatial layout. Ultimately, most indigenous groups lost many of their traditional practices, making them dependent on religious institutions for their survival.

Following Lightfoot's lead, Beatrix Arendt (2007) has researched a Moravian mission in 19th-century Labrador focusing on the long-term effects of Moravian missions on the native Inuit people and the landscape. Moravian missionaries in Labrador did not necessarily set out to completely convert the Inuit to Christianity and European ways of life. Rather they wanted to introduce the ideas of Christianity and bring order to what they perceived as chaos in the natural landscape. While the Inuit conceived of the natural world as open and encompassing all aspects of nature, including themselves, animals, and the spirit world, the European ideology perceived order as strict divisions of the land. To meet their views of order, the Moravians added roads, buildings, and other non-natural elements to the landscape. They also intentionally covered up the native landscape by destroying at least one Inuit sod house and constructing one of

their buildings directly on top of its ruins. Not only did the Moravians build a structured place and impose European forms of culture and social order on the Inuit, they also introduced ideas of consumerism to them, ultimately making the Inuit live a much more European lifestyle. Arendt's investigations have shown that no matter their intentions, the presence of Moravian missionaries altered the lifeways of the Inuit through the introduction of European goods over time.

Jane Lydon (2009) studied another 19th-century Moravian mission, Ebenezer, located in Victoria, Australia. At this mission, Moravians housed Aborigines and subjected them to Moravian social order and religious ideology. Lydon's research has shown that the Moravians used the natural landscape to announce their presence in colonial Australia as well as impose their social order and ideas of paternalism. They did this by constructing their church and main building on top of a ridge that ran through the mission lands which led to these two buildings being the most visible buildings on the surrounding landscape. Furthermore, the Moravian missionaries had a panoptic view from the ridge-top buildings and they could observe the Aborigines as they labored in the fields, as well as their activities in the residential areas. While there is evidence Aborigines maintained several of their traditional forms of material culture and beliefs, there is also evidence of their use of European goods, especially ceramics.

Stephan Lenik (2010, 2011) researched the role Jesuits priests played in the process of colonialism on the island of Dominica, through a landscape perspective. He has largely focused on the spatial layout of a Jesuit plantation, located at Grand Bay, and how it reflected Jesuit ideas of social order. The Jesuit priests placed their church on a low, flat area of land so that it was parallel to the ocean. Lenik believes this was

done for two reasons – to make it highly visible from those traveling by on the water and from the higher elevations surrounding the site and to protect the buildings where crops were processed from the ocean winds and driving rains.

Discussion

The works discussed above have influenced my research in some form and are used to frame my own interpretations of St. Paul's Parish Church and parsonage, and their effects on the development of the South Carolina colony. Because of the lack of non-architectural artifacts recovered from the ruins of St. Paul's Parish Church, the studies by DeCunzo, Kryder-Reid, Upton, and Nelson have been particularly important because they provide examples of how one can research religious identity, doctrine, and beliefs through a variety of forms of material culture, especially architecture and landscape. Also important has been Adelman and Aron's definition of frontiers. I believe their definition best describes the early-18th-century South Carolina frontier and the St. Paul's community. South Carolina was not Lamar and Thompson's zone of interpenetration of two distinct societies. Nor was the frontier "closed" when political homogeneity was reached by the English as witnessed by the events of the Yamasee War. From the time of the initial attacks in April 1715, the dynamics of the settled areas around Charles Towne were altered as white settlers fled the rural parishes, leaving them nearly devoid of European presence for a year. Adelman and Aron also take into account the cultural diversity of frontiers, such as that seen in early-18th century South Carolina. In addition to the ideas of Adelman and Aron, I also believe that frontiers need to be thought of as more than just physical and geographic borders, but also as mental

borders, based on ideas expressed by Cayton and Teute (1999). While they consider frontiers to be zones of intercultural relationships, Cayton and Teute also think of frontiers as mental barriers between people who are racially and ethnically different. These types of frontiers are much more flexible as they are not so-called lines on a map, but ways in which individuals and groups see differences between themselves and others, explaining why they create alliances with certain groups over others. The addition of the mental aspect to the definition of frontiers allows researchers to not only study the contributions of distinct cultural groups, but also to examine how and why certain cultures ally themselves with particular groups over others and why mental barriers were changed or removed to create new cultural identities within frontiers. Mental borders are just as important as geographic ones, as the way people view the differences between themselves and others often lasts longer than any border that physically separates people.

The research by Arendt, Lydon, and Lenik has been particularly important to the development of my own ideas regarding the Anglican Church's use and modification of the South Carolina landscape, as they combine all these ideas regarding religious sites, landscape, and frontier studies. Especially important are Lenik's views of how the Jesuits modified the landscape so that it was a physical manifestation of their ideology, an idea he borrowed from DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle (1996). They state that ideology is one of four sources of social power, with the others being economic, military, and political power (DeMarrais et al. 1996:15). Dominant groups express their social power and communicate it to others through physical forms of material culture such as writing, monuments, and objects, an idea they call the "materialization of ideology"

(DeMarrais et al. 2004:1). This is similar to Leone's critical materialist ideas of manipulating the landscape to express social power. However, there is a significant difference between the two – DeMarrais and her colleagues realize that the dominant group cannot stop members of the “subordinate” group from developing and expressing their own ideas of social power (DeMarrais et al. 1996:17). Of particular interest to my research is their discussion regarding public monuments and landscapes, which they claim are places that establish group solidarity and communicate the social power of the group's leader or leaders. These messages are just not limited to people within the group, but are understood by others as well. DeMarrais et al. (1996) also believe that the placement of monuments and the ordering of the landscape represent a group's claim on the land. Public monuments helped claim the land, established unity within the group, and demonstrated the power of its leaders, while communicating this information to other, less dominant groups. As will be discussed in more depth below, I believe their “materialization of ideology” best explains the placement and orientation of St. Paul's church and other early-18th-century Anglican churches in South Carolina.

CHAPTER 3:

THE HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ENGLAND AND THE NEW WORLD

“be it enacted, by authority of this present Parliament, that the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England, called Anglicans Ecclesia”

- Henry VIII's 1534 Act of Supremacy

As England began to colonize parts of the New World and English men and women began to settle there, the Church of England soon followed. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the history of the Church of England in England and in the New World. Beginning in the early-16th century, Reformation ideas spread throughout Europe and into England eventually leading to the separation of the Church of England from the Catholic Church. Over the next 200 years, church doctrine changed many times, usually with the ascension of a new monarch as certain monarchs wished for a return to Catholicism while others upheld the separation of the Church of England. The changes in church doctrine during this period led to significant changes in religious practice and the material culture of English churches, especially their architecture. As England began to colonize the New World in the 17th century, colonists carried the doctrinal ideology behind these changes with them, affecting the architecture and material culture of churches in the colonies (Upton 1986a:56). While church doctrine essentially remained unchanged, the way it was practiced in the English colonies varied from its practice in England, largely due to the absence of a bishop to oversee the New World church. This

led to differences not only between Anglicanism in England and the New World, but also from colony to colony.

The Church in England

The exact date when Christianity first appeared in England and elsewhere on the British Isles is not known (Hylson-Smith 1999:36). Archaeological and linguistic evidence suggests that the earliest time that Christians arrived in England would have been in the late-2nd century. However, material evidence of their presence is not strong until the 4th century when they were allowed to practice their religion openly as the Roman occupation of England was coming to an end (Hylson-Smith 1999:48,53). Over the next few centuries, Christianity became more common in England and during the 7th century, the country had largely been converted and followed the teachings of the Church, now commonly referred to as the Roman Catholic Church (Hylson-Smith 1999).

Prior to the early-16th century, all English people were born into the Catholic faith as it was the only officially recognized religion in the country. While some English people did practice other religions, they faced possible prosecution. As members of the Catholic Church, people were required to pay taxes to their local parish, attend weekly mass, and were expected to attend religious festivals (Rosman 2003:13-14). The Church was a part of everyone's daily life just as much, if not more so, than the state government. Church courts held the authority to punish those parishioners who did not follow their religious obligations and over time, they also became responsible for resolving a number of other grievances between its members, including slander, adultery, and debt recovery (Rosman 2003:13).

In addition to religious and political functions, local churches also played a social function, as they were often considered a source of pride to the community. The church building, its relics, and statues of specific saints provided a sense of common identity to parishioners. Churches also helped maintain a sense of corporate memory. Past generations left their mark on churches through donated objects, inscriptions of those who donated, and burials (Rosman 2003:16). Parishioners not only visited churches for mass, but also for a number of sacred and secular activities. Markets, elections, business meetings, and festivals all occurred in churches or their surrounding churchyards (Rosman 2003:15).

Most English churches constructed within three centuries of the Reformation were longitudinal in plan, meaning their length was about twice that of their width (Figures 3-1 and 3-2). Churches from this period were constructed in such a way that the chancel and the nave were two different but connected structures (Upton 1986a:56-57), effectively separating priests from parishioners. The chancel area (the location of the altar and where communion took place) belonged to priests, while the nave was reserved for lay people. A chancel screen typically separated these two areas and limited the view of the chancel activities from parishioners (Rosman 2003:18). To add to the sense of distinct spaces, church floor plans were also segmented, with a number of smaller chapels and rooms dividing up the nave and the chancel (Upton 1986a:48).

Spiritually, Catholics from the medieval period were most concerned about their death and time in Purgatory. They believed that when all people died they went directly to Purgatory, a place between Heaven and Hell where they would suffer great pain and suffering. Colorful scenes of Purgatory were often painted on church walls to remind

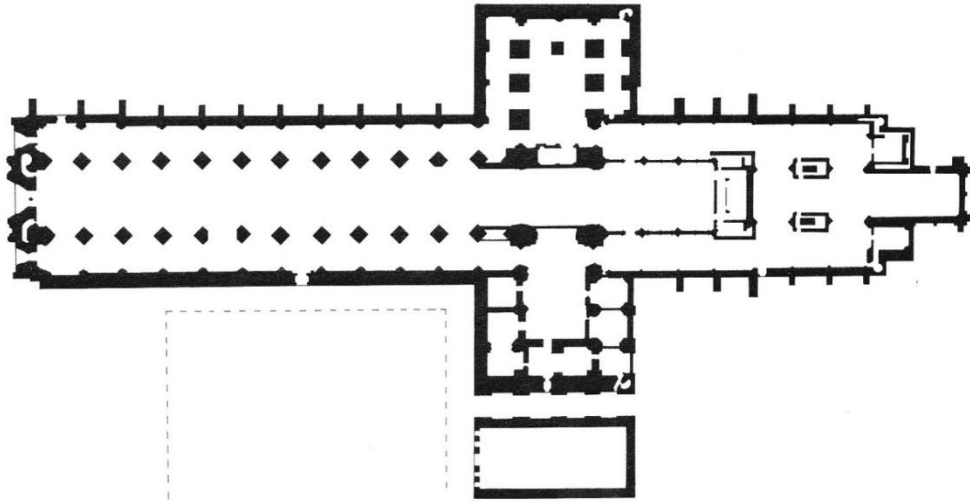


Figure 3-1. Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, England (ca. early-16th century). Floor plan shows traditional pre-Reformation longitudinal floor plan (Morris 1979:277).

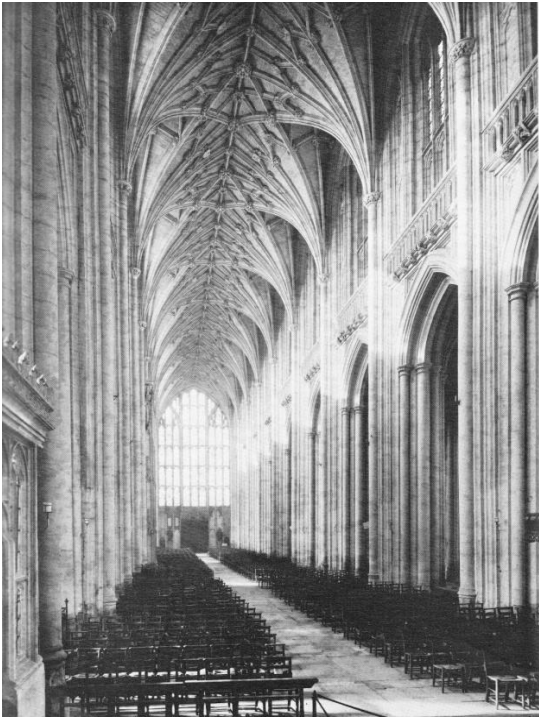


Figure 3-2. Interior of Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire, England (ca. early-16th century). Interior is typical of traditional pre-Reformation longitudinal floor plan (Morris 1979:41).

parishioners of their impending fate (Figure 3-3). While they could not bypass time in Purgatory, parishioners could limit their time there through the confession of sins, charitable contributions, pilgrimages, or through the payment of “indulgences” – items purchased or money given directly to the church (Rosman 2003:3-4). People could also lessen their time in Purgatory by praying to the array of saints associated with the Catholic religion. Since the Pope granted sainthood to individuals based on their works and suffering when they were alive, Catholics believed saints were more likely to be understanding of their own sufferings and hardship. Because of this belief, people thought of saints as intermediaries between people on Earth and God. The importance of indulgences and the worship of saints affected the material culture of churches from this time period. Individual saints often had special days set aside specifically for their honor. They were also represented in churches in a number of ways including wall murals, screen paintings, and statues. Additionally, offerings in the form of money and objects would be left to the saints at church altars and parishioners often lit candles in their honor (Rosman 2003:1-10).

The beginnings of the Protestant Reformation can be traced back to the early-16th century. At that time, scholars began to reread Greek translations of the Bible and found translation errors. These mistakes called into question what the original writers truly meant to say, especially in regard to the idea of penance. Additionally, many people felt the Church hierarchy placed too much emphasis on money and religious relics and that some religious groups had become too lax. Critics, often religious men themselves, wanted the Church and its leaders to be less demanding, complicated, and extravagant (Doran and Durston 2003:11-12; Rosman 2003:26-27).



Figure 3-3. Wall paintings from Pickering Church, Yorkshire, England (mid-15th century) (Rosman 2003:2).

Two of the primary critics of Catholicism were Martin Luther, a German monk, and Huldrych Zwingli, a pastor from Switzerland. They were particularly critical of the idea that people could earn or buy their way into Heaven through prayer, penance, charitable works, serving God, or through monetary gifts to the Church. Luther's re-reading of the Bible led him, Zwingli, and others to believe that it was not possible to earn one's place in Heaven. Rather, salvation could only be provided from God and just by accepting and trusting in Jesus Christ, one could be saved. Luther did not suggest that one should stop prayer, penance, charity, and serving God, as they were still important act of faith, just that they were not needed to secure a place in Heaven. Therefore, there was no need for priests to specifically say mass or prayers for the deceased or to hear formal confession of sins. Due to these differences, Luther and

Zwingli believed that only two of the Catholic Church's seven sacraments were necessary – baptism for infants and communion.

In the mid-1530s, John Calvin of France joined Luther and Zwingli and their ideas and works quickly spread throughout northern Europe, including England (Doran and Durston 2003:11-12; Rosman 2003:27-28). There, people began to follow the teachings of Luther, Zwingli, and later Calvin. Their followers included members of Parliament and a number of King Henry VIII's closest advisors. Henry remained loyal to the Catholic Church, at least until he requested an annulment of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon in 1527. He desired an annulment due to what he perceived to be Katherine's inability to produce a male heir and his wish to marry Anne Boleyn. The Pope denied his request.

Although Henry supported those in Parliament who had misgivings about the Church, he did not immediately set out to separate England from the Catholic Church (Doran and Durston 2003:13-14). Only after several failed annulment attempts did Henry decide to back royal supremacy. This was the idea that the English monarch had always been the rightful leader of the Catholic Church in England, but there had never been the need to exercise that power. With the passing of the Act of Supremacy by the Parliament in 1534, Henry became the Supreme Head of the Church of England (Doran and Durston 2003:65). Over the next two years Henry's advisors, including Queen Anne, persuaded him to adopt some of the ideas of the Reformation. They convinced him that it would help justify his annulment to the English people and strengthen diplomatic relations with Germany.

Beginning in 1536, Henry issued the Ten Articles that led to several changes to the Church of England, primarily related to the worshipping of the saints. The Articles

declared that there were only three sacraments to be followed – baptism, confession, and communion. Unlike Reformation movements on the Continent, the Articles allowed for the continuation of prayers for the dead. They also called for less emphasis to be put on the saints and later that same year, there was further movement away from them. Henry removed several holy days devoted to saints and related festivals from the Church calendar. He also ordered the closure of several monasteries, selling them and keeping the money for the government. Additionally, he called for the destruction of statues, paintings, and other icons associated with the saints. In many communities around England the laity protested these changes, especially in areas near the closed monasteries as local people relied on them for charitable works, trade, and employment (Rosman 2003:32). Two years later, in 1538, Henry directed the clergy to teach against pilgrimages and the worship of images. Additionally, he ordered the printing of English versions of the Bible and made them available in all churches (Doran and Durston 2003:14-17). While he made several changes, including the formal recognition of the Church of England, historians believe Henry sought a middle ground between those who wished to remain tied to the traditional Catholic Church and those who supported the Reformation that was occurring on the European continent (Doran and Durston 2003:17-18).

Henry died in 1547, leaving the throne to his nine year old son Edward VI, whose mother was Jane Seymour. Due to his young age, many of the decisions made during Edward VI's reign were actually made by his advisors, primarily his late mother's brother Edward Seymour, the Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. Both men backed the Reformation movement and continued Henry VIII's

work of moving England further away from the Vatican. Seymour and Cranmer introduced several radical changes during Edward's reign, but they did this gradually in the hopes that the nobility, gentry, and bishops would be more accepting of the changes (Doran and Durston 2003:18-19).

The first changes made by Edward, Seymour, and Cranmer included the use of English during mass at the Chapel Royal and the banning of practices such as processions and the recitation of the rosary. More drastic measures followed. In 1548 they ordered a further removal of imagery from churches. Changes to church interiors included the removal of stained glass windows, often by breaking them, the removal of candles, the replacement of stone altars with wooden altars that could be easily moved to the center of the nave, closer to parishioners, and the white-washing of wall paintings (Figure 3-4). Other changes included the movement of the priests to the center of the church, placing more emphasis on the auditory part of the sermon and allowing more parishioners to see them (Figure 3-5). Celebrations for Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday were abolished. These changes were followed in 1549 by an act allowing clergy to marry and by the introduction of a new Prayer Book, written primarily by Cranmer. While this book contained many of the same parts of the Catholic version, there were two major modifications - it was written in English rather than Latin and it simplified many parts of the Mass and religious ceremonies, such as baptism, the use of holy water, and communion. A second Prayer Book, also written primarily by Cranmer, was released in 1552. Cranmer strongly backed the Protestant Reformation, and his influence is evident in the radical changes to the Prayer Book. This later version called for the removal of many traditional Catholic representations from church services, such



Figure 3-4. Hailes Church, Gloucestershire, England. This church represents a typical post-Reformation church with its Puritan influences such as the moveable wooden table placed in the center of the nave (Rosman 2003:77).

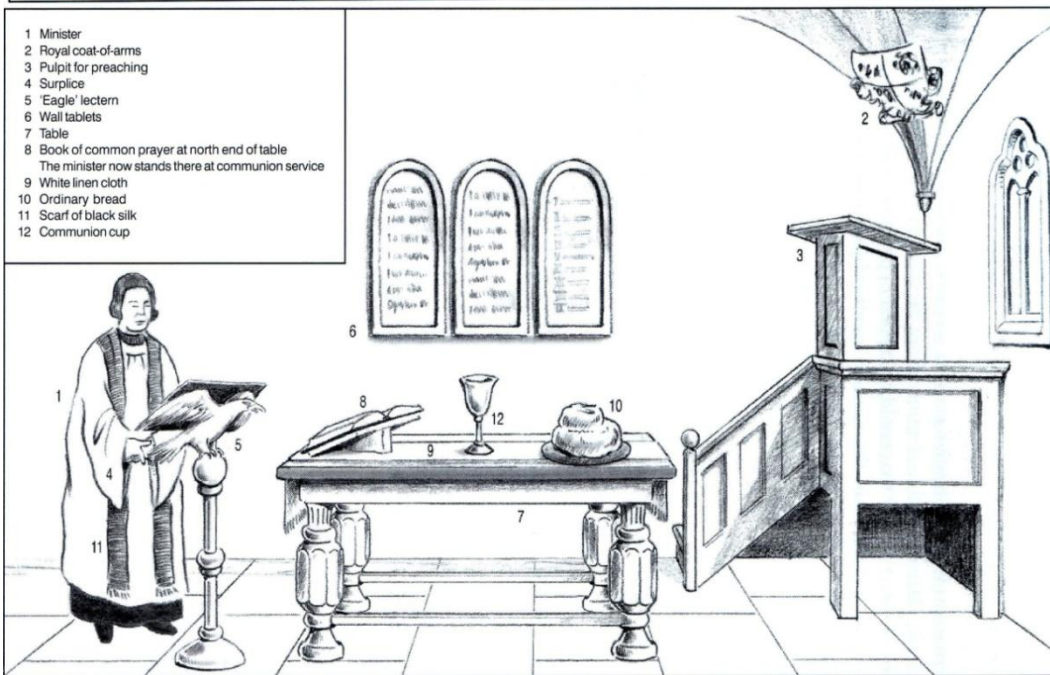
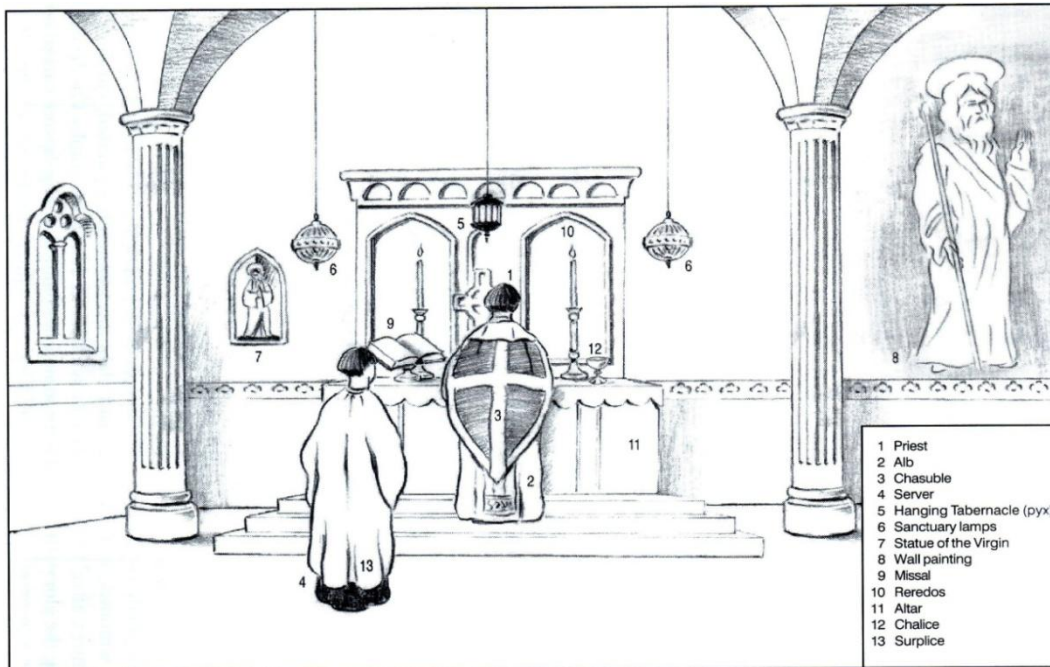


Figure 3-5. Illustration of pre-Reformation (above) and post-Reformation church services (below) (Doran and Durston 2003:46-47).

as mention of the saints, the Virgin Mary, and even the word “mass”. Vestments worn by the clergy became less ornate and they used regular bread rather than the traditional communion wafer (Doran and Durston 2003:19-20; Rosman 2003:36-38).

Edward became quite ill in 1553 and the next in line for succession was his Catholic half-sister Mary. In opposition to her continuing Catholic faith, Edward and his advisors devised a plan to prevent Mary from taking the throne and England from returning to Catholicism. They attempted to promote the Duke of Northumberland’s daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey to the throne since she was a Protestant. Upon Edward’s death, Lady Jane ruled as queen for only a few days, as Mary had a much stronger claim to the throne (Rosman 2003:3).

Upon taking the crown, Mary I brought England back under Vatican control. During her reign the Latin mass returned along with many items and symbols of Catholicism, including Latin prayer books, stone altars, candlesticks, communion ware, vestments, and crosses. Due to poor economic conditions and the cost of restoring Catholic iconography, most churches could only afford to bring back a small amount of their Catholic images, especially after the cost of removing them a few years earlier (Doran and Durston 2003:55-56; Rosman 2003:39-40). Additionally, Mary worked to take back lands that had belonged to the Catholic Church and appointed Catholic bishops to take the place of Protestant, Edwardian bishops (Doran and Durston 2003:158).

While many Englishmen welcomed the return of Catholicism, those who had been influenced by Luther’s teaching did not. Some continued to attend Mass, but with misgivings, others fled to the Continent, and hundreds of others burned at the stake,

often under Mary's orders (Rosman 2003:41-42). However, Rosman (2003) argues that we should not assume this period resulted in the major religious division that is often depicted by historians. Both Catholics and Protestants were (and still are) Christians; therefore, they shared the same fundamental beliefs. For most English people, the switching of parish churches from Catholic to Protestant and back again did not result in drastic changes to their lives. Most still attended the same parish church and changed their religious practices slightly to match the practiced religion of the time. Given time, it is likely that traditional Catholicism "trimmed of some old practices and tinged by residual evangelical influences" (Rosman 2003:43) would have returned in full force. However, Mary's reign only lasted five years. Although she had married Philip of Spain, a Catholic, in 1554, she died childless and with no Catholic heir to the throne. When her half-sister Elizabeth became queen, a return to Protestantism began (Doran and Durston 2003).

Elizabeth I made her distaste of Catholicism known once she took the throne in late 1558; however, she did wait several months into her reign before passing laws that would eventually return England to Protestantism. The first of these laws restored the Act of Supremacy, making her the leader of the English Church. The other, the Act of Uniformity, declared that all English peoples were required to attend weekly church services or face a fine (Doran and Durston 2003:121). This act also introduced another prayer book with only slight modifications from the ones issued under Edward's reign. With these changes, the Church of England had evolved to follow the Protestant tradition, influenced primarily by Calvin, which in many ways still resembled the Catholic Church (Rosman 2003:59). This combination of both traditions remained controversial

for several generations as there were some followers who felt the Church of England had not been reformed enough, while there were others who felt it had gone too far in its reforms (Doran and Durston 2003:22-23).

Historians believe this move back to Protestantism did not immediately affect parishioners' lives to a great extent. In some parishes there was little if any attempt to move away from Catholicism, likely due in large part to the beliefs of the resident clergy. However, as time passed and younger people had no recollection of religion and church services prior to Henry's reign, significant changes began to occur. While there had once been several masses per week, eventually services were only held on Sundays. Music came to play less of a role in services, with parishioner singing taking the place of musical instruments over time. Formal confession with the clergy became optional. Belief in the supernatural remained strong; however, without the visual reminders of God and the saints many only saw the darker side of the supernatural. This led to a number of accusations of witchcraft, both in strong Protestant and former Catholic regions, and to a rise in the popularity of herbal specialists and magicians (Rosman 2003:43-50).

Through the preaching of sermons and the teaching of children through catechism, the Church of England became firmly rooted in English life by the end of the 16th century (Rosman 2003:54). Even though the Church of England was firmly entrenched in English culture, religious differences could still be found. Some Catholics refused to conform to the practices of the Church of England. Those who openly remained true to their Catholic upbringing were shunned and eventually the government passed laws excluding them from serving in many public offices, including Parliament,

and prevented them from attending college (Rosman 2003:68). Other differences existed within the Church of England itself.

The main theological contention of the 17th century revolved around Calvin's ideas on predestination. Calvin taught that God had already selected those people he would allow into Heaven; therefore, the fate of all humans had already been predestined. Calvinists believed that those who failed to follow God's teachings and did not live their lives as God expected were predestined to fail because God had not chosen them for salvation. The opposite was also true – anybody who followed God's teachings in his or her lives was among the chosen that were already predestined for Heaven. As Rosman (2003:61) states, "they were not saved because they believed, they believed because they were saved."

Those in England who followed Calvin's teachings more closely than suggested by the Church of England became known as Puritans (Rosman 2003:61). Another group, the Arminians, named after Jacobus Arminius, thought that all who believed in God would be allowed into Heaven, not just those who God supposedly had preselected. The leader of the Church at this time was King James I, Elizabeth's successor. Although he was a Calvinist, James believed that all points of view should be welcomed into the English Church; therefore, he appointed some Arminians as bishops. This is just one example of his actions that led many Puritans to believe James was not following Calvinist ideals closely enough, leading many to ultimately leave England for the New World (Rosman 2003:83).

The tensions between Catholics, Puritans, and Arminians grew even more when James died, leaving his son, Charles I, as his successor. Charles did not follow the

same views as his father and after becoming king in 1625, he appointed several Arminians to some of the highest religious positions. Two of the higher appointments were William Laud as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Richard Neile as the Archbishop of York (Rosman 2003:74). As Arminians gained more representation in the Church of England, they began to restrict Calvinists publications and more priests converted to Arminian ideals (Rosman 2003:74). Arminians eventually became known as Laudians, after one of their strongest leaders, the new Archbishop of Canterbury. Laudians sought to return to more traditional aspects of the Catholic tradition, especially in regard to the interior furnishings of churches. Rather than the plain and undecorated churches preferred by earlier Protestants, especially Puritans, Laudians sought to make churches beautiful again through the return of statues, pictures, music, and stained glass windows (Doran and Durston 2003:31). Permanent altars were restored in the chancels and railings were used to separate the chancel from the nave, signifying the sacredness of that area (Rosman 2003:76). Laudians did not find anything fundamentally wrong with Catholic doctrine. Rather, they wanted the Church of England to have its independence from the Vatican (Rosman 2003:79). These movements back towards the ideas of Catholicism, and especially Charles's marriage to a Catholic, convinced many people that the Church of England was allying itself too much with the Vatican. This was disconcerting to many, especially Puritans, who believed there was no hope in their situation in England. They began to flee to the colonies of the New World, primarily New England, in larger numbers than were seen during the reign of James I (Doran and Durston 2003:31-32, Rosman 2003:83-84).

These religious divisions led to political turmoil in England. As King of England, Charles I also ruled over Scotland, where Presbyterianism prevailed. Presbyterianism has its roots in Calvinism and in many ways is very similar to Puritanism. The primary difference is that Presbyterians believed that while both the church and the state should support one another, they were only accountable to God, not to each other (Loetscher 1983:26). Therefore, it is not surprising that when Charles I tried to force the Church of England onto the Scottish people, they rebelled against him. Between the problems with Scotland and growing discontent at home due to the belief that Charles was taking England back towards the Vatican, a Civil War broke out in England during the 1640s.

Churches and cathedrals were especially affected by the war. Lay people who did not like the Laudian changes ripped out altar railings and attacked clergy who were not sympathetic to the Reformation. Meanwhile, Parliament passed laws that once again ordered the removal of crucifixes, statues, and other iconography. The Puritans saw this turmoil as an opportunity to have more of a say in religious matters at home and emigration to the colonies slowed dramatically during this period. England fell into near chaos, both religiously and politically (Rosman 2003:88-89). Many people who felt it was just important to follow God met in order to read the Bible, no matter their religious preference.

Charles was eventually tried for his crimes against England and he was executed on January 30, 1649. Since Scottish Presbyterians had aided in the rebellion against Charles, they demanded that their ideas be a part of the new Church of England. The Puritan idea that only some people were chosen by God fell by the wayside as Presbyterian ideas that everyone had the opportunity to go to Heaven grew stronger.

Another group, George Fox's Society of Friends of Truth, more commonly known as Quakers, also became prominent during the 1640s and 1650s (Rosman 2003:94-95).

With the execution of Charles, England was without a leader to restore order. Since both the Parliament and the military were still relatively intact, there were divisions between the two parties. Oliver Cromwell, a member of Parliament and an army commander, worked with both sides. As Parliament would not vote to dismiss itself, Cromwell called for the army to dismiss them. Cromwell established a provisional assembly comprised of men with a variety of religious backgrounds. This temporary assembly dissolved after only six months, largely due to the inexperience of its members. At the request of the head of the army, Cromwell became "Lord Protector" of England and its new leader (Rosman 2003:99).

More years of turmoil continued due to the uncertainty of who was truly in charge of the government and which direction the Church of England would take. During this period, the government made it illegal for clergy to perform wedding ceremonies, the Puritans tried to bring an end to Christmas celebrations for being linked too closely with pagan ideas of the winter solstice, and others continued to cling to Catholic traditions (Rosman 2003:102-103). Cromwell died in 1658 and with England once again without a head of state, the military and Parliament turned to Charles I's son. In May 1660, Charles II became the king with the primary goal of restoring the English monarchy and the Church of England, a period that has become known as the Restoration (Rosman 2003:104).

Charles II and his new government set out to create a new church that was more encompassing to include Puritans, Independents, such as the Quakers, and Laudians.

While the Puritans were to be included in this new church, there was a push to restrict their power (Rosman 2003:105). The new prayer book brought back several traditional practices such as making the sign of the cross on a baby at baptism, altar rails and the practice of kneeling at them for communion, and more elaborate vestments - all ideas that Puritans strongly opposed (Doran and Durston 2003:33; Rosman 2003:105-106). Clergy, who had become accustomed to some leeway in their individual practices over the previous 100 years, were now required to preach according to the prayer book. These actions resulted in the new Church not being as inclusive as it was intended to be (Rosman 2003:106).

Dissenters, the term given to those people and groups who did not support the new prayer book, began to have private religious meetings and grew in numbers. By this time dissenters included a number of different groups including Puritans, Presbyterians, Quakers, Baptists, Independents (Congregationalists), and Anabaptists. In 1672 Charles II enacted the Declaration of Indulgence, allowing dissenters to hold public meetings. He also gave Catholics the same rights, much to the dismay of most of the laity and Parliament. Due to strong anti-Catholic sentiments, Parliament refused to grant Charles any concessions until he withdrew his Declaration of Indulgence, which he did. Fears of Catholicism had returned, in large part due to James, Charles's brother and next in line of succession, being a Catholic. When James II ascended the throne in 1685, he pushed his Catholic ideas and placed Catholics in prominent positions. His actions were not well received and in 1688 he was forced from the country. James' daughter Mary and her husband, William, took over the monarchy in what is often called the "Glorious Revolution." Under their reign, Parliament passed the Toleration Act in

1689. This act granted religious tolerance to most dissenting groups, excluding Catholics (Rosman 2003:106-116).

While the passing of the Toleration Act may at first appear to be the end of the English Reformation, in the decades following its passage significant changes continued to occur, leading at least one historian to consider the early-18th century to be:

...the final act of the long drama of the English Reformation, in which the factors which had created the uneasy tensions of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church and had blown apart the English Church under Charles I came together to create a Church with which the great majority of English people could identify (Jacob 1996:223).

During this period significant changes in the Anglican Church and English religious life occurred, laying the groundwork for the Anglican Church throughout most of the remainder of the 18th century until the Methodist and Evangelical revivals later in the century (Jacob 1996:1). Dissenter meeting houses sprang up around England and since they were not seen as sacred places, services could be held in any building. Their interiors were typically very plain, often with just a pulpit, a centrally located communion table, and pews set up so as not to favor any particular individuals or families (Rosman 2003:118). The Toleration Act did not erase all tensions between the Church of England and dissenters, however, as certain laws still discriminated against dissenters. For example, unless men declared themselves to be members of the Church of England many public offices were not available to them and they were not allowed to attend

Oxford or Cambridge Universities (Rosman 2003:118-123). Despite these restrictions, dissenters were able to be influential in England, eventually evolving to the various denominations of Protestantism seen today.

Even with the option to worship as they pleased, nearly 90% of English people still considered themselves a part of the Church of England (Rosman 2003:126), with some estimates closer to 95% (Jacob 1996:6). During the early-to-mid-18th century the term Anglican began to be used to describe the Church of England and those who continued to belong to it (Rosman 2003:136). For Anglicans, life did not change much. Parish priests conducted and supervised sacraments such as baptisms, marriages, and funerals as they had before (Rosman 2003:136-137). Parishes continued to act as local governing bodies and churches played important social roles for the community as they were the setting for many festivals, important community announcements, and where community safety equipment was kept. Parish churches were material expressions of the connection between religious, social, and civic life, as well as a source of community identity and pride (Jacob 1996:187-188).

Within the churches themselves, there were changes in architecture and the use of interior space that indicate a lessening of Puritan influence on the Church and a partial return to pre-Reformation ideas. Externally, architects constructed new churches as show pieces, especially in urban centers such as London (Jacob 1996:205). A number of London churches built after the Great Fire of 1666 demonstrate this trend, especially those designed by one of the period's most famous architects, Christopher Wren (Figures 3-6 and 3-7). His ideas of grand design in church architecture continued to be influential into the early-18th century and spread well beyond England, ultimately

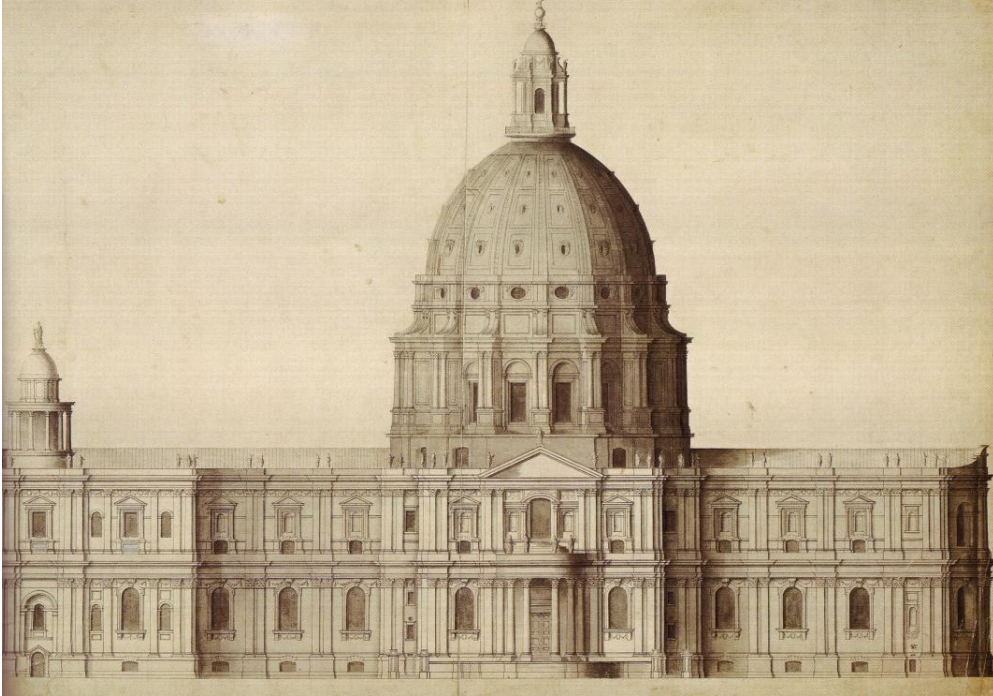


Figure 3-6. Christopher Wren's design for St. Paul's Cathedral, London, England (ca. late-17th century) (Saunders 2001:65).

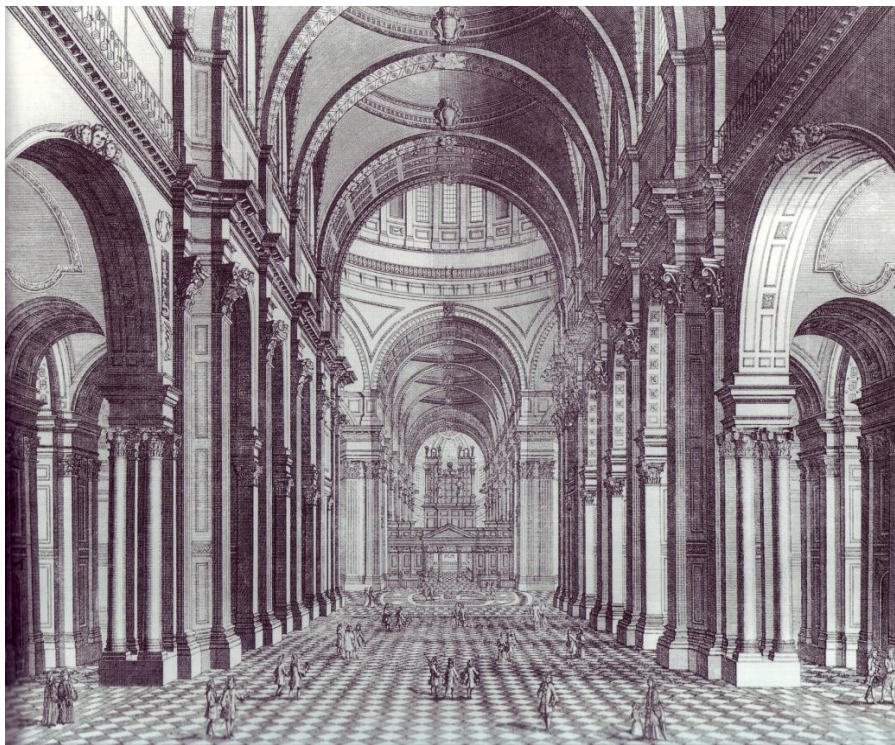


Figure 3-7. Interior of St. Paul's Cathedral (c. 1720) (Saunders 2001:87).

influencing church architecture around the world (Ali and Cunich 1995:56). One of Wren's most important contributions to church architecture was his insistence that all parishioners should be able to hear the sermon. Therefore, he designed his churches so that all parishioners sat within hearing distance of the minister, which he determined to be fifty-five feet in front, twenty feet behind the minister, or thirty feet to either side of him (Nelson 2005:66). These calculated distances greatly affected the size and shape of new church structures both in England and in the New World. In the interior of both old and new churches, altars and pulpits were moved to the chancel and pews were rearranged so that parishioners would face east towards the chancel. In a way this reverted back to the separation of the priest and congregation; however, by moving the pulpit closer to the chancel, the Protestant-influenced emphasis on the sermon continued. Many pulpits became multi-tiered with sounding boards placed over them to amplify the voice of the minister, making it easier for everyone in the church to hear his sermon.

While an important part of the Anglican Church service, pulpits were no longer seen as the focal point of the church. In another return to pre-Reformation ideas, the altar became the new center of attention, renewing the emphasis on the sacrament of communion. This was expressed not only by moving the altar back to the chancel, but also by the use of lavish decorations such as silk tablecloths, silver communion sets, and candlesticks (Jacob 1996:208-211). Wall paintings and iconography reappeared in many churches, especially in urban areas, and while not nearly as common, stained glass windows also began to be used again.

By the early-18th century, seating within Anglican churches came to represent social order, due largely to the belief that one's place in the social order of Heaven was dictated by one's social position on Earth. This led to wealthier parishioners having their own elevated pews, separate entrances, and warming devices such as fireplaces (Jacob 1996:215). Men and women often sat separately, usually with wealthier men in the front pews, followed by their female relatives and children, and lower status men and women behind them. This practice did not continue for too long into the 18th century, as pew boxes became more common, allowing for family members to sit together, regardless of their sex (Jacob 1996:216-217).

For the Anglican Church itself, the Glorious Revolution led to changes in the relationship between priests and their parishioners, as well as changes in the overall moral behavior of parishioners. Because of new views on religious tolerance, Church of England priests not only had to worry about being able to persuade their parishioners to stay with the Church rather than switching denominations, but also needed to attract new members (Gregory 1993:70; Walsh and Taylor 1993:16). Priests also became concerned about dropping church attendance. While this was partially due to parishioners leaving for dissenting churches, some people felt the Toleration Act did not require church attendance of any kind (Walsh and Taylor 1993:16-17). Church leaders were also concerned with what they perceived to be increasing bad moral behavior, including swearing and prostitution. To combat these issues, Anglican priests began to take a more pastoral position with their parishioners, one where they assumed more individual responsibility over the care of their followers (Gregory 1993). On a larger scale, this concern led to Anglican Church leaders founding internal groups such as the

Societies for the Reformation of Manners and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to combat immoral behavior and educate their parishioners on proper Christian ways (Walsh and Taylor 1993:18).

From Henry VIII through the Toleration Act, many significant changes to the architecture and other material culture of English churches and the relationship between priests and parishioners took place. Usually these changes coincided with a change in the monarchy, whether it was due to a natural succession of the throne or when a monarch was forced to step down due to changing ideas of a majority of the people. This period also greatly influenced emigration to the colonies in the New World. In the early-to-mid-17th century, many dissenting groups did not see a promising future for their religion and their ability to practice it freely in England; therefore, many saw no other option but to leave their homeland for the New World. Several dissenting groups established themselves there in pursuit of religious freedom, including Puritans, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Quakers. Dissenters played important social, political, and economic roles in the development of colonial America. The Anglican Church also played a significant role in many of the colonies; however, it was a different church than it was in England.

The Anglican Church in the New World

As England acquired colonies throughout the New World, the Anglican Church was introduced to the North American mainland and British Caribbean islands. Although a number of dissenting groups settled in the New World to escape religious persecution, the Anglican Church still held a higher membership than any other denomination,

except in New England which was dominated by the Congregational Church (Woolverton 1984:28). Church doctrine did not vary between England and the New World, as Anglicanism was still one religion with the same leadership. This familiarity may have allowed the Anglican Church to remain very popular with English settlers in the New World, even among a number of dissenting groups, as it provided a sense of English identity to its members. For colonists far from England and in a new, unsettled, and foreign land, the familiar language, culture, and customs likely provided a sense of home and made their new life more bearable (Hawkins 1983; Woolverton 1984; Linder 2000). While church doctrine remained the same, there were significant differences in how Anglicanism was practiced in the New World as well as differences in its material culture.

The Church of England arrived in the New World with the first English settlers of Jamestown in 1607. From its onset, it was the official church of the Virginia colony. While it did eventually play large political and economic roles in the colony, it did not immediately do so because of the lack of priests and the struggles of early colonists to survive. During the first decades of the colony, the primary roles of the Church were to help maintain order in Jamestown and later settlements and to convert Native Americans to Christianity (Woolverton 1984:64).

After the Restoration in 1660, greater differences between the Church in Virginia and England arose, leading to a distinct New World Anglican Church. Most of these distinctions relate back to the absence of a local bishop and centralized power within the New World Anglican Church (Cross 1964; Bolton 1982; Woolverton 1984). The Bishop of London remained the official head of the Anglican Church overseas, but due

to the great distance between the New World and London, he had little control over everyday colonial church matters. To help remedy this situation, the Bishop of London assigned a commissary to each colony to act on his behalf and be his liaison. However, the commissary could not perform many of the duties of a bishop. This led to certain ecclesiastical and civic functions in the colonies being assigned to other parties, or not being conducted at all. Issues regarding priests, such as their assignment, suspension, and firing, came under the control of local laities, a unique characteristic of Anglicanism in the New World. This change allowed colonial political officials and parishioners to have more control of church matters and consequently, led to a great amount of diversity in the way Anglicanism was practiced throughout the New World (Woolverton 1984:20). Ordination of new priests could only be conducted by the Bishop of London, so any man who wished to be ordained had to travel to England. Consequently, most Anglican priests came to the New World from England and in some situations, priests preached without being ordained. Other ecclesiastical functions, namely the consecration of churches and the administration of the sacrament of confirmation, fell by the wayside (Cross 1964; Bolton 1982; Woolverton 1984).

Civil duties such as the recording of and control over probates and marriages typically fell under the control of colonial governors. This was the case in Virginia and led to local politics and religion becoming intertwined. The governor had the authority to assign, review, and remove parish priests as he deemed necessary, as well as to grant marriage licenses and to probate wills (Upton 1986a:5). Virginia's legislative body, the General Assembly, also held a tremendous amount of power, including the authority to create and alter parish boundaries, as well as to pass laws and acts regarding church

affairs and buildings as they saw fit. Collection of parish taxes became the responsibility of county officials who could also take legal action against those accused of morality issues (Upton 1986a:6). With the Church associating itself more with local politics and interests, local parish vestries gained more control over parish affairs (Woolverton 1984:53).

Parish vestries were comprised of elected men who oversaw all aspects of parish affairs, including electing priests and paying their salaries, construction and maintenance of church building and glebe lands, church attendance, and monitoring parishioners' moral behavior. The vestries typically met once a year to discuss and decide on pending issues, including the amount of parish taxes needed for the upcoming year. This meeting occurred in October after the tobacco harvest when planters could pay their parish tax. The makeup of the vestry changed throughout the 17th century, but by the century's end parish vestries were usually comprised of twelve men and the parish minister. While originally parishioners elected vestrymen, after 1662 vestries could elect their own members, leading to many vestrymen serving life-long appointments (Upton 1986a:6-7). Other important positions within the parish church included church wardens who saw to the daily business of the church such as preparing the church for service and minor repairs. Parish clerks held many responsibilities including documenting vestry minutes and vital statistics such as births, baptisms, and deaths, as well as assisting the parish minister during service and preaching in his absence (Upton 1986a:7). Overall, this "laicization" of the Church led to traditional Anglican Church leaders such as bishops and archbishops having very little power and control in Virginia (Woolverton 1984:74) and later elsewhere in the colonial world.

Another significant difference between the Anglican Church in the New World and England was its missionary role. The Church was no longer concerned with just the conversion of dissenters to Anglicanism, but also the conversion of indigenous peoples, and to a lesser extent enslaved Africans, to Christianity. To meet this goal, Thomas Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary from Maryland, created the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), the missionary body of the Anglican Church, in 1701 (Figure 3-8). The Archbishop of Canterbury was the official leader of the SPG and other members included the Bishop of London, a variety of higher church leaders, laity from London, and merchants. Members were responsible for raising capital through the solicitation of money from wealthy friends, acquaintances, and businessmen in order to recruit missionaries, pay for their travel overseas, and provide their initial salaries (Woolverton 1984: 88-89). In addition to the conversion of indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans, the SPG was responsible for providing information to Anglican officials in England about the religious and social conditions in the Americas. This was part of a larger political plan for England to build its empire through the creation of a homogeneous society in the New World (Woolverton 1984:86). To accomplish these goals, the SPG sent hundreds of English priests to the New World to act as missionaries during the first half of the 18th century. The involvement of the SPG varied between colonies with more of its resources spent on colonies where they felt they were most needed – South Carolina and the Caribbean.

The amount of SPG involvement in combination with varying levels of laity control and religious tolerance led to significant differences in the importance of the Church from colony to colony. While leaders and members of the Anglican Church



Figure 3-8. Seal of the SPG. (Photo courtesy of: <http://anglicansonline.org/special/spg.html>).

could be found in every British colony, only in six colonies - Virginia, New York, North Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, and South Carolina – did the Church become established. Establishment was an important distinction as it led to a colony's government formally recognizing the Anglican Church and supporting it politically and monetarily (Woolverton 1984:16). Establishment also indicated that there was no separation between state and church, as the church was a part of the colonial government; however, the level of government involvement declined in the colonies by the mid-18th century.

In Virginia, the Church was not officially established until 1619; however, the status of the Church of England was never questioned. For neighboring Maryland, the establishment of the Anglican Church was not as easy. Maryland was originally granted to Caecilius Calvert, a Catholic, who intended to make the colony a place of religious tolerance and a refuge for Catholics (Woolverton 1984:136). The colony attracted not only Catholics, but also Quakers, Puritans, and Anglicans, which led to decades of religious, social, and political tension. During the later decades of the 17th century, the Anglican Church began to play a stronger role in Maryland, largely due to the Glorious Revolution in England and the change in Maryland government from a proprietary to a royal government (Woolverton 1984:139). These changes resulted in the establishment of the Anglican Church in Maryland in 1702 (Woolverton 1984:16). With establishment in Maryland, the Anglican presence in the Chesapeake was very strong and by the early 18th century nearly half of all Anglican churches on the mainland were located in Virginia and Maryland (Woolverton 1984:28). Because of the strength of the Anglican Church in the Chesapeake, the SPG was never a powerful player there, nor did it provide the colony with missionaries (Woolverton 1984).

In colonies founded by other religious groups, the Anglican Church made some headway beginning in the later part of the 17th century. In New England, the Church had little presence before the early-18th century. The northeastern colonies had largely been settled by staunch Puritans who had fled England during the 1620s and 1630s when Charles I married a Roman Catholic and the Church of England appeared to be moving away from its Puritan stance of the past several decades. Once settled in New England, some Puritans formed their own distinctive denomination, the Congregational Church. While a minority, a few practicing Anglicans did live in the region such as those known to have lived at Plymouth Plantation. They were allowed to stay at Plymouth as long as they kept their worship at home and did not publicly celebrate Anglican holy days, such as Christmas (Woolverton 1984:109).

It was not until June 1686 that the first Anglican parish was formed in what is now Massachusetts (Woolverton 1984:108). A few months later, 400 Anglican worshippers met in order to use the Book of Common Prayer. This was a significant event for the Anglican Church in New England as, “until that day, the Standing Order of New World Congregationalism stopped the mouth of whichever lone Anglican lions dared roam the forests of New England” (Woolverton 1984:108). Anglicans very slowly continued to gain some footing in New England, especially after Bray formed the SPG. He did not wish for the Anglican Church to compete with the Congregational Church. Rather he wanted it to operate only in places where the Congregationalists were not established, namely in the frontier areas of the colony; however, SPG and Anglican Church leaders did not always follow Bray’s vision. Through the early 1720s, the SPG remained the dominant Anglican presence in New England and was especially strong in Newbury and

Marblehead in Massachusetts, and in Connecticut (Woolverton 1984:88,123). The growing presence of the Church, along with royal support from England, and the Congregationalists allowing Anglican priests to be elected if chosen by a majority of church members, eventually led to several Anglican parishes being formed in Massachusetts (Woolverton 1984:113).

Unlike the Puritans in New England and the Quakers in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, New York had not been settled primarily by a single religious group. Instead its population was comprised of a number of different religious groups. Prior to the 1690s, it is estimated that only one out of every seventeen of its residents was Anglican with the rest consisting of English dissenters, French Calvinists, Swedish Lutherans, and Dutch Reformed (Woolverton 1984:123). This began to change in the 1690s, as from that time on all of New York's colonial governors were practicing Anglicans (Woolverton 1984:123). While the Anglican Church grew more popular around the time of the 18th century, it never did become the dominant religion and only became established in and around New York City (Woolverton 1984:16).

The growing presence of the Anglican Church in New York led to further changes throughout the region. As Anglicanism became more practiced in New York, it spread outwards. The religious makeup of Pennsylvania and New Jersey was extremely similar – Quakers dominated both colonies; however, they were tolerant of other Christian religions. Anglicanism spread southward from New York and construction of the first Anglican church began in the Quaker stronghold of Burlington, New Jersey in 1699 (Woolverton 1984:132). The Church and later the SPG only gained a minor presence in either Pennsylvania or New York as evidenced by the fact that the SPG typically only

had two missionaries at any given time in New Jersey, and never more than four at once (Woolverton 1984:133).

In the southern colonies, the influence and power of the Anglican Church and the SPG varied between North Carolina and South Carolina, and much later, Georgia. They had the most success in South Carolina. Although South Carolina was a colony of religious tolerance, the Church had a strong social and political role there, leading to the establishment of the Church in 1706. The history of the Anglican Church and the SPG in South Carolina will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 4. Both the Church and the SPG had a presence in North Carolina; however, neither was overly successful there. European settlement in North Carolina was concentrated in the southeastern portion of the colony around Albemarle Sound and Cape Fear, but due to the lack of urban centers, the population was very dispersed and rural (Woolverton 1984:168). By the time the first Anglican settlers arrived, Quakers had already been in the colony for several years and were the only organized religious group present. Reverend Blair, a SPG missionary, wrote in 1704 that Anglicans were far outnumbered by Quakers, Presbyterians, and atheists, likely Tuscarora Indians (Woolverton 1984:170). As the number of Anglicans rose in the colony, they began to play a larger role in the colonial government. This resulted in the first of six attempts at establishment by the colonial legislature. The Anglican Church faced many hurdles after the first establishment in 1701 due to religious tolerance and large numbers of Quakers. Despite their efforts, the SPG did little to help the situation, as they only assigned six missionaries to the colony between 1708 and 1723. Five of the six missionaries left within two years, reportedly finding it extremely difficult to live in the harsh conditions of the colony (Woolverton

1984:170). After the Tuscarora Indian War of 1711, the colony became more stable, but never as much as its southern neighbor, South Carolina. With each subsequent establishment law passed, laymen gained more authority over their parish affairs; however, these acts did not hold up to the English crown as they continually took power away from the colonial governor. This resulted in a very weak North Carolina Anglican Church through the colonial period.

Further south, the colony of Georgia was founded by James Oglethorpe, an Anglican, in 1732. Due to its location, Georgia was to provide a strong English presence and serve as a buffer between South Carolina and Spanish Florida. This location also led to the colony attracting settlers from a variety of religious backgrounds, as it was between a number of dissenting groups in South Carolina and Catholics in Florida. Other religious groups took advantage of the religious diversity in Georgia and settled there as well including Lutherans, Moravians, Scot Calvinists, Quakers, Puritans, Baptists, French Catholics, and Jews (Woolverton 1984:22). The result of all this religious diversity is that no one religion dominated the colony. Even after the Anglican Church became established in 1758, the Church was never a powerful entity in the colony due to the number of dissenters (Woolverton 1984:22-23).

On the British Caribbean islands, the Anglican Church had a presence, especially on the islands of Barbados and Jamaica, as well as St. Kitts and Nevis. The absence of a bishop in the New World had its effects on the Caribbean islands as well, especially Jamaica. There the Anglican Church had a tremendous amount of local social and political control from the initial founding of the colony in 1655, “unlike anywhere else in the colonial British world” (Nelson 2005:64). Local church leaders

made all decisions regarding election and dismissal of priests and the construction of churches, leaving the Bishop of London with little, if any, control over the Jamaican Church. The island was also the home to many members of dissenting religious groups; however, they never gained enough power to put the established Anglican Church at risk (Nelson 2005:64).

On the island of Barbados, neither the Anglican Church, nor any other religion, were all that important to most English people living there (Dunn 1972:103). Other protestant religious groups were also present, including the Quakers, who were very active throughout the Caribbean in their attempts to introduce and convert enslaved peoples to Christianity (Dunn 1972:249). Most English planters on the island were adamant that slaves should not be converted and baptized as Christians and passed laws against Quakers who tried to involve them in their community (Dunn 1972:104).

A notable exception to this practice was English planter Christopher Codrington. Upon his death in 1710, Codrington bequeathed his two Barbadian sugar plantations, along with their 300 slaves, to the SPG expressing that it was his wish that any profits made should be used to promote the SPG's mission of religious education and conversion in the Caribbean (Schutz 1946:192). The SPG planned to build a school with their profits; however, they suffered from very poor management, because SPG leaders in England had control over the plantation. Letters written by SPG missionaries from Barbados back to London suggest that the day-to-day operations of the plantation were most likely handled by overseers, not missionaries. One letter in particular stands out as Reverend Arthur Holt, one of the SPG's missionaries, writes of his dismay at the treatment of slaves on the property. Holt states,

I Think it not Improper to take Notice here of a usuage which for some years, has gone under ye Society's Name in their plantations these letters S O C I E T Y in large Characters are Brandished with a Red hot Iron upon ye Naked Breast of ye New Negroes as If they were So many Beasts, a Cruelty which I believe ye Society will think proper to Discourage (Holt to SPG Secretary, April 3, 1732, SPG).

It is unknown if SPG leaders did anything to discourage such treatment, or allowed it to continue. In addition to the SPG owning a sugar plantation, at least one missionary, Reverend James Zeller, was a sugar planter. His plantation on Jamaica was worth an estimated £3,152 and he owned 39 slaves (Dunn 1972:267).

Differences in Anglican material culture can also be seen between England and the New World. During the first twelve years of Virginia's existence, English settlers constructed only four churches followed by another four over the following forty years (Upton 1986a:12). These earliest churches were likely wood-frame structures with post-in-ground construction and were likely much smaller than the large masonry churches parishioners were used to attending in England (Upton 1886a:13 and 35). Within the walls of the Jamestown Fort, colonists constructed three churches prior to 1620. The first church, built in 1608, was described as barn-like, but otherwise very little is known about it. The second church, also constructed in 1608 after a fire destroyed the first church, has been the subject of recent archaeological excavations. The post-in-ground structure measured 60 x 20 ft., with the chancel in the east end, identified by the

presence of four burials. A third church, constructed in the late 1610s, was a 50 x 20 ft. wooden structure built on a stone foundation (Jamestown Rediscovery 2012). Besides these three descriptions, very little is known of the layout and interior of Virginia's earliest churches, but they were likely very similar to early-17th century English churches with pulpits located in the nave and simple altars that could be moved into the nave close to parishioners. Due to the strong Puritan leanings during this period, interior furnishings were probably sparse. Church-building in Virginia greatly increased post-1660 with 34 churches constructed over the next sixty years.

The construction of a church from the initial site selection to its completion was a long process, typically lasting several years. Church supervisors desired church sites with access to roads and springs; however, having a landowner who was willing to sell his land was also an issue (Upton 1986a:14). Vestrymen, builders, and church supervisors collaborated on the overall floor plan and design of the church. Seventeenth-century Virginia churches were predominantly wood frame construction, while brick churches started to appear and grew in popularity throughout the 18th century (Upton 1986a:13). These churches, and most others throughout the New World, had a very different floor plan and appearance than the long and narrow longitudinal plan of England's medieval churches. Due to the Puritan influences on the Church, especially the emphasis they placed on parishioners being able to hear the minister's sermon, the English design was no longer practical. Poor economic conditions in England did not allow for major renovations to existing churches and new churches were rare. Therefore, English parishioners and church leaders had to make do with the churches they had, resulting in the changes in interior furnishings and their layout

discussed above. While English churches could not afford to make all these changes, New World Anglican churches were initially constructed with these Puritan ideas in mind.

The auditory floor plan was by far the most popular church type in Virginia. Auditory plans were rectangular with wide or even multiple aisles, making the church's width closer to its length, and thereby allowing all parishioners to see and hear the sermon. Variants of this plan occurred through Virginia and the New World, with the most common design in colonial Virginia being a one-story rectangular building with entrances located on the south and west sides of the church, and a window along the east wall of the chancel (Figures 3-9 and 3-10) (Upton 1986a:60). As populations grew and congregation size increased, a problem arose with the rectangular, auditory plan as it led to limitations on church expansion. Roofing supports could only span so many feet and remain structurally sound which made expanding the width of the church by a significant amount nearly impossible. An alternative was to expand the church's length, but that would create a return to the longitudinal plan that would place some parishioners a great distance from the minister, making it difficult to hear the sermon. One way to increase the size of the church and still allow parishioners to hear was to construct an extension perpendicular to the center aisle, creating a T-shape floor plan which was especially common in early 18th-century Virginia (Figures 3-11 and 3-12). A variant of this was a cruciform-shape design that had two extensions perpendicular to either side of the aisle, creating either a Latin or Greek cross (Figures 3-13 and 3-14) (Upton 1986a:78-80). The cruciform plan became very popular in 18th-century Virginia, comprising one-third of the colony's churches (Nelson 2008:263).

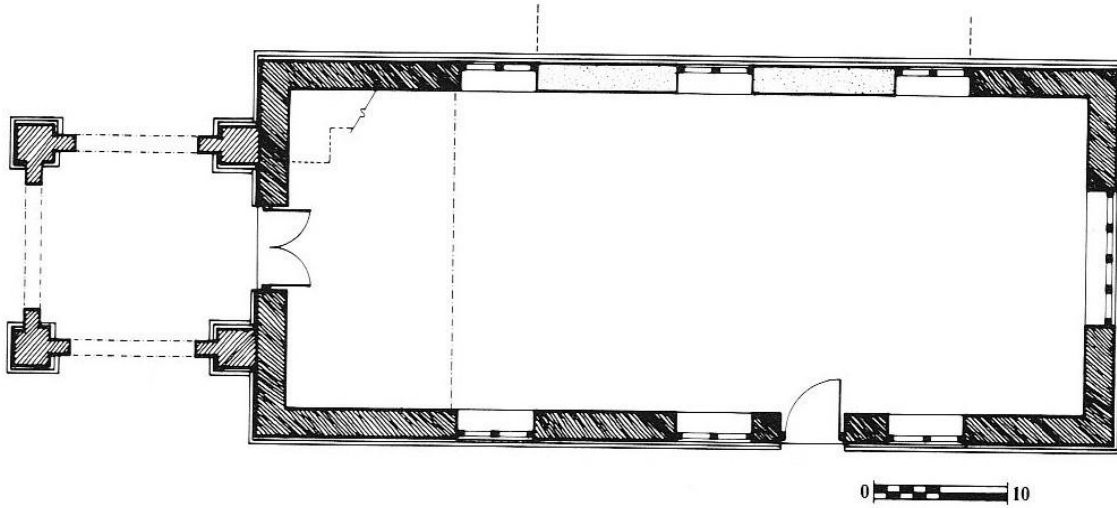


Figure 3-9. Floor plan of St. Peter's Parish Church, Virginia (ca. 1701). This church is typical of early Virginia's rectangular auditory churches (Upton 1986a:63).

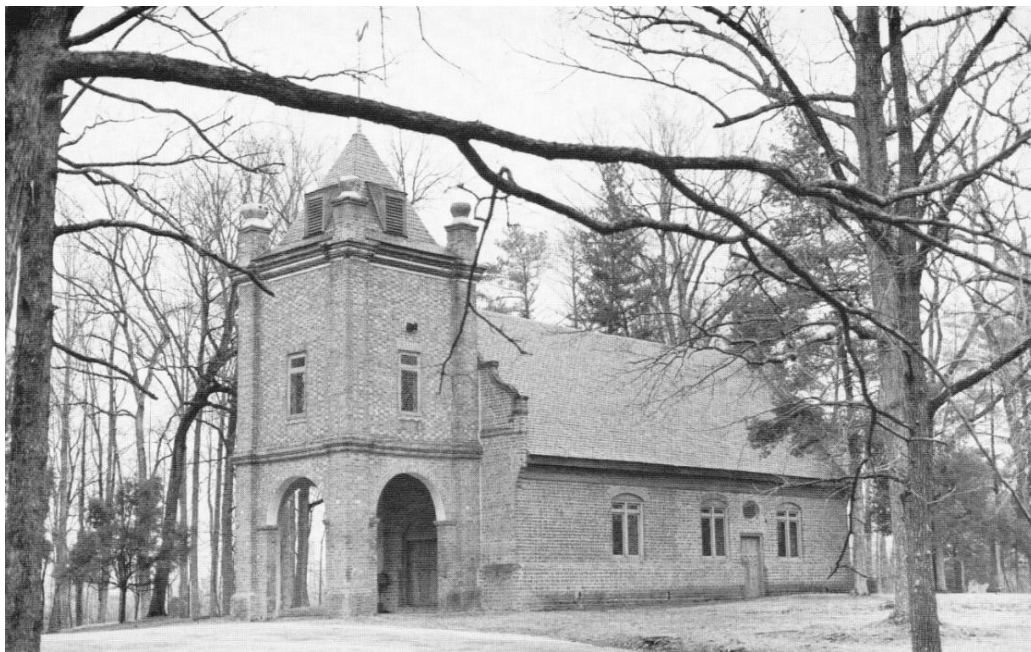


Figure 3-10. Exterior of St. Peter's Parish Church, Virginia (ca. 1701). This church is typical of early Virginia's rectangular auditory churches (Upton 1986a:63).

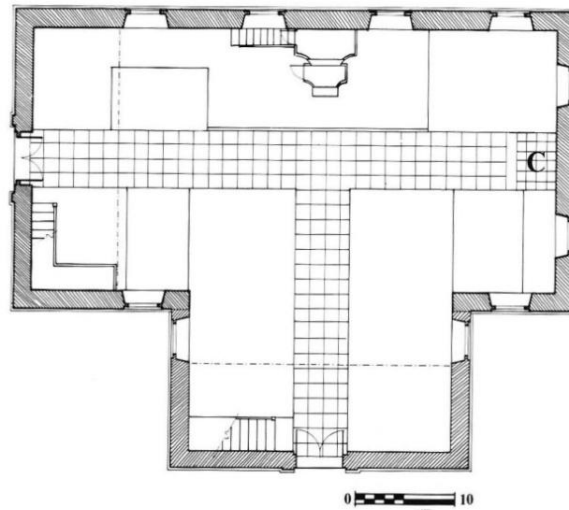


Figure 3-11. Floorplan of Vauter's church (ca. 1719), Essex County, Virginia, including 1731 addition. An example of a classic T-style Virginia church (Upton 1986a:78).



Figure 3-12. Exterior of Vauter's church (ca. 1719), Essex County, Virginia, including 1731 addition. (Photo courtesy of Barbara Heath).

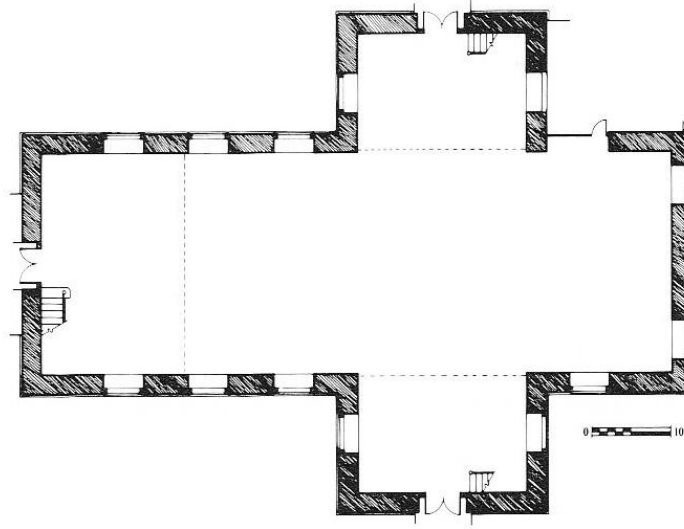


Figure 3-13. Floor plan of Elizabeth River Parish Church, Virginia (ca. 1739), in the shape of a Latin cross (Upton 1986a:84).

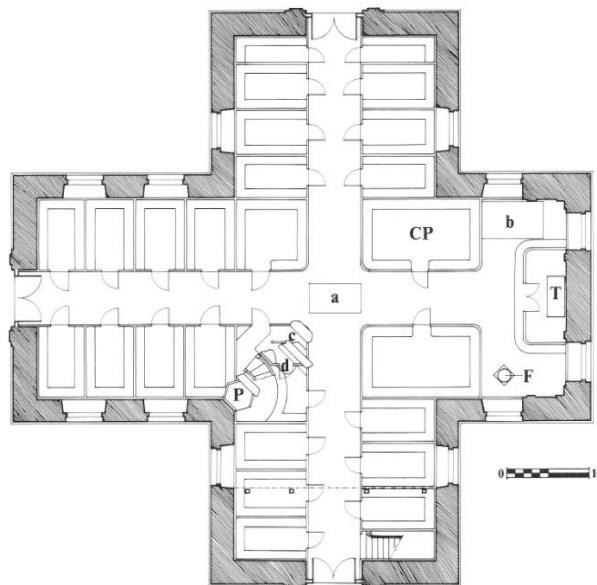


Figure 3-14. Floor plan of Christ Church, Lancaster County, Virginia (ca. 1732-1735), in the shape of a Greek cross (Upton 1986a:85).

Similar floor plans were found elsewhere throughout the Anglican New World. On the island of Jamaica, the longitudinal design of England's medieval churches dominated new mid-17th-century construction, but other plans were present too. Jamaican churches were typically brick, but limestone was occasionally used as well (Nelson 2005:73). The Spanish had occupied Jamaica in the early-16th century and many of their churches were cruciform in shape. When the English gained control of the island from the Spanish in 1655, they utilized those churches for Anglican services, while building their new churches in the longitudinal plan. However, in the late-17th century the auditory rectangular church gained in popularity, likely influenced by London architect, Christopher Wren (Nelson 2005:66). While the English continued to use Spanish cruciform churches, they did not begin to build any of their own until 1693. From that time through most of the 18th century, the cruciform floor plan dominated Jamaica's urban areas, then later its rural parts, with nearly five out of every six new churches being cruciform shape (Nelson 2005:67). In South Carolina, churches were primarily auditory, rectangular churches. As seen in Virginia and Jamaica, the cruciform shape became common over time, especially during the 1720s. During that decade three churches were enlarged transforming all three from rectangular to cruciform. The cruciform shape did not become as popular in South Carolina as elsewhere, with only 3 out of the 27 churches using this floor plan (Nelson 2008:371-372).

Scholars have different ideas regarding the advantages and reasons behind the use of cruciform-shaped churches and why their popularity varied between these three regions. Upton believes cruciform churches were used for very practical reasons – the form created a much larger floor plan than rectangular structures, while making it

possible for parishioners to hear the sermon (Upton 1986a:80-81). He believes there is absolutely no symbolism to the use of the cross. In fact, the use of a cross would have gone against the Puritan ideas of the Anglican Church at the time as it would have been seen as reminiscent of Catholicism (Nelson 2009:79). The fact that Virginia cruciform churches were only found in the urban areas of the colony's wealthiest and oldest parishes helps support his idea because such parishes were more likely to have larger populations and wealthy parishioners who could contribute to the construction of a grand church (Upton 1986a:80-82). Nelson (2008) also presents an idea based on the functionality of the cruciform. He attributes the popularity of Caribbean cruciform churches to the structural integrity of their lower walls, twelve ninety-degree corners that act as buttresses for one another, and narrower building widths (Nelson 2008:79-80). This would allow for greater stability during hurricanes and earthquakes, both common in the region. To support this theory is the fact that the cruciform shape began to be used for new church construction on Jamaica in 1693, immediately following the devastating 1692 earthquake that killed thousands and sent much of the town of Port Royal into the sea. Jamaica had also suffered from a series of hurricanes in the decades since the English colonized the island. Not only was the cruciform used for new construction, but from the late-17th century into the 18th century, extant churches had transepts added, converting longitudinal churches into cruciform ones. Nelson believes the switch to the cruciform church was not just in response to the need for larger churches where everyone could hear the sermon, but also as a response to English realization of the structural advantage of the cruciform-shaped buildings in earthquakes and hurricanes (Nelson 2001, 2005, 2008, 2009). He believes this idea

spread to South Carolina through that colony's close ties with the Caribbean, as hurricanes and earthquakes are frequent there as well.

Nelson also presents a more symbolic meaning for cruciform-shaped churches – they were meant to make the landscape appear more English. Especially in the Caribbean and South Carolina, the enslaved black majority dominated the rural plantation landscape, leading to the presence of African-style architecture. In addition, the semi-tropical to tropical environment in South Carolina and the Caribbean gave those areas a more African appearance. Nelson believes the construction of cruciform-shaped churches on the landscape were a way for elite English families to emphasize their power over Africans and the largely African-looking landscape (Nelson 2008:275-276). He also suggests that colonists recreated the medieval cruciform churches that populated the rural, agrarian landscape of England. By doing this, English colonists were trying to bring social, political, and racial stability to very unstable regions (Nelson 2008:276). This idea is the more plausible of Nelson's two ideas as any Anglican church - whether it was brick or stone, rectangular or cruciform - would have expressed the English presence and power on the landscape.

For the most part, Anglican churches throughout the New World had very similar material culture, even though there were some regional differences in floor plan as noted above. Other differences would have been due to the natural resources found in the various areas. The earliest churches in Virginia and South Carolina were predominantly wood framed, as that would have been a readily available resource that was easy to harvest. In both colonies, within a few decades brick churches began to appear and towards the end of the 17th century and throughout the 18th century, brick

was the material of choice for most churches in Virginia and South Carolina. The switch from wood to brick is likely due to the increased availability of brick as the colonies becoming more settled and stable, allowing specialized brick makers to establish themselves and concentrate on their trade, not on the daily aspects of survival. While not common on the North American British mainland, church builders often used stone on the British Caribbean islands of Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Nevis due to its availability (Dunn 1972:287; Nelson 2005:73). In South Carolina the appearance of stone was occasionally desired, but options were limited due to the lack of stone in the Coastal Plain. At least two churches overcame this problem through the use of carved stucco over brick, which gave the churches a stone-like appearance (Figure 3-15) (Nelson 2008). A unique example of the use of naturally available construction methods can be seen at the St. Helena's chapel in southern South Carolina. Here architects and builders constructed their chapel of tabby, a mixture of oyster shell, lime, water, and sand.

Internally, the similarities would have continued. Churches in Virginia and South Carolina reflected Puritan leanings of the New World Anglican Church through their sparse furnishings and emphasis on hearing the sermon. Most parishioners in the New World likely sat on wooden pews, surrounded by whitewashed walls, and clear glass windows. Many churches had a gallery for enslaved peoples or poorer whites. In the back of the chancel, large wooden tablets of the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments were attached to the walls. The chancels were sectioned off from the naves by a wooden railing, sometimes with a step leading to the chancel (Figure 3-16). Furnishings were very simple and included a wooden pulpit with cushion, reading desk, and an altar,



Figure 3-15. Exterior wall of Strawberry Chapel. While the outer surface is stucco carved to give the appearance of stone, the brick pattern underneath the stucco can clearly be seen due to the underlying mortar holding in moisture (Photo by the author).



Figure 3-16. Interior of St. Andrew's Church, South Carolina (ca. 1706). This church typifies early-18th-century Anglican thought with its Puritan focus (Linder 2000:18).

covered by a tablecloth with silver communion serving pieces sitting on it, which would have been located in the chancel. The most likely differences would again have been related to the availability of natural resources. For example, in Virginia, stone or brick pavers were the most common materials used for aisles (Upton 1986a:105), while in South Carolina only brick or wood was used for flooring.

There were, of course, some exceptions to these rather modest Anglican churches, especially in wealthier and more populous towns. St. Philip's church in early-18th century Charles Towne is one example. Construction of that church began in 1711 under the supervision of six men selected by the General Assembly – a minister and five wealthy merchants. They originally designed the church as a long and narrow building, 100 x 45 ft. (Nelson 2009:85). In 1713, the partially constructed church was severely damaged by a hurricane, basically leading to construction beginning anew. Rather than rebuild the church as originally planned, church supervisors designed a completely different church – one to be a showpiece of not only Charles Towne, but the colonies as well. Reverend Gideon Johnston, the commissary to the Bishop of London, had been visiting London when he heard of the destruction of St. Philip's. This was an important time for church building in London as Queen Anne had recently authorized the building of fifty new churches to replace those that had been destroyed by the Great London Fire of 1666. Many of the new church designs were influenced by the work of Christopher Wren and included elaborate porticos and steeples, along with a more auditory, rectangular plan. Johnston took these latest designs from London back to Charles Towne with him in 1715 and he and church supervisors redesigned St. Philip's in similar styles to those seen in London (Nelson 2008; Nelson 2009). The finished

church rivaled contemporary London churches in design and fashion more so than any other church in colonial America (Figure 3-17).

Nelson (2008) believes the redesign of St. Philip's was a conscious decision on the part of church designers to make Charles Towne appear to the rest of the British world as a very cosmopolitan city. As many of the church planners were prominent merchants of the colony, this perception would have been to their advantage, as Charles Towne was still seen as the capital of a very young colony in a relatively isolated part of the colonies. Utilizing a variety of architectural details from prominent churches in London and elsewhere around the world, the latest designs as depicted in architectural books, and discussions with architects and church leaders on multiple visits to London, church planners designed St. Philip's to rival the grandest churches in the colonies and in England. The need to have a prominent and cosmopolitan church within the urban center of Charles Towne was very important to Anglicans as it also expressed the presence and the power of the Church in the city. To understand the reasons why this architectural statement was needed, it is necessary to understand the history of the Anglican Church in the colony and how it came to be established. I will explore these issues in the following chapter.



Figure 3-17. Drawing of St. Philip's Church, Charles Towne, South Carolina, as it appeared in Gentleman's Magazine, June 1753 (Nelson 2008:14).

CHAPTER 4:

EARLY COLONIAL SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORY AND THE HISTORY OF THE EARLY-18TH CENTURY SOUTH CAROLINA ANGLICAN CHURCH

“... out of the fulness of our royal power and prerogative, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, erect, incorporate and ordain the same into a province, and call it the Province of Carolina”

- Charter of Carolina, March 24, 1663, by King Charles II

History of Early Colonial South Carolina

As early as the 16th century, Europeans explored what is now geographically South Carolina. But it was not until 1670 that the first permanent European settlement occurred, near present-day downtown Charleston. Carolina and all its presumed riches were claimed by Spain, France, and England. Each of these countries set out to establish a permanent colony within Carolina to show their supremacy in the region. In 1562, the French were the first to attempt a settlement with the establishment of Charlesfort along Port Royal Sound (Figure 4-1), near present-day Beaufort. The French settlement faced many hardships and did not even survive a year. In response to the failed attempt by the French, and word they were going to try again, the Spanish established Santa Elena in 1566 on present-day Parris Island, also on Port Royal Sound. Within three years, Santa Elena was a thriving colony with approximately 200 settlers living in 40 houses and it had become the capital of Spanish Florida. Disease, food shortages, and conflict with Indians plagued the colony, but Santa Elena continued on, eventually becoming the capital of Spanish Florida. In the summer of 1576, Indian



Figure 4-1. Present-day map of South Carolina. Locations of Charles Towne and Port Royal Sound are indicated. (Map by the author).

attacks led to the Spanish temporarily abandoning Santa Elena. Colonists returned shortly thereafter and by 1580 the colony's population had risen to 400 people. In 1587, the Spanish abandoned Santa Elena in order to consolidate their forces in St. Augustine due to the increasing English presence in the area and the destruction of the St. Augustine by Sir Francis Drake (DePratter 1999). It was nearly 85 years before the next settlement attempt in Carolina.

Although they appeared on the scene much later, it was the English who were the first to successfully settle the Carolina Colony. In the 1663 Charter of Carolina, King Charles II granted the colony, and the right to govern it, to eight of his most loyal supporters, the Lords Proprietors. The Charter also defined the borders of Carolina as being the 36th latitude to the north and the 31st latitude to the south, and continuing west to the ocean. These borders were revised two years later with the northern boundary moved slightly northward (the current border between Virginia and North Carolina), while the southern border was adjusted to the 29th latitude (central Florida). Originally there was no distinction between North and South Carolina. In the early 1690s, a separate governor was assigned to the northern portion of Carolina, nicknamed "North Carolina." The division became official in 1712, when North Carolina and South Carolina became two separate colonies.

The Lords Proprietors established the colony as a business venture for the purpose of turning a profit through trade and planting. The first settlers landed at Albemarle Point, later named Charles Towne, in April 1670 (Figure 4-2). The original settlement is now a part of Charles Towne Landing State Park. The majority of the first settlers were English. Many had already made their fortunes as sugar planters on the



Figure 4-2. Satellite image of Albemarle Point. Arrow points to reconstructed palisade wall (Image courtesy of Google Earth).

island of Barbados, and others were white indentured servants. While not a part of the original group of colonists, enslaved Africans were present within the colony's first few months. These settlers immediately developed a friendly, yet tenuous, relationship with neighboring Indian groups. From the early planning stages of the colony, the Lords Proprietors knew that Carolina would face a threat from the Spanish to the south and the neighboring Indian populations. The location of the colony on Albemarle Point was ideal as, "... scituate on a point w^{ch} is almost encompassed with a large Marsh & may easily be strongly fortified with a broad trench, it contains about 10 acres of Land" (Cheves 1897). Evidence of this trench has been identified archaeologically (Figure 4-3). The colonists never intended for Albemarle Point to be the permanent site of their settlement; rather they lived there temporarily due to its more secure location.



Figure 4-3. Excavations of 1670 palisade wall and fortification ditch (South 2002:77).

The preferred location, Oyster Point, lay across the Ashley River. However, due to its proximity to the ocean and easy access to the natural harbor, that location was more vulnerable to Spanish attack. Within the first year of the settlement the English were involved in numerous clashes with both the Spanish to the south and the various Indian groups that lived throughout the area. Despite the threats, the colony became more secure and continued to grow, allowing the colonists to explore more of the interior and consequently, they made alliances with native peoples and became involved in the Indian trade. By 1679, settlers felt that the colony was secure enough to move their settlement to Oyster Point, the location of present-day downtown Charleston (Wood 1974; Frasier 1989; Zierden et al. 1999; South 2002). As the colony grew and began to prosper at Oyster Point, settlers continued their exploration of the surrounding waterways that paralleled the coast and led inland (Duff 2001). These major waterways

around Charles Towne included the Ashley, Cooper, Wando, and Stono Rivers, along with numerous smaller, navigable tidal creeks (Figure 4-4). The waterways of the region were instrumental in the development of the English colony as they helped determine the settlement patterns of the region, facilitated trade with native groups, and provided the ideal environment for rice agriculture.

Although the Lords Proprietors envisioned a compactly settled colony with scattered nucleated towns in Carolina, settlement largely occurred along waterways. The effect on the waterways on settlement patterns can clearly be seen in *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*, a map dating to 1691 (Figures 4-5 and 4-6). This map is one of the earliest of South Carolina and depicts the location of settlers outside of Charles Towne, their names, and indicates if there was a house on the property at the time. Even by this early date, settlement had spread for several miles outside of Charles Towne, following the major waterways. In what has become known as their “deep water and high ground” model, South and Hartley (1980) used this map to survey the Stono and Edisto Rivers, in an attempt to identify the approximate location of those houses. For those sites that they were able to gain access to, South and Hartley conducted surface surveys, looking primarily for 17th-century ceramics. Their results indicated that most of the locations they identified were on high ground (20-25 ft.) above sea level that had deep water access to the river.

The waterways also played a large part in the relatively rapid movement of English traders into the interior. By the late-17th century, English settlers were not only trading with local, coastal native groups, but also with societies well into the interior



Figure 4-4. Locations of Albemarle Point, Charles Towne, and surrounding major waterways.



Figure 4-5. *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*, 1691 by Pierre Mortier. Outlined area is enlarged in Figure 4-6 below (Digital map collection, University of North Carolina Libraries, original housed at North Carolina State Archives).



Figure 4-6. Closeup of *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline, 1691* by Pierre Mortier. Map of Charles Towne and surrounding areas indicating locations of residences (Digital map collection, University of North Carolina Libraries, original housed at North Carolina State Archives).

such as the Catawbas, Creeks, and Cherokees (Zierden et al. 1999:39). The primary trade good was deerskins, which the Indians then traded for European goods, most often firearms and ammunition. Indians would bring their pelts to be traded to the plantation homes of English traders, who would then ship the pelts to Charles Towne via water, where they could then be shipped to elsewhere in the New World or across the Atlantic (Zierden et al. 1999:37-38). At some point in the 1680s, Europeans established the frontier town of Willtown (originally called New London) along the Edisto River, west of Charles Towne (Figure 4-7). One of the primary reasons for the founding of Willtown was to help facilitate the Indian trade, in addition to providing an English presence in the southern regions of the colony, and a place for religious dissenters, primarily Presbyterians, to live and worship (Zierden et al. 1999:2). The location of Willtown was ideal for trade with Indians as the Edisto River reached well inland and the Stono River connected the Edisto River with Charles Towne.

In addition to deerskins and other trade goods, Native Americans themselves became a trade item. The Westos, who lived along the Savannah River during the mid-to-late 17th century, were one of the most feared Indian societies (Bowne 2005:1). Using firearms and ammunition from the English, the Westos would raid other Indian villages, capture their people, and then trade them to the English in exchange for more weapons. Once under the control of white settlers, most of the captured Indians became slaves (Bowne 2005). Based on a study of wills and probate records from the late-17th through early-18th century, Ramsey (2001) estimated that by 1715 up to 25% of the colony's overall slave population was comprised of enslaved Native Americans. While other colonies such as Virginia and Maryland also had enslaved Africans and Indians, the



Figure 4-7. *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline, 1691* by Pierre Mortier, indicating location of Willtown (New London) (Digital map collection, University of North Carolina Libraries, original housed at North Carolina State Archives).

higher percentage of enslaved Indians made South Carolina's slave system unique among other late-17th century colonies (Ramsey 2001). The development and extent of the Indian slave trade was one of the likely reasons for the outbreak of the Yamasee War in 1715.

Through the 17th century, Indian groups throughout the Southeast felt the effects of European colonialism from the Spanish, French, and English. Every native group was negatively impacted to varying degrees with most groups seeing tremendous decreases in their population due to disease, violence, and enslavement, along with the loss of their homelands. For many, the only option was to consolidate their group with other native peoples, resulting in a number of confederations throughout the Eastern colonies (Thomas 1990; Waselkov 2004; Ethridge 2006, 2009).

One such confederation was the Yamasee, who arrived in the Port Royal area in the late-17th century. The Yamasee were likely comprised of a number of Southeastern Indian groups that shared a common Muskogean language, Hitichi (Oatis 2004:27). The origins of these various groups have been traced back to the Guale, Tama, Altamaha, Ichisi, Ocute, Apalachee, and Coosa cultures of Georgia and Florida (Green et al. 2002:18). Because of the diverse cultural and ethnic makeup of the Yamasee, there were significant differences within the group. For example, some Yamasee had converted to Christianity by the time they reached Port Royal, largely because of the amount of contact they had with the Spanish in Florida. For three decades the Yamasee and English were trading partners and close allies, with the Yamasee providing a buffer between South Carolina and Spanish Florida (Green et al. 2002). Over time tensions between the Yamasee and the English increased because of unfair trading practices on

behalf of the English that resulted in enormous debt for the Yamasee, depletion of resources, English encroachment into their lands, and the colony's involvement in and support of the Indian slave trade (Green et al. 2002; Oatis 2004; Ramsey 2008).

Ultimately these tensions led to the 1715 Yamasee War.

On Good Friday, 15 April 1715, the Yamasee attacked, tortured, and killed white traders in Pocotaligo Town, the largest of the Yamasee towns. Seymour Burroughs, one of the English traders, was injured during this initial attack, but managed to escape to a nearby plantation, warning nearby settlers. In the meantime, several hundred Yamasee headed towards the English settlements throughout the Port Royal area that included the parishes of St. Helena's and St. Bartholomew's. Due to Burroughs warning, many settlers escaped to a boat in the harbor, while others used canoes to escape (Oatis 2004:126). First- and second-hand descriptions of the events of the early days of Yamasee War can be found in the SPG letters. While not a first-hand account, Reverend LeJau wrote,

Good friday last the Yamousee's Declare Warr agst us, and Murdered Our Agent Mr Nairn & some of our Traders & other Persons who did endeavour at that time to bring them to terms of accomodacon. they fell afterwds upon Port Royall and Massacree'd abt 60 Persons that had not time to Escape their fury. The rest were saved, some in Canoes, among whom our Brothr Osborn who lived nr ye place (LeJau to SPG Secretary, May 14, 1715, SPG).

Reverend Guy, the missionary for St. Helena's parish, was one of the settlers to escape to the boat. He wrote that he was fortunate to survive,

the Yemousees are risen destroyed & burnt a great part of my Parish, as also other adjacent places, & myself thro a wonderfull Providence had a very narrow Escape. I am now at Charles Towne with severall of my Brethren who have also left their Parishes for the Indians are dispers'd in great Companyes almost Throughout the whole Country What will by ye Event of this War (Guy to SPG Secretary, May 25, 1715, SPG).

Reverend Osbourne from St. Bartholomew's parish, located immediately to the north of St. Helena's and to the south of St. Paul's wrote, "My Parish is entirely defeated, Except a small Garrison, & most of ye houses either burnt or spoiled by ye Enemy...I am forced to Charles Town for Security" (Osbourne to SPG Secretary, May 28, 1715, SPG). Within a week, over one hundred white settlers and many of their slaves were either killed or captured by the Yamasee (Oatis 2004:126). While there is no mention in the historical documentation if Yamasee Confederation members selectively killed or captured only African slaves while freeing Native American slaves, it is a strong possibility that was the case.

After the initial attack the violence subsided, but it was far from over. While the English sent men to the garrisons and hundreds of white settlers from the rural parishes fled to the relative safety and defensive walls of Charles Towne, the Yamasee organized an alliance of Indian groups from throughout the Southeast. The core of this

alliance included the Palachacolas, Oconees, Creeks, Eucheas, Apalachees, Savannahs, and Ocheese, all from present-day South Carolina and Georgia. Groups from further away, including the Catawbas, Cherokees, Coosas, Chickasaws, and Choctaws also joined the confederation but to a lesser extent (Ramsey 2008:102). White settlers in South Carolina were aware that other groups had joined the Yamasee, raising their fear. Reverend Hasell of St. Thomas's Parish wrote,

Other Nations have followed their Example so that we are surrounded on all Sides but that to the Sea with vast Number of Cruel and barbarous Enemy's for they spare neither age nor sex, but those who are so Miserable as to fall into their hands can except nothing but Death by torturing from their Cruelty and Barbarity (Hasell to SPG Secretary, May 26, 1715, SPG).

In July of that year, 600-700 members of the Indian confederation began to move northward along the Edisto and Stono Rivers in an attempt to attack Charles Towne. Along the way they slaughtered settlers' livestock, burned nearly every building they encountered, and killed settlers who had remained in the rural parishes (Oatis 2004; Ramsey 2008). Much of this area of destruction was through St. Bartholomew's and St. Paul's Parishes. Reverend Bull wrote of the events, "To ye Southwards a Party of the Enemy of about 500 made an Incursion the latter end of July into my Parish of St. Paul and burnt and destroyed about 20 Plantations... amongst them [my] Parsonage House" (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG). The English army apparently stopped the Yamasee from advancing further towards Charles Towne and forced their retreat

southward near Reverend Bull's parsonage. He added, "Mine and my next Neighbours House were the last they destroyed, a Party of our Army advancing toward them they fled with great Expedition out of the Settlement and have not appeared Since." In the same letter he stated,

My Parish is now become ye Frontier, the Parishes of St. Hellen's and St. Bartholomew's being entirely deserted except a very Small Garrison in St. Hellen's, yet is kept more as a spy upon ye Yemoussees, then for any other Security of Advantage to the Country" (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG).

A more detailed discussion of the damage in St. Paul's Parish and Reverend Bull's parsonage house will be presented in Chapters 7 and 8.

From the time of the initial attack in April through the late summer, the very survival of the colony was in question. By late summer militia from Virginia arrived in South Carolina to assist the English and the Cherokee broke from the Yamasee confederation and renewed their alliances with the English in South Carolina. Other Indian groups followed suit and most of the remaining Yamasee retreated to St. Augustine. English resettlement of St. Bartholomew's and St. Helena's parishes was slow due to occasional skirmishes with the Yamasee and fear of additional attacks (Oatis 2004; Ramsey 2008). The Yamasee War marked a pivotal time in the English settlement of the Southeast. The South Carolina colony was almost lost and when considered as a proportion of the English population, the loss of over 400 settlers

makes it one of the bloodiest wars on American soil (Ramsey 2008:2). The official end of the Yamasee War in 1717 also brought an end to the Indian slave trade. Without new Indian slaves being captured and several Indian slaves fleeing to their homelands, South Carolinians lost up to 25% of its slave population and they came to rely on West Africa even more for new slaves.

On August 23, 1670, three months after English colonists arrived at Albemarle Point, Captain Brayne, a planter from Barbados, returned to Charles Towne from Virginia bringing with him livestock, supplies, and one male African slave, reportedly the first enslaved person in Carolina (Wood 1974:21). Over the next few years, the number of enslaved Africans steadily increased. While there are no records stating the total numbers of enslaved people during the early years of the colony's existence, in May 1672, Antonio Camunas, a Spanish spy, visited Charles Towne and reported back that he seen at least 100 Negroes (Wood 1974:25). Another account comes from an Irishman, Brian Fitzpatrick, who left Charles Towne for St. Augustine, also in 1672. He estimated that the population of Charles Towne included 800 English people and 300 Negros (Wood 1974:25). These two accounts suggest that in the two years since the colony's founding, its population had grown so that approximately 30% of its residents were enslaved Africans.

The earliest enslaved people to arrive in South Carolina likely had a much different experience than those who followed. Early South Carolina was not a slave society, but rather a society with slaves. As described by historian Ira Berlin (2000), in a slave society the economics of the society are focused on slave labor. While there were a number of slaves in South Carolina, they were not the only sources of labor. White

indentured servants, white settlers, and enslaved Africans and Native Americans often worked side-by-side, farming and raising livestock. The English came to rely heavily on the skills of their enslaved Africans, especially on their knowledge of cattle, weapons, and later rice. As South Carolina had yet to find its cash crop, enslaved people had some say over their labor and were often allowed to set their own pace of work and had designated leisure time, which allowed time for hunting, gardening, and fishing, engage in and other paid labor (Berlin 2000). However, this charter generation was “but a fleeting moment” (Berlin 2000:64). Around the turn of the 18th century, life for enslaved people changed in a relatively short period of time as South Carolinians found their cash crop – rice.

The environment and climate of Lowcountry South Carolina was ideal for rice production. Its 240-300 day growing season was long enough to allow sufficient time for the rice to grow without worry of frost. More importantly, rice requires large amounts of rainfall or other water sources to be successful and the Lowcountry with its tidal waterways, marshes, and inland swamps provided the needed water even if rainfall levels were inadequate (Morgan 1998:33).

It is unknown when and from where rice first entered South Carolina. The earliest settlers at Albemarle Point experimented with several varieties of plants and rice was listed among those; however, there is nothing to indicate they were successful with it. Virginians cultivated rice in very small amounts during the 17th century and it has been suggested that it made its way down the coast to South Carolina, through North Carolina as it was grown there shortly after the turn of the 18th century (Littlefield 1991:99-100). This is unlikely as the rice cultivated in South Carolina differed from that

in Virginia and North Carolina in that it grew in water (Littlefield 1991:101). Whether rice was introduced from one or several places is not known, but once introduced, rice forever changed the economic and social development of South Carolina. Rice was the catalyst for the colony's plantation system that led the colony, especially the Charles Towne area, to become one of the wealthiest areas of colonial America during the 18th century.

As the plantation economy began to take hold in South Carolina, the mass importation of African slave labor began. By 1708, the enslaved African population constituted the majority in the colony (Wood 1974). As rice production grew and the reliance on enslaved labor increased, South Carolina transformed from a society with slaves to a slave society. West African slaves provided the labor for rice cultivation, but it is likely that they provided the knowledge as well. Europeans in South Carolina had attempted to cultivate rice since the initial founding of the colony with little success. Because of the similar climates of the rice-growing areas of West Africa and South Carolina, people from Senegambia and the Windward and Gold coasts showed much greater ability in growing rice suited to the South Carolina climate than Europeans, but most importantly, they knew how to cultivate it successfully when the Europeans did not (Wood 1974; Gomez 1998; Carney 2001). Because of this specialist knowledge, Africans from these regions were preferred by South Carolina planters. Rice had been cultivated in these areas of West Africa since at least AD 1500 and it was being traded to slave traders in the 17th and 18th centuries (Wood 1974). In a detailed study of various types of rice and cultivation practices, Littlefield (1991) believes that Carolina rice was most similar to rice grown in Asia that had spread to North America via

Madagascar. But cultivation practices in South Carolina were not similar to those in Asia or Madagascar. Rather, they were most similar to those found along the West Coast of Africa (Littlefield 1991:81). Letters from South Carolinians during this period indicate a preference for slaves from certain areas of West Africa (Mullins 1976). Many of the available letters were written by South Carolina merchant and planter Henry Laurens. In one letter he wrote, "The Slaves from the River Gambia are preferr'd to all others with us save the Gold Coast" (Henry Laurens to Richard Oswald, May 17, 1756), while in another he stated, "Gold Coast or Gambias are best next To Them The Windward Coast are prefer'd to Angolas." (Henry Laurens to Smith and Clifton, July 17, 1755). Advertisements for slave auctions from 18th-century Charles Towne newspapers also evidence the preference for slaves from the rice-producing areas of West Africa (Figure 4-8).

Within 50 years of the initial settlement of English peoples at Albemarle Point, South Carolina had grown to be one of the wealthiest colonies in British America. Its wealth initially came from the deerskins provided by Indians and later, from rice grown by enslaved Africans. During this period the political atmosphere of South Carolina changed as well. The Lords Proprietors continued to govern the colony through their appointed governor, but over time the General Assembly came to have more control and power. In 1719, George I took away the Lords Proprietors' claim to South Carolina. Another powerful player was also beginning to make its presence known in South Carolina politics. Beginning around the turn of the 18th century, the Church of England and its followers played an important role in South Carolina's political decisions.



CHARLESTOWN, *April 27, 1769.*



TO BE SOLD,
On WEDNESDAY the Tenth Day of
MAY next,

A CHOICE CARGO OF

Two Hundred & Fifty

NEGROES:

ARRIVED in the Ship
COUNTESS of SUSSEX, THOMAS DAVIES,
Master, directly from GAMBIA, by

JOHN CHAPMAN, & Co.

*** THIS is the Vessel that had the Small-Pox
on Board at the Time of her Arrival the 31st of
March last: Every necessary Precaution hath since
been taken to cleanse both Ship and Cargo thoroughly,
so that those who may be inclined to purchase need not
be under the least Apprehension of Danger from In-
fection.*

*The NEGROES are allowed to be the likeliest Parcel
that have been imported this Season.*

1769

Figure 4-8. 1769 slave advertisement from Charles Towne (South Carolina Gazette 1769).

South Carolina Anglican Church History

Unlike Virginia, where the Church of England was deeply rooted in the colony since its beginning, Carolina was established as a place of religious tolerance. In 1669 Lord Anthony Ashley Cooper, one of the eight Lords Proprietors and later Earl of Shaftsbury, wrote the Fundamental Constitution with the assistance of friend and philosopher John Locke. While the people of Carolina never officially ratified the Fundamental Constitution, or its subsequent four revisions, it established the policies of the colony and the proprietary government, including religious policy (Dalcho 1820; Bolton 1982). The document declared the Church of England as “the only true and orthodox” religion in the colony and it stressed religious tolerance (Dalcho 1820:4). The Lords Proprietors hoped to attract a number of settlers as quickly as possible in order to firmly establish their colony and to provide a buffer between Charles Towne and the Spanish and French to the south (Woolverton 1984:28). Offering religious tolerance to “any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion”, including “Jews, Heathens, and other Dissenters” (Dalcho 1820:5), the colony attracted a large number settlers from across Europe (Bolton 1982:16-17). In 1700, of the approximately 4,000 free colonists in Charles Towne, only 1,700 were Anglican, with 500 French Calvinists, 1,300 Presbyterians, 400 Baptists, and 100 Quakers (Bolton 1982:19). Catholicism was the only Christian religion banned by the proprietary government (Sirmans 1966:75). This was due in part to past tensions between Catholics and Protestants in England and to Catholicism being the predominant religion among the Spanish.

At the time of the initial founding of the colony, the colonial government was administered by the Grand Council. Members of the Grand Council included the

governor, the Lords Proprietors, and several other noblemen. Non-nobility could also gain a seat on the Grand Council by petitioning to the Council once they owned at least 3,000 acres of land (Sirmans 1966:11-13). This system lasted until 1691 when the Lords Proprietors made changes to the government due to increased political tensions. At that time, they established a separate Commons House of Assembly (also called the General Assembly) that would include elected officials. The governor, Lords Proprietors, and the highest noblemen remained on the Grand Council; however, much of their political power was lost to the new Assembly (Sirmans 1966:51).

Due to the colony's stance on religious tolerance, Assembly members included a number of dissenters even though the Church of England was the preferred religion. In the Assembly and elsewhere in the colony, the various denominations existed in relative peace, but by the turn of the 18th century political conflicts arose, dividing the colony into Anglicans and dissenters. The first signs of trouble began to brew in 1698, largely due to growing religious and political divisions in England. These divisions centered on the High Churchmen, those who believed in a strict following of Anglican teachings, and the Low Churchmen who believed in a more Puritan religious life and were more open to religious tolerance. In 1697, John Grenville, Earl of Bath and a Lord Proprietor since 1694, became the leader of the Lords Proprietors. In the following year, he approved a change to the Fundamental Constitution that basically reversed the idea of religious tolerance in the colony (Bolton 1982:21). Even though never ratified, this major revision led to growing tensions between Anglicans and dissenters in South Carolina.

In 1700, Governor Joseph Blake, a dissenter, died. When the Assembly met to elect a new governor they presumed that Landgrave Joseph Morton, a dissenter, would

be elected. However, James Moore, a devout Anglican, raised an objection. Moore declared that since Morton had a royal commission it would be a conflict of interest for him to serve as governor. Most of the council members agreed with Moore, and declared him the new governor over Morton, leading to increased factionalism within the colony (Sirmans 1966:76). General Assembly members and the public accused Governor Moore of putting his personal interests first in his desire to regulate the Indian trade, which resulted in more dissenters and even some Anglicans turning against him (Bolton 1982:23). Dissenters feared that regulating the Indian trade would place the areas to the south of Charles Towne at greater risk for attack by the Spanish, French, and Indians (Bolton 1982:24). This region, settled in large part by dissenters, was more prone to attacks as they were well outside the walls of Charles Towne and still a part of the developing frontier. Additionally, France was becoming more powerful in the Lower Mississippi Valley region. Increased trade between the French and Native Americans led to fears about the commercial demise of South Carolina. In 1702, Moore dissolved the Commons House, a majority of who were dissenters, when they voted against giving him money to lead an attack against the Spanish in St. Augustine. Elections to fill all seats resulted in dissenters retaining their majority, but Anglicans gained many seats.

Sir Nathaniel Johnson, an Anglican, became governor in 1703 and quickly moved to make the Anglican Church the state church of South Carolina. In his first act as governor, Johnson ordered new elections for the General Assembly. With support from some dissenters, primarily the French Huguenots, the Anglicans won many seats and took control of the government (Bolton 1982:24). During the next year, Johnson and

the Assembly worked together on military concerns, but in the spring of 1704, Johnson carried out “a well-planned coup” (Sirmans 1966:87). Although the Assembly was in a scheduled recess until May 10th, Johnson declared an emergency session of the Assembly and called for its members to meet on April 26th. When the session began, Colonel James Risbee introduced the Exclusion Act (Bolton 1982:24) that would require all members of the Assembly to either be Anglican or declare that they had not been members of any other church for at least one year (Sirmans 1966:87). Due to the short notice and the distance to be covered, seven dissenting members did not arrive on time. Those Assembly members who were present voted to pass the Exclusion Act by one vote (Sirmans 1966:87; Bolton 1982:24-5). In the same year, the Assembly, now comprised entirely of sworn Anglicans, passed the Establishment Act that declared the Church of England the official state church of South Carolina.

Per the act, Johnson and nineteen of his supporters were named church commissioners. Among the commissioners were two gentlemen who would later serve as supervisors over the design and construction of St. Paul’s Parish Church - Robert Seabrook and Hugh Hicks. The duties of the Commissioners included overseeing all church matters, such as the ability to discipline and remove clergymen and the right to appoint church supervisors for each parish. The Establishment Act of 1704 created seven parishes and called for the construction of six new churches, in addition to St. Philip’s Church that was already in use in Charles Towne. Each parish was also to provide a residence and glebe lands for their minister. The Assembly provided the funds needed for the purchase of lands and construction of the churches and parsonages

from public funds that mostly came from a duty on animal skins and furs (Cooper 1837:236-246).

Despite the Exclusion Act, dissenters rallied in 1705 and elected several of their number to the Assembly. When they refused to take the Anglican oath, Governor Johnson dissolved the Assembly rather than have them seated (Sirmans 1966:89; Bolton 1982:27). Due to opposition from England and rumors that Queen Anne was about to repeal both acts, the Lords Proprietors pressured Johnson to have the General Assembly overturn the acts. In a letter he wrote to the Assembly on their opening session on 20 November 1706, Johnson followed the advice of the Lords Proprietors stating, "I do propose it to you to Repeal all the Acts of Assembly in this province that relate to the Establishing of Churches." He then proposed a new version of the Establishment Act that removed two of the more controversial parts of the first act – the right for commissioners to remove clergymen and the requirement that all General Assembly members swear allegiance to the Church of England (Johnson to General Assembly, November 20, 1706, in Salley 1907).

The General Assembly acted quickly on Johnson's requests and ten days later they passed a new version of the Establishment Act, this time called the Church Act (Salley 1907:15). With the passage of this act, the Church of England became the official state church and remained so until 1790 when the new state of South Carolina passed its constitution, separating church and state. Besides the changes mentioned above, the Church Act of 1706 called for the creation of nine parishes rather than the seven in the 1704 act (Figure 4-9). The earliest parishes included six parishes in Berkeley County - St. Phillip's in Charles Towne, along with five rural parishes – St.

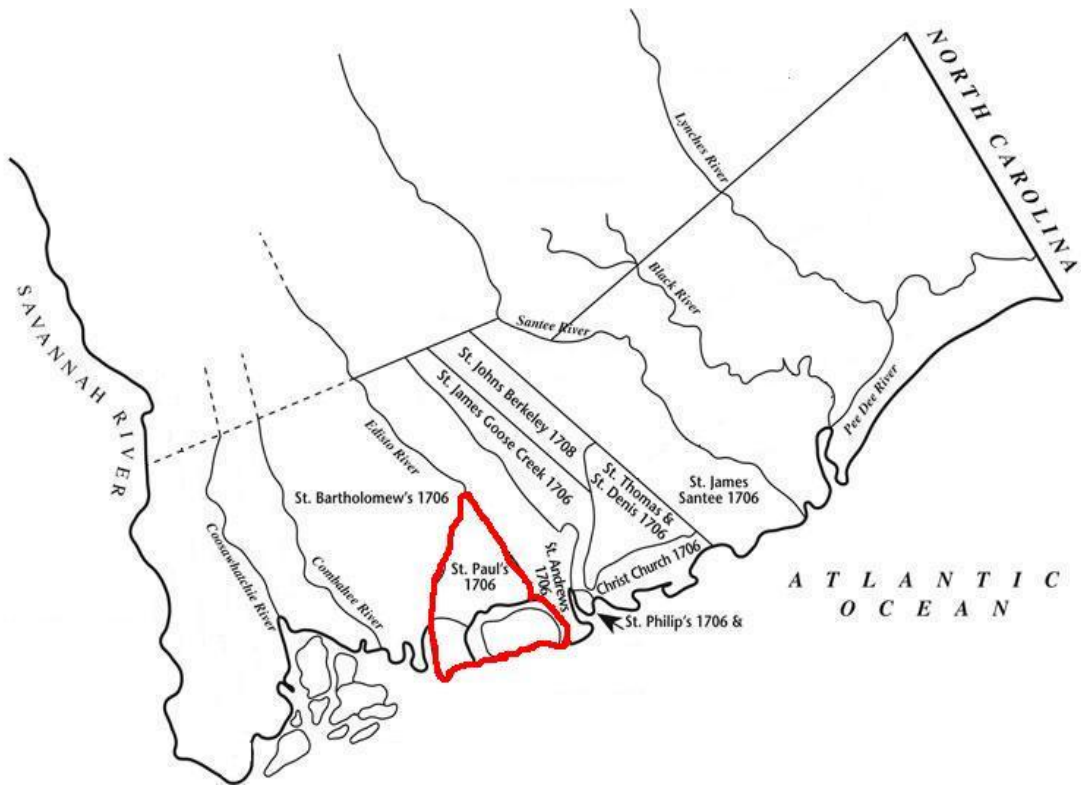


Figure 4-9. Map of original parishes as defined by the 1706 Church Act. St. Paul's Parish is outlined. (Map modified from <http://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/guide/CountyRecords/2anglicprshza.jpg>).

Andrew's; Christ Church; St. James, Goose Creek; St. John's; and the parish of St. Thomas' and St. Denis'. These last two parishes are often considered together as St. Denis' Parish was a very small parish located within St. Thomas' Parish. St. Denis' Parish was formed by the General Assembly as a compromise between Anglican politicians and the large number of French Huguenots who lived in that area. In exchange for their support in passing the Church Act, French settlers were given their own parish, St. Denis, named after the patron saint of France. Church services were held in both English and French, often by the same minister. To the south in Colleton County, the General Assembly created the parishes of St. Paul's and St. Bartholomew's, while they formed St. James', Santee at the northern edges of the colony in Craven County (Cooper 1837:283). Over the next several decades, several parishes were divided as their populations increased and new parishes were added as European-American settlement spread to the north, west, and south (Figure 4-10).

The Church Act of 1706 made requirements of the local parishes through their vestries. They were to provide their missionaries with glebe lands, a parsonage house and necessary outbuildings, and an annual salary of £50 for the first three years after ratification of the Church Act followed by £100 after that period. Modeled from parishes in Barbados, the new parishes, and their elected vestrymen, quickly became important to colonial government. In 1716, the responsibility of Assembly elections was transferred from the counties to the parishes, with the parish churchwardens in charge of the elections; however, the Assembly maintained their ability to collect taxes (Sirmans 1966:98).



Figure 4-10. Map of late-18th century South Carolina Anglican Parishes. St. Paul's Parish is outlined. (Map modified from <http://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/guide/CountyRecords/2anglicprshza.jpg>).

St. Paul's Parish

One of the new parishes created by the 1706 Establishment Act was St. Paul's, located to the south of Charles Towne. As originally defined, the parish's boundaries included the South Edisto River to the west, the Stono River to the northeast, the Atlantic Ocean to the southeast, and the Berkeley county line to the northwest (see Figure 4-9) (Cooper 1837:329-330). During the late-17th century and into the early-18th century, this area was considered to be virtual wilderness with few settlers. These first settlers and others that followed built homes and towns in the frontier while their location along the Stono River allowed them to maintain contact with Charles Towne and with the Lords Proprietors back in England. Initially this area attracted entrepreneurs involved in the growing Indian trade with the Yamasee and other Indian groups further to the south (Zierden et al. 1999), while later its landscape of swamps, marshes, and tidal waters made it ideal for rice production. Today this area comprises the Hollywood, Ravenel, and Adam's Run areas, Johns Island, Wadmalaw Island, Yonges Island, Kiawah Island, and Seabrook Island.

European settlement along the Stono River began no later than the early 1680s, as witnessed by the granting of numerous land grants. By 1691, a number of settlers were living along the Stono and surrounding waterways, as can be seen on the *Carte Particuliere de la Carolina*. This map provides clues about the first white settlers of the land that would later become St. Paul's glebe lands and Dixie Plantation (Figure 4-11). Three names are associated with today's property – Mr. Blake, Mr. Peters, and Captain Bristow. Joseph Blake was a deputy for the Lords Proprietors who arrived in Carolina at some point before 1685 and twice served as the colony's governor. William Peters

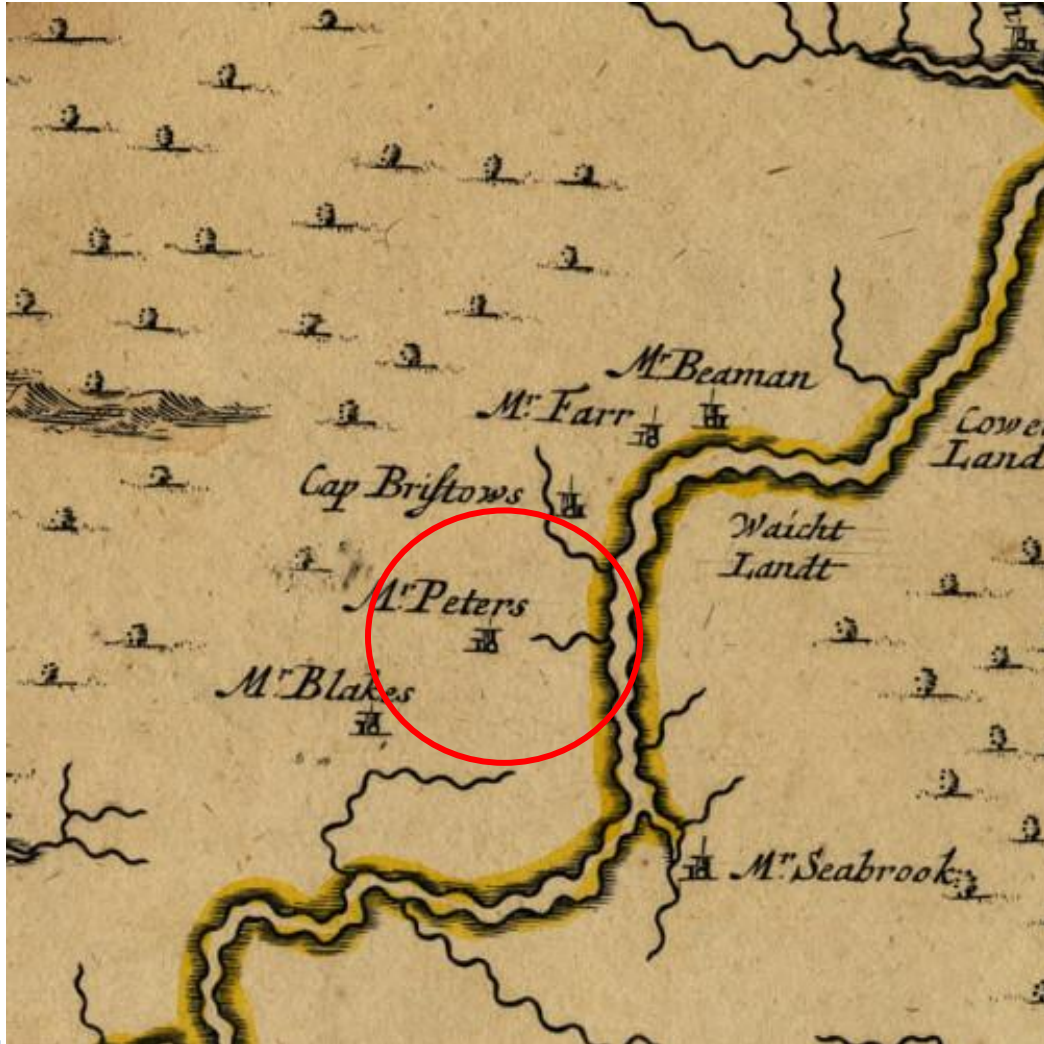


Figure 4-11. Detail of *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline*, 1691 by Pierre Mortier. Area of Dixie Plantation is encircled in red (Digital map collection, University of North Carolina Libraries, original housed at North Carolina State Archives).

arrived in the colony before 1682 and later became High Sheriff of Colleton County (Baldwin 1985). If the location of Mr. Peters' house on the *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline* is accurate, it should be located on present-day Dixie Plantation. Captain John Bristow, a sea captain from Bermuda, arrived before 1678 (Baldwin 1985). Due to Blake's land being located at the southern portions of Dixie Plantation, it is more likely that the later St. Paul's glebe lands were originally a part of Captain Bristow's and Mr. Peters' land grants.

In 1701, Bristow and Peters lost their land to Landgrave Edmund Bellinger due to the lack of payment on the rent for their land. Bellinger was an important political person in the colony and held large tracts of land. As a landgrave, he was appointed four baronies, parcels of land totaling 12,000 acres each, by the Lords Proprietors and was a member of the Grand Council. In addition, if for any reason the governor of the colony could no longer serve, and if one of the Proprietors was not in the colony, the eldest landgrave was appointed temporary governor until one could be assigned (McCrary 1901). One of Bellinger's baronies was located to the southwest of St. Paul's Parish, but he often purchased additional land as it became available. At a meeting in January 1696 at the plantation of Captain Bristow, a petition was made to the Lords Proprietors for the abatement of debts due, which stated that three to four year extensions were to be given on all quit-rents (Rivers 1856:182). On 16 May 1701, exactly four years after this petition and at which point the quit-rents had come due, Bellinger filed a warrant for all of Bristow's and Peters' lands as they had not yet paid rent (Salley 1910:170). It was from this land that Bellinger donated 39 acres of land to St. Paul's Parish for their

church and cemetery in 1706 (Conveyance from Estate of Landgrave Bellinger, 1706, SCHS).

Construction of the church for St. Paul's Parish began in April 1707 under the supervision of Robert Seabrook, Hugh Hicks, and Thomas Farr (St. Paul's Vestry to SPG Secretary, January 20, 1715, SPG). The church was completed by November of that year and at the time was described as a 25 x 35 ft. brick structure (St. Paul's Vestry to SPG Secretary, January 20, 1715, SPG). In addition to the original 39 acres, the church gained 71 additional acres to be used as the glebe where a "small, but Convenient House of Brick Erected there upon with a small Out Kitchen and some few other necessary Timber Buildings" was built for use by the missionary. The only description of this additional acreage is that it was a narrow tract of land approximately 120 chains by 7 chains (7920 by 462 ft.), near the church (Bull to SPG Secretary, January 3, 1717, SPG).

The SPG sent Reverend William Dun as their first missionary assigned to St. Paul's Parish (Table 4-1). He arrived late in the year of 1706 after a "dangerous trip of five months" (Dun to SPG Secretary, December 6, 1706, SPG). In addition to providing him the use of the parsonage and glebe, the vestry paid him a bi-annual salary of £50 (St. Paul's Vestry to SPG Secretary, Jan 20, 1715, SPG). Reverend Dun became very active in his newly-assigned parish. Even before the church was complete, he preached from houses near the church construction site. Dun reported to the SPG that he often had 70-90 parishioners that attended services in these make-shift church buildings. He stated that his parishioners were a mixture of Anglicans, Anabaptists, Presbyterians, and Independents, many of whom lacked Christian knowledge in his opinion. Dun had

Table 4-1. SPG Missionaries assigned to the original St. Paul’s Parish Church.

Missionary Names	Dates of Service
William Dun	1706 – 1708
Robert Maitland	1708 – 1711
William Tredwell Bull	1712 - 1723
David Standish	1724 - 1729
Andrew Leslie	1731 - 1740
William Orr	1741 - 1750

some success in converting several dissenters to Anglicanism, baptizing fourteen people including four adults within his first few months in the parish. Dun wrote that he was very adamant in his attempts to teach Christianity to the enslaved Africans and Indians in his parish even though planters were often unwilling to have Christianity taught to their slaves for fear that it would lead to their freedom. A few planters did allow their slaves to listen to Dun’s sermons and gave permission for their slaves’ children to learn to read (Dun to SPG Secretary, April 21, 1707, SPG).

The exact date that St. Paul’s Church began holding services is unknown, but based on Dun’s letters it was between June 15th (Whitsunday) and November 24th, 1707. In a November 24th letter, Dun wrote to the SPG that the pulpit cushion and cloth, communion linens, and a silver chalice and plate were being prepared to use at services on Christmas Day. St. Paul’s, Summerville, the descendant church of the original St. Paul’s Parish Church, still has in their possession a silver chalice that they believe is the one referenced by Reverend Dun (Harold Robling, 2011, pers. comm.). The chalice has “S.P.” scratched into it (Figure 4-12) and the maker’s mark is that of



Figure 4-12. Silver chalice designed by Miles Brewton. This chalice is believed to be the original silver chalice of St. Paul's Parish Church (Horton 1981:4).

Miles Brewton, an early-18th century silversmith from Charles Towne. Brewton is also credited with crafting silver pieces at other South Carolina parishes between 1707 and 1725 (Nelson 2008:108).

In this same letter, Dun continued to be frustrated with the lack of Christian knowledge of his parishioners. He felt it was enough of a problem that he had decided to delay giving communion until Christmas so he could have more time to educate them on the sacraments. In his letters, Dun wrote primarily of the religious backgrounds of his parishioners and their lack of religious instruction. He also provided an occasional glimpse into the landscape of the parish. In one letter he wrote, "I am settled in a place where I can see but very few of them without going by water and it is very chargeable to keep a boat and slave to row me..." He also added that the only way he could travel to Charles Towne was by water (Dun to SPG Secretary, November 24, 1707, SPG).

While he was "much esteem'd in his parish" (Le Jau to SPG Secretary, March 13, 1707, SPG), Reverend Dun did not wish to continue living in South Carolina and in the later part of 1708, he requested that the SPG allow him to return to England. At least one colleague, Francis Le Jau, the reverend at St. James', Goose Creek Church believed Dun had not adjusted well to living in the area and did not have "any Inclination to settle in these parts where we must be prepared against difficulty's hardly unavoidable" (Le Jau to SPG Secretary, Sept 18, 1708, SPG). Le Jau's assessment of Reverend Dun may have been accurate as he later informed the SPG that he heard Dun had moved to Virginia and had married (Le Jau to SPG Secretary, Feb 12, 1712, SPG). In one of his last duties prior to leaving St. Paul's in October 1708, Dun provided the SPG with a census of the parish. He reported the parish's population included

approximately 300 individuals with 80 professing to belong to the Church of England. The parish's 220 dissenters included 150 Presbyterians, 8 Independents, 40 Anabaptists, 10 Quakers, "& above 12 others, whom I cannot tell what to make of" (Dun to SPG Secretary, September 20, 1708, SPG). In this census, he estimated the number of St. Paul's "Heathen and infidel souls" at 1,000-1,400 enslaved Negroes and Indians and 400 free natives.

Vestry members replaced Reverend Dun very quickly, electing Reverend John Maitland as their new missionary on 4 October 1708 (Hasell to SPG Secretary, May 26, 1715, SPG). Maitland was popular with his parishioners at first, especially with the Presbyterians in the parish. However, his popularity soon diminished as Reverend Le Jau wrote "Mr. Maitland dos not please his Parishioners" and he suggested that someone with a more "Calm and obliging temper" was needed at St. Paul's due to the large number of dissenters (Le Jau to SPG Secretary, Feb. 1, 1710, SPG). Allegedly, Maitland began to finger-point at some of his parishioners during services and used "reviling" language in his sermons. This led many parishioners to skip church services and St. Paul's attendance dropped to as few as three people attending on Sundays and "sometimes he has nothing but the bare Walls to preach to" (Johnston to SPG Secretary, July 5, 1710, SPG). In 1710, Commissary Gideon Johnston arrived at St. Paul's in order to restore the relationship between Maitland and his parishioners. The attempt worked only temporarily for by the time Johnston returned to Charles Towne, new complaints from St. Paul's parishioners awaited him. A short time later, Johnston witnessed a confrontation between Maitland and two dissenter ministers that ended in Maitland losing his temper and shouting vulgar language at the other ministers.

Ultimately, Maitland agreed to leave the parish, but only if the vestry would pay off his debts and give him money to leave (Johnston to SPG Secretary, July 5, 1710, SPG). The St. Paul's vestry refused to pay him the money and instead requested that Johnston relieve him of his position. Due to restraints based on the Church Act, that was not possible and the vestry would have been required to continue paying his salary, even if he was removed (Johnston to SPG Secretary, January 27, 1711, SPG). The matter was resolved once and for all when Maitland died a few months later on April 19, 1711 (Johnston to SPG Secretary, April 20, 1711, SPG).

St. Paul's Parish was left without a missionary for over a year and a half following Maitland's death. Services continued at the church as ministers from neighboring parishes alternated their time at St. Paul's Church. On December 27, 1712, the vestry elected Reverend William Tredwell Bull (Hasell to SPG Secretary, May 26, 1715, SPG) as their new minister. Reverend Bull served St. Paul's Parish for eleven years, leading his parishioners through the death and devastation of the Yamasee War and the rapid population growth that followed. He was very popular among his parishioners and fellow missionaries, as seen in the multiple letters written to the SPG asking them to do everything in their power to make sure Bull returned after taking a six-month leave of absence in 1719 to return to England to take care of family matters (Hasell, Guy, and Jones to SPG Secretary, May 13, 1719, SPG; Churchman and St. Paul's Vestry to SPG Secretary, May 15, 1719, SPG; Jones to SPG Secretary, May 18, 1719, SPG; Colonel Johnson to SPG Secretary, May 20, 1719, SPG).

Bull wrote a number of letters to the SPG, not only as the missionary to St. Paul's, but also as the Commissary to the Bishop of London after Johnston's death in

1716. Bull felt obligated to write often to the SPG as a form of gratitude (Bull to SPG Secretary, March 3, 1713, SPG) and due to their frequency and detail, Bull's letters provide insight into the activities and events surrounding St. Paul's Church and Parish, especially into the events surrounding the Yamasee War and its aftermath, not only in St. Paul's, but many of the other parishes as well.

St. Paul's Parish suffered great loss of life and property during the war as a result of its location between Charles Towne and Pocotaligo Town. Even though the war broke out in April 1715, it was not until late July when St. Paul's Parish was directly affected by the violence. At that time, a group of 600-700 members of the Yamasee confederation marched through the parish. Because of the previous months of conflict to the south, many of St. Paul's inhabitants, including Reverend Bull, had already fled to Charles Towne. Many of those who stayed behind were tortured and killed (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG).

After living in Charles Towne for several months, Bull returned to the parish in mid-August to find his parish nearly vacant. For the next several months, St. Paul's Parish remained relatively devoid of European-American settlement as many of the men were off fighting the Indians while their families remained in Charles Towne (Bull to SPG Secretary, Nov 30, 1715, SPG). Over the course of the next year, white settlers slowly began to move back to St. Paul's, now considered to be the frontier as St. Helena's and St. Bartholomew's parishes to the south were all but destroyed (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG). Reverend Bull reported on May 10, 1716, that services had resumed; however, between the settlers who were fearful to return and the reportedly seventy parishioners who were killed, church attendance was low. Even by Christmas

services of that year, Reverend Bull stated that his church was not filled yet for services, suggesting that attendance among parishioners had not returned to its pre-Yamasee war level (Bull to SPG Secretary, Jan 3, 1717, SPG).

Property damage to St. Paul's and other surrounding parishes was extensive, with twenty plantation houses in the parish burned. Reverend Bull's parsonage was also burned, along with all its outbuildings, except for the kitchen (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG). The church was spared by the Yamasee confederation as Bull wrote, "To my church they did no other Damage, save the breaking a few of the windows, and tearing of the Lining from one of the best Pews" (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG). Bull later provided a more detailed account of the burning of the parsonage, "The burning of my House, the Loss of a considerable part of my Goods and Cloths, all ye Provisions and most of ye little stock of cattle I was possessed of proves a yet greater burden to me" (Bull to SPG Secretary, February 6, 1716, SPG). Additionally, Francis Le Jau wrote,

Our Revd Brother Bull's house was quite burnd with the furniture he had not been able to save. I believe the damage he sustained at that time in the loss of his house and Provision amounts to abt 200 pounds of this country money, & the whole damage done by the Enemy who killd all the horses & cattle & sheep they could (Le Jau to SPG Secretary, August 22, 1715, SPG).

There is no mention of when the minor repairs at the church were completed; however, by 1723 the parsonage had still not been rebuilt but there was approximately £600 set aside for its rebuilding (Bull to SPG Secretary, Aug. 10, 1723, SPG).

By early 1721, St. Paul's population had recovered to the point that the church was now filled again for services (Bull to SPG Secretary, Feb. 10, 1721, SPG). The repopulation of the parish was tied to the growth of rice production along the parish's marshes and waterways. The first indication that St. Paul's and other parish churches were in need of enlargement came in July 1722. At that time, local church leaders wrote to the SPG informing them that the General Assembly had approved money to be given to St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, St. George's, and St. James', Goose Creek for enlarging and beautifying their existing churches (Clergy of South Carolina to SPG Secretary, July 12, 1722, SPG). This funding for expansion was due to the arrival of a new royal governor, Francis Nicholson, a strong supporter of the Anglican Church and a founding member of the SPG. Upon his arrival in the colony, Nicholson worked closely with the General Assembly in order to provide funds for the construction and renovation of many of the colony's Anglican churches (Nelson 2008:117). Shortly thereafter, Reverend Bull reported to the SPG that the General Assembly gave him £500 to put towards the enlargement of St. Paul's and his parishioners had raised an additional £960. Construction was already set to begin as,

The bricks and lime and timber are now preparing and will I doubt not be ready to begin ye work early in next Spring. The Church when finished as designed, which I believe may be in six Months after the Foundation is laid, and will be a neat and

regular building and large enough commodiously to hold upwards of two hundred people (Bull to SPG Secretary, Oct. 10, 1722, SPG).

This was one of Reverend Bull's last letters to the SPG from South Carolina, as he requested to be able to return to England after 10 years of service in the colonies. His request was eventually granted and in March of 1723, St. Paul's Parish was once again without a missionary (Clergy of South Carolina to SPG, March 10, 1723, SPG).

Construction of the church addition began in 1722 (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 16, 1723, SPG), but for unknown reasons it was not immediately finished. Reverend David Standish, Bull's replacement who started at St. Paul's in 1724, wrote in 1726 that they were using the new addition even though it was not fully complete (Standish to SPG Secretary, June 6, 1726, SPG). In addition to the expansion of the church building, the glebe lands were also increased. In 1727, St. Paul's parishioners purchased 400 acres of land just to the north of their current glebe lands. Also included in this purchase was a "great house" that stood on the property (Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Paul's Parish to SPG Secretary, Feb. 5, 1729, SPG). I believe that the "great house" was used as the new parsonage house. Prior to the purchase of this land, references to the parsonage house in the SPG letters discussed *rebuilding* the parsonage, while after purchasing the land all discussion about the parsonage house is about *renovating* it. Neither the location of this house nor its previous owner is known at this time, but one possibility is that it was the former residence of Captain Bristow.

Standish died in 1729 and the vestry quickly elected Andrew Leslie to serve at St. Paul's. Upon his arrival in 1731, the addition to the church had still not been entirely

completed and Leslie raised the needed money to complete the project. At this time the parsonage had still not been repaired because the parish was more concerned about raising money for the addition to the church building and the purchase of additional glebe lands (Leslie to SPG Secretary, October 30, 1731, SPG). The church addition was finally completed in the early part of 1732, a decade after it was first begun (Leslie to SPG Secretary, May 12, 1732, SPG).

Leslie's tenure at St. Paul's was not without controversy. In the early months of 1734, he was not re-elected by a 47 to 16 vote by parishioners. This seemingly overwhelming vote rejecting Leslie was highly contested by parishioners, churchwardens, and vestry members. They wrote to the SPG explaining that many of those who voted against Reverend Leslie were those who did not regularly attend services and who lived on Wadmalaw and John's Island (Inhabitants of St. Paul's Parish to SPG Secretary, March 16, 1734, SPG; Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Paul's Parish to SPG, April 15, 1734, SPG). These islands were a part of the Sea Islands which within a matter of weeks after this vote became a separate parish, St. John's, Colleton. St. Paul churchwardens and vestry requested a new vote after the split because they were certain Leslie would now be approved (Churchwardens and Vestry of St. Paul's Parish to SPG, April 15, 1734, SPG). The new vote was allowed and Leslie was approved, returning to St. Paul's after spending the previous months in Ireland (Leslie to SPG Secretary, Dec. 9, 1735, SPG).

Along with the completion of the church addition, another major event took place during Reverend Leslie's time at St. Paul's. With the creation of St. John's, Colleton Parish from the former southern portions of St. Paul's Parish, the church along the

Stono River was no longer centrally located within the parish. To accommodate parishioners who had to travel great distances to attend church services, a chapel of ease was established in 1736, approximately eight miles to the northwest of St. Paul's Church (Figure 4-13). Chapels of ease were secondary places of worship, often constructed so that parishioners would not have to travel as far to their parish church. In South Carolina, the parish minister would travel to the chapel once every few weeks to conduct services, while a church warden or vestryman would lead services other weeks. At the time the vestrymen established the chapel of ease, it was their intention, as well as the parishioners, that this location would eventually become the site of a new parish church. A nearby house served as the chapel until the structure could be completed (Leslie to SPG Secretary, Dec. 29, 1736, SPG).

Leslie continued on at St. Paul's until 1740, when he requested to be sent back to England for personal reasons. There may have been another motivation behind his request as Alexander Garden, the Commissary at the time, wrote to the SPG that Leslie left for England to run away from the parish and his responsibilities there and "his Fear of being knocked o' the Head, in these troublesome Times, either by our foreign Enemies, the Spaniards & Indians, or by our Domestick ones, our own Slaves" (Garden to Bishop of London, May 30, 1740, SPG). This is an interesting statement as it was written a few months after the 1739 Stono Rebellion, the only slave uprising to occur in South Carolina. The uprising began near the present-day town of Rantowles, about two miles upriver from the location of St. Paul's Church. During the uprising, approximately 20 slaves broke into a store, stealing firearms and gunpowder and killing the storekeepers. From there, they moved from house to house along the Stono River

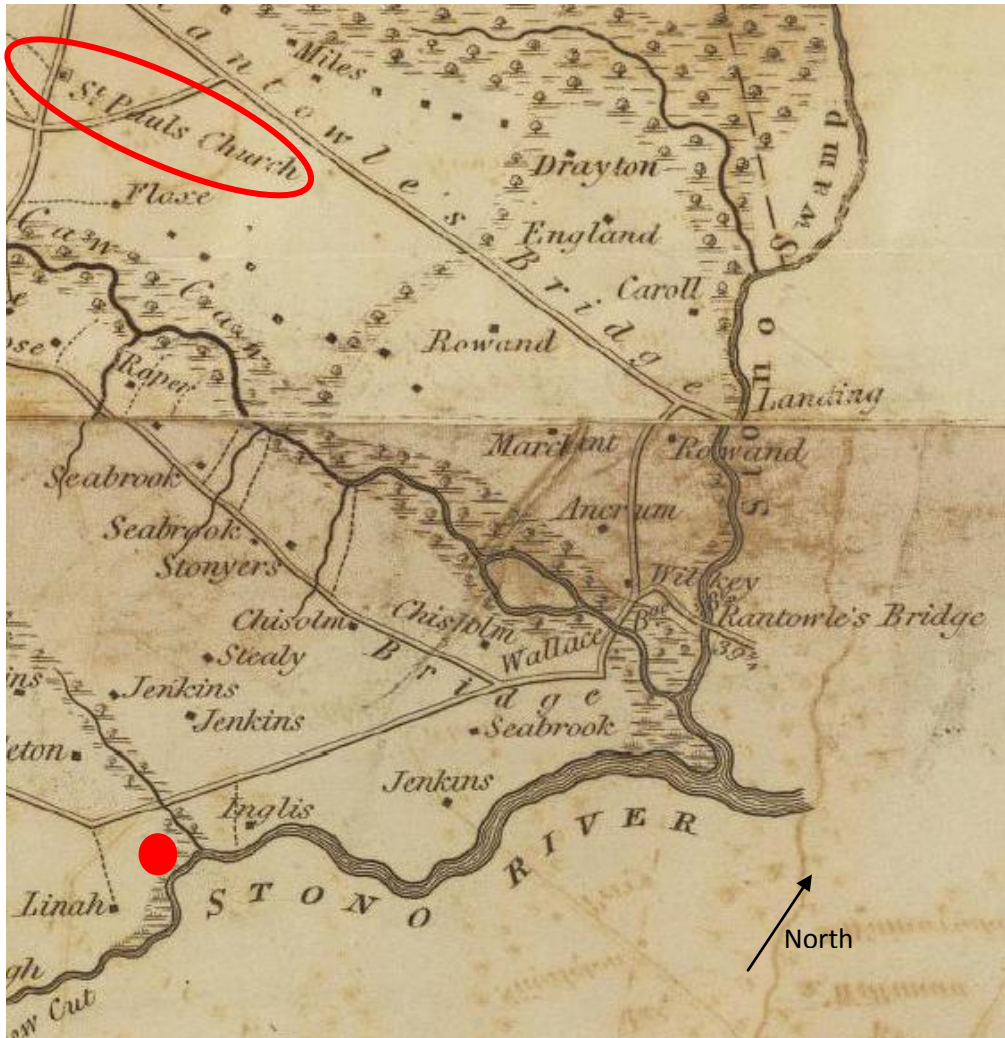


Figure 4-13. 1825 Colleton District, South Carolina by Robert Mills. Oval indicates location of the ca. 1736 chapel of ease, which subsequently became the site of the second and third St. Paul's Church. The dot indicates location of original St. Paul's Church (David Rumsey Historical Map On-line Collection <http://www.davidrumsey.com>).

murdering approximately 20 whites (Wood 1974). Shortly after the event, Leslie wrote to the SPG:

An Insurrection of ye Negros happened in my Parish Sept 16, who murdered 22 of my Parishioners in a most barbarous Manner. Our militia came up [the] next day about 4 in the Afternoon, & after a Short Engagement...& in a Second Engagement ye Saturday following, ye Rebels were so entirely defeated & dispersed...However, Several of my principal parishioners, being apprehensive of danger from the rebels still outstanding carried their families to town for safety, & if the humour of moving continues a little longer, I shall have but a small congregation at church. (Leslie to SPG Secretary, January 7, 1739, SPG).

After Reverend Leslie's return to England, Reverend William Orr requested appointment to St. Paul's (Orr to Bishop Gibson, Feb. 9, 1741, SPG). When he arrived at the parish, he was displeased with the parsonage as it was in such a state of disrepair that he could not live in it and had to rent a converted barn to live in. Additionally, he was not happy with the condition of the glebe lands and the fact that he had no slaves or livestock provided to him by parishioners (Orr to SPG Secretary, March 31, 1742, SPG). Several letters from Orr to the SPG during the 1740s indicate he was never happy as the missionary at St. Paul's and in 1750 he was transferred to St. John's, Colleton Parish (Orr to SPG Secretary, July 12, 1750, SPG).

In 1742, parishioners officially petitioned to have the chapel of ease declared the parish church (Orr to SPG Secretary, March 31, 1742, SPG). It is not known when this

officially took place and how long services continued at the original church along the Stono. Reverend Orr never mentioned the church being moved in his letters, making it likely that the move did not take place until after he transferred to St. John's, Colleton in 1750. This move must have occurred by 1756 when the original church was dismantled. The chapel was in need of repair since it was now the parish church and due to lack of funds, material from the original church along the Stono was reused for these repairs (Dalcho 1820:357).

After the parish church moved to its new location, the St. Paul's vestry continued to own the glebe lands and leased them to nearby planters. An entry in the vestry minutes dated June 28, 1786 ordered Thomas Osbourne to pay the church wardens for the past three years of rent for the glebe lands along the Stono River (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, June 28, 1786, SCHS). At a vestry meeting on April 17, 1786, members discussed what should be done with the glebe lands along the Stono. A couple of weeks later, at a meeting on May 8, 1786, they decided to sell the lands "on a credit of five years, giving a mortgage of the Premises and personal security. Principal, and annual interest to be paid in Merchantable Rice delivered in Ch'ton" (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, May 8, 1786, SCHS). A newspaper advertisement dated July 20, 1786 announced the sale of the glebe lands (The Columbian Herald, July 20, 1786). On August 7, 1786, the vestry sold the glebe lands "containing Six hundred acres more or less" to Isaac McPherson for 360 barrels (approximately 198,000 pounds) of rice (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, August 7, 1786, SCHS).

This transaction was never finalized and the glebe lands returned to the hands of the St. Paul's vestry. A note dated August 31, 1792 and addressed to John McPherson

and Edward Perry, executors of Isaac McPherson, stated that McPherson still owed money to the church (Dawson to St. Paul's Vestry, September 4, 1812, SCHS). This note suggests that Mr. McPherson died before the purchased could be paid off and therefore, the land was returned to the vestry. In August 1792, the vestry began to lease the glebe lands to Sam Fickling. He leased the land through 1805 when Joseph Fickling (unknown relationship to Sam) began planting on the land. The Ficklins were a planter family who owned the lands just to the south of the glebe lands and former church site, including what is now the northern portion of Dixie Plantation to just south of the present-day Avenue of Oaks. Joseph apparently was "squatting" on the property as the vestry wrote a letter to him in 1806 requesting back and current rent on the land since he had planted it and cut timber without their permission and asking that he cease his activity (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, April 21, 1806, SCHS). Joseph Fickling wrote back to the vestry that he was working on paying their rent, but not at the price they requested, and he stated, "I never until now knew whose the land was" (Joseph Fickling to James Boone, Esq., May 9, 1806, SCHS). The vestry of St. Paul's and Mr. Fickling apparently worked out an agreement. At their January 12, 1807 meeting, the vestry agreed to sell the lands again and informed Mr. Fickling that his lease would not be renewed (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, January 12, 1807, SCHS). A few weeks later, on February 18th, St. Paul's vestrymen and churchwardens placed a newspaper advertisement for a tract of the glebe land along the Stono River. They described the land as a "good quality for cotton", as well as having valuable, uncleared, and wooded land near a landing. One-third of the selling price was to be paid at the time of the sale

with additional payments being made over the course of the next few years (City Gazette, Charleston, February 18, 1807).

Vestry minutes indicate that Benjamin Jenkins purchased the property later in the year (Vestry Minutes 1786-1864, SCHS). Mr. Jenkins apparently also had problems making his payments. In a letter he wrote to the vestry on July 28, 1815 he stated he was unable to make his payment until his crop was ready in the winter (Jenkins to St. Paul's Vestry, July 28, 1815, SCHS). Jenkins was able to pay off his debt to St. Paul's vestry on January 6, 1816 when the chairman of the vestry received "Three Hundred Fifteen Dollars Seventy five cents in full of Principal and Interest due the Church for the Glebe Land" (Vestry Minutes, 1786-1864, SCHS).

With this transaction, the history of St. Paul's Church along the Stono River came to an end, but the Church has continued on to the present. The second St. Paul's church was the original chapel of ease constructed in 1736. By the 1770s, this church was in a state of disrepair and St. Paul's Parish was without a church for over three decades. In the early-19th century, construction on the third St. Paul's Church began near the foundations of the second church. The foundations of the third church can still be seen today along South Carolina Highway 165, north of the town of Ravenel (Figure 4-14). This wooden church, referred to as "The White Church" among its parishioners, was in use for most of the 19th century. A plat dated 1913 indicates the church was still standing at that time, although contemporary letters indicate the church was no longer in use (Harold Robling, 2011, pers. comm.). By that time, St. Paul's church had moved to the city of Summerville, where it remains an active church today.

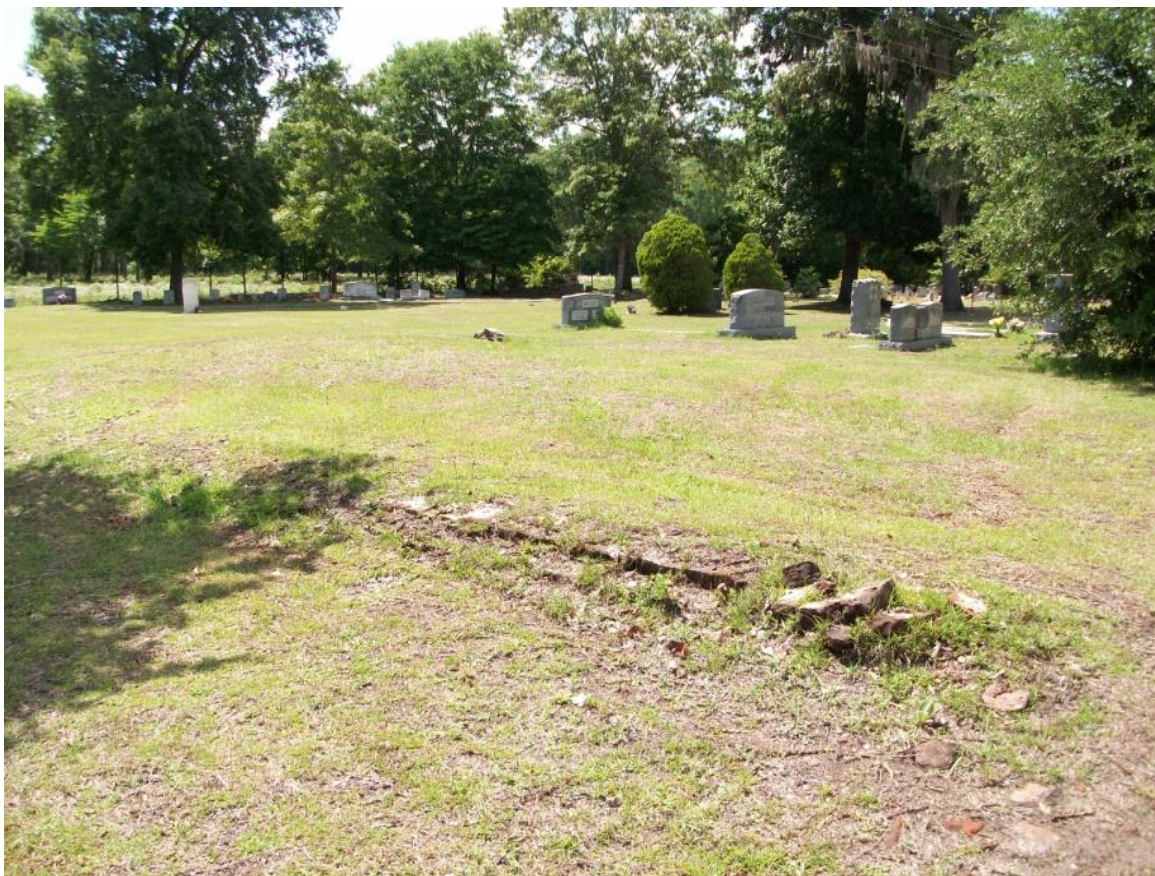


Figure 4-14. Foundations of the third St. Paul's Church. (Photo by the author).

CHAPTER 5:

ST. PAUL'S PARISH CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD

"A Small but convenient Brick Church in length 35 in breadth 25 feet having been begun soon after ye ratification of ye said Act and finished by them upon one acre of Land given by Landgrave Edmund Bellenger"

- St. Paul's Parish Vestry, January 20, 1715

In the original Establishment Act in 1704, the Carolina General Assembly stated that of the six new churches to be constructed there shall be "one on the south side of Stonoe river, in Colleton county" (Cooper 1837:237). With the passing of the 1706 Church Act, this church became known as St. Paul's Parish Church. The 1704 Act allowed the chosen Commissioners to appoint church supervisors in each parish to make decisions and oversee all aspects of construction of their churches, churchyards, parsonage houses, and glebe lands, including placement, design, labor, and the materials to be used. For St. Paul's Parish, the Commissioners appointed two of their own – Captain Robert Seabrook and Hugh Hicks, along with parish resident, Thomas Farr.

Since the mid-18th century when services ceased at the original St. Paul's Parish Church, the razing of the church by parishioners in 1756 and the passage of time has left very little record of the decisions made by the supervisors. The only known descriptions are provided in the SPG letters. In a letter recounting the history of their parish and church, the vestrymen of St. Paul's Parish described their church as a "small but convenient Brick Church in length 35 in breadth 25 feet" (St. Paul's Parish

Vestrymen to SPG Secretary, January 20, 1715, SPG). The SPG letters also provide evidence that an addition to the church was constructed in the 1720s (Bull to SPG Secretary, October 10, 1722, SPG; Bull to Bishop of London August 10, 1723, SPG; Standish to SPG Secretary, March 20, 1725, SPG; Standish to SPG Secretary, June 6, 1726, SPG; Leslie to SPG Secretary, October 30, 1731, SPG; Leslie to SPG Secretary, May 12, 1732, SPG). Unfortunately, none the letters provided a description of the addition or its relationship to the original 35 x 25 ft. church.

The decisions of Seabrook, Hicks, and Farr (and later church supervisors responsible for the addition) were probably not made lightly, with much thought going into the placement of their church on the landscape, overall church architecture, and construction materials. The choices they made were likely influenced by their faith, political power, socioeconomic class, and goals, as well as those of their fellow parishioners and the Anglican Church. Additionally, their decisions would have been affected by the availability of materials and skilled workmen in the newly-formed colony. Through archaeological fieldwork, material culture analysis, geophysical testing, and a comparison with extant 18th-century Anglican churches in South Carolina, some of the decisions made by Seabrook, Hicks, and Farr can now be studied and analyzed. Where did they place the church and how was it situated on the landscape? What was the overall appearance of the church's exterior and interior? What materials did workers use in the construction of St. Paul's Parish Church and what construction methods did they use? How do these decisions help us to understand early Anglican culture in the South Carolina Lowcountry?

A combination of excavation and remote sensing confirmed that the two slight mounds seen in today's cemetery, located in the northeastern portion of Dixie Plantation, were associated with the remains of St. Paul's Church (see Figure 1-3)². Archaeologists dug 13 units that uncovered features associated with the church and 6 units in the surrounding church yard (Table 5-1) (Figures 5-1 and 5-2). Excavations revealed intact bricks and mortar just below ground surface which made up the exterior walls of the structure, remnants of the church aisles, and entryways into the church. The bricks were bright orange and very soft, typical of early colonial bricks in South Carolina and the mortar included many inclusions, primarily crushed shell and brick. Above the intact brick, we encountered a large amount of architectural debris including bricks, mortar, and plaster. This debris likely represents the destruction episode when workers dismantled the church in 1756, removing reusable material for use at their new parish church. Geophysical testing over the church site, verified by limited follow-up excavations, identified the two distinct construction phases of the church – the original rectangular church and its 1720s addition.

In archaeology, geophysical testing includes a variety of different techniques to identify and map archaeological features beneath the ground surface by measuring physical or chemical changes in the soil (Conyers 2004:1). For this project, we chose ground-penetrating radar (GPR). This method uses an antenna on the surface to transmit a high-frequency radar pulse into the ground that reflects off any buried

² All recovered artifacts, field notes, and maps are curated with and available through the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, the College of Charleston, Charleston, SC, or by contacting the author.

Table 5-1. Summary of units excavated at church site.

Unit #	Unit Size (in ft.)	Stratigraphy Summary	Ending Depth (in ft.)	Feature(s)
Church Units				
9	7 x 1	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed w/ loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L3 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown)	0.35 - 0.58	foundation
13	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown)	0.20 – 0.50	church aisle
15	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown)	0.25 – 0.55	church aisle
16	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L3 – loamy sand 10YR 4/3 (brown) Builders' trench – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown)	.47 - 1.45	foundation and builders' trench
19	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L3 – crushed shell L4 – brick "dust" L5 – prehistoric "midden"; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) L6 – prehistoric; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) mottled with 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown) L7 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	1.40	west entrance and foundation
31	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 2/2 (dk brown) L3 – loamy sand; 10YR 5/6 (dk yellowish brown)	0.9 – 1.0	church aisle and step into chancel
34	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk brown)	0.39 – 0.49	church aisle
39	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/2 (dk grayish brown) L3 – loamy sand; 10YR 5/6 (dk yellowish brown) L4 – debris mixed with 10YR 4/3 (brown) L5 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown) L6 – mortar and architectural debris L7 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/3 brown L8 – loamy sand with architectural debris; 10YR 2/2 (very dk brown) mottled with 10YR 2/1 (black) L9 – prehistoric; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black); not excavated	2.95 – 3.6	n/a
42	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dark brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L3 – crushed shell L4 – brick "dust" L5 – prehistoric "midden"; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) L6 – prehistoric; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) mottled with 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown) L7 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	0.7 – 1.8	west entrance and foundation
44	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L3 – prehistoric; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black); (not excavated)	0.55 – 1.55	north entrance and foundation
55	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (very dk grayish brown) L2 – debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2B (interior of church only) - debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2C (interior of church only) - debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L3 - prehistoric "midden"; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black); not excavated	1.65	south entrance and foundation

Table 5-1 (continued).

Unit #	Unit Size (in ft.)	Stratigraphy Summary	Ending Depth (in ft.)	Feature(s)
56	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (very dk grayish brown) L2 –debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2B (interior of church only) - debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2C (interior of church only) - architectural debris mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L3 - prehistoric “midden”; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black); not excavated	1.6	south entrance and foundation
Units Immediately Outside Church				
12	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L2 – architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L3 – prehistoric “midden”; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) L4 – subsoil; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown)	1.6	n/a
20	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dark yellowish brown) L2 – architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L3 – prehistoric “midden”; loamy sand; 10YR 2/1 (black) L4 – subsoil; 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	2.4	n/a
21	3 x 1	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L2 – architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (brown)	1.2	intact brick
46	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dark yellowish brown) L2 – architectural rubble * excavations ceased due to possibly graveshaft	0.75 – 1.1	possible graveshaft
Churchyard Units				
18	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/2 (very dark yellowish brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L3 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	1.8	possible tree stain
36	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/2 (very dark yellowish brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark yellowish brown) L3 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	1.0 – 1.15	n/a
Units Outside Churchyard				
14	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dark brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L3 – subsoil; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown)	1.10	n/a
17	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dark brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L3 – subsoil; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown)	1.35	n/a
32	5 x 5	L1 – sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown) L3 – subsoil; 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	0.6	n/a
35	5 x 5	L1 – sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown) * excavations ceased due to possibly graveshaft	0.82 – 1.28	possible graveshaft or large tree stain
38	5 x 5	L1 – sand; 7.5YR 5/4 (brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 5/2 (dark grayish brown) L3 – subsoil; 10YR 5/4 (yellowish brown)	0.6 – 1.0	n/a
41	5 x 5	L1 – sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L2 – loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dark yellowish brown) * excavations ceased due to possibly graveshaft	1.4 – 1.65	possible graveshaft or large tree stain

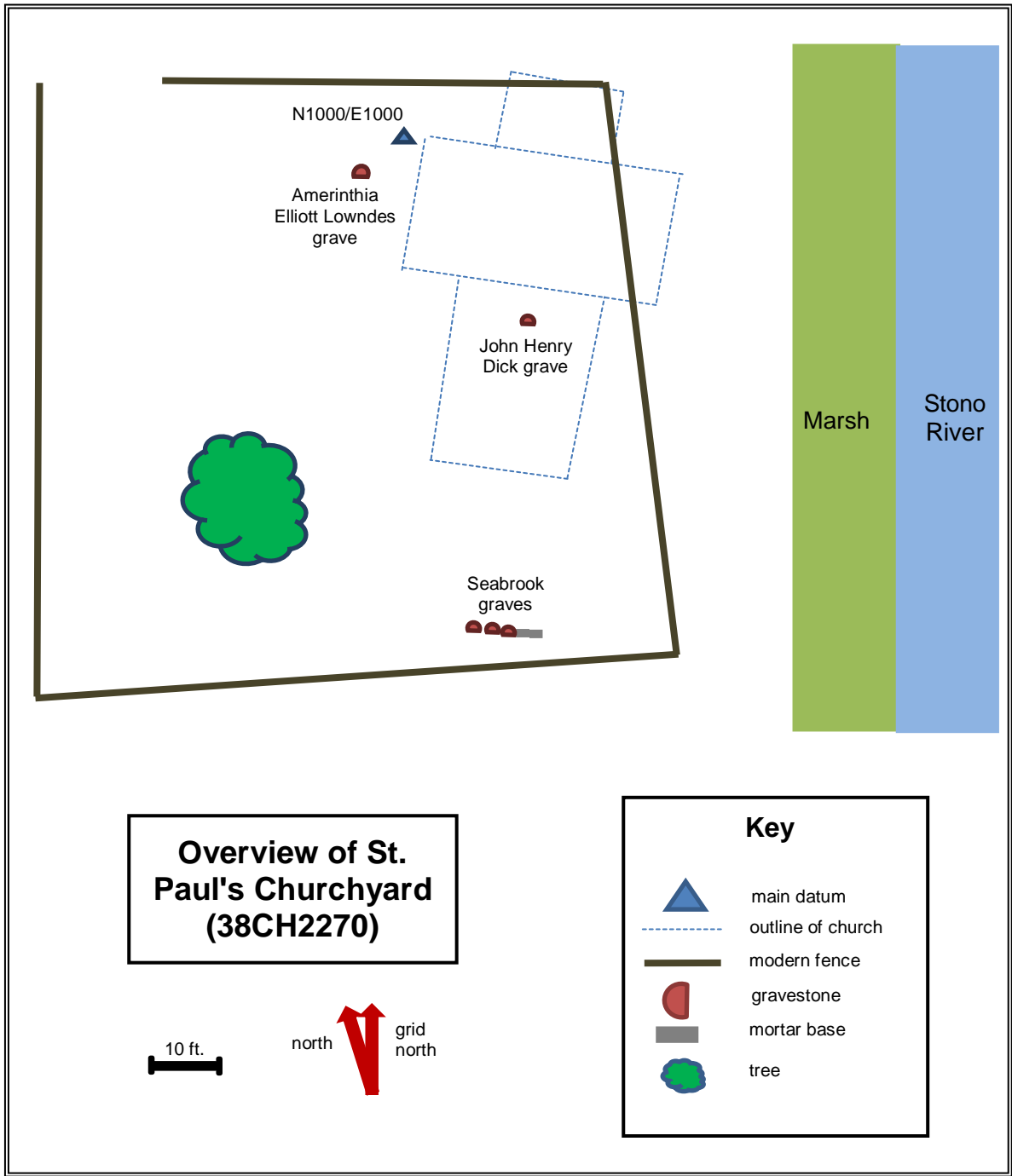


Figure 5-1. Site map of St. Paul's Churchyard. Distance between fenced-in churchyard and marsh is not to scale.

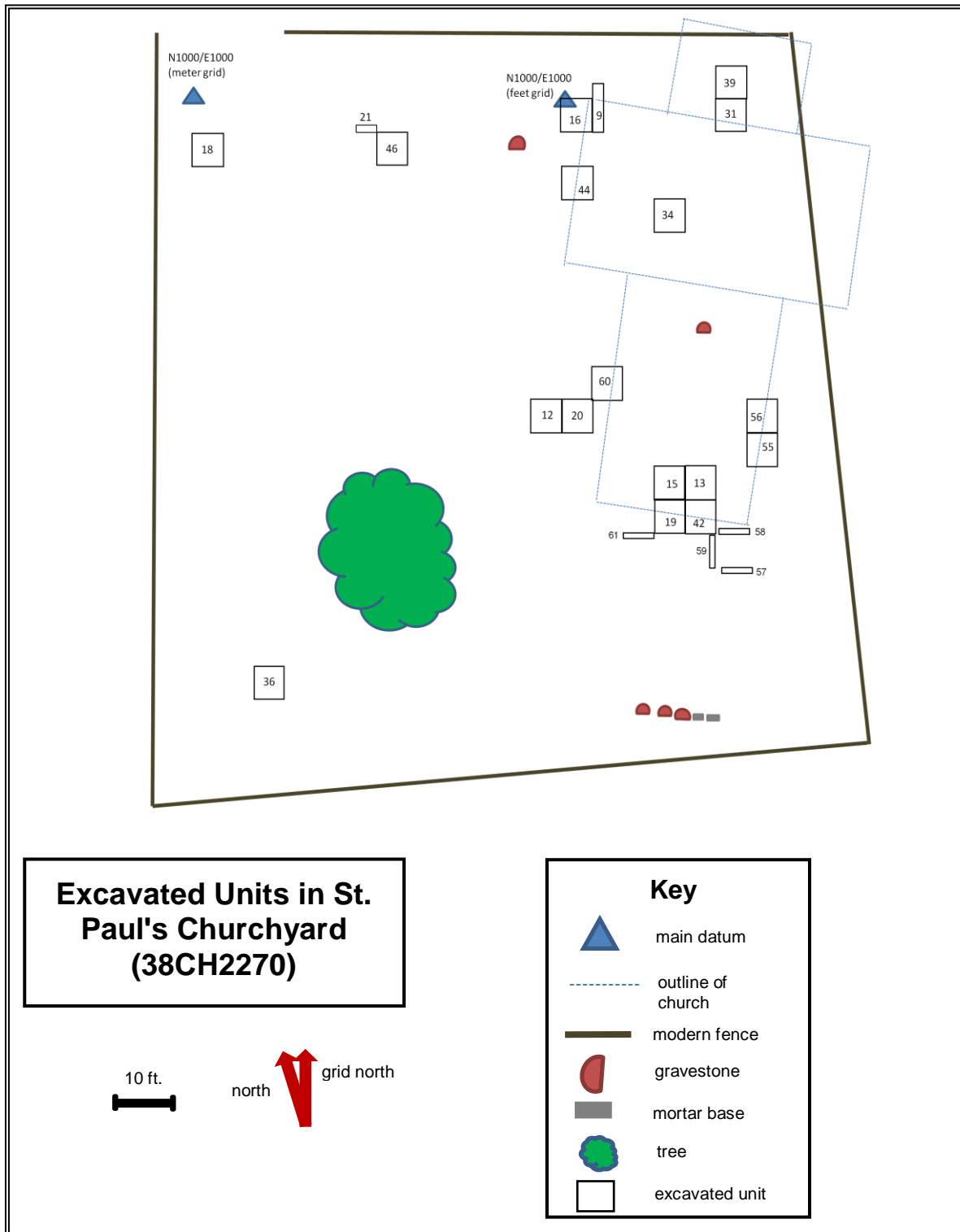


Figure 5-2. Site map indicating excavated units in St. Paul's Churchyard.

features or sediment changes and then travels back to the surface. The time it takes for this to happen is measured, indicating how far below the surface features or soil changes occur (Conyers 2004:1-2). Under the advice of Dr. Scott Harris, who would be conducting the geophysical testing, we chose this method for two reasons. Dr. Harris is very familiar with the sandy soils of the South Carolina coastal area and in his experience, GPR testing typically produces better results than other techniques such as magnetometry or resistivity testing (Scott Harris, 2010, pers. comm.). Additionally, based on archaeological testing, we knew the structure was very near the surface and constructed of brick, other factors that were likely to result in good readings from GPR.

Dr. Harris and two volunteers collected the GPR data utilizing a Mala Geoscience shielded 800 MHz antenna. They tested a 32.5 x 25 m area that included most of the modern churchyard, along 10 cm spaced transects. This spacing is much narrower than typically used in GPR testing; however, these narrow transects would allow for the highest resolution of any subsurface features. Once they completed the data collection, Dr. Harris analyzed the data with Mala Geoscience's Easy 3D software. These results proved to be extremely helpful in answering many questions regarding the structure.

First and foremost, the GPR results indicated that the structure was cruciform in shape (Figure 5-3). The structure's shape, along with the early colonial bricks identified previously, all but confirmed that the two mounds in the cemetery did indeed represent the ruins of St. Paul's Parish Church. The GPR data also provided enough information to determine which mound represented the original 1707 church and which one was the addition. The results clearly indicate two distinct sections of the church – one a rectangle and the other forming the top portion of the cross (Figure 5-4). The

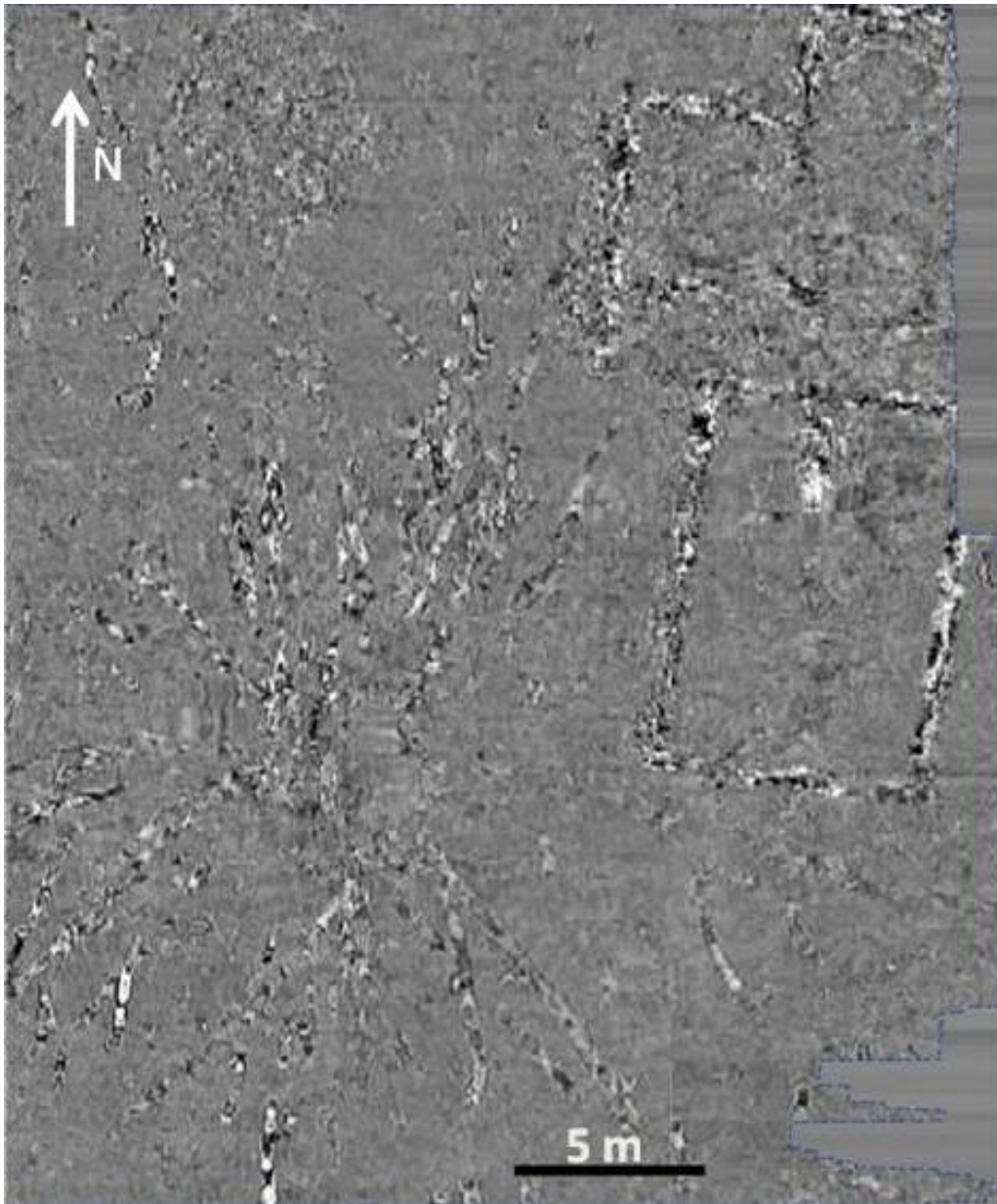


Figure 5-3. GPR-generated image of churchyard. In addition to the church (upper right), the root system of a live oak tree is prominent. No data were collected in the southeastern corner of the churchyard (lower right hand corner on image) due to the presence of the Seabrook gravestones. Image is taken at a depth of 50 cm and a 10ns timeslice (Image courtesy of Scott Harris).

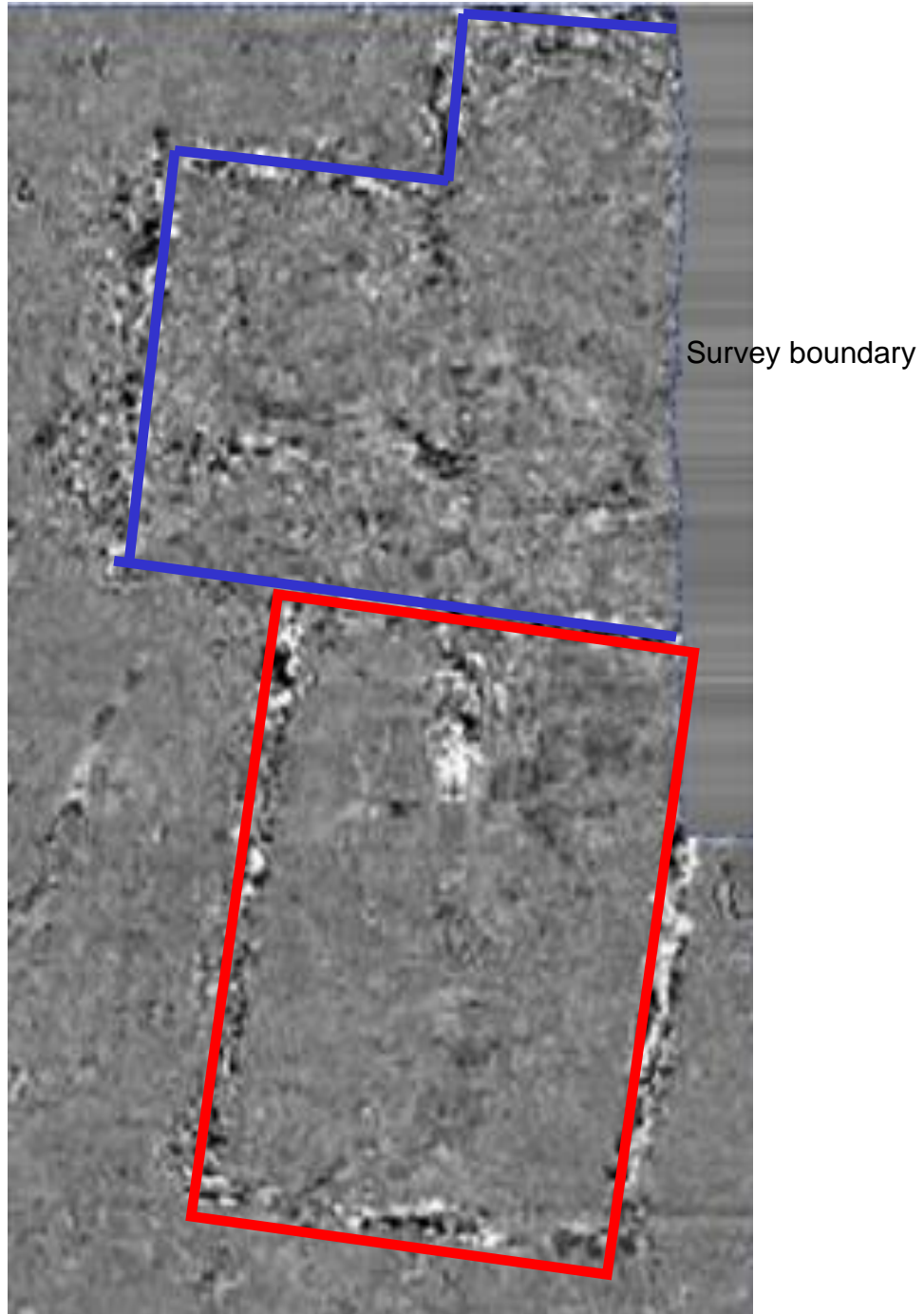


Figure 5-4. GPR-generated image highlighting the original church (red, below) and the church addition (blue, above) (Image courtesy of Scott Harris).

rectangular portion of the church, later the “bottom” of the cross, measured 34.8 x 25.6 ft. from outside wall to outside wall. This is basically identical to the description provided by the vestrymen of St. Paul’s Parish in 1715 of 35 x 25 ft. Thus the original, rectangular church is represented by the small, less noticeable mound seen today, while the larger mound is the church addition. The dimensions of the addition included an approximately 26 x 46 ft. main area plus the 11.5 x 19.5 ft. chancel.

The GPR results greatly influenced subsequent field work. The data produced such clear results of what was under the surface of the mounds that we were able to map out the location of the church by placing pin flags in the ground above where the corners of the church should be (Figure 5-5). We were also able to strategically place excavation units inside both the original church and its addition. This approach allowed for the examination of architectural details, as well as the construction materials used. Recovered information allowed for interpretations regarding the visible appearance of St. Paul’s Parish Church, as well as how its architecture expressed the beliefs, wealth, and goals of the Anglican Church and its parishioners. Additionally, results allowed for a much better understanding of the decisions and choices made 300 years earlier by St. Paul’s church supervisors Seabrook, Hicks, and Farr.

The Architecture of St. Paul’s Parish Church

Due to the archaeological nature of the ruins of St. Paul’s Parish Church, there are of course some limitations on what can be determined regarding the visual appearance of the church’s interior. But through archaeological and geophysical testing, there is now a much better understanding of the interior of St. Paul’s Parish Church,



Figure 5-5. Outline of St. Paul's Parish Church based on GPR data, looking east.
(Photo by the author).

especially in regard to the placement of aisles and entrances and the materials used in its construction (Figure 5-6). Throughout this discussion, there will be several references to cardinal directions. To avoid confusion, directional discussion for the church refers to traditional Anglican church orientations rather than true cardinal points or designated grid north. Traditionally, chancels were located in the most eastern portion of the church with the congregation facing east towards it. However at St. Paul's, the church orientation was skewed towards the north with parishioners facing the northeast as they viewed the chancel. This change in church orientation went against Church of England canon law and will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Church Interior

Excavations within the church itself revealed a number of architectural features. Archaeologists revealed a portion of the aisle from the original church in Units 13 and 15 (Figure 5-7 and 5-8). The 7-ft. wide aisle is evidenced by a large mortared area. Within the mortar, raised lines were visible that created a grid where large pavers had once been placed. These large pavers had been carefully removed, likely by workers in 1756, to be reused at the new St. Paul's Church. Based on these mortar lines, the original pavers were approximately 1 ft. squares. Due to the large amount of brick elsewhere in the church and the lack of stone in the region, we presumed the pavers were made of brick. On either side of the aisle a single row of complete bricks, laid side-to-side, created a border between the aisle and the area where pews would have been located. The pews sat on 1-in. thick brick pavers that are *in situ* today. These pavers appear to have been deliberately broken in half before being placed directly into the

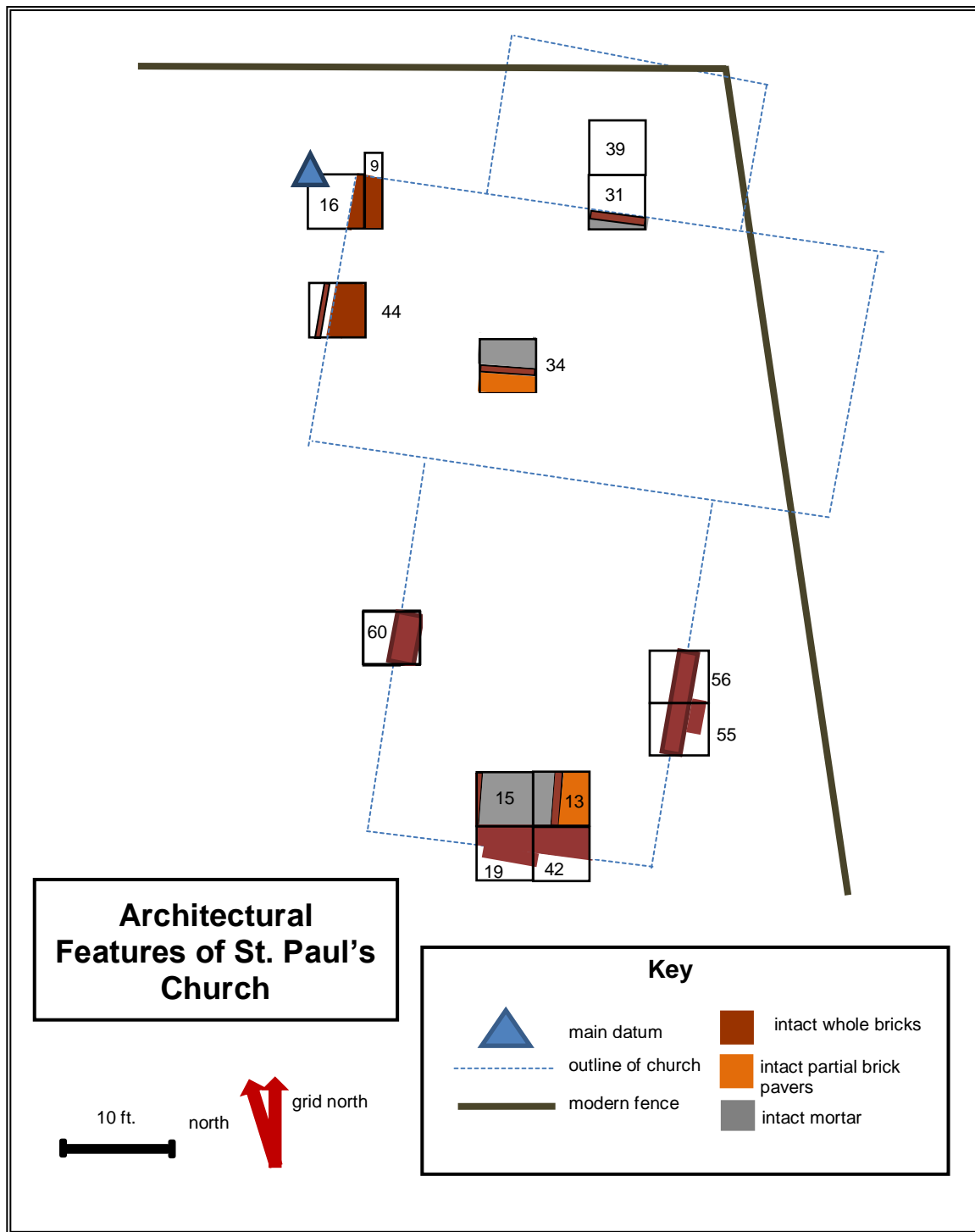


Figure 5-6. Architectural features of St. Paul's Church.



Figure 5-7. Units 13 (left) and 15 (right). Seven-ft. wide church aisle is seen with half-brick pavers on either side. (Photo by the author).

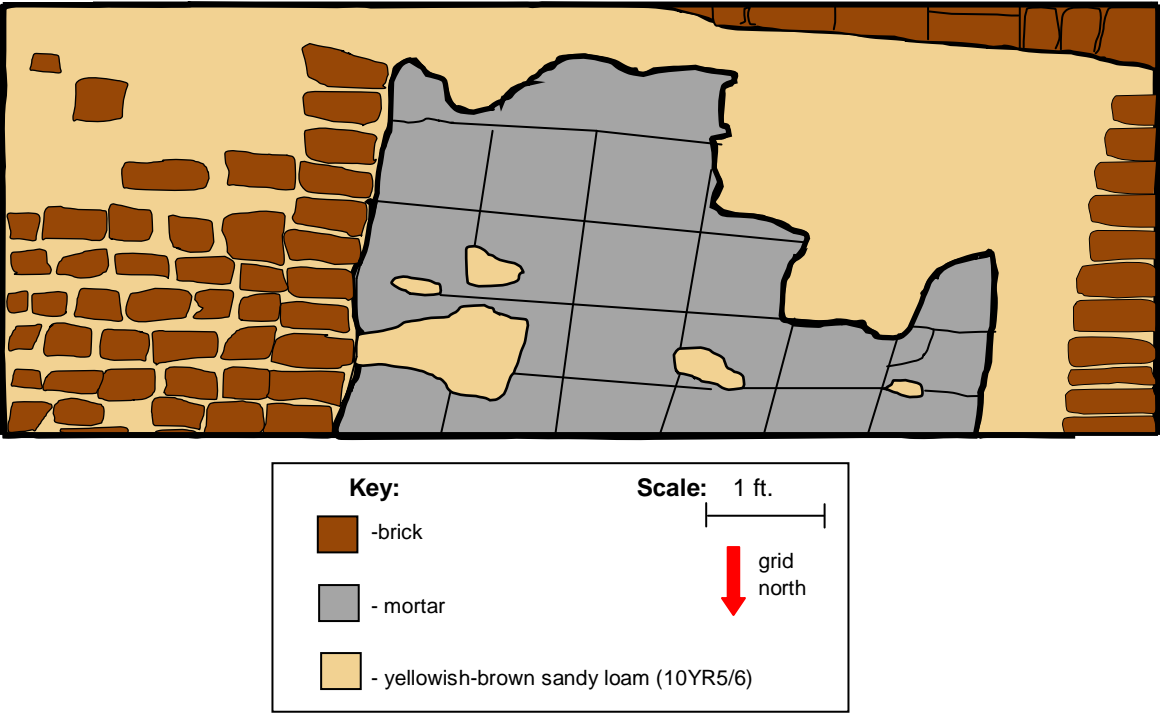


Figure 5-8. Plan view of Units 13 (left) and 15 (right). (Map by the author).

sandy soil below. Therefore, the pavers were not likely to have been seen, suggesting that the pews sat on a raised wooden platform. Neighboring St. Andrew's Parish Church shows a very similar pattern but with more decorative brickwork separating the aisle and the raised wooden pews (see Figure 3-16). A more detailed analysis of the GPR data conducted by Kevin Hon, an employee of Mala Geoscience, indicated that a majority of the center aisle of the church, or at least its mortar base, was largely intact (Figure 5-9).

The aisle identified in Units 13 and 15 extended into the church addition, to what originally appeared to be a single step that led up to the chancel (Unit 31). Here the grid pattern within the mortar base was seen again and much to our delight, laborers dismantling the church had left one brick paver behind, confirming that the large pavers were indeed brick (Figures 5-10 and 5-11). An architectural separation between the nave and chancel, such as a step, would not have been uncommon in 18th-century colonial churches. This architectural feature reflected the wishes of Anglicans to remove the physical and visible separation between the chancel and the nave, and consequently between the minister and his parishioners seen prior to the Reformation, while still keeping the chancel as a special and distinct place. At the extant ca. 1725 Strawberry Chapel a similar "step" leads to the altar area. However, rather than serving as an actual step, it ran in front of the rail where communicants kneeled as they took communion (Figure 5-12). It is likely the "step" seen at St. Paul's also represents the communion rail. The more detailed GPR analysis also indicated that a second aisle ran between the transepts of the cross, intersecting with the center aisle. Excavations from the second aisle (Unit 34) showed that this aisle matched that seen in the original portion of the church by having a center aisle of large pavers and an area of half-brick

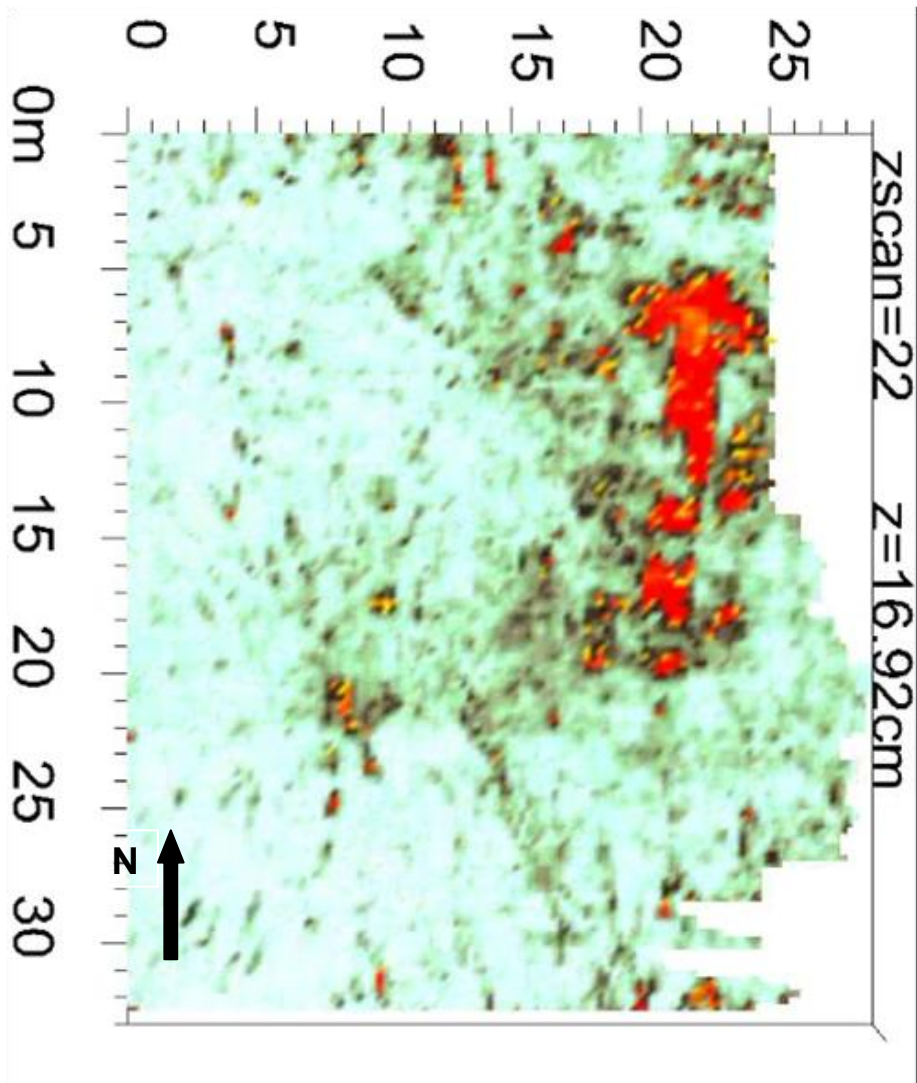


Figure 5-9. Detailed GPR-generated image indicating church aisle. This image is at a depth of 16.92 cm (Image courtesy of Kevin Hon).



Figure 5-10. Unit 31 located at intersection of nave and chancel. Church aisle can be seen leading to a step up to the chancel. Note the large brick paver in the lower right hand corner, looking north. (Photo by the author).

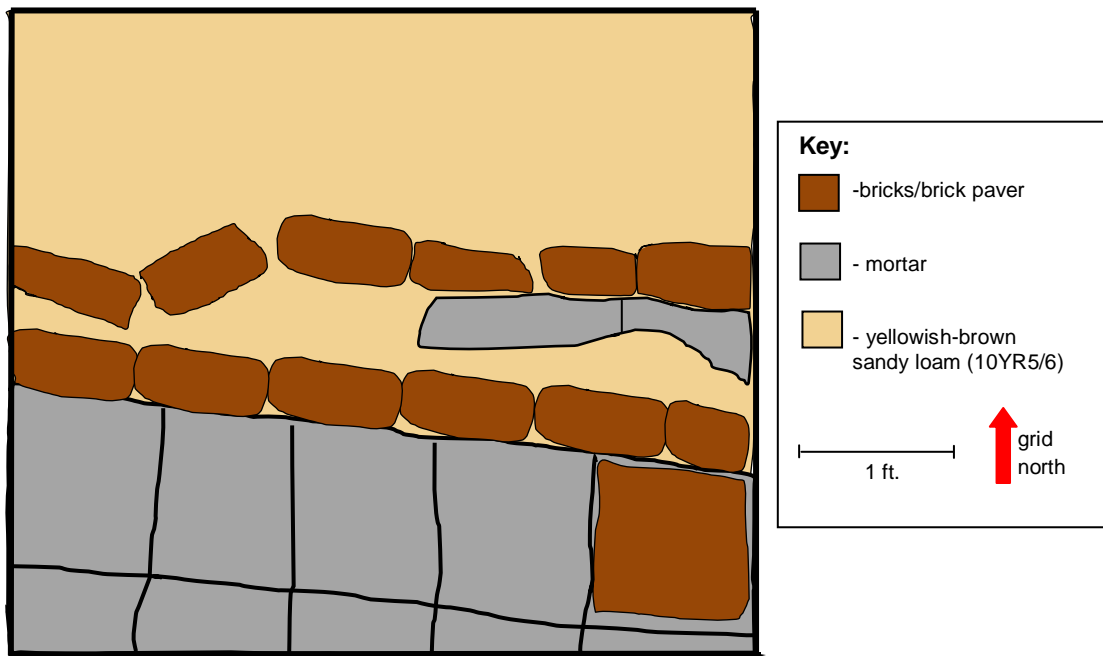


Figure 5-11. Plan view of Unit 31.



Figure 5-12. Communion rail at Strawberry Chapel. Cushion was removed from photograph to show brick pavers underneath. (Photo by the author).

pavers underneath the pews which were separated by a single row of bricks laid end-to-end (Figure 5-13).

Entrances

In addition to understanding the placement of the aisles, finding the entrances to St. Paul's Parish Church would provide for a better understanding of its visible appearance, as well as address questions regarding the movement of people around the churchyard. As seen at numerous churches in Virginia, cruciform churches typically had three entrances – the main one at the opposite end of the center aisle from the altar and one at each of the two transepts, or “arms” of the cross (Upton 1986a:96-97). The only extant early-18th-century cruciform church in South Carolina, St. Andrew's Parish



Figure 5-13. Unit 34 indicating church aisle within the addition. Pattern is the same as that seen in the original portion of the church looking east. (Photo by the author).

Church, followed this pattern as well. It would be expected that St. Paul's Parish Church would have had a similar plan, at least after the addition was constructed that changed it into a cruciform. But neither St. Paul's Parish Church, nor St. Andrew's, were always cruciform in shape as they both started off as rectangular buildings. St. James', Goose Creek Parish Church and Strawberry Chapel, the two extant rectangular churches in the region, both have entrances at the center of the north, south, and west walls, leaving only the east chancel wall without an entryway. Architectural historians who have examined the original portion of St. Andrew's Parish Church state that it originally had two entrances – a great entrance along the north wall and a smaller entrance on its western wall (Figure 5-14). Once the addition was complete and the church transformed into a cruciform, the former main entrance was closed off, while the smaller entrance

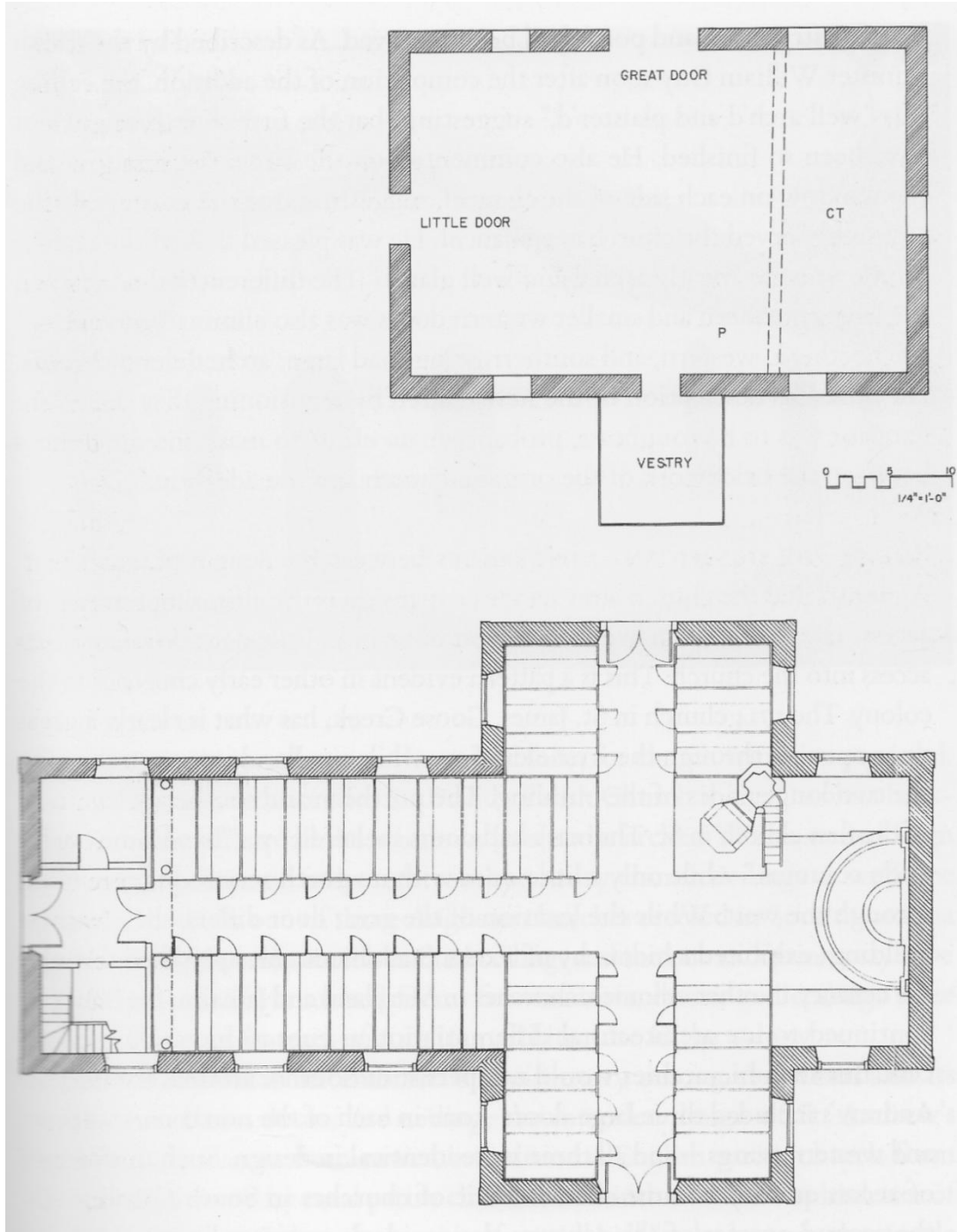


Figure 5-14. Floor plans of St. Andrew's Parish Church before (above) and after (below) 1720s addition (Nelson 2008:61).

was enlarged to become the main entrance (Nelson 2008:61). Based on this information from extant South Carolina and Virginia churches and the GPR images, we placed excavation units in those areas where church entrances were most likely to be found. Within the footprint of the original church, entrances were expected along the center of the north, south, and west walls.

Along the west end of the original portion of the church, archaeological investigations uncovered evidence of a brick entryway (Figure 5-15). The intact brick measured 5 ft. across and were only two courses in depth, indicating they were not there for structural support. An area of soil, about the width of one brick, separated the two areas. The center of this 5-ft. brick area lined up directly with the center of the aisle and is believed to be a brick threshold outside the main door, thus creating a formal entrance to the church. The thin area of soil between the foundation and the brick threshold likely represents the location of the door.

Further evidence that this was a doorway was a very thin level of finely crushed shell leading to it. We removed most of this shell layer during excavation, as it was very thin and easily confused with the architectural debris above it. However, it was visible in the south wall profiles of Units 19 and 42 (Figure 5-16). Later testing in March 2011 suggested that the crushed shell was part of a pathway that was only located around the immediate entryway, extending only a couple of feet to the south and a few feet to the east, towards the Stono River. Two postholes were also identified in the profiles. These postholes were equally spaced 0.8 ft. away from the brick threshold. These postholes may be the remains of a railing or small fence that lined the pathway towards



Figure 5-15. Unit 19 (bottom) and Unit 42 (top) indicating west entrance of church. Foundation wall is on the left and 5 ft. wide brick threshold is in the center, facing grid east. (Photo by the author).



Figure 5-16. South profile of Unit 42. White arrows point to posthole and crushed shell layer. (Photo by the author).

the church entrance. Based on the evidence, we originally interpreted this entrance as the main one for the church both before and after the 1720s addition.

Very few non-architectural artifacts were recovered from Units 13, 15, 19, and 42, namely four tobacco pipe fragments. One of these pipes was particularly interesting. Underneath the bricks of the eastern side of the brick threshold, a tobacco pipe stem could be seen sticking out. Careful removal of the pipe stem revealed that it was not only a stem, but a nearly intact pipe (Figure 5-17). The pipe likely dates to the 1720s based on both its bowl shape and size (Noël-Hume 1969:303) and the 5/64" bore diameter (Harrington 1954). Its presence underneath the brick threshold suggested that the brick entrance was not in place until the 1720s, but was added about the same time that the addition altered the church from a rectangle to a cruciform. This pipe raised the



Figure 5-17. 1720s pipe recovered from underneath brick threshold at west entrance.(Photo by the author).

possibility that this entrance may not have been a part of the original rectangular church, but rather an entrance that was added along with the 1720s church addition. No other examples of tobacco pipes found under church entrances could be located either. It remains undetermined if the placement of a pipe under the church entrance was intentional or had further significance for the construction or use of St. Paul's Church.

The extant rectangular churches and the architectural history of St. Andrew's Church provide evidence that the original church should have had an entrance here and there is some archaeological evidence for this. As can be seen in the west profile of Unit 42, stratigraphically the brick threshold is immediately above of a mottled soil, while elsewhere in the profile a very dark prehistoric soil level can be seen (Figure 5-18). This indicates that the soil beneath the brick threshold had been disturbed *before* the pipe and the bricks were laid in place. Therefore, it is quite likely that an entrance was located along this wall from 1707 through the 1720s and that it was replaced in the 1720s by the wider entrance and brick threshold that can be seen archaeologically.

Archaeological investigations identified another likely entrance along the south wall of the original church. In units 55 and 56, just to the exterior of the foundation wall, a concentrated area of brick could be seen (Figure 5-19). The bricks in this area were not intact and had been disturbed at some point. However, once cleaned off, it was possible to see that the disturbed brick concentration was rectangular in shape and exactly 3.0 ft. across, a common doorway width among English people. Another clue that there once was a doorway located here was the presence of finely crushed shells between the brick threshold and the unit wall. These shells were similar to those seen in the profile near the west entrance. The disturbance seen at this threshold, especially in



Figure 5-18. West profile of Unit 42. Arrow points to location where pipe was removed. (Photo by the author).



Figure 5-19. Units 55 (bottom) and 56 (top), facing north. The church foundation runs through the units with the church interior to the left. The disturbed brick concentration is seen just to the right of the church foundation. (Photo by the author).

comparison to the intact threshold seen at the west entrance of the church, suggests that a doorway into the original rectangular church had once been located along this wall. However, I believe it was dismantled during the 1720s construction of the church addition, as a doorway would no longer have been needed at this location once the church was transformed into a cruciform.

Along the original church's north wall, the only indication of a doorway is the presence of the finely crushed shell just outside of the foundation wall. Throughout the excavations, these shells were only found outside the south and west entrances to the original church. While there is no architectural evidence of a doorway along this wall, the presence of these shells leaves the possibility open that there once was a doorway here as well. It may have been a secondary, less elaborate entrance, while the entrance on the opposite long wall of the original church was the main one based on the brick threshold and the fact that it faced the river.

While not conclusive, we now have a better idea of the entrances for the original church. There is very strong evidence that a 3-ft. entrance was located at the center of the south wall, closest to the Stono River. Based on the floor plans of extant early-18th-century Anglican churches from both South Carolina and Virginia, this entrance was likely only one of three entrances. Another entrance should have been located along the center of the opposite wall; however, the archaeological evidence for that is weak, consisting only of the presence of crushed shells seen at the other entrances. Based on other rectangular churches, there should also have been a doorway located along the western wall of the church. While there is an obvious doorway in that location, the presence of the 1720s pipe under its brick threshold raises the question whether the

threshold was not associated with the original church. The pipe does not rule out the possibility that an entrance was located along the church's west side prior to the addition. Instead, any evidence of it may have been disturbed by the construction of the new entrance and brick threshold when the addition was constructed.

I believe that the crushed shell in front of these three entrances, or possible entrances, is also significant. While found outside the entrances of the rectangular portion of the church (Figure 5-20), it is not found outside the entrance identified within the church addition, discussed below. This raises the possibility that the crushed shell was used on the outside of the original church's entrances only and was not used with the church's 1720s addition. If this was indeed the case, it would mean that the original church did in fact have three entrances as expected from rectangular 18th-century Anglican churches (Figure 5-21). When the addition to the church was constructed in the 1720s, the two entrances along the original church's long walls would have been closed off. To replace those entrances, two entrances should have been constructed within the church addition at the ends of the transepts. We did uncover an entrance along the church's north transept wall (grid west) in Unit 44 (Figure 5-22). This entrance was a single step of large brick pavers that would have led parishioners to the doorway. In all likelihood, another entrance was located at the end of the opposite, south transept. However, this area was not excavated because it is opposite of the fence around the cemetery where there are many large trees.

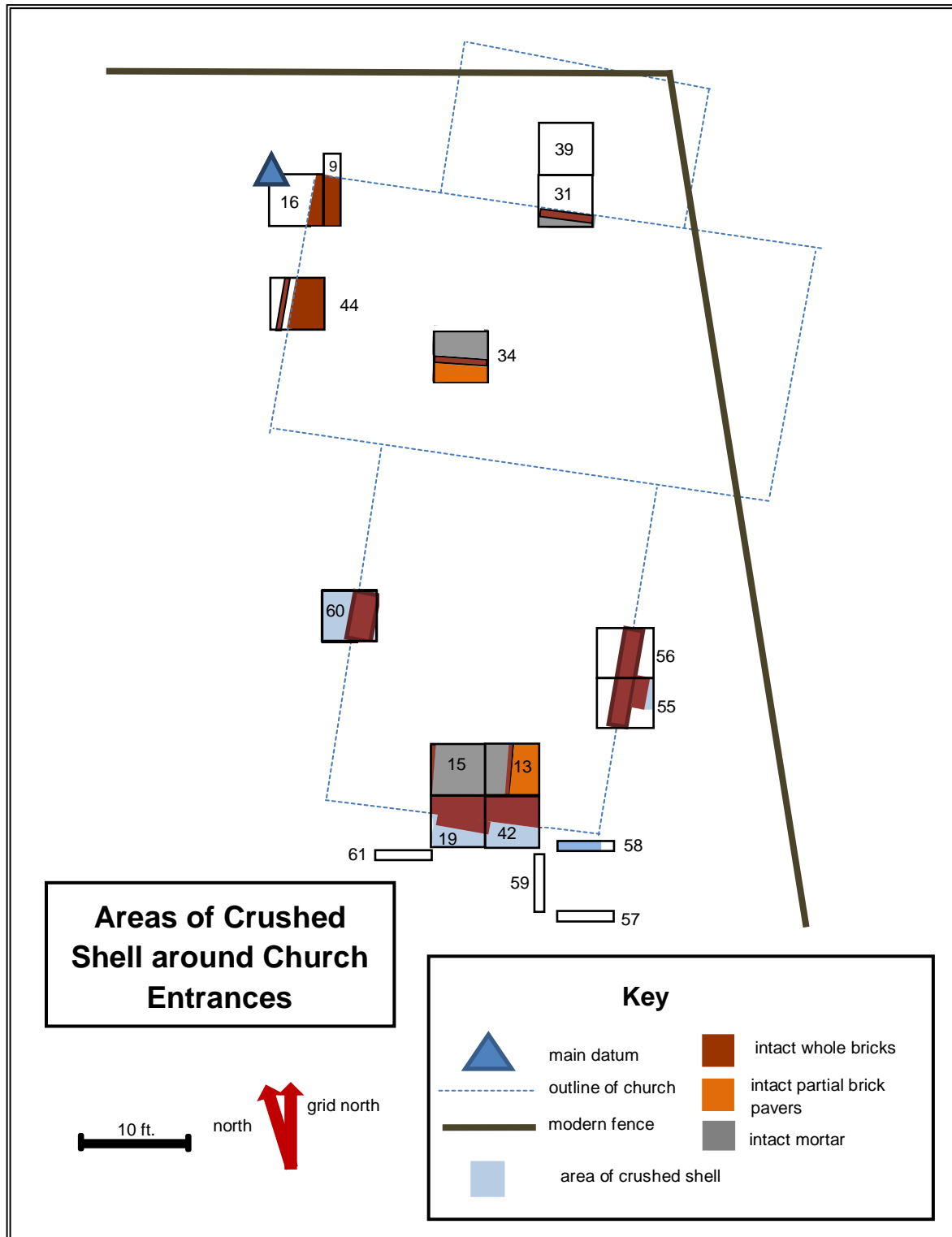


Figure 5-20. Areas of crushed shell around church entrances. Shell is located in Units 19, 42, 55, 58, and 60.

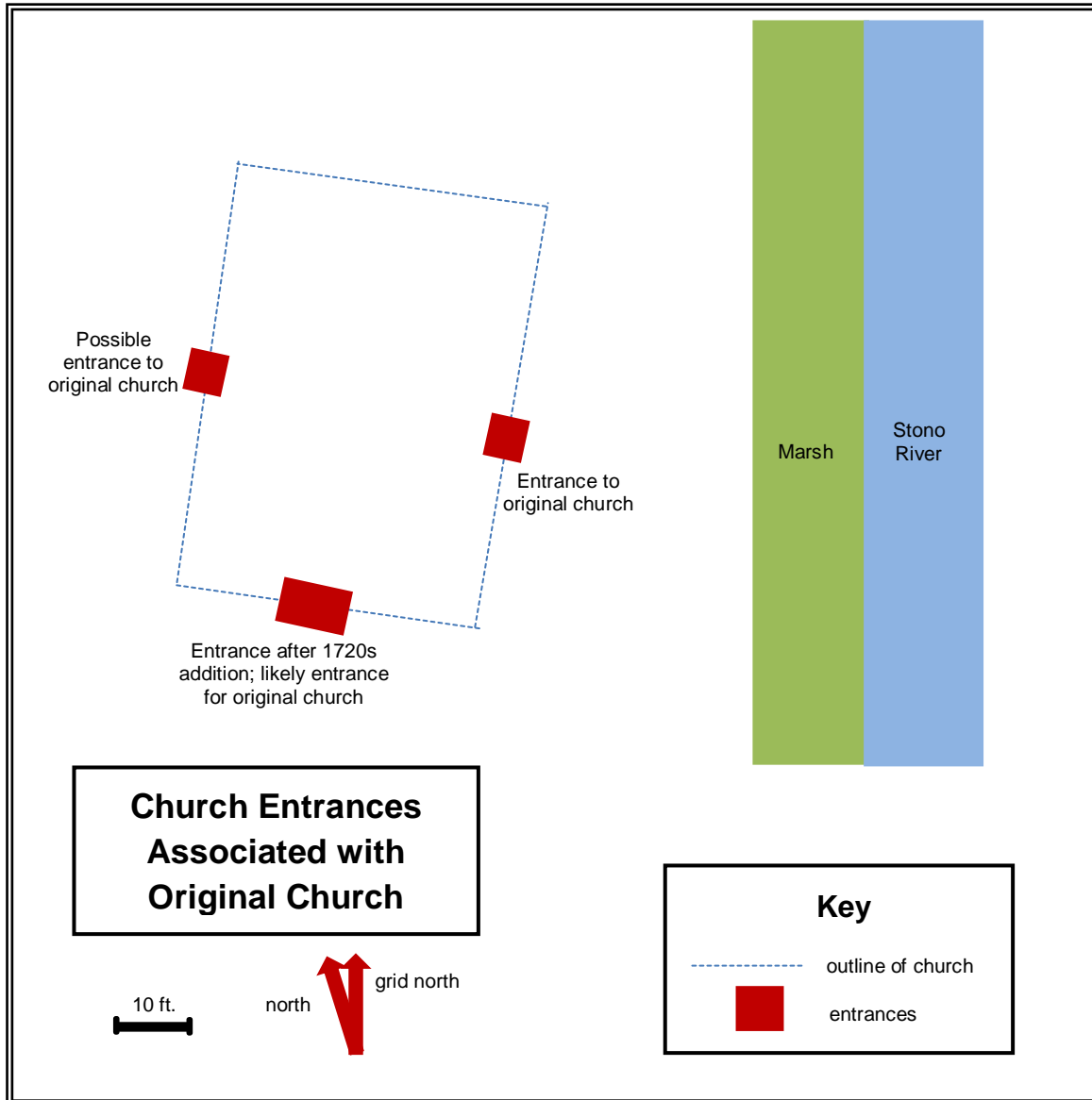


Figure 5-21. Location of church entrances associated with original church. Distance between church and marsh is not to scale.



Figure 5-22. Unit 44 indicating church entrance along north transept (Photo by the author).

Construction Material and Methods

In addition to information regarding access to the church and other architectural features such as the aisles and communion rail, archaeological excavations have also provided a clearer picture of the construction methods and the materials used at St. Paul's Parish Church. This information along with the above discussion of the church's interior and entrances helps to provide a visible picture of the church, both before and after the 1720s addition. Additionally, it will also help to assess the availability of resources and provide clues into the religious background of St. Paul's parishioners.

The description of St. Paul's Parish Church from the SPG letters state that it was

a 35 x 25 ft. brick structure. That statement has been confirmed by the GPR data, and the tremendous amount of brick and mortar rubble recovered. Over the course of excavations, we have also uncovered details that address the materials and methods used in the church's construction. The foundation of the original 1707 church was revealed in several units (Units 19, 42, 55, 56, and 60). The width of the foundation is 1.8 ft., with only slight variations due to the nature of using handmade bricks. A study of Virginia churches conducted by Tim Riordan indicates that there is a strong correlation between the width of the church's foundation and its height. Based on Riordan's research, a church with a 1.8 ft. (21.6 in.) wide foundation suggests the wall height would have been approximately 13 ft. (Hurry 2011). This height is what would be expected at St. Paul's Church based on the extant churches of St. Andrew's, St. James', Goose Creek, and Strawberry Chapel and available descriptions of other churches all indicate one-story structures. The only pre-1750 exception among South Carolina Anglican churches was St. Philip's Church, located in Charles Towne. St. Paul's Church would not have had a steeple or a bell tower, as both were not seen until the mid-18th century in South Carolina and even then were rare in rural parishes.

The bricks themselves vary from orange to red in color, typical of locally made bricks. They have a very sandy texture and in many of the bricks small inclusions can be seen, including tiny pieces of quartz that points to sand being added to the clay as a temper. Sources of clay are readily available in the Lowcountry of South Carolina, especially along its many waterways and marshes. Clay for bricks used at St. Paul's Parish Church and other South Carolina churches was likely obtained from a nearby source, rather than imported from elsewhere. This idea is supported from a passage of

the original 1704 Establishment Act that states that parish church supervisors had the authority to supervise laborers “to press bricks or lime” (Cooper 1837:267).

One possible source of clay for St. Paul’s bricks is a bluff along a tidal creek, located approximately 175 yards to the north of the churchyard (Figure 5-23). A thick layer of clay can be seen in the eroded bluff (Figure 5-24). Just a few yards away from this bluff three large pits can be seen and these may represent pits dug to obtain clay (Figure 5-25). In the future, testing of the clay is planned in order to determine if it may have been the source of clay for the church or parsonage bricks. The mortar used to secure the bricks in place was also locally produced as Reverend Bull made reference to the bricks, lime, and timber being prepared for the construction of the church addition (Bull to SPG Secretary, October 10, 1722, SPG). The mortar seen at St. Paul’s has many inclusions, in particular crushed oyster shells that provided the necessary lime to the mixture.

The foundation bricks for the church were laid out in the English bond pattern of alternating header and stretcher bricks, known for its strength. The GPR results indicate the foundations of the original church were set into the ground approximately 4.5 ft. below the ca. 1707 ground surface and nearly 5 ft. below today’s ground surface. The excavations indicate that once the foundations were laid in place, laborers, likely enslaved peoples, prepared the church’s interior with a base of yellowish-brown sandy soil (10YR 5/6). This deposit of soil is only found within the interior of the church and is similar in texture and color to the subsoil found within the churchyard and surrounding area. The only possible borrow pit identified near the churchyard is the pit described above near the bluff. This pit may also have served as a source of the sandy subsoil for

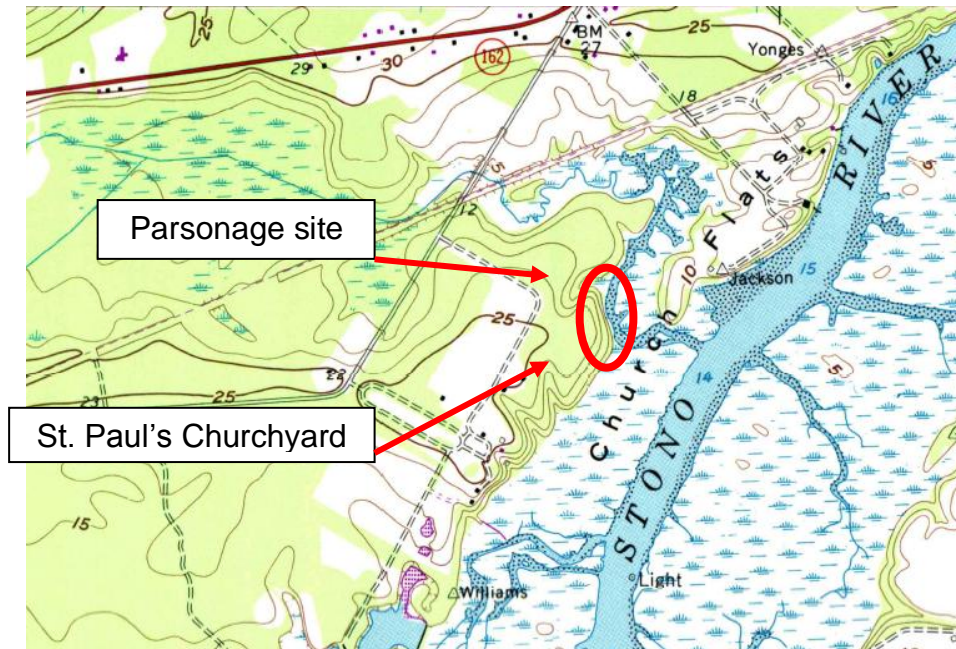


Figure 5-23. Detail of USGS quad map (Wadmalaw) indicating possible clay source for bricks.



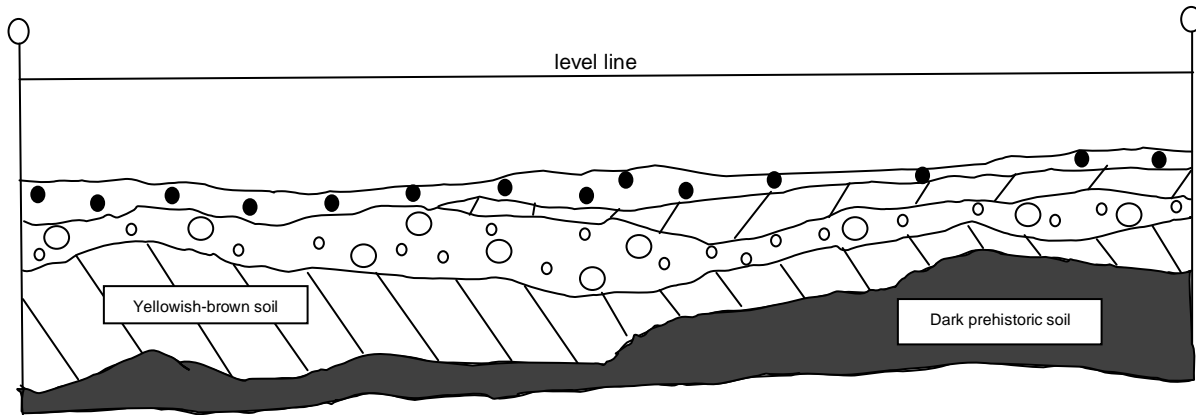
Figure 5-24. Layer of clay seen in eroded bluff. (Photo by the author).



Figure 5-25. One of three possible clay borrow pits near bluff (Photo by the author).

use at the church as well as a source of clay for bricks. The purpose of this layer of sandy soil was two-fold. It served as a base to place the half-brick pavers into and also created a level ground surface for the church floor. The leveling of the ground surface can be seen in the western profiles of Units 55 and 56 (Figure 5-26). Immediately above the very dark soil associated with the prehistoric occupation of the land sits the yellowish-brown sandy soil. In this particular area of the church's interior, the ca. 1707 ground surface was clearly uneven, with the prehistoric layer much deeper to the north of the profile. With the sandy soil laid in place, workers had a much more even base for the church floor. A similar method was used 20 years later when the church addition was constructed.

The recovery of architectural artifacts - bricks, mortar, plaster, wrought nails, and



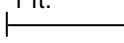
Key:	Scale: 1 ft.
● - topsoil (10YR 4/2 – dk. grayish brown)	
/ - loamy sand with small bits of architectural debris (10YR3/4 – dk. yellowish-brown)	
○ - loamy sand with large bits of architectural debris (10YR 3/3 – dk. brown)	
\ - loamy sand (10YR 3/6 – dk. yellowish-brown)	
■ - loamy sand (10YR 2/1 – black)	

Figure 5-26. Profile of west wall of Units 55 (left) and 56 (right). Yellowish-brown soil used to level ground surface prior to church construction can be seen immediately above very dark prehistoric level.

flat glass – also aid in reconstructing the appearance of the church. The church was constructed of brick as were the three extant rural Anglican churches. Currently, these three churches have painted stucco over the brick, all 19th-century alterations. The recovery of glazed bricks also supports the idea that the church's exterior was not covered with stucco. Instead, the glazed bricks were decorative, likely used at the corners of the church. No slate or clay roofing tiles were recovered from the church. In the units located within the church foundation, we recovered wrought nails of varying sizes indicating their use for window and door framing and raised wooden pew boxes. Forty of the complete nails measured 3cm or smaller, the equivalent to 2- or 3- penny-weight size nails, a standard description used since the 19th century to describe nail length. Nails of this length are most commonly used for fastening metal roofing or wooden shakes (shingles) to a roof or for the lathing on walls to which plaster was applied (Walker 1971:72). While the walls of St. Paul's Church were plastered, it appears that lath was not used as many brick fragments were recovered with the plaster applied directly to them. If these nails were not used for lathing, they most likely represent roofing nails. Since metal roofing was not common in early-18th century South Carolina, these small nails provide evidence of a wood-shingled roof at the church.

Several pieces of flat glass have been recovered from the units immediately outside of the original church's entrances, indicating it had a number of clear glass windows likely on either side of the entrances. This is a similar window pattern to those still seen at St. Andrew's, St. James', Goose Creek, and Strawberry Chapel. At all three locations, a window is located on either side of the west entrance with 1-2 windows on either side of the north and south entrances. Determining if the east wall of the original

St. Paul's church had any windows is more difficult, as that wall would have been demolished during the construction of the addition. The chancel was located here prior to the addition and based on other churches, a large window or several smaller windows would have been located there on the east wall behind the altar. In Unit 39, we encountered a number of different strata that provides evidence for the various construction and destruction phases of the church. Of particular interest were a number of large pieces of crown window glass recovered from Level 6 (Figure 5-27), which appears to have been created just prior to the construction of the 1720s addition. The size of these glass pieces indicate they were covered over very quickly, preventing



Figure 5-27. Large pieces of crown window glass recovered from Unit 39, Level 6 (Photo by the author).

additional breakage of the glass. When workers demolished the east wall of the original church to open up the nave with the addition, any window that was present would have also been removed and possibly damaged. I believe these large pieces of window glass are from a window that was located along the east wall of the original church. Whether workers intended to save the window for later reuse is unknown, but at least part of the window broke during the removal process and its broken pieces were quickly buried.

By combining the information regarding the interior architecture of the church, entranceways, construction materials, and the architecture of extant churches, it is now possible to at least partially visualize the exterior and interior of St. Paul's Parish Church. As parishioners and other visitors approached the church, they most likely saw a simple one-story tall brick building sitting at a slightly elevated position in relation to the Stono River and its marsh. Decorative glazed bricks likely accented the corners of the building and highlighted other areas as well. The roof was likely covered with wooden shingles and a number of glazed windows would have been located along either side of the three doorways leading into the church. From 1707 to the 1720s, most parishioners entered the church from the side closest to the river through a 3-ft. wide doorway that included a brick threshold. Although there is no evidence of one, a short aisle must have connected the entryway to the longer 7ft. wide central aisle of large brick pavers, with raised wooden pews on either side. Depending on the location of their family's pew, parishioners proceeded to the left or right. White plaster walls and plenty of natural light from the clear glass windows would have made the church interior very bright. Archaeology cannot provide evidence of the type of ceiling St. Paul's Church had. However, the surviving churches and historical documents show that every church

built in South Carolina prior to 1750 had a barrel-vaulted ceiling. Therefore, it is very likely St. Paul's also had a barrel-vaulted ceiling which provided a very open feel to the church's interior. On the walls of the chancel, windows would have provided light to that portion of the church and highlighted large wooden tablets with the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments carved into them.

After the 1720s addition, many churchgoers would have entered the church along its western side through its wooden 5 ft. wide door, after having stepped across a brick threshold. Once they entered the church, they would have proceeded down the aisle to their assigned pews. If their assigned pews were closer to the chancel, parishioners would have followed the main center aisle to the smaller aisle that connected the two side entrances from the transepts. From their seats they would see the altar sitting in the chancel, raised slightly above the floor of the nave by the communion rail where they would later kneel for communion.

Use of St. Paul's Churchyard

A better understanding of the architecture of St. Paul's Parish Church provides a glimpse of how the church appeared on the colonial landscape, but what can be said about the ways the Anglican Church, its leaders, and parishioners used and modified that landscape? This next section will focus on addressing questions regarding the ways parishioners moved about and used the churchyard and immediate area around it.

One of the most pertinent questions regarding the immediate churchyard and surrounding area is if the modern-day fence approximates the early-18th century churchyard. This fence is likely the one John Henry Dick constructed in 1964 in

response to concerns from Seabrook descendants regarding their ancestors' burial site. Seabrook descendants were concerned regarding the lack of maintenance of the cemetery and contemplated removing the Seabrook graves for reburial elsewhere; however, Dick agreed to fence in the cemetery and better maintain the churchyard (Dick to Sophia Seabrook Jenkins, February 28, 1964, SCHS). Today, the fence completely encloses the churchyard except for a small opening in the northwestern corner for visitors to walk through. It consists of cement pillars that are placed approximately 15 ft. apart and connected by a simple chain. Rather than keep people or animals out of the churchyard, the function of the fence is simply to designate the area as the former St. Paul's churchyard which helps protect both marked and unmarked burials from being accidentally disturbed by those who use the property. It is important to determine if the early-18th century churchyard extended beyond today's fence. This is an important question for property management issues, namely the possibility of unmarked burials outside of the enclosed churchyard.

Additional questions address the presence and location of unmarked burials. Are there additional 18th-century graves beyond those of the Seabrook family and Amerinthia Elliott Lowndes? During the early-18th century, people preferred to be buried at home (Mytum 2004:18), but even so, it seems unlikely that there are no other burials in the churchyard. If there are any other burials, are they all within the churchyard or are they also located outside the modern fence line? Were there any other structures, such as a vestry house, located near the church? Can any landscape features such as walkways or fences be identified? Can any social gathering areas be identified? How

did parishioners get to the church and from which direction? What was their experience as they approached the church?

Social Gathering Areas

The first step in addressing these questions was to shovel test the area surrounding the churchyard, yet outside of the fence that John Henry Dick placed in 1964. By shovel-testing this area, we would have a better understanding of how much of the surrounding land had been used by St. Paul's parishioners for social gathering areas, other related buildings, pathways to the church, or burial of the dead.

Archaeological studies of churchyards in Virginia indicate that parishioners treated churchyards as sacred places and kept them relatively clean (Harpole et al. 2003; Brown and Harpole 2004; Harpole and Brown 2005), therefore, few artifacts should be recovered. The types of artifacts expected to be recovered included those associated with activities that may have taken place immediately outside the church, before or after services, such as tobacco pipes from smoking. Another churchyard study suggests that evidence of food consumption, but not preparation, may be apparent (Ward and McCarthy 2009).

Artifacts recovered from the shovel test units (STUs) (Figure 5-28) were predominantly prehistoric ceramics (Table 5-2). To the north and south of the churchyard, students recovered very few artifacts, and most were prehistoric ceramics and lithics, along with brick rubble. One white ball clay pipe stem that archaeologists recovered near the fence line was the only non-architectural artifact in these two areas that dated to the historic period. The wooded area to the west was not tested as two

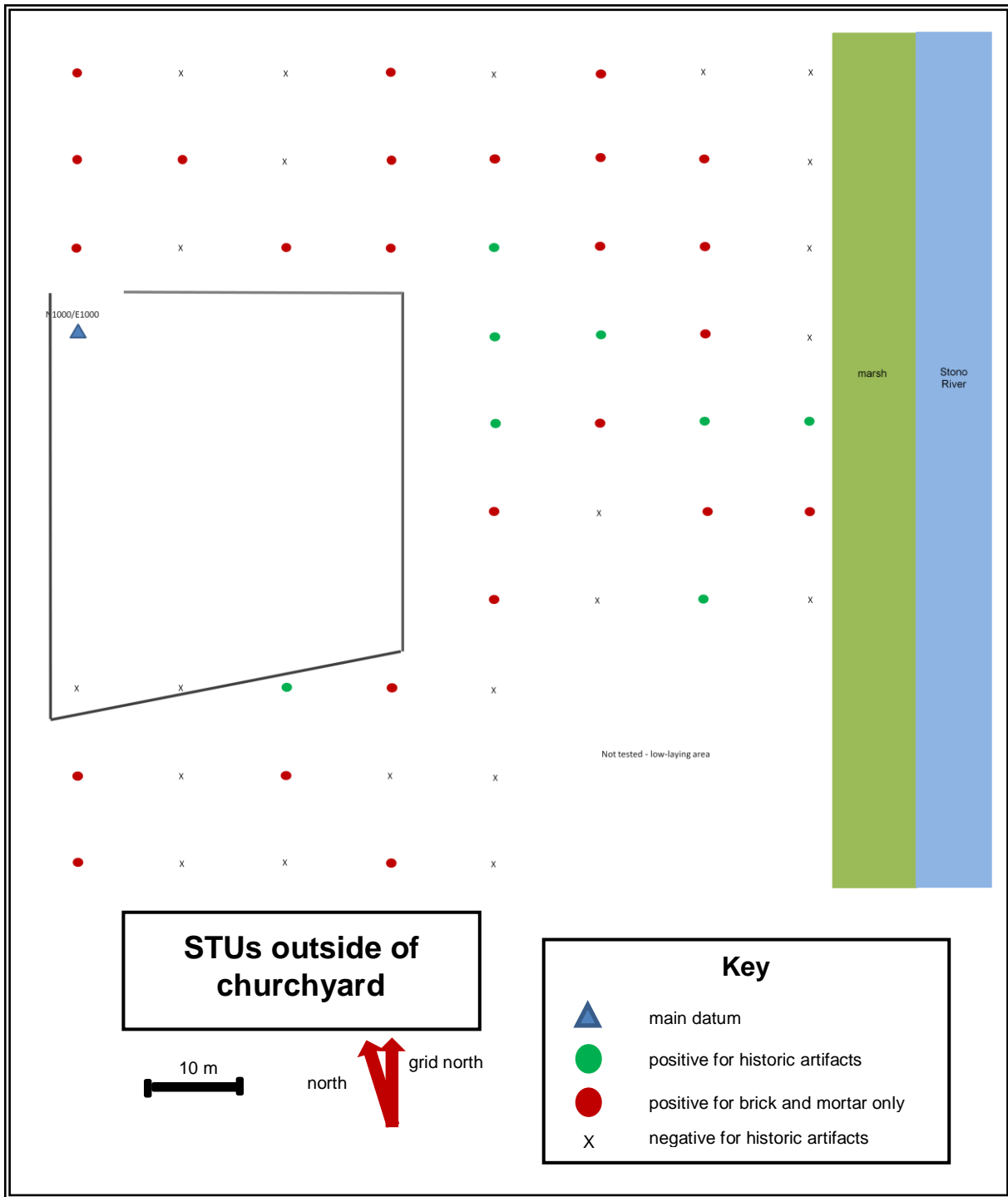


Figure 5-28. Map indicating location of STUs outside of churchyard. Positive STUs are determined by the presence of historic period artifacts only. In positive STUs indicated in red, the only artifacts recovered were brick and mortar debris.

Table 5-2. Artifact types and counts from STUs around churchyard.

Artifact Type	Count
Prehistoric ceramics	413
Lithics	22
European ceramics	9
Tobacco pipes	6
Container glass	5
Historic Indian ceramics	4
Total	459

5 x 5 ft. units and two shovel-tests excavated in the western portion the churchyard produced few historic artifacts.

To the east, between the churchyard and the Stono River, shovel tests recovered a few historic artifacts, especially along the dirt path that runs along the marsh. These artifacts included combed and trailed slipware and manganese mottled refined earthenware, white ball clay pipes, and pieces of dark olive bottle glass – all indicative of an early-18th century presence in the area. To further investigate this area, we excavated six 5 x 5 ft. units – two units closer to the present-day churchyard (Units 14 and 17), two units within the dirt path near the marsh (Units 32 and 38), and two units in the middle of the area (Units 35 and 41) (Figure 5-29). Artifact density was consistent across all six units and with the exception of some 19th-century artifacts in Unit 14, all artifacts dated to the early- to mid-18th century. As seen with the shovel tests, combed and trailed slipware, manganese mottled ware, and white ball clay pipes were the most

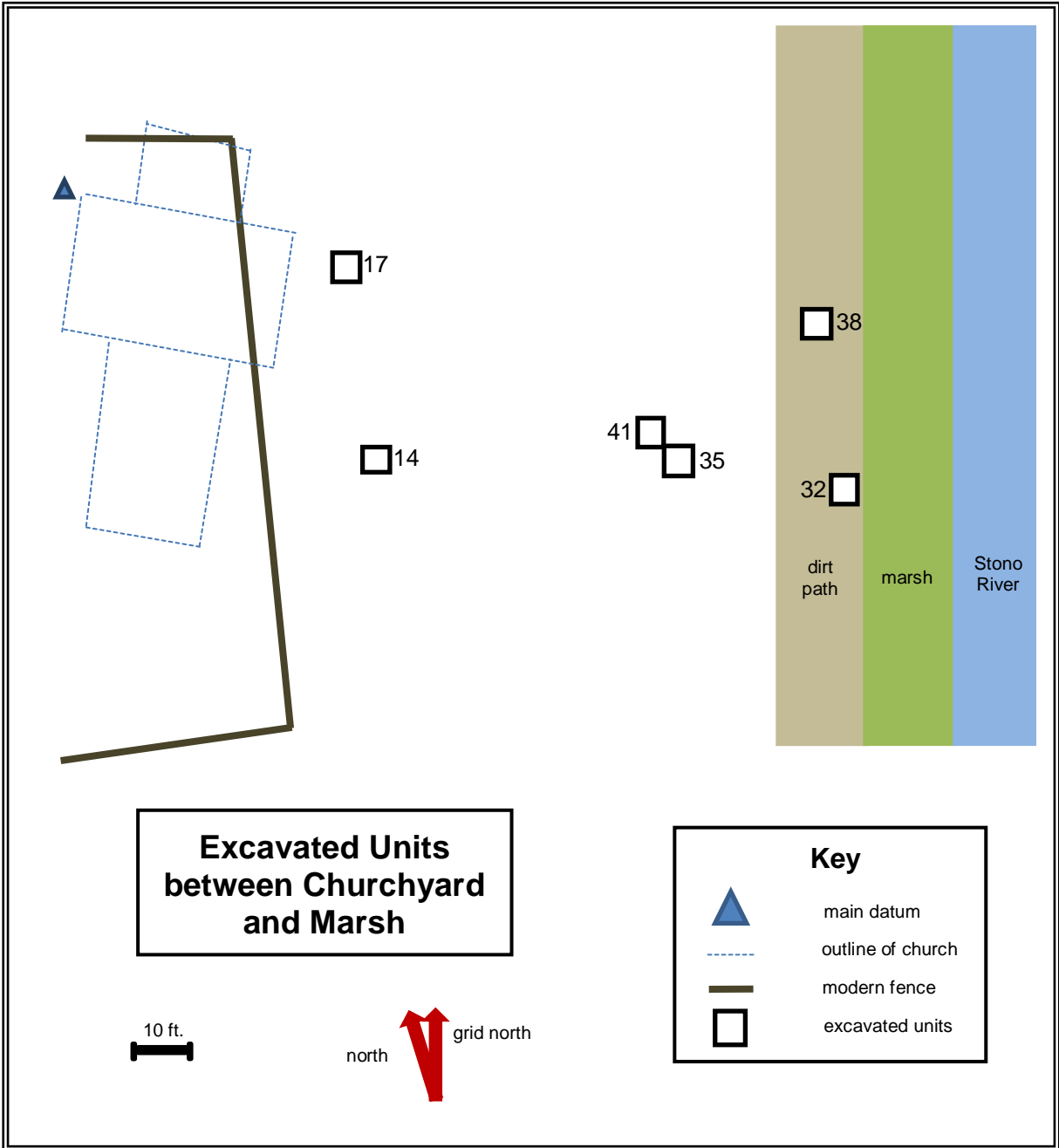


Figure 5-29. Excavated units between churchyard and marsh.

prevalent artifacts recovered.

The only area that hinted at a social gathering area was located along the dirt path that parallels the marsh. Here the project team recovered the largest concentration of early-18th century artifacts outside of the churchyard (Table 5-3). The artifacts are most likely related to St. Paul's Church and its parishioners. As with elsewhere along the Stono River, nearly 200 yards of marsh separates the mainland from the river, ruling this area out as a temporary resting place for those people simply travelling the river.

For the most part, the artifacts found in the dirt path and in the area between it and the churchyard relate to the consumption of food (combed and trailed slipware plates and platters) and beverages (combed and trailed slipware cups and manganese mottled ware tankards). This is consistent with the type of artifacts recovered from other church sites (Scharfenberger 2009; Ward and McCarthy 2009) as it is unlikely that parishioners were preparing, or having food prepared for them, at church. Much like today's church potlucks after services, St. Paul's parishioners would bring already prepared foods with them. Based on the recovered artifacts and their location by the river, one can almost imagine parishioners of St. Paul's socializing after church as they overlooked the marsh and river while they talked, ate, drank, and smoked their tobacco pipes. Today this same spot still provides a nice place to sit while eating lunch and to enjoy the scenery. The slightly higher number of colonoware and Historic Indian pottery can also suggest that enslaved people who did not attend church services, or were not allowed to, may have gathered along the river during services, possibly preparing food for parishioners.

Table 5-3. Types and numbers of historic period artifacts recovered from excavations units within the dirt path along marsh.

Artifact Type	Count
European Ceramics	
British Brown stoneware	3
White salt-glazed stoneware	1
Manganese mottled ware	8
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	4
Staffordshire slipware	1
Colonoware	8
Historic Indian ceramics	12
Container glass	5
Tobacco pipes (white ball clay)	21
Nails (wrought)	2
Total	65

There are three possible explanations for the low artifact density associated with the churchyard and its surrounding area. The first is that parishioners used the churchyard, but in ways that left little evidence behind in the archaeological record such as attending funerals, visiting loved ones' gravestones, or walking through the churchyard. However, the idea of churchyards and burial grounds being considered garden-like places with pathways to stroll through did not appear in South Carolina until the late-18th century, after St. Paul's Parish Church ceased to be used (Nelson 2008:246). The second possibility is that parishioners made little, if any, use of the lands to the north, south, and west of the modern churchyard as delineated by John Henry

Dick. Third, parishioners may have used these areas, however, as a show of respect for the sacred nature of the churchyard and burial grounds, they may have deposited their trash elsewhere, such as the marsh where a higher artifact density was found. Colonial peoples often disposed of their trash in the marshes of the Lowcountry, especially in the rural areas (Zierden et al. 1986:7-3). Therefore, rather than direct evidence of church social activities, the artifacts from the dirt path along the marsh may instead represent the dumping of trash that was created closer to the church.

This alternative seems the most likely based on today's ideas of churchyard and cemeteries as sacred place; however, the same thoughts about what is sacred cannot necessarily be projected to the past. For example, at least at St. Philip's Church in Charles Towne, prior to the mid-18th century, little care was taken by church leaders and parishioners regarding the upkeep and visual appearance of burial grounds. The churchyard at St. Philip's Church in Charles Towne had apparently been used as a dumping ground and horses were free to roam throughout it (Nelson 2008:246). Whether its use as a dumping ground was due to its urban location or a more general way people used and thought of churchyards is difficult to determine.

Based on the fieldwork, GPR testing of the churchyard, and archival research, there is no evidence to indicate that there were any other buildings associated with St. Paul's Parish Church either in its immediate churchyard or surrounding area. There is also no indication that St. Paul's had a wall enclosing its churchyard which would be expected based on extant 18th-century Anglican churches from South Carolina and elsewhere. Brick walls are found surrounding the churchyards of the extant churches and there is documentation of other churchyards being enclosed (Linder 2000; Nelson

2008). It is possible that there once was a brick enclosure of some kind that stood outside of the modern churchyard and outside of the GPR test area. Another possibility is that the brick wall did not sit very far underneath the ground surface and it was removed along with the demolition of the church with its bricks used at the new parish church.

Burials

Today only four gravestones in the churchyard date to the time of St. Paul's Church. These gravestones mark the burials of Robert Seabrook (d. 1710), Sarah Seabrook (d. 1715), Benjamin Seabrook (d. 1719), and Amerinthia Elliott Lowndes (d. 1750). The three Seabrook gravestones include both headstones and footstones. Descendants of Robert and Sarah became very wealthy planters during the 18th and 19th century. The Seabrook family remains a very prominent family in Charleston and the surrounding area today.

While much has been written about the family history of the Seabrooks, little is known about Robert, the first Seabrook in South Carolina. He was a merchant who arrived from England prior to June 1680. At that time he received 200 acres of land and a few months later, he owned two lots in Charles Towne (Webber 1916:14). In 1692, Seabrook was fined by the General Assembly for the "unlawful Commerce wth pyratts selling unto them provisions arms & ammunition" (Salley 1907:54, 60). Despite his transactions with pirates, Seabrook became an influential and prominent person in the Anglican Church and South Carolina politics. The General Assembly assigned Seabrook as one of the nineteen church commissioners and he was also chosen to be

one of the original three church supervisors to St. Paul's Parish, where his primary residence was located. In 1705, he was elected to the General Assembly and later became Speaker of the House (Webber 1916:15).

Seabrook owned at least 2,700 acres of land in Colleton County (Webber 1916:15) and while only a last name is provided, the 1691 *Carte Particuliere de la Caroline* map does indicate a Mr. Seabrook lived immediately across the Stono River from St. Paul's Church (see Figure 4-11). As depicted on his headstone (Figure 5-30), he died in 1710 at the age of 59. His gravestone is the oldest known stone that survives in a South Carolina Anglican churchyard (Nelson 2008:375). No other information regarding his wife, Sarah, and son, Benjamin, is available beyond what is engraved on their gravestones (Figures 5-31 and 5-32). Immediately to the right of Sarah's headstones are two mortar bases on which gravestones likely sat at one time. These graves are in the same row as the Seabrook family and may represent other family members.

Amerinthia Elliott Lowndes' burial site is marked by a headstone only (Figure 5-33). Per her epitaph, she died on January 14, 1750 at the age of 21. Amerinthia was the daughter of Thomas and Mary Elliott, a planter family that lived in the Rantowles area, just to the north of the church location. She was the wife of Rawlins Lowndes, a lawyer and later politician. While there is no indication on her gravestone, Amerinthia is believed to have died during childbirth and was buried holding her baby who also died in birth (Ravenel 1901:6). Amerinthia's gravestone provides evidence of additional unmarked burials in the churchyard. Her gravestone states that even though she lived in Charles Towne with her husband, she wished to be buried near her deceased parents,



Figure 5-30. Headstone of Robert Seabrook.(Photo by Erik Johanson).



Figure 5-31. Headstone of Sarah Seabrook.(Photo by Erik Johanson).



Figure 5-32. Headstone of Benjamin Seabrook.(Photo by the author).



Figure 5-33. Gravestone of Amerinthia Elliot Lowndes.(Photo by the author).

suggesting that they are also likely buried in St. Paul's cemetery. Unfortunately, the GPR testing of the churchyard provided no indication of unmarked burials, likely due to moist tree roots and moist sandy soil (Scott Harris, 2009, pers. comm.). While the GPR produced excellent results regarding the church foundations, magnetometry or resistivity testing may ultimately prove to be more useful in the identification of unmarked burials.

Eighteenth-century gravestones have been studied by Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) and Deetz (1996) in regard to changes in gravestone design and how they reflect changes in religious beliefs. In their survey of late-17th to early-18th century gravestones in Massachusetts, they concluded that the Death's Head, depicted as a skull with wings, was the most common design through the mid-18th century. Beginning in the mid-18th century, the Death's Head began to be replaced by the Cherub design, a human face with wings representing the deceased's ascension. The cherub figure remained popular through the end of the 18th century at which time the Urn and Willow motif became widespread and remained so throughout much of the 19th century.

Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) and Deetz (1996) relate these changes to changing religious ideology. The Death's Head dominated New England cemeteries at the same time the Puritan Church and Puritan beliefs were strong in the region. The winged skull reminded people of their own mortality and that there was no guarantee one would be one of God's chosen people to ascend into Heaven (Deetz 1996:96). Epitaphs associated with Death's Heads also speak of mortality with no mention of life after death. For example, epitaphs such as "Here lies..." and "Here lies buried..." speak of the deceased's body and soul being buried (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:506; Deetz

1996:98). In the mid-18th century, the “Great Awakening” brought new and less harsh views regarding death and the afterlife. There was a belief that one’s soul would ascend to Heaven, while the body was left in the ground. Epitaphs reflect this change and were more likely to read “Here lies buried the Body...” or mention ascension (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:506; Deetz 1996:98). Epitaphs found on Urn and Willow gravestones often speak to remembering or memorializing the deceased, such as “In Memory of...” (Deetz 1996:99).

The three Seabrook gravestones and that of Amerinthia Lowndes are classic examples of the changes described by Dethlefsen and Deetz. Although the headstone for Robert Seabrook (d. 1710) is partially broken and does not clearly indicate its design, tips of wings are evident and the style is very similar to Sarah’s gravestone. Additionally, Robert’s footstone depicts a Death’s Head. Sarah Seabrook’s (d. 1715) headstone and footstone both depict the Death’s Head. Interestingly, both of their epitaphs stress that only the body is buried below, suggesting that their souls are elsewhere. Epitaphs such as these would be more common on gravestones with cherubs. The combination of the Death’s Head design with the epitaph suggests that in South Carolina changes in religious ideology occurred earlier than in New England. Benjamin Seabrook’s (d. 1717) gravestone also suggests changes in religious beliefs as depicted by gravestones. Instead of the Death’s Head seen on his parents’ gravestones, Benjamin’s headstone portrays a cherub. His epitaph also states “Here Lyes the Body of...”, however, the design on his footstone is still that of the Death’s Head, indicating that the switch to the cherub design was not complete in South Carolina by 1717. Amerinthia Lowndes’ headstone also has a cherub, but it is

somewhat different in that the cherub appears to be a child and it has trumpets around it. This design seems to depict her ascension into heaven as a joyous occasion, reflective of mid-18th century religious views. Her epitaph, which begins, “In Memory Of...”, also reflects changing ideas more commonly associated with the later-18th century New England viewpoint of treating gravestones as memorials to the deceased.

The gravestones at St. Paul’s and other surviving early-18th century gravestones in Charleston indicate that the transition from the Death’s Head design to the cherub design took place in South Carolina up to 50 years earlier than in New England, even though New England stone carvers made most of gravestones for South Carolinians (Nelson 2008:105). Nelson attributes this earlier switch in design to differences in preference between South Carolinians and New Englanders (2008:105-106). But why would South Carolinians prefer the cherub design so much earlier than New Englanders? Dethlefsen and Deetz state that in England, earlier transition to the cherub design began in the late-17th century. Wealthier families in the colonies, who wished to show their connection with the more cosmopolitan England, would have selected the cherub over the Death’s Head (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:507).

While this seems to be a reasonable possibility, I believe the earlier transition is also related to the tolerant religious nature of the colony. Puritans followed the teachings of Calvin who stressed that only certain individuals were predestined by God to ascent to Heaven. This belief is reflected in the Death’s Head motif and the epitaph that typically is associated with it. New Englanders were often staunch Puritans and therefore, would have been more likely to continue this belief for a longer period of time. While the South Carolina Anglican Church was influenced by Puritan beliefs, there were

no true Congregationalists in the colony with the exception of those who settled in and around Dorchester. The variety of religious beliefs in South Carolina likely led to a “softening” of strict Puritan beliefs as seen in New England and therefore, would have been more open to ideas of ascension to Heaven for all earlier than seen in New England.

It is very unlikely that the grave of the Seabrooks and Amerinthia Lowndes are the only ones in the churchyard or even behind the limits of today’s fence. In respecting the wishes of the property manager and in order to disturb the cemetery as little as possible, we chose to avoid excavating trenches through large portions of the churchyard to identify burials. Instead, we chose a very low-tech method to survey the cemetery for additional burials. Before the standard use of non-invasive geophysical techniques, Klingelhofer and Henry (1985) faced a similar situation when they tested the late-17th-century Martin’s Hundred Church in Virginia. They established a grid over the cemetery and used a soil corer to identify site stratigraphy and features, including likely grave shafts. Klingelhofer and Henry highly recommended this method and stated that it should be the first step archaeologists take when working in known cemeteries.

Following the advice of Klingelhofer and Henry, we used this method to soil-core four distinct areas of the cemetery (Figure 5-34). Soil cores were taken every six feet and simply recorded as a “positive” or “negative”. Negative cores meant that the soil within the core matched the known stratigraphy throughout the cemetery, meaning that the dark yellowish-brown (10YR 4/4) loamy sand subsoil was encountered between 0.7 and 0.9 ft. below surface. Using the known burials as a control, positive cores included a very mottled, very soft soil in which the subsoil was not reached by a 3-ft. soil corer.

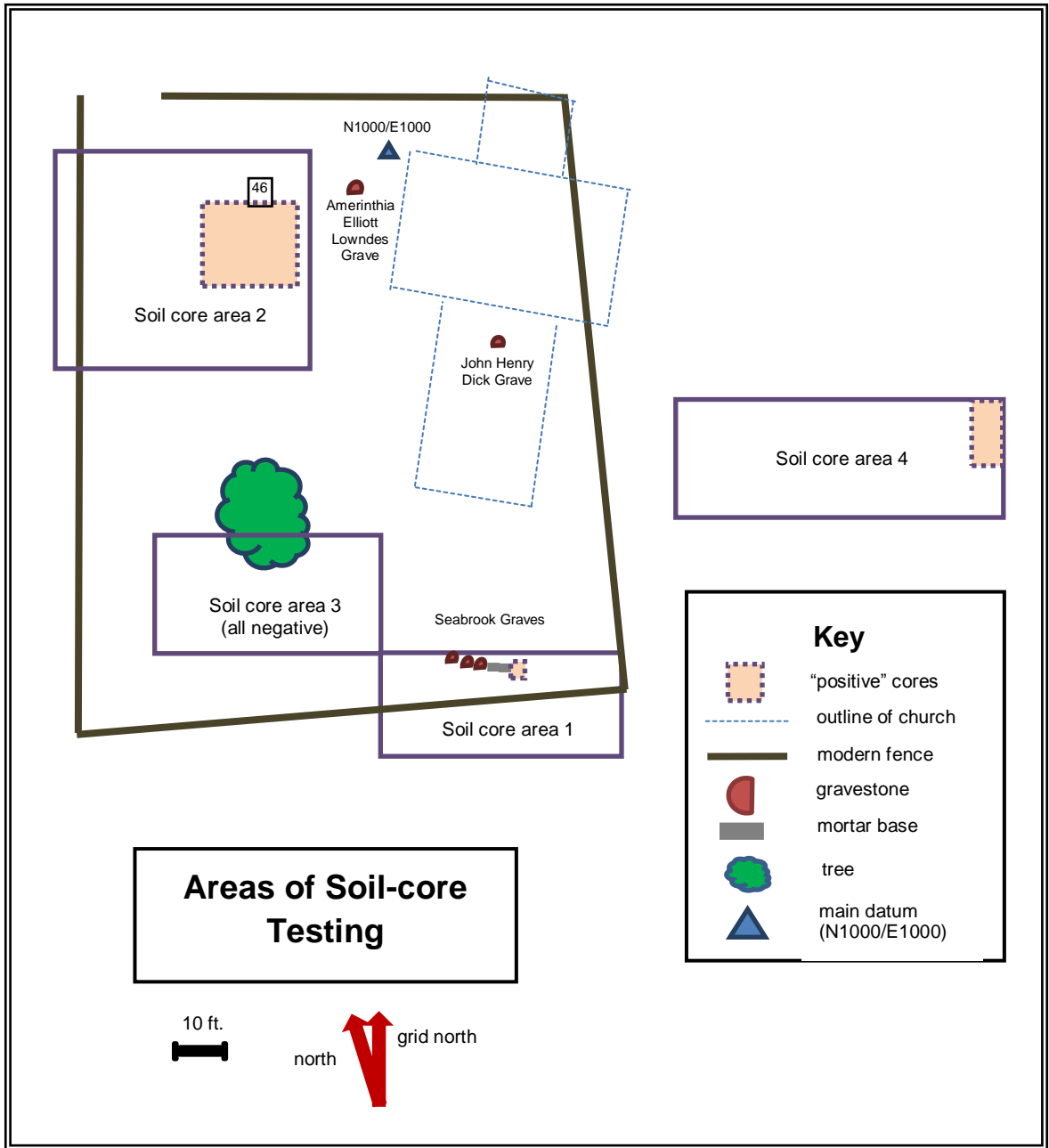


Figure 5-34. Areas of soil-core testing.

Area 1 measured 48 x 18 ft. and included the area to the east, south, and west of the Seabrook graves. Here only 1 of the 54 cores (N906/E1034) tested positive. This positive core was in the same line as the Seabrooks and the two mortar bases, indicating that line of burials continued towards the southeast. We took additional soil samples along this line of burials with no other positives. This testing indicates that burials in this part of the cemetery do not extend beyond the current fence.

Soil-coring in Area 2, located in the northwestern portion of the churchyard, provided the most evidence for unmarked burials. We had encountered a likely grave shaft in Unit 46 and recorded a number of positive soil cores to the south and west of that unit (Figure 5-35). Positive core samples were restricted to an approximately 15 x 36 ft. area with obvious boundaries to the north, south, and west. The testing area could not be extended to the east due to the increasingly thick layer of architectural debris as we moved closer to the church ruins.

The presence of unmarked burials in this location might also explain intact bricks identified in a test trench that archaeologists had excavated to examine an anomaly on the GPR results. At 1.2 ft. below the surface, beneath a layer of architectural debris from the razing of the church, they encountered intact bricks. At the time, we believed the bricks were possibly evidence of an associated building to St. Paul's Church. Based on the number of positive soil cores in this area, I now believe the intact bricks identified in the trench were part of a border marking a family plot of graves.

Two other areas were also cored. Area 3 extended to the northwest of Area 1, with its southwest coordinate being N910/E950 and a northeast coordinate of

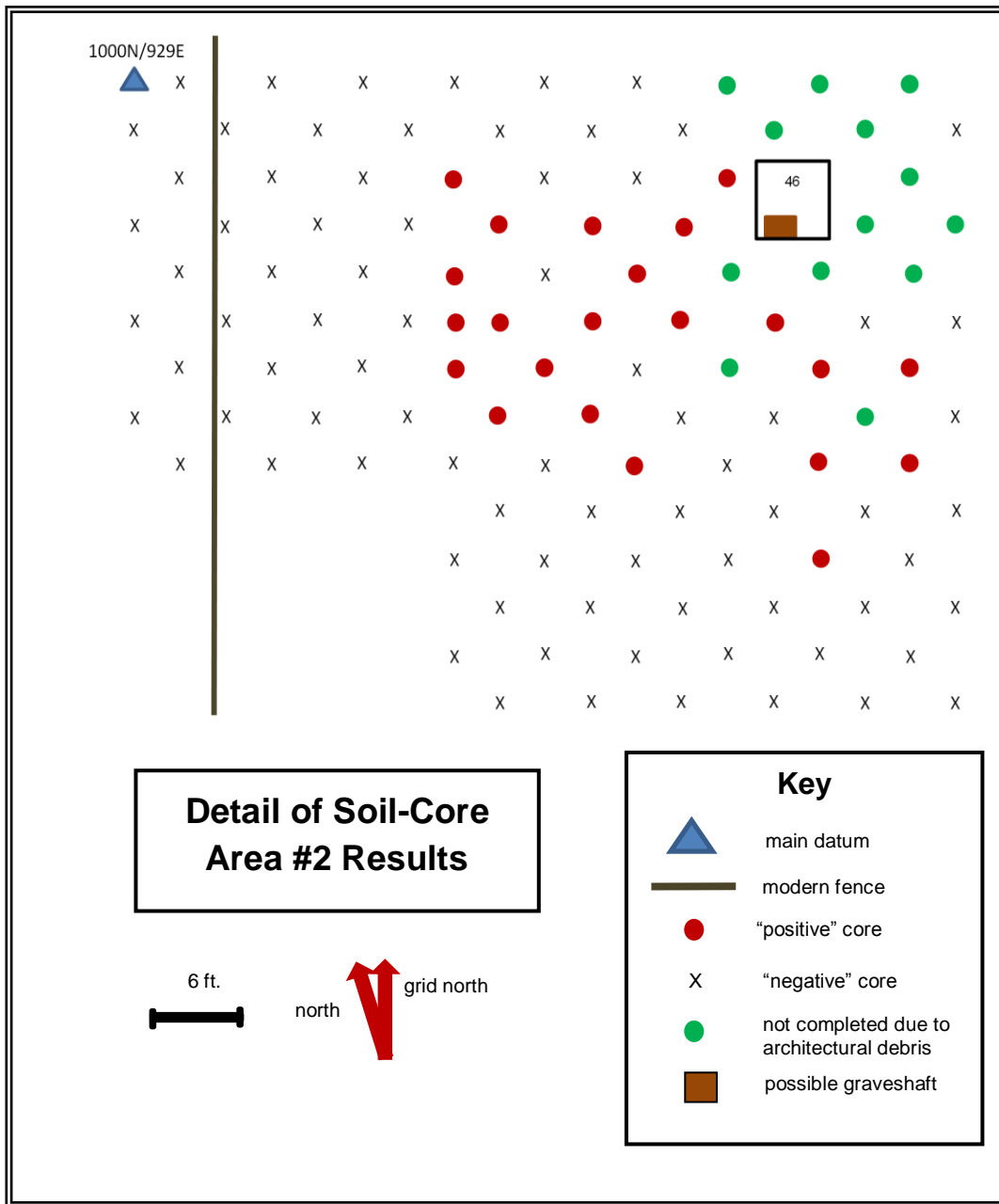


Figure 5-35. Detail of soil-core Area 2 results.

N931/E998. No positive soil-cores were recorded in Area 3. Area 4 included a 100 x 21 ft. area between the churchyard and the marsh, with a southwest coordinate of N924/E1066 and a northeast coordinate of N945/E1166. There were three positive soil cores in Area 4 (N933/E1124, N942/E1133, and N939/E1130). However, with only a few positive cores isolated to a very small area, it is more likely these “positive” cores represent soil disturbances such as uprooted or decayed trees rather than a burial(s).

Based on the testing of these four areas, the location of the church ruins, the excavations of test units in the churchyard, and the presence of a very large live oak tree in the churchyard, there is evidence for only a few unmarked burials in the churchyard and surrounding area today and they are located in the northwestern portion of the cemetery. These conclusions suggest that there were not many parishioners buried at St. Paul’s cemetery. While parishioners were sometimes buried in cemeteries associated with their church, it was more common during the early decades of the 18th century for people to be buried at their homes. Parishioners of St. Paul’s followed this practice as well. St. Paul’s Reverend Orr made note of this practice in a letter he wrote on September 30, 1744, stating that he must travel extensively throughout his parish to baptize children at their homes, visit the sick, and to “Bury the Dead which is generally done on the Plantation where they lived, a Custom hardly to be remedied in Country Parishes, where People live so many miles from the Church” (Orr to SPG, September 30, 1744, SPG).

It is difficult to say why certain parishioners chose to be buried at the churchyard rather than on their own land, which was the more common practice. While the Seabrooks and Elliotts were prominent families in the area, the survival of their

gravestones in the St. Paul's cemetery may be more related to their ability to purchase gravestones and have them made of durable material, rather than as an indication that only wealthy people were buried in the churchyard. One likely reason that Seabrook family members were buried in the churchyard may be related to Robert's position within the church. As one of the original church supervisors of St. Paul's and a church commissioner for the South Carolina Anglican Church, Robert held a prominent position within the church community. This position is also reflected in the prominent placement of his gravestone, just outside of the west entrance of the church (see Figure 5-1). While it is believed an entrance was always located here, after the 1720s addition was completed, this entrance became the main entryway into the church. The placement of Robert and his family members would have helped direct parishioners towards the church's main entrance. Additionally, as parishioners walked by the Seabrook gravestones, they would have had an opportunity to remember one of the "founding fathers" of their church and his contributions to it, even decades after his death.

Amerinthia Elliott Lowndes' gravestone stands alone today along the northern boundaries of the churchyard, just outside of the location of the church addition's north transept (see Figure 5-1). She died in 1750, long after the church addition was completed. Considering she was 21 years of age when she died, Amerinthia's parents must also have been buried in the churchyard after the addition was built. Assuming her parents are buried near her, the Elliott family's location suggests that the churchyard expanded along with the church building itself and that later burials can be found in the northwestern portion of the churchyard. With only four gravestones, representing two families, it is difficult to conclude if their burial locations are due to the family's

preference of where to place their family plots, status differences, or differences in the use of the churchyard, including the number of burials, over time. The Seabrook family gravestones, including the two marked only by mortar bases, do seem to be isolated within the churchyard. Only one soil core tested “positive” in this area and it was immediately in line with the other Seabrook graves. Their family may have been given a “place of honor” within the churchyard due to Robert’s contributions to the church. Amerinthia’s grave, and likely those of her parents, is located near the concentration of “positive” soil cores in northwestern area of the churchyard. If the Seabrook family had a special place within the churchyard for their family plot, the northwestern portion of the churchyard may have been the general burial ground for St. Paul’s parishioners.

Prehistoric Component of St. Paul’s Churchyard

Excavations have shown that church parishioners were not the only people to have used the churchyard and surrounding area. While not directly related to the use of the landscape by St. Paul’s parishioners, the prehistoric component of the site raised questions about how people think about past landscapes, especially sacred ones, and why they continue to be remembered. Consideration of this notion of social memory is a relatively recent trend in both prehistoric and historic landscape studies (Rowlands 1993; Ryden 1993; Epperson 1999; King 2001; Shackel 2001; Crumley 2002; Holtorf and Williams 2006; Nixon 2006; Pauls 2006; Heath 2007; Stahl 2008; Van Dyke 2008; Silliman 2009; Heath and Lee 2010; Wilson 2010). As defined by Holtorf and Williams, social memory refers to the “collective representations of the past and associated social practices rather than personal recollection” (2006:235). Social memory can include how

groups of people think about, remember, or even forget the past, who makes those decisions, and why certain events are remembered or allowed to be forgotten.

It was not overly surprising to find prehistoric artifacts, mainly ceramics and lithics, during our excavations of the churchyard and its surrounding area. The land is an elevated area along a river and marsh, a good location for both prehistoric and historic peoples. Our initial shovel tests in the area between the modern fenced cemetery and the Stono River produced several sherds of prehistoric pottery and a few stone flakes. What was surprising was how the amount of prehistoric artifacts, especially ceramics, increased tremendously within the foundations of the church and in the units immediately outside of the church (Units 12 and 20). For the most part, the prehistoric artifacts came from the very dark level of soil (10YR 2/1) that ranged from 0.4' to 0.6' in depth. Prehistoric artifacts were also recovered from all excavated builders' trenches of the church foundations, indicating that the dark level of soil is relatively widespread and sits just below the church floor. Evidence of early-18th century laborers shoveling through the dark prehistoric level of soil to dig a trench in which to place the foundations of the church is apparent in Units 55 and 56 (Figure 5-36). The same dark level and relatively high amount of prehistoric artifacts continues out from the church foundations into the units immediately outside of it (Figure 5-37). However, this level of dark soil is not found in units further away from the church foundations nor was it encountered in any of the shovel tests located outside of the fenced area. While prehistoric artifacts, namely ceramics, were recovered in these units (14, 17, 18, and 36), their numbers decreased dramatically when compared to the ceramics recovered



Figure 5-36. Close-up of builders' trench in Unit 55 indicating individual shovel marks into the dark prehistoric soil. (Photo by the author).

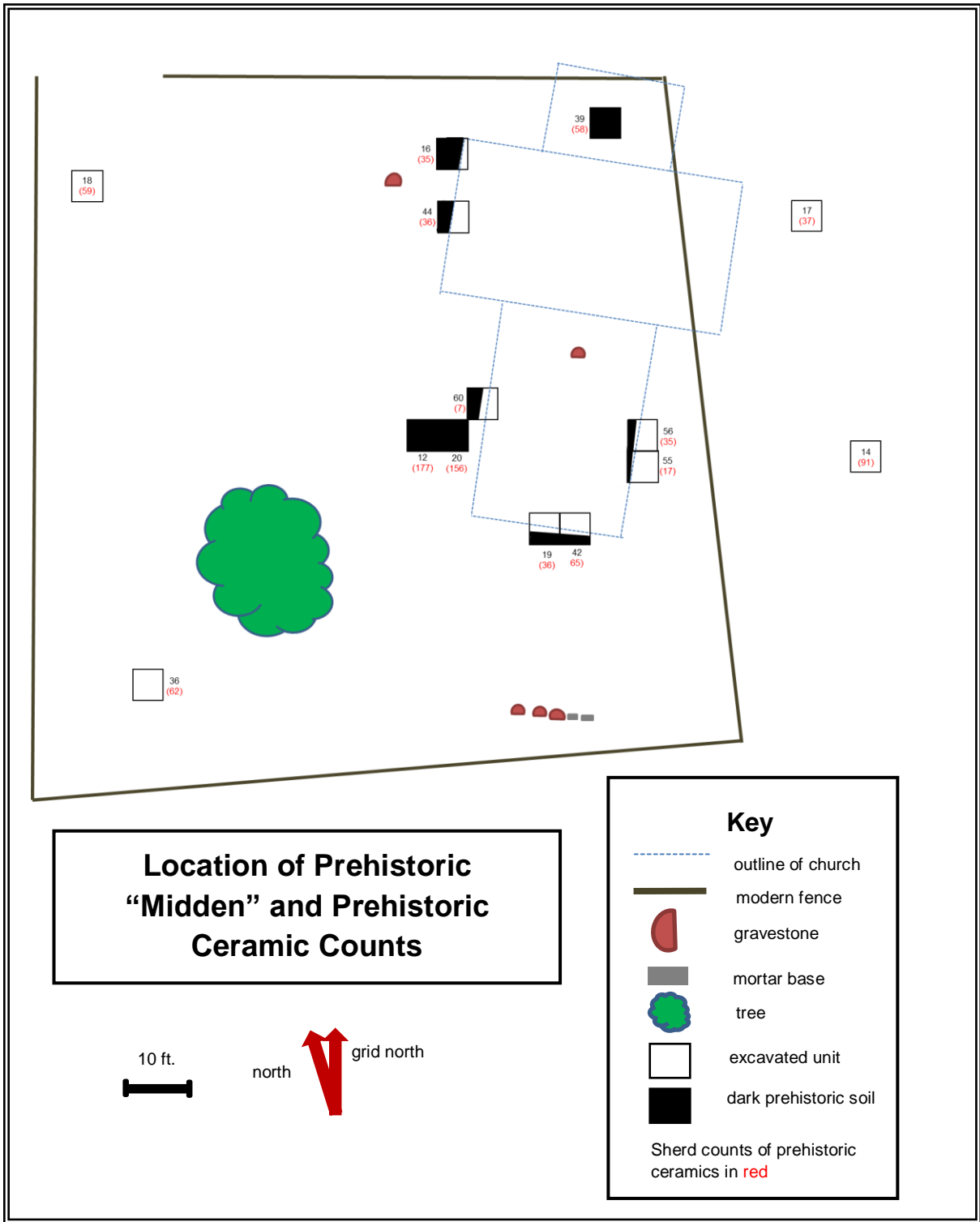


Figure 5-37. Location of prehistoric "midden" and prehistoric ceramic counts (in red).

from within this dark level of soil. Especially significant are the number of prehistoric ceramics recovered from Units 12 and 20. In these two units the dark soil level, Level 3, encompassed the entire 5 x 10 ft. area and both units were excavated to subsoil. In several other units (16, 19, 39, 42, 44, 55, 56, and 60) archaeologists only excavated small portions of the dark soil due to the church foundations running through units, or because excavations were ceased once the prehistoric level was reached. It appears very likely that if excavations continued through the church floor in units 13, 15, and 44, the dark soil would have been encountered there as well.

The distribution of this dark prehistoric level of soil and the artifacts it contains suggest that St. Paul's Parish Church was built directly on land that was heavily utilized by prehistoric peoples. The amount of artifacts and the very dark nature of the soil points to an extensive occupation of the land about 1,000 years ago. Analysis of the recovered prehistoric artifacts, primarily the ceramics, from this dark level of soil provides an indication of the dates of prehistoric occupation of the site. Nearly all of the prehistoric sherds are sand-tempered and the most common decorative style is cord-marking, although fabric-marked and simple-stamped decorative styles are also present (Figure 5-38). These styles are indicative of a Middle to Late Woodland occupation, specifically the Savannah I phase found along the South Carolina and Georgia coast that dates to approximately AD1000 (Caldwell 1952:317; DePratter 1979). Other artifacts point to the land being used by prehistoric people long before this period of extensive occupation. A complete perforated baked clay object (Figure 5-39) was recovered from the level below the dark prehistoric soil in Unit 12. Archaeologists

Surface Decorations of Prehistoric Ceramics (total # of sherds)

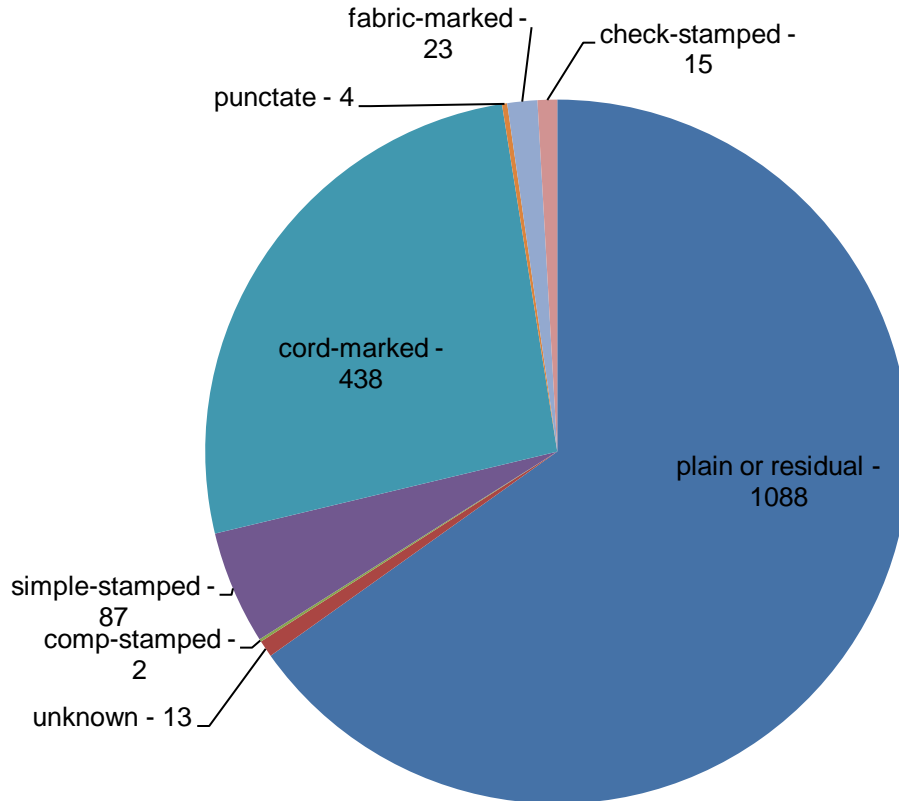


Figure 5-38. Surface decoration of prehistoric ceramics recovered from the churchyard and surrounding area.



Figure 5-39. Baked clay object recovered from Unit 12 (Photo courtesy of the College of Charleston).

recovered fragments of two additional baked clay objects in the shovel tests conducted between the churchyard and the river. Baked clay objects such as these are typical of the Late Archaic Period (ca. 5,000 - 3,000 BP) along the southeast Atlantic coast (South 2002:174-183). Their presence indicate the St. Paul's churchyard was likely used by prehistoric peoples for thousands of years before the church was built.

Did historic Yamasee Indians and members of their confederation remember or at least acknowledge this early occupation of the land by prehistoric peoples? During the Yamasee War of 1715, the Indian Confederation burned St. Paul's parsonage and outbuildings, along with nearly every other structure in the parish near the Stono River (Crane 1929:173). However, they left the church virtually undamaged as it suffered only from "the breaking of a few of the windows, and tearing of the Lining from one of the best Pews" (Bull to SPG Secretary, August 10, 1715, SPG). Why would they leave the church essentially undamaged while inflicting tremendous damage to the nearby parsonage house and other plantation houses? Even in the months following the violence, this question was posed by Reverend Hassell, "whether they spared it [St. Paul's Church] out of any respect to Ye Place or for some other reason I know not" (Hassell to SPG Secretary, December 1, 1715, SPG).

While it is completely possible that very practical reasons may have led to St. Paul's being left relatively unharmed, these events raise questions about the social memory of the Yamasee and Native Americans' belief of sacred places. Could they have spared the church due to their respect for it as a religious structure? This is one possibility considering that many Yamasee had converted to Christianity due to efforts by the Spanish in Florida (Klingberg 1956). No other Anglican churches in the colony

were damaged; however, St. Paul's Parish Church was the only one that stood directly in the path of the advancing confederation. The parishes to the south of St. Paul's Parish, St. Bartholomew's and St. Helena's, saw more violence in 1715; however, neither parish had churches or chapels constructed at the outbreak of the war. There is also no account from the Spanish of the Yamasee or other Christian Indians burning churches in Florida (Worth 1995).

Another possibility is that they had a good relationship and respect for the Anglican Church and its leaders, or more specifically St. Paul's leaders and parishioners. This alternative is very unlikely due to the fact that the two sides were at war with one another and the confederation had burned the parsonage house and a number of other structures, as well as killed a number of parishioners. A third possibility is that Native Americans considered the land sacred based on their own history and culture. While it is impossible to know whether the occupation of this land remained in the historical social memory of early-18th century native peoples, it is conceivable that they considered the land sacred due to their past and their decision not to burn the site had nothing to do with St. Paul's Church.

Placement and Orientation of St. Paul's Parish Church

St. Paul's Parish church supervisors, Seabrook, Hicks, and Farr, made a number of decisions regarding the architectural design of their church, as well as the construction materials to be used. However, those decisions were not the only ones they had to make. The Establishment Act of 1704 and the Church Act of 1706 both gave the Commissioners and their assigned parish church supervisors the "power to take up

by grant from the Lords Proprietors, or purchase the same from them or any other person, and have, take and receive so much land as they shall thinke necessary for the severall scites of the severall churches and the cemetarys or church-yards” (Cooper 1837:237, 284).

Just as their decisions regarding the church’s architecture and appearance were likely influenced by their own goals, faith, political power, and socioeconomic class, so were their decisions regarding the exact placement of their church on the colonial landscape. The first step of church supervisors was to acquire the needed land on which to build their church. The Establishment Act of 1704 and the 1706 Church Act called for the construction of a church “on the south side of the Stoneo river” (Cooper 1837:237,283), providing a general location. The exact property for their church was likely an easy decision as Landgrave Edmund Bellinger donated 39 acres of his property along the river to St. Paul’s Parish. With the property secured, the supervisors could then move on to other decisions, such as where to place the church on the 39 acres of land and how exactly how it should sit on the landscape.

Through geophysical and archaeological testing within St. Paul’s churchyard, we have been able to show that Seabrook, Hicks, and Farr had the original 1707 rectangular church oriented northeast-southwest, with the congregation facing the northeast (Pyszka et al. 2010). What makes their choice unusual is that Church of England canon law stated that churches were to be oriented with the congregation facing east towards the altar and the rising sun. A recent study by Ali and Cunich (2005) of Anglican churches built in London between 1711 and 1734 indicated that all of them were placed on an east-west orientation. Most of the churches faced due east or within

3 degrees or due east, while none were more than 5 degrees off the ideal alignment (2005:66). Their study shows that during this period, which corresponds to the time period when St. Paul's Parish Church and many others of the earliest Anglican churches in South Carolina were constructed, that architects and church designers still considered it important to orient churches towards the east. The orientation of St. Paul's original church is approximately 35 degrees north of due east. If the church supervisors had placed their church on the traditional east-to-west orientation, the short axis of the building would have primarily been facing the river. By shifting the orientation the way they did, the long axis of the church sat directly parallel to the Stono River, the major waterway leading to the southern Indian lands. Glass windows placed along the south-facing long wall would have made the church even more visible from the river as the sun, and possibly even the water, would have reflected off the glass. Their decision made the church a prominent feature on the landscape, making the presence of St. Paul's Church and the Anglican Church known to all who traveled by.

It should be noted that magnetic declination (the difference between magnetic north and true north) does account for some of the difference in "true north" between the early 1700s and today. However, the estimated 8 degrees of declination seen in the Charleston area from 1750 to 2012, does not account for the 35 degree offset seen at St. Paul's (NOAA 2012). Magnetic declination also does not appear to be an issue in the offset seen at St. Paul's, because as discussed further in Chapter 6, many of the other churches in the region were oriented east-to-west, as expected. It is also a possibility that South Carolina church builders had access to declination-corrected compasses. In their study of the Queen Anne churches, Ali and Cunich raised the

possibility that the accurate alignments to true east seen in early-18th century London churches may be due to architects and builders using declination-corrected compasses (2005:66-67). If such compasses were available in London at that time, they may have been used in Charles Towne as well.

This alteration of the church's orientation to parallel a nearby waterway is similar to church construction practices presented in Lenik's (2010) research on Dominica. He stated that Jesuit priests placed their church so that it sat directly parallel to the ocean in order to be easily seen by those people who traveled by it. Could St. Paul's church supervisors have done the same thing for similar reasons? How and why did church supervisors decide on the specific location on which to built St. Paul's Church? What features of the landscape made this location attractive to them? Was St. Paul's oriented so that it faced the river a conscious decision? If so, was it a "materialization of ideology" as described by DeMarrais et al. (2004)?

A review of the literature (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008) indicates that generally speaking, the early Anglican churches in South Carolina were located as close to the center of the parish as possible and more importantly, along waterways. Another factor in church placement was high ground. South and Hartley (1980) have shown in their deep water and high ground model that many late-17th-century colonists constructed their houses on high ground with deep water access. This model should also apply to churches and other public buildings as they would also need to on high enough ground to avoid problems with flooding during high tides and storms. Their elevation also made travel to them easier. The property donated by Landgrave Bellinger fit these desired

characteristics as it was located along the Stono River, on high ground, and near the center of St. Paul's Parish.

While the model initially appears to fit, I do not believe it fully explains why church supervisors decided to place St. Paul's Church where they did. Rather, I believe there were other, more symbolic reasons for the placement of the church. Despite the fact that the church was located on high ground and deep water, it sat in a relatively non-accessible area and therefore, deviates in part from South and Hartley's model. Currently, there are nearly 200 yards of marsh separating the mainland from the river. Even at today's high tide, it would be impossible to get a boat up to the mainland.

A location about 125 yards (115 m) to the north of the church would have made an ideal boat landing area. Here a tidal creek comes in from the Stono River and runs along a high bluff (10-15 ft. above water, depending on the tide). Today, intact bricks can be seen on the surface that form an approximately 1 ft. square, possibly a foundation or pier for a dock. A plat from 1806 does label this area as a landing, but there is no indication if the landing dates back to the first half of the 18th century when services were held at the church (McCrary Plat #6611A 1806).

To test the idea that St. Paul's parishioners also used this area as a boat landing, leaving only a short walk to the church, we shovel-tested this area. Only a small number of artifacts were recovered in these STUs – prehistoric ceramics (n=19), colorless container glass (n=7), cut nails (n=4), tin-glazed ceramics (n=3), and an iron spike. While the tin-glazed ceramics can date to the early half of the 18th century, the low artifact density and the lack of other 18th-century artifacts such as wrought nails, "black" container glass, and ceramics similar to those found at the church, do not suggest this

landing area was used by St. Paul's parishioners to any great extent, if at all. This area of land, included in Bellinger's donation, would have made an ideal landing area for parishioners traveling by boat, plus its location fits into South and Hartley's model as it was immediately along a deep water creek with plenty of high, flat ground on which to build the church. I believe church supervisors consciously decided not to place St. Paul's Parish Church on this particular piece of high ground, that included deep water access, because it would not have made as much of a presence on the developing colonial landscape along the tidal creek, as it did along the Stono River.

If church supervisors consciously decided to place St. Paul's Church in a more visible location, can the same be said for their decision to alter the orientation their church? In order to address this question and whether church landscape decisions fit DeMarrais et al.'s "materialization of ideology," it is necessary to move beyond St. Paul's Parish Church and examine the location and orientation of the other early-18th-century Anglican churches in South Carolina. In the following chapter, the locations and orientations of the other colonial period Anglican churches in South Carolina are analyzed. Through a regional approach, it will be possible to see if any patterns in the placement of early-18th-century Anglican churches on the South Carolina landscape emerge and possibly infer some reasoning behind their locations.

CHAPTER 6:

REGIONAL LANDSCAPE PATTERNS OF SOUTH CAROLINA ANGLICAN CHURCHES

“Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, That the commissioners hereafter named shall have power to take up by grant from the Lords Proprietors, or purchase the same from them or any other person, and have, take and receive so much land as they shall thinke necessary for the severall scites of the severall churches and the cemetarys or church-yards... and shall also direct and appoint the building of the severall churches, according to such dimentions and of such materials as they shall thinke fitting...”

- General Assembly, Establishment Act of 1704

St. Paul’s church supervisors placed their parish church in a very prominent location and altered the orientation of their church in order to make it as visible as possible from the Stono River. In this chapter I will analyze other Anglican churches and chapels constructed in colonial South Carolina. The attributes I will focus on include the landscape features of each church building, namely whether or not it was located on high ground along deep water, and its orientation. Based on the results of this regional study, conclusions can be drawn regarding the use of church buildings as material representations of the power and presence of the South Carolina Anglican Church as a whole, rather than just focusing on the parish of St. Paul’s.

For this study I have separated those churches and chapels constructed between 1706 and 1725 and those built from 1726-1776. I chose the arbitrary cut-off date of 1725 for two reasons. First, the earlier time period is important to South Carolina’s history, as throughout the first two decades of the 18th century the colony’s plantation economy took root and grew on a massive scale, moving South Carolina from a frontier

colony to one of the wealthiest colonies in the New World. Second, by the next wave of church and chapel construction beginning in the 1730s, there was shift in the landscape choices regarding the location of Anglican churches away from water to more inland locations. Through separate examination of the locations of the pre-1725 and post-1725 churches and chapels, I will discuss these differences in the placement of Anglican buildings so that possible reasons for this shift can be presented.

Churches and Chapels through 1725

Both the Establishment Act in 1704 and the Church Act of 1706 called for the construction of churches in six parishes – Christ Church, St. Thomas', St. John's, Berkeley, St. James', Goose Creek, St. Andrew's, and St. Paul's (Cooper 1837:237). Of those six parishes, four had churches in use by the end of 1707. Over the next decade, all of the parishes named in the 1706 Church Act had churches completed or under construction, with the exception of St. Bartholomew's. For the most part, the locations of all the 1706-1725 churches and chapels have been identified through a combination of means (Table 6-1). The location of only one church, St. James', Santee, could not be identified. The only description of that church's location is that it was along Echaw Creek, a tributary off the Santee River. Extant buildings (St. Andrew's, St. James', Goose Creek, St. Helena's, and Strawberry Chapel) and ruins (St. George's) were obviously the easiest structures to locate and verify through either a personal site visit or through use of Google Earth. For those former churches and chapels with no above ground evidence, identifying their locations has proved more difficult. Archaeological evidence helped identify the location of St. Paul's Parish Church and verify the location

Table 6-1. South Carolina Anglican churches and chapels with construction dates prior to 1725. Churches and chapels available for this study are indicated in bold.

Church	Date Completed	How Location Identified
St. Andrew's	1706	Extant
St. Paul's	1707	Archaeology
St. Thomas'/St. Denis'	1707	Present-day church history
St. James', Santee	1712	Historical document
St. John's, Berkeley	1712	Present-day church history
St. James', Goose Creek	1719	Extant
St. George's	1719	Ruins
Christ Church	1707	Present-day church history
St. Philip's	1723	Historical document
St. Helena's	1724	Extant
St. James', Goose Creek Chapel	1724	Archaeology
Strawberry Chapel, St. John's, Berkeley	1724	Extant

of the chapel for St. James', Goose Creek. The location and orientation of St. Philip's Church was identified by a 1739 map of the city of Charles Towne. For three churches - St. Thomas'/St. Denis', St. John's, Berkeley, and Christ Church – their present-day churches are supposedly built on the locations of earlier churches. However, without archaeological or documentary evidence to substantiate those claims, I do not feel comfortable relying on that information. Therefore, these three church locations, along with that of St. James', Santee, have been eliminated, leaving 8 of the 12 churches and chapels constructed between 1706 and 1725 available for study.

Description of 1706-1725 Churches and Chapels

In many ways, the history and architecture of St. Andrew's Parish Church (see Figures 1-9 and 3-16) parallels that of St. Paul's Parish Church. St. Andrew's Parish was located to the northwest of Charles Towne and was situated between the Ashley River to its east and St. Paul's Parish to its west. The parish church of St. Andrew's was constructed in 1706 and was the first Anglican church completed after the establishment of the Church. Based on the completion date of 1706, it seems very likely that the construction of the church began after the passing of the Establishment Act of 1704. St. Andrew's Church sits on high ground (23 ft. above mean sea level (AMSL)) along the west bank of the Ashley River, approximately eight miles northwest of Charles Towne. With only a few temporary interruptions, St. Andrew's Church has continued to hold Sunday services from the time it was completed to the present. Through its 300-year history, the church has been renovated several times, most notably in the 1720s with the completion of an addition (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008). Like St. Paul's Parish Church, the addition transformed St. Andrew's original rectangular church into a cruciform with the original portion becoming the nave of the enlarged church. The orientation of the original portion of St. Andrew's Church deviates greatly from the expected east-to-west orientation, as it sits on a northwest-southeast axis, with the congregation facing the altar to the southeast (Figure 6-1). This orientation placed the long axis of the church directly parallel to the nearby Ashley River (Figure 6-2). Although there is nearly a mile (0.7 miles) separating St. Andrew's Church from the main channel of the river, with the church sitting on a small rise and without the modern-day housing development, it



Figure 6-1. Google Earth image of St. Andrew's Parish Church. (Image courtesy of Google Earth).



Figure 6-2. Google Earth image of St. Andrew's Parish Church and Ashley River. (Image courtesy of Google Earth).

would have easily been seen from the Ashley River, a major transportation and trade route in colonial South Carolina.

The population of St. Andrew's Parish grew rapidly during the 1710s, resulting in a split of the parish in 1717. The southern portion, which included the parish church, remained St. Andrew's Parish, while the northern portion became St. George's Parish. Construction of St. George's Parish Church began shortly thereafter in the village of Dorchester, a planned community founded by Congregationalists from Massachusetts in the 1690s (Richards 2009). The village sat along the Ashley River and included 116 town lots of $\frac{1}{4}$ -acre each, streets, a market area, mill, and wharf (Figure 6-3) (Richards 2009:156). Interestingly, the Congregationalists broke from the traditional New England pattern of placing their meetinghouse within the villages, locating it instead a couple of miles away (Beck 2002; Richards 2009).

Over the next two decades, Congregationalists and non- Congregationalists, including Anglicans, moved to Dorchester and built houses on the town lots. With the formation of St. George's Parish by the General Assembly in 1717, the parish's vestrymen and church supervisors decided to construct their new church on two city lots within the center of Dorchester. Completed in 1719, St. George's Parish Church was a large rectangular, brick church. Similar to St. Andrew's and St. Paul's churches, a later addition altered the floor plan of the church into a cruciform (Linder 2000, Nelson 2008). The only above surface evidence that remains of the church is the bell tower, a 1750s addition at the west entrance (Figure 6-4). As seen at St. Paul's churchyard, the land around the bell tower is slightly mounded and provides an indication of the church's position on the landscape. The church faced towards the northeast, approximately 18

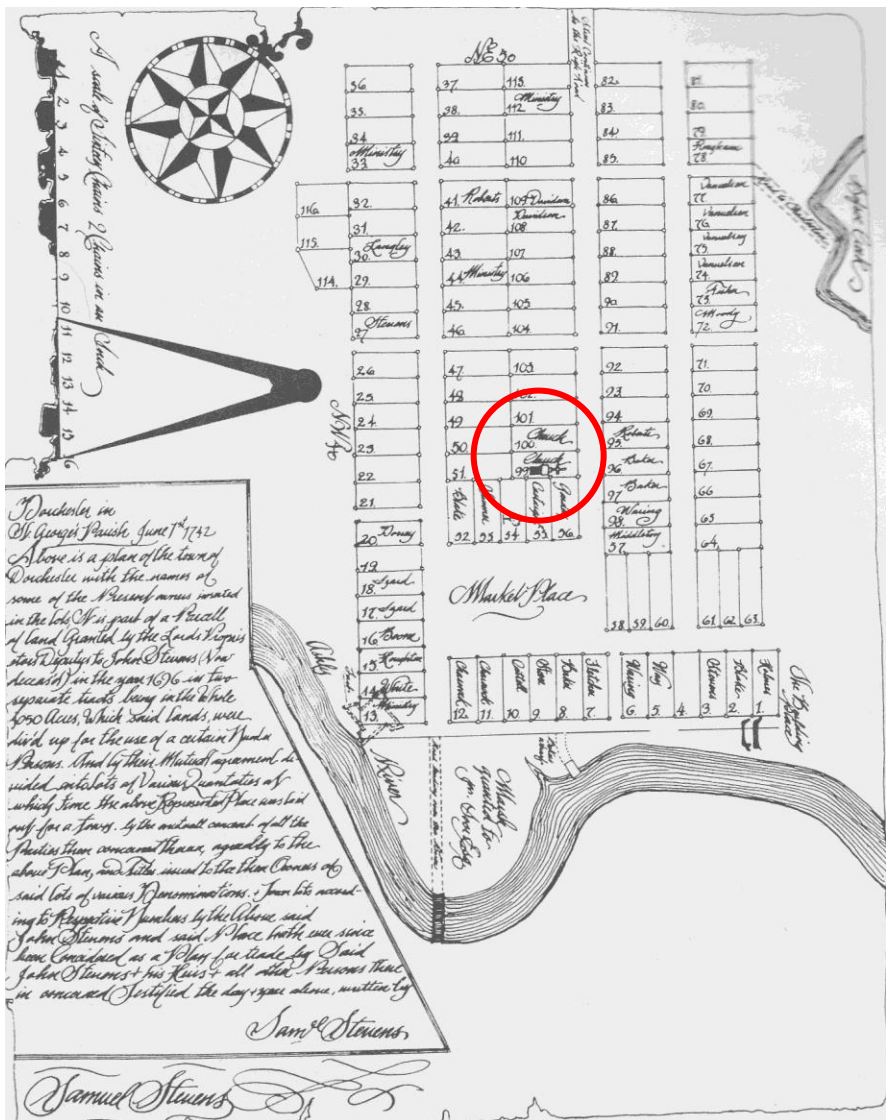


Figure 6-3. 1742 map of Dorchester. Location of St. George's Parish Church is circled (Image courtesy of Beck 2002:169).



Figure 6-4. 1750s bell tower located at the west entrance of St. George's Parish Church. (Photo by the author).

degrees north of due east. By facing that direction, the church was aligned along the town plan that was oriented towards the Ashley River.

The most elaborate of the rural Anglican churches was St. James', Goose Creek Parish (see Figures 1-10 and 1-11). This parish was the home of some of the colony's wealthiest planters, many of whom had already made their fortunes from sugar plantations on Barbados. Most of these planters were Anglicans who were also very active in the colony's politics. These men, often referred to as the Goose Creek Men, were instrumental in the passing of the 1704 Establishment Act and the 1706 Church Act, as well as the continuation of the growing trade of goods and slaves with Native Americans. Construction of the building began in 1708, but due to financial concerns

and the outbreak of the Yamasee Indian War, the church was not completed until 1719 (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008). While services are no longer held there except for special occasions, the church remains. It has seen several renovations throughout the past three centuries, but the original footprint of the church has remained the same (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008). The church is rectangular and laid out in the traditional east-to-west plan with the chancel in the eastern portion of the structure. It sits about ¼ mile east of Goose Creek, a large tidal creek off of the Cooper River, on land that rises about 35 ft. above the creek. The church's short axis faces the water (Figure 6-5).

As the congregation of St. James', Goose Creek Parish outgrew their church, a chapel of ease was established six miles to the north. A plat from ca. 1724 indicates that the chapel was cruciform in shape (Figure 6-6). In a letter to the SPG Secretary, Reverend Ludham from St. James', Goose Creek wrote that the chapel was, "in length 60 feet in breadth 22. It bears the form of a cross and is 40 feet broad in the cross" (Ludham to SPG, December 12, 1727, SPG). The site has recently been surveyed by archaeologists as part of a public archaeology program with the goal of determining if General George Chicken, a Yamasee War hero, was buried near the altar (Johnson 2009). A few foundations just on the surface provide the only visual evidence of the chapel. The foundations corroborate the cruciform shape of the chapel as well as confirm that it was oriented east-to-west with the congregation facing towards the east (Andrew Agha, pers. comm., 2010). The chapel does not sit on or near any waterway, but was located along an 18th-century road, now Old US Hwy 52.

One of the hallmarks of modern Charleston's skyline is the church steeple of St. Philip's Church. The current church was built in 1835 after the original St. Philip's



Figure 6-5. Google Earth image of St. James', Goose Creek Church in relationship to Goose Creek.(Image courtesy of Google Earth).

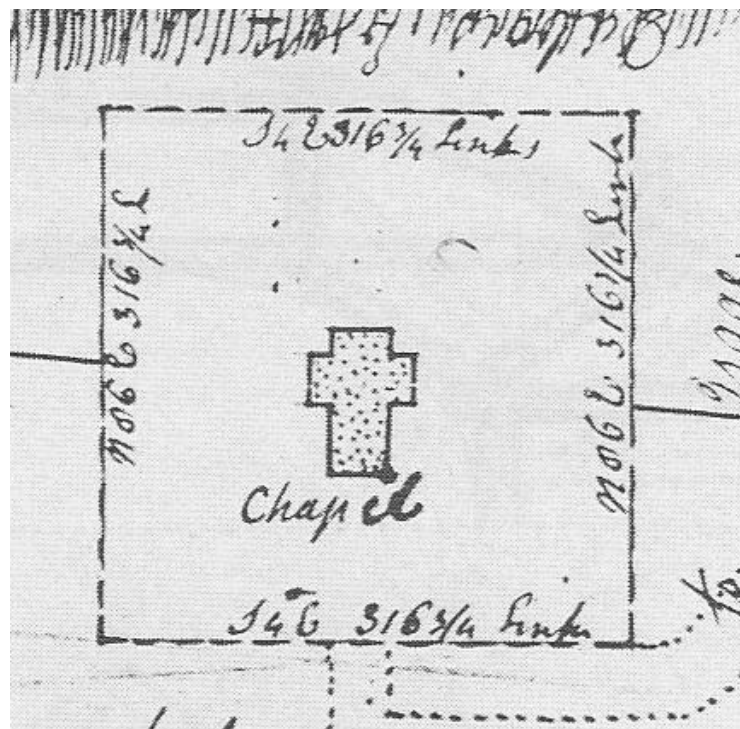


Figure 6-6. 1724 plat of St. James', Goose Creek Chapel (Image courtesy of Nelson 2008:76).

Church at that location, constructed during the 1710s, burned (see Figure 3-17) (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008). A 1733 map of Charles Towne indicates that the church seen there today was placed at the same location and on the same east-to-west orientation as the first church (Figure 6-7). The elaborate design of the church followed the latest trends seen in London Anglican churches at the time which were influenced by architect Christopher Wren.

Although it is not located directly on the water, St. Philip's Church would have stood out in the colonial city due to its grand architectural style. As discussed by art historian Louis Nelson (2008), church supervisors also used the natural landscape to showcase their new church. Nelson believes that by constructing their church on the highest point of land on the peninsula, church supervisors wished to increase the visibility of the church in order to express the power and presence of the Anglican Church. Additionally, the supervisors placed the church so that its western portico actually sat in the middle of Church Street, the primary north-south street through the town (Figure 6-8). This same placement was also adopted in the 1830s when the current church was built. No citizens of early Charles Towne, nor residents and tourists today, could miss St. Philip's Church as they walked along Church Street.

In the most southern reaches of the colony, the General Assembly and the Anglican Church established the parish of St. Helena's in 1712. St. Helena's Parish now includes the city of Beaufort and its surrounding area, including the Hilton Head Island area. Church construction was not yet underway when the Yamasee War broke out in 1715 within the parish. Due to the large numbers of white settlers killed in the parish during the war and its near abandonment for several years afterwards, the parish

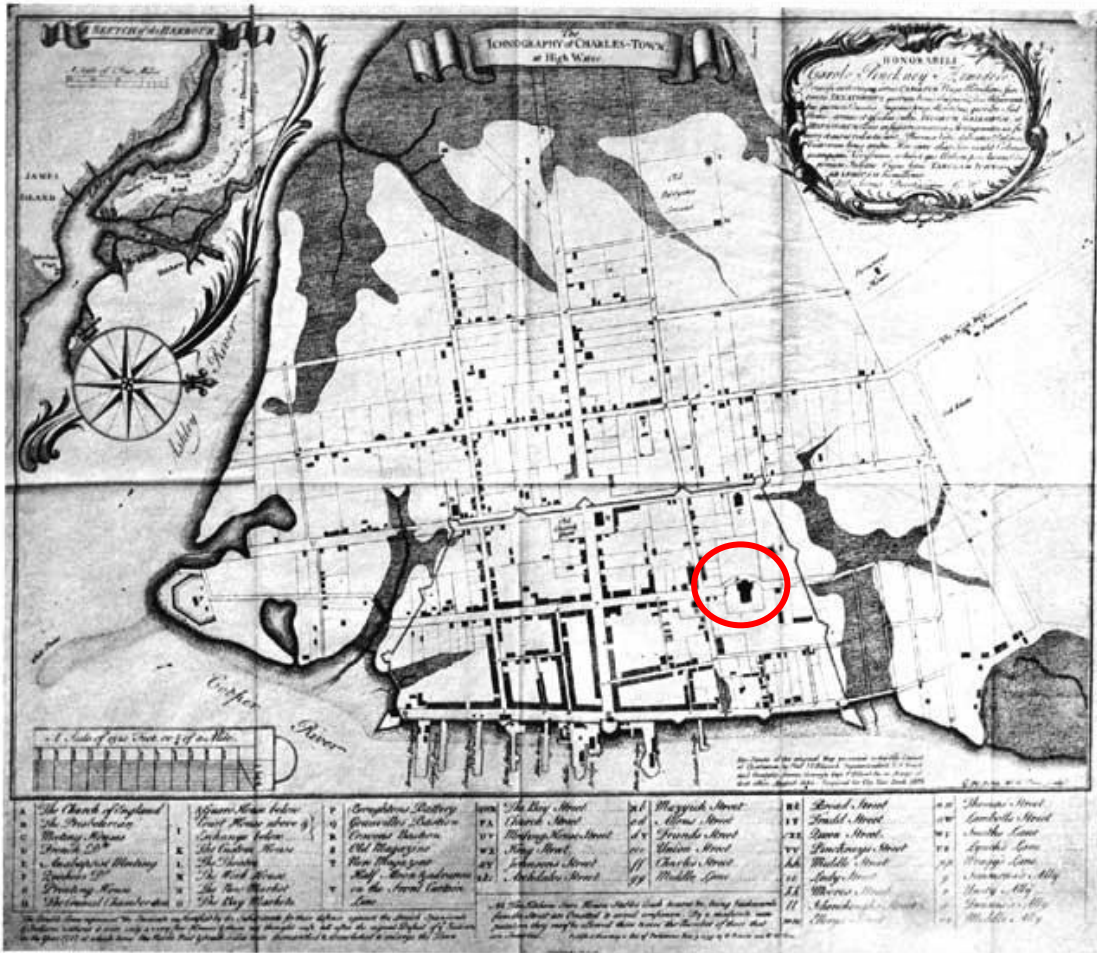


Figure 6-7. Ichnography of Charles-Town at High Tide, 1733. St. Philip's Church is circled (Photo courtesy of www.charlestonillustrated.com).



Figure 6-8. St. Phillip's Church. This ca. 1832 church was constructed so that its western portico still sat in the middle of Church Street. (Photo by the author).

church was not completed until 1724 (Linder 2000). The original church was rectangular with a protruding chancel. Although there have been additions and renovations over time, this original church is still used today for regular services (Figure 6-9). The church sits on high ground (18 ft. AMSL) in the center of the oldest part of Beaufort, just a couple of blocks north of the Beaufort River (Figure 6-10). Following canon law, the church faces towards the east, which also places it directly parallel to the river.

The last church building considered in this study is Strawberry Chapel, a chapel for St. John's, Berkeley, Parish (see Figures 1-12 and 1-13). The chapel was located in the village of Strawberry, a small community on the eastern bank of the Cooper River. Strawberry was important as its wharf was the last one that larger boats traveling up the Cooper River from Charles Towne could reach before the river became too shallow to navigate safely. Additionally, two Indian trails crossed each other nearby, one that led north to Cape Fear and the other that led to the west (Linder 2000:61). Construction of the chapel began in the early 1720s and was completed by 1725 (Linder 2000). The chapel survives today although services are no longer held there on a regular basis. It is a rectangular building that sits on an east-to-west orientation with the altar along the eastern wall. At this orientation, Strawberry Chapel's long axis faces towards the Cooper River. The river does have a sharp bend right at this location, but because of the way the church is positioned it would have been a very prominent feature on the shore to those travelers arriving from Charles Towne or elsewhere downstream (Figure 6-11). Over the nearly three centuries since it was first built, the chapel has seen few changes, only renovations that are needed to preserve the building and to repair windows and doors due to vandalism.



Figure 6-9. St. Helena's Church (Photo courtesy of www.beauforttribune.com).

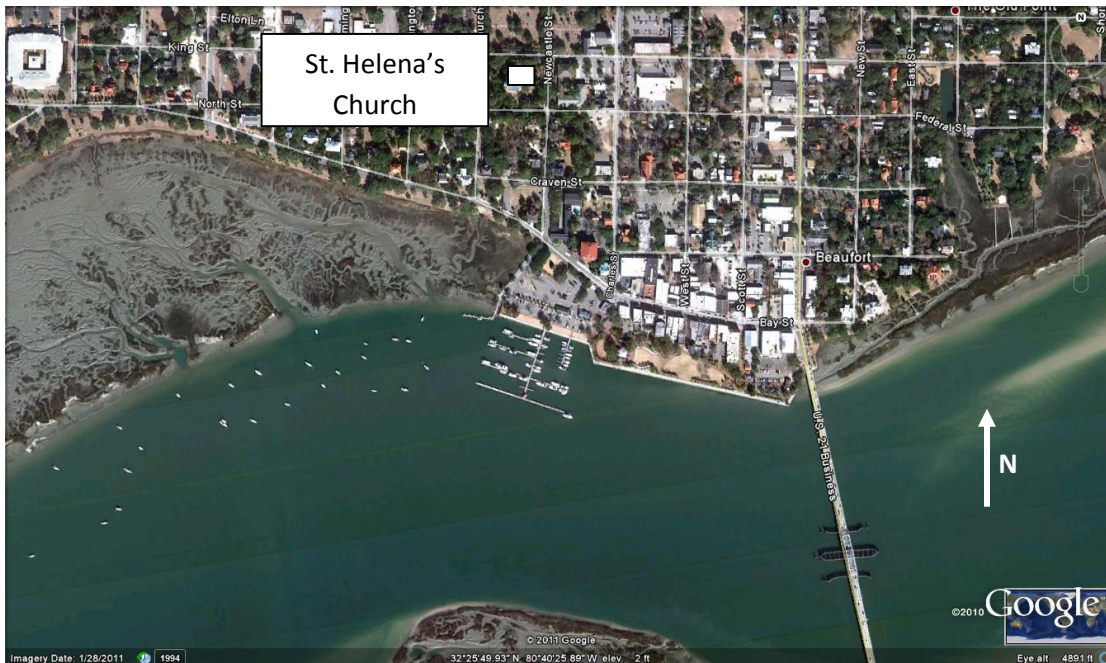


Figure 6-10. Google Earth image of St. Helena's Parish Church in relationship to Beaufort River. (Image courtesy of Google Earth).

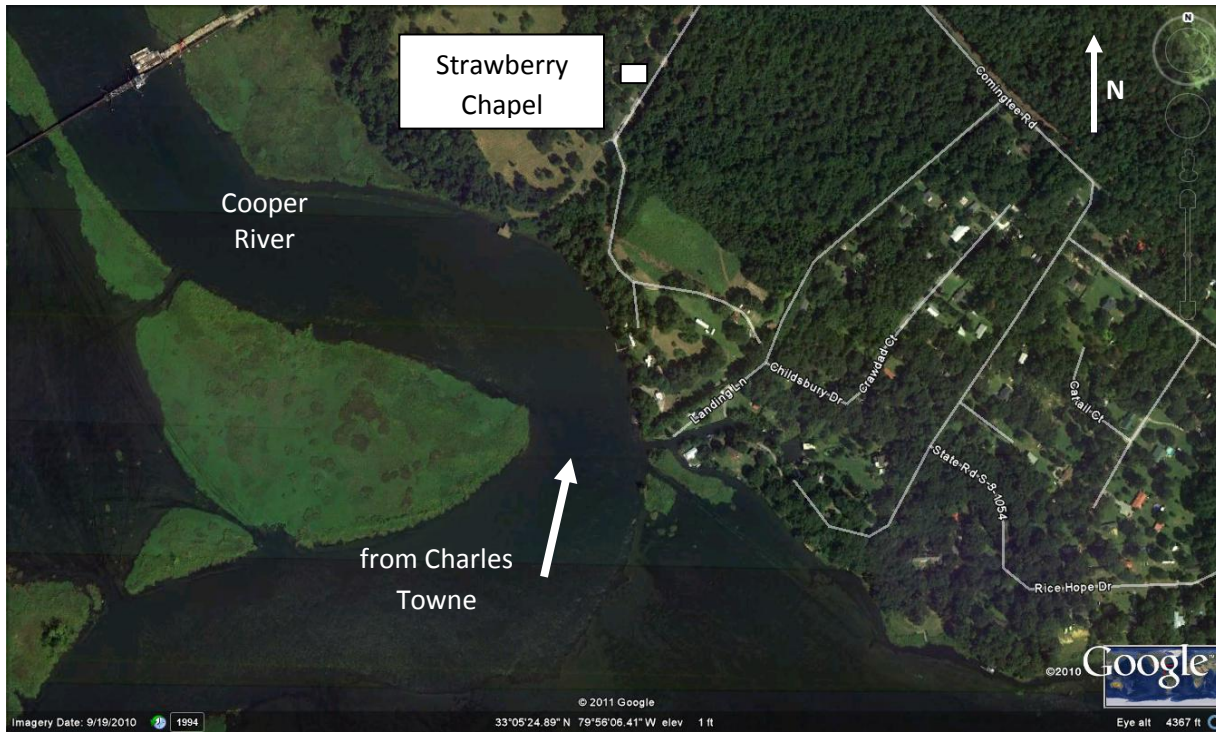


Figure 6-11. Google Earth image of Strawberry Chapel in relationship to the Cooper River (Image courtesy of Google Earth).

Discussion of 1706-1725 Churches and Chapels

While analyzing the specific landscape settings and the orientations of these eight early-18th century Anglican buildings, a few patterns emerge. Six of the eight churches and chapels were located on high ground immediately along a waterway (Figure 6-12 and Table 6-2). The placement of churches along waterways during the early decades of the colony is not surprising and does fit the deep water and high ground model provided by South and Hartley (1980). The use of waterways as roads made transportation easier even though some parishioners had to travel several miles to their place of worship. The General Assembly obviously recognized the importance of

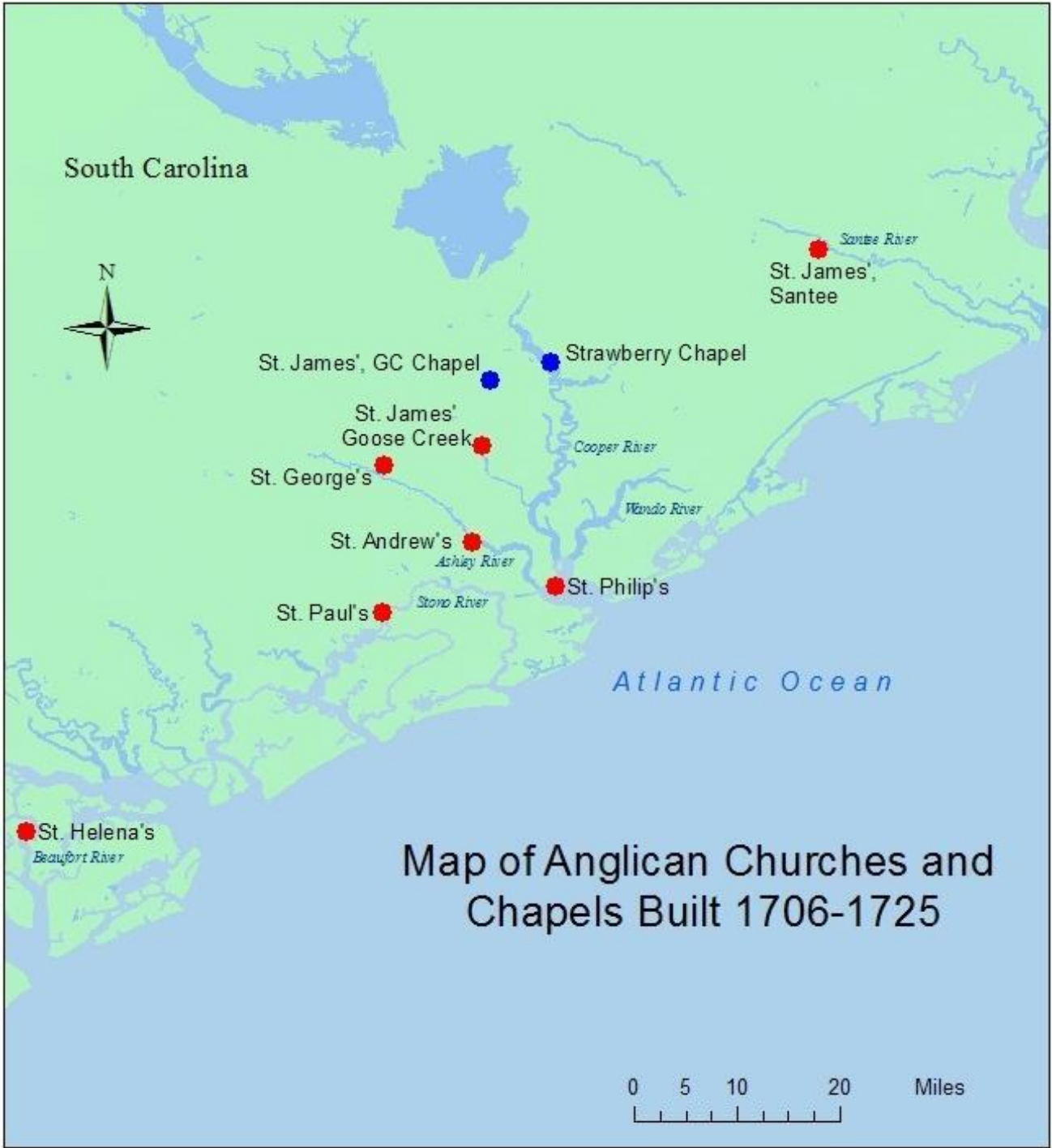


Figure 6-12. Locations of 1706-1725 Anglican churches (red) and chapels (blue).

Table 6-2. Location and elevation information of churches and chapels used in this study.

Church or Chapel	Waterway	Location of chancel within church/chapel	Sea Level of Waterway (in feet)	Sea Level of Church or Chapel (in feet)
St. Andrew's	Ashley River	Southeast	0	23
St. Paul's	Stono River	Northeast	2	31
St. James', Goose Creek	Goose Creek	East	6	39
St. George's	Ashley River	Northeast	1	38
St. Philip's	n/a	East	n/a	25
St. Helena's	Beaufort River	East	0	18
St. James', Goose Creek Chapel	n/a	East	n/a	35
Strawberry Chapel, St. John's, Berkeley	Cooper River	East	0	17

having the new Anglican churches located along major waterways. In both the Establishment and the Church Acts they wrote,

And whereas, it is necessary that six churches should be built for the publick worship of God, according to the Church of England; that is to say, one upon the South-east of Wandoe river, one upon that neck of land lying on the North-west of Wandoe, and South of Cooper river, one upon the Western branch of Cooper river, one upon Goose creek, one upon Ashley river, and one on the South side of Stono river in Colleton county (Cooper 1837:283).

The two exceptions to this pattern are St. Philip's Church and the chapel for St. James', Goose Creek, both of which were positioned along roadways. Of the six

churches and chapels located along waterways, three of them - St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, and St. George's - deviated from the traditional east-to-west orientation as dictated by Church of England canon law, while the other three – St. James', Goose Creek, St. Helena's, and Strawberry Chapel are oriented east-to-west. With the three churches that deviate in their expected orientation, the altering of the orientation led to the long axis of each church sitting parallel to the nearby waterway, leading to the churches being very prominent features on the landscape. St. Helena's Parish Church and Strawberry Chapel are situated on an east-to-west orientation that also places their long axes parallel to the Beaufort and Cooper Rivers, respectively. I have been unable to locate any documents that refer to the reasons why these structures were built on their respective lots; therefore, it is not possible to say if it is a coincidence that the east-west pattern placed them parallel to the rivers or if those lots were specifically chosen because that would satisfy both the traditional church orientation and the desire of church supervisors to have their church or chapel stand out to those traveling by on the water.

Only one of the six churches along a waterway did not sit with its long axis facing the water - St. James', Goose Creek, Church. Instead, church supervisors positioned the church so that its short axis faced the water and consequently, it would not have made as much of a visual impact on the landscape as the other churches. One possible reason for this difference is its location on a minor creek. The Ashley, Stono, Cooper, and Beaufort Rivers were major waterways used for trade and transportation. Every day boats carrying goods and people would pass by the churches and chapels located along those rivers. Goose Creek on the other hand, is a tidal creek off the Cooper River

and the church is located approximately 12 miles upstream from their confluence. Additionally, the creek ends about one mile upstream from the church and it becomes narrower and shallower, especially during low tides. I believe that the church supervisors at St. James', Goose Creek retained its traditional east-to-west building orientation because while people traveled *to* the church, few would have been traveling *by* the church.

Although the number of available churches and chapels available for this study is small, the results indicate that most of the early-18th century Anglican churches parallel the nearby waterway. A practical reason for the purposeful positioning of churches parallel to the waterways is that architects took advantage of the natural contour lines of the landscape on which to place their churches. Architects will often place longitudinal buildings parallel to the contour lines as it requires less movement of the earth in order to prepare a surface on which to construct the building, and therefore, saves on labor costs (Katherine Ambroziak, 2012, pers. comm.). This reason was ruled out after a review of the relevant USGS quad maps. Those maps indicated that while a couple of the eight churches did parallel the natural contour lines, and therefore, the waterways, most of them sat at a variety of angles to the contour lines. Also, because enslaved people likely provided most, if not all, of the labor used for site preparation, labor costs would not have been an issue. Therefore, it appears that the Anglican Church and parish church supervisors purposefully positioned their churches and chapels in such a way as to make them prominent features of the landscape, even if they had to break Anglican canon law to do so.

The obvious question here is why would they feel the need to make their religious buildings more visible? To answer this question, I draw upon the ideas of DeMarrais et al. (2004), in particular their idea of the “materialization of ideology”, also used by Lenik (2010). DeMarrais et al. argue that dominant groups expressed their ideology and social power through various forms of material culture such as writing, landscape, ceremonial events, public monuments, and icons (DeMarrais et al 1996). Their ideas regarding the use of public monuments are of particular interest here, as churches are considered a form of public monument. Per DeMarrais et al., the construction of public monuments by dominant groups, whether indigenous peoples or colonizers, helped claim the land as their own, established unity within the group, and demonstrated the power of their leaders (DeMarrais et al. 1996:18-19).

To apply DeMarrais et al.’s materialization of ideology to the early-18th century Anglican Church in South Carolina, it is important to question the reasons why Anglican Church leaders would have felt the need to put a claim on the land, to unify Anglicans, and to visually manifest their power. Answers to these questions lay in the colony’s political and religious conflicts during the early colonial period. During the opening decades of the 18th century, the rural parishes outside Charles Towne were in a tenuous position as they buffered Charles Towne from still-contested frontier lands to the north, south, and west. Not only were these lands contested by the English, French, and Spanish, but also by various Native American groups. Since the Stono, Ashley, Cooper, and Beaufort Rivers were the primary transportation routes around the colony and into Indian lands, white settlers and traders would travel by the churches on a regular basis, likely on boats guided by enslaved Africans. Additionally, Native

Americans would also travel by boat, especially in the southern parishes of St. Paul's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Helena's. There were several claims to the land by a number of different groups and the placement of Anglican churches throughout the South Carolina frontier made a statement to the Spanish, French, and Native American groups. At St. Paul's, excavations have shown that the church sat directly on a significant prehistoric site. Archaeologists at the chapel for St. James', Goose Creek were also surprised by the number of prehistoric artifacts recovered in their brief excavations (Andrew Agha, 2010, pers. comm.). Arendt (2007) found evidence that Moravian missionaries in Labrador purposely covered up evidence of the Inuit landscape, namely sod huts, with their own buildings. Did church supervisors do the same thing to cover up evidence of the Native American use of the landscape while at the same time claiming that land as their own? While not enough evidence has yet been collected to discern a pattern, it is interesting that both churches that have had archaeological excavations conducted at them had a significant prehistoric presence immediately underneath the church ruins.

Another threat to the Anglican claim of the land came from the number of dissenters living in the colony due to its stance of religious tolerance. No overall census figures regarding the numbers of Anglicans and dissenters in the colony exist. However, Reverend Dun provided figures for St. Paul's Parish in 1708. At that time he reported that of the "300 souls" living in the parish, "about 80 profess themselves Church of England" and "220 are dissenters" (Dun to SPG Secretary, September 20, 1708, SPG). Not only did they constitute a larger percentage of the population, but

many dissenters also held powerful political positions in the General Assembly and sometimes even served as the colony's Governor.

The process of establishment had not been easy as it had taken several years of debate and "tricky" politics. The hard-line Establishment Act of 1704 was narrowly passed by the General Assembly due to the absence of dissenter members who simply did not have time to travel to Charles Town for the vote. Besides the establishment of the Church of England, this act also stated that members of the General Assembly had to swear their allegiance to the Church of England. Ultimately, that portion of the act was not included in the Church Act of 1706. The large population of dissenters in the colony was therefore another reason why Anglican church supervisors felt a need to claim the land. They would have wanted to make it clear that they had "won" the battle over religious control of the colony and that the Church of England was there to stay. By placing rural Anglican churches in prominent positions along the waterways, the Church used the natural landscape and their churches to show their presence and communicate their power to all those who passed by - whites and non-whites, freed and enslaved, Anglicans and dissenters.

The churches also served as a unifying mechanism for South Carolina's Anglicans as they were surely a source of pride and of community, as well as a place for church service. They were also a place where English people could express and maintain their English identity through the practice of common cultural practices and a shared language (Hawkins 1983; Linder 2000). In summary, it appears that the positioning and orientation of Anglican churches were not haphazard. Anglican Church leaders placed their churches at specific locations and at orientations in order to make

them seen, and to make statements about their presence and power in this religiously-, socially-, and ethnically- divided colony.

To an extent, this interpretation is similar to Leone's interpretation of the Paca Garden as being a place where the social elite naturalized their social power, but on a grander scale (Leone 1984). Rather than using a garden or even a single church in an attempt to showcase and naturalize their dominant power, Anglican church leaders used the region's natural landscape, namely its waterways, by placing their churches along them and then positioning the churches to be as visible as possible from the waterways. The Church's use of the natural landscape to highlight their churches was not limited to the rural areas. In both Charles Towne and Beaufort, church supervisors placed the churches of St. Philip's and St. Helena's on the highest point of land near the city center to increase their visibility. The point at which my argument breaks away from Leone's is in the reaction of members of the less dominant groups of the colony. Rather than being "duped" by this expression of Anglican power, dissenters, Native Americans, and enslaved Africans continued to express their own beliefs as seen in the important political roles dissenters continued to play in the colony, as well as events such as the 1715 Yamasee War and Stono Slave Rebellion of 1739.

The intentional and strategic placement of Anglican churches by church supervisors throughout South Carolina altered the colonial landscape. While it might have been their goal to express the power and position of the Anglican Church, the landscape decisions made by church supervisors in the early-18th century also affected later settlement patterns in the colony, a topic which will be revisited in the final chapter. One way of tracking changing settlement patterns is to examine the locations of later

Anglican churches. In the next section, I expand beyond the study of the churches built prior to 1725 and include those Anglican churches and chapels constructed in South Carolina after 1725 through the end of the colonial period. What this research shows is that while the early Anglican churches often dictated where bridges and roads were placed, in later decades, the roads dictated where the churches and chapels were built.

Churches and Chapels after 1725

Throughout the colony, the population increased dramatically by 1725, especially in the marshes of the rural areas where rice thrived. Although the Yamasee War officially ended in 1717, skirmishes between South Carolinians and Native Americans continued into the early 1720s. As the outlying areas became more secure, white settlers moved further into the interior and further south into the former Yamasee lands. As a result of increased population, many more of the rural parishes were either divided to create new parishes, constructed additions to their parish churches, or created chapels of ease. Some parishes, such as St. Paul's Parish, had to do all three to keep up with their rapidly growing population. Consequently, many new churches and chapels were constructed after 1725 (Table 6-3). In analyzing the post-1725 churches and chapels, there is a shift away from the waterways and a greater likelihood of churches oriented east-to-west. I believe these changes are not just the result of the former frontier lands becoming more secure and the growing population's desire for more land, but that they are also a direct result of the landscape choices made by the Anglican Church and its supervisors prior to 1725.

In this analysis of the landscape locations of churches and chapels, only one

Table 6-3. South Carolina Anglican churches and chapels with construction dates 1725 through 1776. Churches and chapels used in this study are indicated in bold.

Church	Date Construction Completed	Location	How Location Identified	Building Material
St. Bartholomew's Pon Pon Chapel (1 st one)	1725	Not on waterway	Present-day church history	Timber
Christ Church	1726	Road	Extant	Brick
Prince Frederick's Church	1726	Black River	Historical document	Timber
St. Paul's Chapel	1736	Not on waterway	Historical document	Brick
St. John's, Colleton Church	1736	Not on waterway	Historical document	Brick
Prince George's Church	1745	Road (city center)	Extant	Brick
St. Helena's Chapel	1748	Not on waterway	Ruins	Tabby
Prince William's Parish Church	1751	Not on waterway	Ruins	Brick
St. Bartholomew's Pon Pon Chapel (2nd one)	1758	Not on waterway	Ruins	Brick
St. Mark's Church	1760	Halfway Swamp	Historical document	No description available
St. Michael's Church	1761	Road (city center)	Extant	Brick
St. Stephen's Church	1762	Not on waterway	Extant	Brick
St. Thomas' Chapel at Pompion Hill	1765	East Branch of Cooper River	Extant	Brick
St. Matthew's Church	1766	Road	Historical document	Timber
All Saints' Church	1767	Not on waterway	Historical document	N/A
St. John's, Berkeley Church	1767	Not on waterway	Ruins	Brick
St. James', Santee Church	1768	Not on waterway	Extant	Brick

chapel was eliminated - the first Pon Pon Chapel in St. Bartholomew's Parish. While present-day church history states that the original Pon Pon Chapel sat on the same location as the second Pon Pon Chapel, which still stands in ruins, there is no evidence to substantiate that claim. Therefore, that chapel has been eliminated from this analysis. It was also difficult to determine if a church or chapel was indeed located on a road at the time it was built. The earliest map that details the locations of church buildings and roads is the 1825 Mills Atlas series of maps. These maps date 60-100 years after many of the churches and chapels were constructed and therefore may not accurately portray the landscape features when the structures were built. Therefore, the location of the churches and chapels were classified as 1) along a waterway, 2) not along a waterway, or 3) along a road. The road option was only used if there is documentation from the time that the church or chapel was constructed that specifically stated it was located along a roadway.

Description of 1726-1776 Churches and Chapels

St. James', Santee, in the northern portion of the colony, was sparsely populated when it was formed in 1708 by the General Assembly. In 1722, the population had grown to such a point that the parish was divided creating Prince George's Parish, centered on the growing urban center of Georgetown. The large brick church constructed in 1745, after the parish was divided once again (see below) still serves as the parish church and is located in the center of the oldest part of Georgetown (Figures 6-13 and 6-14). Prince George's Church's orientation is towards the northeast, which does place the church's long axis parallel to Winyah Bay and the Pee Dee River. It



Figure 6-13.Prince George's Parish Church (Photo courtesy of the SC Department of Archives and History).



Figure 6-14. Google Earth image of Prince George's Church in relationship to Pee Dee River. (Photo courtesy of Google Earth).

should be noted that the entire city grid of old Georgetown is oriented to the southeast, possibly influencing the church supervisors' decision regarding their church's orientation.

In 1734, Prince George's Parish was divided, forming the new parish of Prince Frederick's. The Prince George's Parish Church was no longer within the parish boundaries and it became the parish church for Prince Frederick's Parish. The specific site of the Prince Frederick's Parish Church was not able to be verified, except that it did sit along the Black River (Linder 2000).

Twenty years later, St. James', Santee was divided yet again, creating St. Stephen's Parish. When St. Stephen's became its own parish, the parish church of St. James', Santee fell within its borders. Parishioners replaced that church in 1762 with a brick church with unique curvilinear architecture that survives today (Figure 6-15). The church is oriented east-to-west and does not sit along any waterways.

Once St. James', Santee lost its parish church to St. Stephen's, parishioners used one of their chapels of ease as the parish church until their new brick church was finished in 1768 (Linder 2000:54). The so-called "Brick Church" is only used today by St. James', Santee parishioners for Easter services and an annual picnic (Figure 6-16). The church is located within the Francis Marion National Forest with no waterways for miles around.

In 1767, All Saints' Parish was also established from St. James', Santee. While the present parish church was constructed in 1916, a plat from 1775 indicates that the original church was located at the same location (Linder 2000:126).



Figure 6-15. St. Stephen's Church.(Photo courtesy of SC Department of Archives and History, www.nationalregister.sc.gov/berkeley).



Figure 6-16. The "Brick Church" at St. James', Santee.(Photo by the author).

Just to the south, the parishes of St. Thomas' and St. John's, Berkeley also saw the construction of new church buildings. A chapel for St. Thomas' Parish was constructed along the Eastern Branch of the Cooper River to replace an earlier chapel that was located elsewhere. The 1765 brick chapel, called Pompion Hill Chapel, (Figure 6-17) is located along a section of the river that runs west-to-east. Therefore, it not only conforms to Anglican canon law, but its position would have made it very visible from the river. In St. John's, Berkeley Parish, a new and larger brick church was constructed in 1767 to replace their former parish church that had burned a few years earlier (Linder 2000). This church, named "Biggins Church," is in ruins today but its foundations provide evidence of its size and east-to-west orientation (Figure 6-18). It is located 0.4miles east of the West Branch of the Cooper River.

Christ Church Parish was located across the Cooper River from Charles Towne in present-day Mount Pleasant. Today, the historic Christ Church sits beside the parish's modern church along U.S. Highway 17 on the northern outskirts of Mount Pleasant (Figure 6-19). The historic church seen today is either the third or fourth Christ Church on that same location. It is the belief of Christ Church officials and congregation that their original 1708 timber-framed church was located at the same spot as the current one (Reverend Ted McNabb, 2011, pers. comm.). Their original church burned in 1724 and was subsequently replaced by a new brick church in 1726 (Linder 2000). British forces burned the second Christ Church during the Revolutionary War, leaving only the four walls standing. After the war, the parish rebuilt the church, using the walls that survived the British attack. That church was subsequently burned by Union troops



Figure 6-17. Pompion Hill, the chapel for St. Thomas' Parish. The Cooper River can be seen in the background (Photo courtesy of the SC Department of Archives and History).<http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/charleston/nrcharleston3.htm>.



Figure 6-18. Ruins of Biggins Church, facing southwest.(Photo by the author).



Figure 6-19. Historic Christ Church, facing east.(Photo by Abby Naunheimer).

during the Civil War. Using the same footprint, the church was rebuilt in the 1930s (Linder 2000).

While it has been rebuilt and renovated many times, the second Christ Church built in 1726 should be very similar to the extant church. If the footprint of the present-day historic church is indeed the same as the original church at this location, the church was oriented east-to-west, with the altar in the eastern end. Unlike a majority of the pre-1725 churches, the 1726 Christ Church was not located along a waterway, but directly along one of the few roads leading out of Charles Towne in the early decades of the 18th century. This road led towards North Carolina and Virginia and over the centuries has become U.S. Highway 17. Due to the church's location, it would have been difficult to reach by water. The closest major waterway, the Wando River, is about three miles

away “as the crow flies” and the church is about two miles from the head of some of the smaller tidal creeks off the Wando. While possible, it is unlikely that parishioners would have traveled to Christ Church via water, as they would still have at least a 2-3 mile walk to the church.

It was not just the rural areas that saw their population increase dramatically during the first half of the 18th century. Charles Towne itself grew in size, pushing the capacity limits of St. Philip’s Church. To accommodate the growing population, the Anglican Church divided St. Philip’s in 1751, with the southern portions of the peninsula becoming St. Michael’s Parish. A new church was constructed on the southeast corner of the intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets, diagonally across from the colony’s new statehouse (Linder 2000; Nelson 2008). As with the city grid, St. Michael’s is oriented east-to-west, with the western entrance on Meeting Street and its chancel to the east (Figure 6-20).

Just to the south of Charles Towne, St. Paul’s Parish’s population saw tremendous growth. By the early 1720s the parish church had become so overcrowded that “for want of room, some were forced to stand without the door, and others hang at the windows” (Bull to SPG Secretary, October 10, 1722, SPG). In addition to the enlargement of their church and division of the parish, St. Paul’s Parish constructed a chapel of ease in 1736. The brick chapel was located approximately eight miles to the north of the parish church (Leslie to SPG Secretary, December 29, 1736, SPG). A map from 1825 indicates the location of the third St. Paul’s Church, which according to the vestry minutes was constructed near the ruins of their second parish church (St. Paul’s Vestry Minutes, 1768-1864, SCHS). This map clearly shows that the new St. Paul’s



Figure 6-20. West Entrance of St. Michael's Church.(Photo courtesy of the Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov.pictures/collections/hh/>).

Church, and subsequently, the parish's 1736 chapel, was near the intersection of several roads (see Figure 4-13). The foundation remains of the third St. Paul's Church indicate that it was positioned east-to-west; however, it is not possible to say if this also reflects the orientation of the original chapel.

In 1736, St. John's, Colleton Parish was formed from the southern portions of St. Paul's Parish. Based on present-day church history, today's St. John's Parish church was built on the same location as their initial church. If this is indeed the case, the first St. John's, Colleton Parish Church was located just over 1/2 mile from Bohicket Creek. Parishioners may have used the creek to travel to the church and while not documented, nearby Main Road is believed to be one of the earliest roads on John's Island. Although today's St. John's Parish Church faces towards the east, there is no documentation if that was also the case for the original church.

As the threat of Indian raids diminished by the mid-1720s, the southern parishes of St. Bartholomew's and St. Helena's became resettled by whites. This region was particular prime lands for rice cultivation due to the low-lying marshes reaching far inland. In St. Bartholomew's Parish, two chapels of ease were established in 1758. Only the location of one of these chapels, Pon Pon Chapel, is known as the ruins of its façade still stand today (Figure 6-21). These ruins represent the second Pon Pon Chapel, with the first chapel believed to have been built on the same spot in the 1720s. As there is not enough evidence to confirm this view, only the 1758 chapel is considered here. The chapel was not located immediately on a waterway and its orientation was to the east.



Figure 6-21. West façade of the ruins of the second Pon Pon Chapel, facing east. (Photo by the author).

St. Helena's Parish was ultimately divided into four parishes – St. Helena's, Prince William, St. Luke's, and St. Peter's. A new chapel for St. Helena's Parish was constructed in 1748. Known as the "Tabby Church" due to its construction material, the chapel was not located along a waterway and its ruins today indicate it sat on an east-to-west orientation (Figure 6-22). Of the other three parishes, the only known location of any church or chapel is Prince William's Parish Church. The church is located well inland and is not situated on a waterway. Supervisors and designers of Prince William's Parish Church planned their church in a very unique architectural style for its time – Greek Revival. It is believed that this church, constructed in 1751, may be the earliest example of a Greek Revival building in the American colonies or even England itself (Linder 2000:96). The ruins clearly indicate parishioners entered the church at its west entrance and the altar stood at the eastern end (Figure 6-23).

Discussion of 1726-1776 Churches and Chapels

In analyzing the locations of the post-1725 church and chapels, there is a clear shift away from the waterways, with many more inland locations (Figure 6-24). Of the sixteen church buildings constructed between 1725 and 1776, only three were located immediately along a waterway – Prince Frederick's Church, St. Mark's Church, and Pompion Hill Chapel. Of the remaining thirteen buildings, four – Christ Church, Prince George's, St. Michael's, and St. Matthew's - can be positively identified as being placed along a road at the time they were built. However, in looking at the locations of the others, it is likely many of them had roads passing by them as they are well inland.



Figure 6-22. Tabby ruins of St. Helena's Chapel. (Photo courtesy of www.beaufortcountylibrary.org).



Figure 6-23. Ruins of Prince William's Parish Church. Columns are at the west entrance of the church. (Photo by the author).

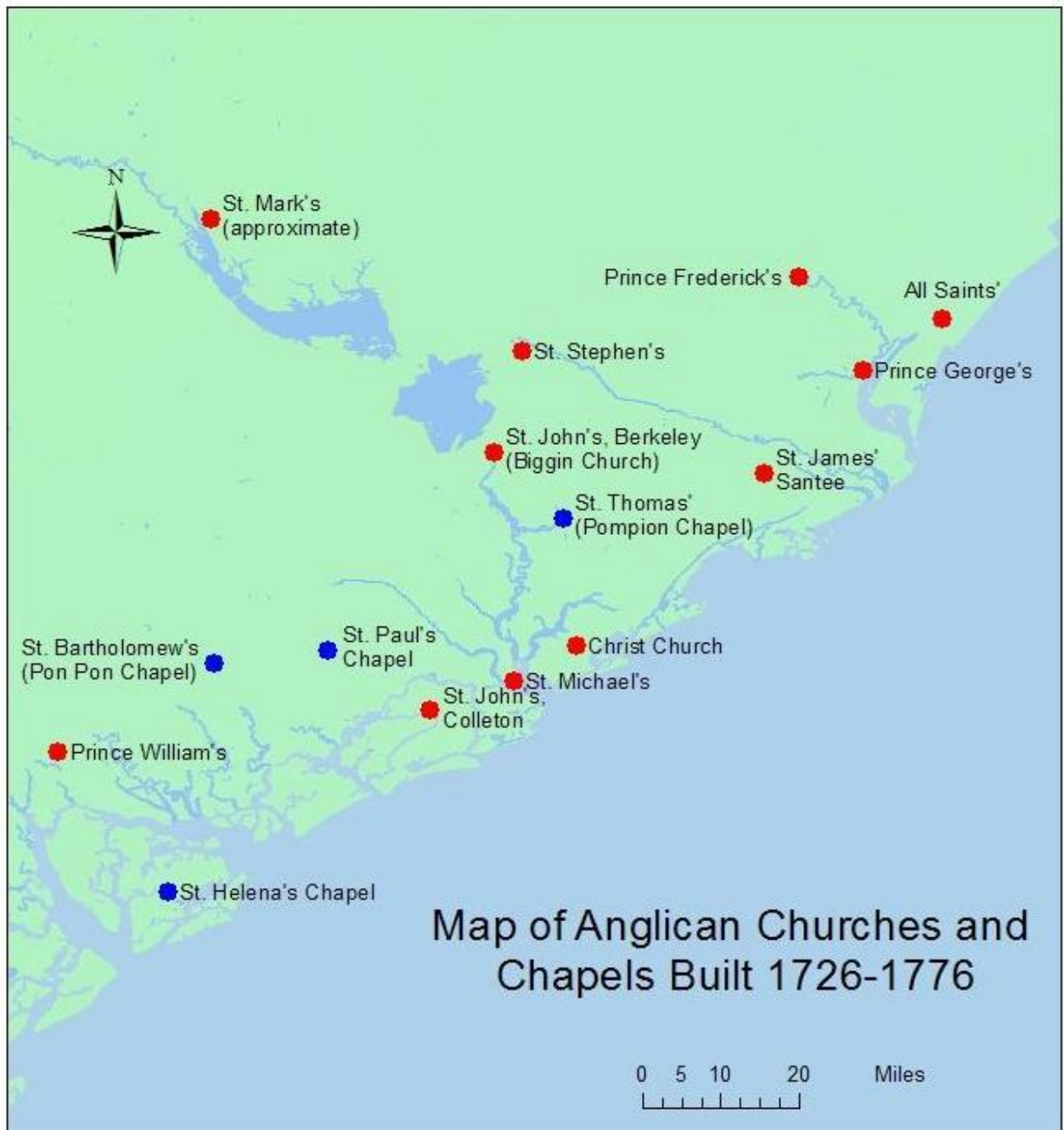


Figure 6-24. Anglican churches (red) and chapels (blue) constructed between 1726 and 1776. (Map by the author).

Although past the time period being studied, the 1825 Mills Atlas does show all the churches and chapels included in this study along roadways.

The landscape choices made during the period from 1726-1776 reflect changes in the political, social, and economic climates of South Carolina. After the Yamasee War, the threat of Indian attack diminished, as well as the Spanish threat. By the mid-1720s, only those settlers who lived in the southern-most reaches of the colony were still threatened with attack. As the colony became more settled and secure, colonists constructed more roads throughout the region, especially in the interior areas where deep water rivers and tidal creeks are not as prevalent. Even in areas where waterways were present, rarely was the church or chapel located immediately on the waterway. This shift in landscape choices may be related to a shift in the type of rice cultivation used in the region. During the early-18th century, rice was typically grown in inland swamps and marshes where water was channeled to the fields via dikes and canals. By the mid-late-18th century, planters switched to growing rice in the tidal rivers and creeks themselves. It is possible planters did not want to donate or part with their most valuable lands immediately along the waterways for religious buildings, resulting in churches and chapels being located further from the waterways. This switch also suggests that economic gain had become more important to South Carolina Anglicans than showcasing the presence and power of the Anglican Church.

The location of Anglican churches and chapels along roadways, especially at the intersection of major roads, still allowed the Church to be a presence in the colony. But changes can be seen in the orientation of those church buildings constructed post-1725. Of the 10 churches and chapels whose orientation could be determined, 9 were

oriented east-to-west (Table 6-4), even if that did not make it as prominent as possible when viewed from the road. While church supervisors prior to 1725 would have altered their church's orientation to make it more visible, later church supervisors did not deem visibility important enough to break canon law.

A possible reason for this change is that most new churches and chapels were in the outskirts of the colony. Bolton (1982) discussed how the Anglican Church became more moderate over time, especially in regard to the presence and numbers of dissenters in the colony. In the first decade of the 18th century, powerful Anglicans, such as Governor Johnson and the Goose Creek Men, strongly persuaded their political allies for establishment. The first SPG missionaries to South Carolina typically came from England and were used to practicing traditional Anglicanism without much interference from dissenters. Over the next couple of decades, Anglican ministers and politicians began to realize that it was better to practice a more restrained form of Anglicanism that would not shun dissenters (Bolton 1982:154-155). This would have become even more important since the number of dissenters appears to have increased after the 1720s. Although there are no records of the numbers of Anglicans and dissenters at any given time in the colony, Bolton has shown that beginning in the 1730s the number of non-Anglican ministers and the number of dissenter churches increased at a higher rate than Anglican ones (1982:67). Maintaining friendly relations with dissenters would have been even more important in the interior, where they comprised up to 60% of the population (Bolton 1982:66).

Table 6-4. Orientation of South Carolina Anglican churches and chapels with post-1725 construction dates.

Church or Chapel	Date Construction Began	Location	Location of chancel within church/chapel
Christ Church	1726	Road	East
Prince George's Church	1745	Road (city center)	Northeast (entire town grid toward river)
St. Helena's Chapel	1748	Not on waterway	East
Prince William's Parish Church	1751	Not on waterway	East
St. Bartholomew's Pon Pon Chapel	1758	Not on waterway	East
St. Michael's Church	1761	Road (city center)	East
St. Stephen's Church	1762	Not on waterway	East
St. Thomas' Chapel at Pompion Hill	1765	East Branch of Cooper River	East
St. John's, Berkeley (Biggins Church)	1767	Not on waterway	East
St. James', Santee Church	1768	Not on waterway	East

Post-1725 Anglican church supervisors may have also adopted this more moderate stance in expressing their power and presence through the use of the landscape and church architecture. Instead, they may have used other more subtle ways of communicating the importance of the Anglican Church. An example is St. Stephen's Parish Church, located about 40 miles inland from Charles Towne. As pointed out by Nelson (2008), the classical architecture of St. Stephen's Church makes the church unique among South Carolina's 18th-century Anglican churches. Of particular interest to Nelson are the church's curvilinear gables. When construction of the church began in 1759, the use of this style of gables was completely outdated. He attributes

their use to an Anglican attempt to demonstrate that the church was well-established in the parish and had stood there for a much longer period of time that it actually had (Nelson 2008:307).

Regional Landscape Pattern Summary

Through this study of the locations and orientations of Anglican churches and chapels, the differences between those Anglican structures built by 1725 and those constructed after that date are evident. Churches and chapels built prior to 1725 were strategically located along the waterways of the colony and were situated on the landscape in such a way as to maximize the visual appearance of them from the water. Travelers, no matter their religious, ethnic, or cultural background, would not have been able to miss the Anglican churches and chapels along the shores. These pre-1725 churches and chapels were material representations of the goals of the Anglican Church in the colony. Following the ideas of DeMarrais et al., these buildings expressed the presence and power of the Anglican Church that helped stake the English claim to the colony over the Spanish, French, and Native Americans, as well as the Church of England's religious claim to the land over the various dissenting groups. The churches and chapels also would have helped unify the Anglican community. After the mid-1720s, a different approach was taken in regard to church placement and orientation, likely due to the decreased threat of Indian and Spanish attacks and the growth of the rice economy. By that time Anglican politicians and Church supervisors realized that this type of hard stance of the established Church was not working in a colony full of dissenters. Therefore, when Anglican churches and chapels began to be constructed in

the interior parts of the colony, a more moderate stand was taken by church supervisors in regard to the visible appearance of structures on the landscape. Additionally, the placement of Anglican churches and chapels in the early-18th century affected later settlement patterns of the colony and assisted with the development of the plantation economy, a topic that will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 7:

THE ST. PAUL'S PARSONAGE SITE: FIELDWORK AND ARCHITECTURE

“Near to the Said Church & joining to ye Plantation of ye Late Landgrave Edmund Bellinger. . . about Seventy One Acres of land or thereabouts was laid out by the Said Supervisors as a Glebe for ye life of the Rector or Minister and his successors for ever, a small, but convenient House of Brick erected there upon with a Small out Kitchen & some few other necessary timber buildings.”

- St. Paul's Vestrymen, January 20, 1715

When the General Assembly passed the 1704 Establishment Act and the later 1706 Church Act that called for the construction of parish churches, they also stated that each parish was to provide their assigned minister a residence and glebe lands to have at his disposal (Cooper 1837:237,283). In some parishes, vestries provided money for their minister to rent a house and glebe lands, while other parishes had new buildings constructed on glebe lands either donated or purchased for the minister by parishioners. Over the next two chapters, I will present findings from the excavations conducted at the St. Paul's parsonage site. Although the site has experienced plowing in the past and more recently logging episodes, the parsonage complex appears to be relatively undisturbed and shows little evidence of use other than cultivation since it burned in 1715. Therefore, the site offers a snapshot into life at the parsonage complex during its short occupation period from 1707 to 1715. Additionally, as St. Paul's parsonage is also the only known early-18th-century Anglican parsonage in South Carolina, it can offer insight into an aspect of the South Carolina Anglican Church that has been little researched – the lives of the SPG missionaries and the social functions

of the parsonage house to the parish community. In this chapter, my discussion focuses on the fieldwork conducted at the parsonage site and architectural interpretations of the parsonage house, while in the following chapter I concentrate on the recovered artifacts and what they can tell us about the variety of activities that took place at the parsonage complex and the lives of the Anglican missionaries.

Findings from Archaeological Fieldwork at the Parsonage Site

When Landgrave Bellinger donated the land upon which St. Paul's Church was to be built, he also provided an additional 71-acre tract to include glebe lands and a yet-to-be constructed parsonage house. The vestrymen of St. Paul's Parish provided the only known description of their first parsonage house in a letter written to the SPG in 1715. They stated that the parsonage was built in 1707 at the same time as the church and that "a small but convenient dwelling house of Brick was erected thereupon with a Small out Kitchen & Some few other necessary timber buildings" (St. Paul's Parish Vestry to SPG Secretary, January 20, 1715, SPG). Later letters to the SPG also described how members of the Yamasee Indian confederation burned the St. Paul's parsonage house in July 1715, destroying it.

Based on the documentary evidence, Reverends Dun, Maitland, and Bull lived at the parsonage at various times from 1707 to 1715 (see Table 4-1). A parsonage site such as St. Paul's with a number of outbuildings and several acres of glebe lands functioned similarly to a small farmstead. While no such regulation was found in South Carolina, in 1748, the Anglican Church in Virginia required that glebe lands were to include "one convenient mansion house, kitchen, barn, stable, dairy, meat house, corn

house, and garden” (Nelson 2001:51). In a description of the Southam Parish glebe in 1750, the vestrymen appeared to have followed that mandate as they provided their minister with a dwelling house, kitchen, smoke house, dairy, stable, henhouse, separate office, and garden (Blomquist 2006:48-49).

Anglican missionaries often had enslaved people provided to them from the parish vestry or their parishioners and on occasion felt the need to purchase slaves themselves. Enslaved people provided the labor for a variety of activities around the parsonage complex such as the preparation and serving of meals, tending of livestock and other farm chores, as well as the planting, tending, and harvesting of crops grown on the glebe lands. The only documented evidence for enslaved people at the St. Paul’s parsonage is provided by Reverend Bull in January 1715. In a letter he wrote to the SPG that he, “very lately purchased a Woman Slave an Indian, & Two small Children, with a Boy of about 15 Years of Age” (Bull to SPG, January 20, 1715, SPG). Whether these were the only enslaved peoples Reverend Bull had at the parsonage is not known – he may have already purchased slaves prior to this time which he did not record, or the vestry and his parishioners may have also provided him with enslaved laborers. It is also unclear if Reverends Dun or Maitland owned slaves. Reverend Dun made one reference that he needed to hire a slave to take him by boat to visit his parishioners (Dun to SPG, November 24, 1707, SPG). His needing to hire a slave for this purpose does not rule out the possibility that he had enslaved peoples to tend to domestic activities and the fields – he may not have owned anyone who was skilled at navigating the tidal waters of the region. It is not known at this time where the enslaved people at the St. Paul’s parsonage site would have lived. The 1715 description of the parsonage

states there were timber outbuildings – one or more of them may have been a separate slave cabin. Other possibilities include that enslaved peoples may have lived in the out-kitchen and even in the parsonage house itself.

Finding the Parsonage Site

In the field, the main obstacle we faced was finding the parsonage site. In the same letter that they described the parsonage house, the vestrymen of St. Paul's also wrote that it was, "Near to ye Church . . . a narrow piece of ground (in length 120 in breadth but 7 chains, 66 feet to a chain) containing about Seventy One Acres of land or thereabouts was laid out by the Said Supervisors as a Glebe . . ." (St. Paul's Parish Vestry to SPG Secretary, January 20, 1715, SPG). Unfortunately, this description did little to identify its possible location. The discovery of two plats aided in narrowing down an area for further testing. A ca. 1800 composite plat (Plat of Stono River Lands ca. 1800, SCHS) indicates that a narrow tract of land to the northwest of the church was indeed the glebe lands (Figure 7-1). This plat helped define the possible area of the parsonage, but still left several acres of land to be tested with most of the glebe tract off-property. The discovery of a ca. 1807 plat was much more helpful. This plat (Plat of Stono River Lands [1807], SCHS) indicates two brick house foundation ruins on the west bank near the end of a small tidal creek just to the northwest of the church ruins (Figure 7-2). This plat raised the possibility that these two foundation ruins were those of the brick parsonage house and its out-kitchen.

To test this hypothesis, the two plats were overlaid with Google Earth (Figure 7-3). The resulting overlay indicated that the two brick foundation ruins were indeed

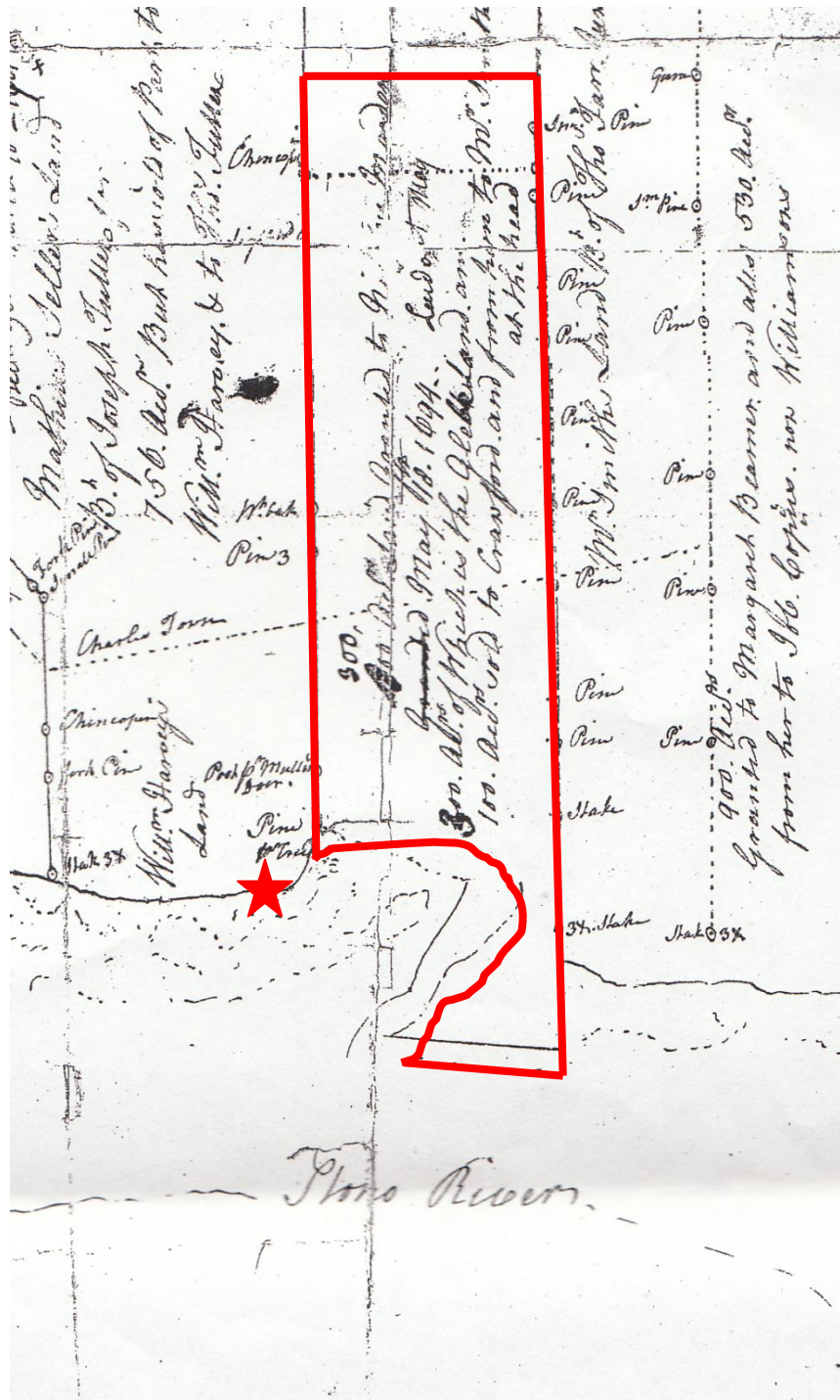


Figure 7-1. Circa 1800 composite plat. 300-acre glebe tract is outlined in red and location of St Paul's Church is indicated by red star. (Map courtesy of the SCHS).



Figure 7-2. Detail of ca. 1807 plat. Remains of two structures are indicated by red circle. Text from plat reads “Brick foundations of house” and “Brick foundations of house Remains.” (Map courtesy of SCHS).



Figure 7-3. Overlay of Google Earth with ca. 1800 composite plat and ca. 1807 plat.

located within that narrow tract of glebe land. More importantly, it provided an approximate location of the brick foundation ruins approximately 275 yards north-northwest of the churchyard in an area between a large open grassy area and a tidal creek and its surrounding marsh. Today this area is comprised of relatively young trees (<50 years old), primarily pine with an occasional live oak, and underbrush. The small tidal creek seen on the ca. 1807 plat has since been dammed, but a low-lying area with several ferns growing in it suggests its former location. A pedestrian survey of this area did not indicate any evidence of brick foundations or other above-surface cultural features.

Shovel-testing of this area produced a significant number of artifacts and architectural debris, primarily brick and mortar (Figure 7-4). Recovered artifacts included “black” glass, wrought nails, gun flint, colonoware, white ball clay tobacco pipes, and a variety of late-17th- to mid-18th-century imported ceramics (Table 7-1). The most common ceramic types included manganese mottled, North Devon gravel-tempered, Staffordshire slipware and tin-glazed earthenwares, and Rhenish stoneware. With the exception of one sherd of blue transfer-printed whiteware (1820 – present), one amethyst glass bottle finish (ca.1885 – ca. 1915) and one glass sherd from a machine-made bottle (1903 – present), all other artifacts supported the documented occupation dates of the parsonage from 1707 to 1715. The early indication from the shovel tests was that this could very well be the location of the parsonage.

The location where St. Paul’s church supervisors selected to build the parsonage is in direct contrast to that of the church. The church sat in a location that was meant to be seen from the Stono River, but that was not the case for the parsonage site. Even

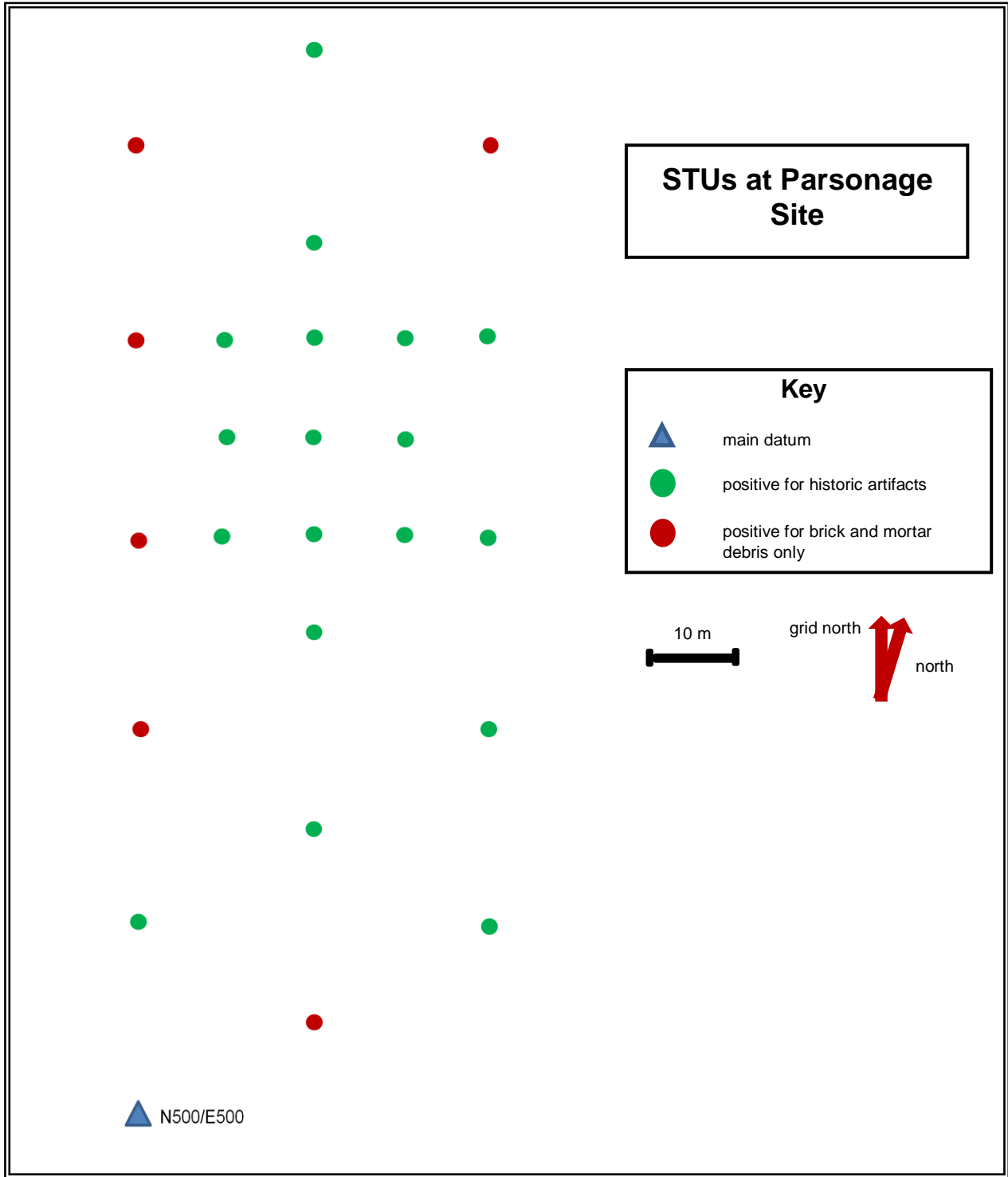


Figure 7-4. STUs at Parsonage Site.

Table 7-1.Total numbers of artifacts from STUs at parsonage site.

Artifact Class	Count
Ceramics (European)	24
Ceramics (colonoware)	9
Glass (container)	21
Tobacco pipes (white ball clay)	11
Nails (includes wrought and unidentifiable)	8
Metal – (furniture piece)	1
Gunflint (English)	1
TOTAL	75

though it is only $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from the river, the parsonage complex was separated from it by two tidal creeks and its location is partially blocked by a point of land across from one of the tidal creeks (Figure 7-5). Today the wooded nature of the area makes it impossible to see the parsonage site from the Stono River. Without the presence of the trees, travelers may have been able to catch a brief glimpse of the parsonage house sitting off in the distance as they traveled by on the river. In either case, the parsonage house would not have been a prominent feature of the landscape. This suggests that while the parsonage did serve a public function (discussed in the subsequent chapter), church supervisors also realized it was also the private residence of its missionary.



Figure 7-5. Google Earth image of parsonage site in relation to Stono River and St. Paul's Church. (Photo courtesy of Google Earth).

The Parsonage House and Yard

Further archaeological testing of the area provided evidence that this site was indeed the location of the St. Paul's parsonage complex. Excavations continued in the vicinity of the highest concentration of artifacts and architectural debris seen from the STUs (Figure 7-6) (Table 7-2). Artifact density continued to be relatively high and recovered artifacts still supported an early-18th century occupation. To the northwest of these units (Units 23-29 and 33), we uncovered brick foundations of a structure. Damage to the foundations caused by plowing could be seen as many bricks had plow scars running through them and in some locations the foundations had been reduced to only two brick courses in depth. Despite the damage, underneath the level the plows

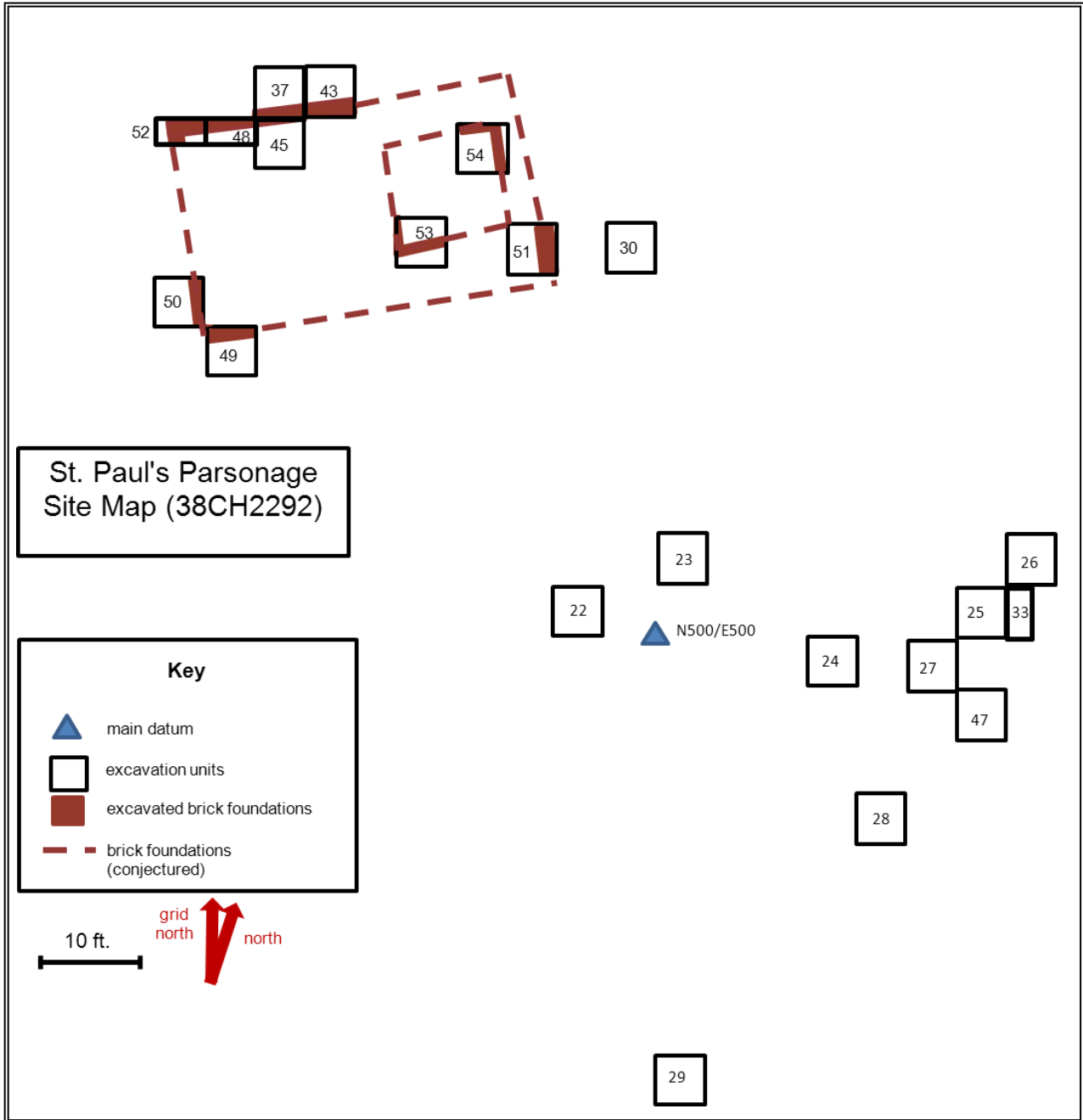


Figure 7-6. St. Paul's parsonage site map.

Table 7-2. Summary of units excavated at parsonage site.

Unit(s) #	Unit Size (in ft.)	Stratigraphy Summary	Ending Depth (in ft.)	Feature(s)
Parsonage Yard Units				
22, 23, 24, 28, and 29	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – plow zone; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L3 – plow zone rubble mixed with architectural debris; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L4 – loamy sand; 10YR 6/4 (lt yellowish brown)	0.81 – 1.05	n/a
25, 26, and 27	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – plow zone rubble mixed with architectural debris; 10YR 3/4 L3 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown)	0.65 – 0.95	plow scars
33	5 x 2.5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L2 – plow zone rubble mixed with architectural debris; 4/3 (brown) L3 – loamy sand; 10YR 5/6 (yellowish brown)	0.25 – 0.55	plow scars
Parsonage House Units				
30	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 5/3 (brown) L2 – plow zone architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L3 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	0.65 – 0.8	n/a
37, 43, 45, 49, 50, 51	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dark yellowish brown) L2 – plow zone architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 4/3 (brown) L3 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	0.53 – 1.2	foundation
48 and 52	3 x 1	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk yellowish brown) L2 – plow zone architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown) L3 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	0.55 – 1.25	foundation
Parsonage Cellar Units				
53	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L2 – plow zone architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L3 – architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/3 (dk brown) L4-6 – heavy architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L7 – charcoal/ash deposit; 10YR 5/2 (grayish brown) L8 – subsoil; loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	5.05 – 5.15	n/a
54	5 x 5	L1 – loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L2 – plow zone architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 3/4 (dk yellowish brown) L3 – architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 4/2 (dk brown) L4-6 – heavy architectural rubble mixed with loamy sand; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown) L7 – charcoal/ash deposit; 10YR 4/1 (dk gray) L8 – subsoil; clay; 10YR 4/4 (dk yellowish brown)	4.95 – 5.1	n/a

could reach, the foundations were still very much intact (Figure 7-7). They were two bricks in width and bonded in the English bond pattern, the same pattern as seen in the church foundations. Also similar to the church, the lime mortar had many inclusions in it, primarily crushed shell and bricks. Overall, the foundations suggested that the structure, believed to be the parsonage house itself, measured 35 x 18 ft.

With only a couple of exceptions, every artifact recovered from the site during excavations dated from the late-17th century to the mid-18th century. While a more detailed discussion of the parsonage artifacts is provided in the following chapter, here I will briefly discuss some of the artifacts as evidence that this site was the St. Paul's parsonage complex. A variety of ceramic types were recovered from the suspected parsonage site with manganese mottled wares, combed and trailed slipwares, and tin-glazed wares being the most common besides colonoware (Table 7-3). Only four sherds dated post-1720 - two sherds of 19th-century stoneware were recovered from the upper level of soil and two sherds of Astbury, a red lead-glazed earthenware. Astbury wares are typically not found on sites until after ca. 1720; however, only two sherds of it were recovered. The presence of this ceramic suggests that although the parsonage house was damaged and unable to be inhabited, the still unidentified parsonage out-kitchen may have continued to be used by St. Paul's in some form. A mean ceramic date (MCD) for the site was not calculated because the formula does not typically work well on sites prior to the mid-18th century. Ceramics that were popular in this time period had very long manufacturing dates, often extending from 50 to 100 years. In the case of the parsonage, the documentary evidence provides a better indicator of the site's occupation dates.



Figure 7-7. North wall foundation of parsonage house. (Photo by the author).

Table 7-3. Historic ceramics recovered from parsonage yard and house areas.

Ceramic Type	Count
19 th century stonewares	2
Astbury refined earthenware	2
British Brown salt-glazed stoneware	16
Buckley coarse earthenware	6
Chinese porcelain	6
Colonware (including Historic Indian)	152
French green-glazed earthenware	3
Manganese mottled earthenware	51
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	16
North Devon sgraffito	3
Nottingham-type stoneware	9
Redware (coarse)	9
Rhenish (Westerwald) stoneware	19
White salt-glazed stoneware (slip-dipped)	21
Staffordshire slipware	139
Tin-glazed earthenware	94
Unidentified refined earthenware	2
TOTAL	550

Other dateable artifacts also indicate an early-18th century occupation. Tobacco pipe manufacturers often marked their pipes with their initials or other symbol to identify them. Three tobacco pipe bowl fragments had partial or complete maker's marks. One bowl had the initials "R T" stamped into it, the mark of Robert Tippett II, a pipemaker from Bristol. He produced pipes from 1678-1713, and possibly as late as 1720 (Walker 1977:1493). On another bowl, an "R" can also be seen. This may be another Robert Tippett II pipe, but the rest of the mark is broken off and therefore cannot be positively identified.

Measuring bore diameters of tobacco pipe stems with a standard set of drill bits has also been useful in providing approximate dates of occupation for sites (Harrington 1954; Hanson 1968; Heighton and Deagan 1971; Binford 1978). The 199 recovered pipe stems measured from 4/64"-5/64". These measurements result in a Harrington date of 1710-1750, a Binford date of 1739.1, a Heighton and Deagan date of 1741.47, and a Hanson date of 1723.78 +/-13.993. Considering that a vast majority of the ceramics date prior to 1715, the somewhat later dates suggested by the pipe stems are likely due to the relatively small sample size recovered and problems with using relatively long date ranges on a site with such a narrow occupation period (Lauren McMillan, 2011, pers. comm.).

There has also been some question on the reliability of the various dating methods, particularly those of Binford, Hanson, and Heighton and Deagan. Based on research conducted by Lauren McMillan, the Heighton and Deagan method appears to be the most reliable in South Carolina, followed by Binford, and then Hanson (McMillan 2010:59). However, at the parsonage site, the opposite was the case. Hanson's model

provided the closest date (1723.78 +/- 13.993) to the well-documented occupation dates of 1707-1715. This disparity may be due to temporal differences, as South Carolina pipes McMillan tested for her study were from mid-late 18th-century contexts, rather than the early-18th one of the parsonage site. Another possibility is the relatively small sample size (Lauren McMillan, 2011, pers. comm.). The only other early site in the Charleston area with a number of pipes (n=122) recovered is Drayton Hall (Stroud 2009). The artifacts from a tightly-dated ditch-like feature suggest that it was filled-in during the late-17th and early-18th centuries. Since the feature runs underneath the present-day ca. 1738 house, the ditch was most definitely filled-in by that date. As seen at the parsonage, the Hanson formula also provided the closest date (1715) to the pipes recovered from this feature, followed by Binford (1723) and Heighton and Deagan (1729) (Sarah Stroud, 2012, pers. comm.). As more late-17th century and early-18th century sites are excavated in South Carolina, there will hopefully be more data available to test the reliability of these three methods of dating tobacco pipes.

One of the more unique artifacts recovered was a silver Spanish reale coin (Figure 7-8). Coins such as this one were produced throughout Spanish America and were decorated with the current Spanish monarch's coat of arms on one side and a cross on the other. The coin here is stamped with the *Cruz Florenzada* which was used only by Mexico between 1572 and 1733. Under magnification, it is possible to see this coin has been "robbed" for its silver and is severely worn, such that only the *Cruz Florenzada* remains. This suggests that the coin may have been kept by someone as a talisman of sorts for its religious significance rather than its monetary value. To date,



Figure 7-8. Spanish reale coin.(Photo by the author).

this coin represents the only artifact recovered from either the church site or the parsonage site that has any possible religious meaning to it.

Additional evidence that this structure was the parsonage house could be seen in Unit 51. In the profile of the west wall, a lens of charcoal and ash could be seen immediately underneath the architectural debris. Ultimately, this charcoal and ash lens was seen in virtually every unit that contained foundations or was located within the structure (Figure 7-9). This is evidence for a significant burning episode and is likely the result of the destruction of the parsonage house during the 1715 Yamasee War. Based on most indications, this site does indeed represent the location of the 1707-1715 St. Paul's parsonage house and its outbuildings.



Figure 7-9. Charcoal and ash lens below architectural debris. (Photo by the author).

The Parsonage Cellar

Within the foundation walls of the structure, a brick-lined cellar was also identified (Figure 7-10). Based on excavations within a portion of the cellar and GPR data, the cellar measured approximately 11-foot square, 4 feet in depth, and was located underneath the eastern portion of the structure (see Figure 7-5). Two excavations units were placed at opposite corners of the cellar in order to examine any possible differences in spatial use of the cellar and possibly the main floor above. In its northeastern corner, the cellar had a clay floor as seen in Unit 54; however, it was not seen in Unit 53 in the cellar's southwest corner. A soil core of the clay determined that the clay had a depth of over 1 ft., and therefore, it was likely a natural deposit and was not brought in from the nearby marsh and laid down for use as the cellar floor.



Figure 7-10. Northeastern corner of cellar, facing east (Unit 54).(Photo by the author).

The cellar had been filled primarily with brick, mortar, and animal bones, with small quantities of ceramics, bottle glass, nails, and tobacco pipes. No stratigraphic differences were noted until a depth of 4.8 ft. below ground (3.7 ft. below the top of the cellar wall). There we encountered a heavy deposit of charcoal and ash (Level 7). Within this level there was very little brick and mortar rubble or animal bones that were so prominent in Levels 3-6. Instead there was a larger number of wrought nails along with a few burned ceramic sherds. This charcoal and ash deposit was 0.35-0.45 ft. thick with subsoil immediately below it. We suspected this ashy deposit represented the burning of the parsonage, specifically the collapse of the wooden floor from the main level of the house and possibly the roof. The outline of a charred beam within the subsoil of Unit 53 supports this idea. If this were indeed the case, the artifacts from

Level 7 likely represented the objects Reverend Bull had stored in the cellar at the time the structure burned. It had become apparent that the cellar, specifically those artifacts found in the bottom level, would be the most telling about daily life at the parsonage.

Formation of Parsonage Cellar Deposit

From the nature of the artifacts and the stratigraphy seen in Units 53 and 54, it is possible to interpret site formation processes that created the cellar deposit. The south wall profile of Unit 54 was particularly helpful in addressing this (Figure 7-11) and by describing its levels from bottom to top, a general chronology of events is seen.

Sitting on the cellar floor and contained in Level 7, was the artifact-rich charcoal and ash deposit of the burning event in late July 1715. From within this layer in both units, we recovered numerous bottle glass fragments and ceramic sherds that evidenced exposure to heat (Figure 7-12) and most of the artifacts were covered in a film of ash (Figure 7-13). These artifacts likely represent the ceramic storage vessels and glass bottles that Reverend Bull had stored in the cellar at the time the parsonage burned. The presence of clay roofing tiles in Level 7 of Unit 54 provides strong evidence that the fire caused the collapse of both the floor and the roof into the cellar, forming Level 7, the charcoal and ash deposit. Artifacts from Level 7 of Unit 54 showed clear evidence of heat exposure, specifically melted glass and burned ceramics, suggesting that burning debris from above fell into the cellar and exposed objects in the cellar to very high temperatures or even flames. Also, Level 7 in Unit 54 was significantly deeper

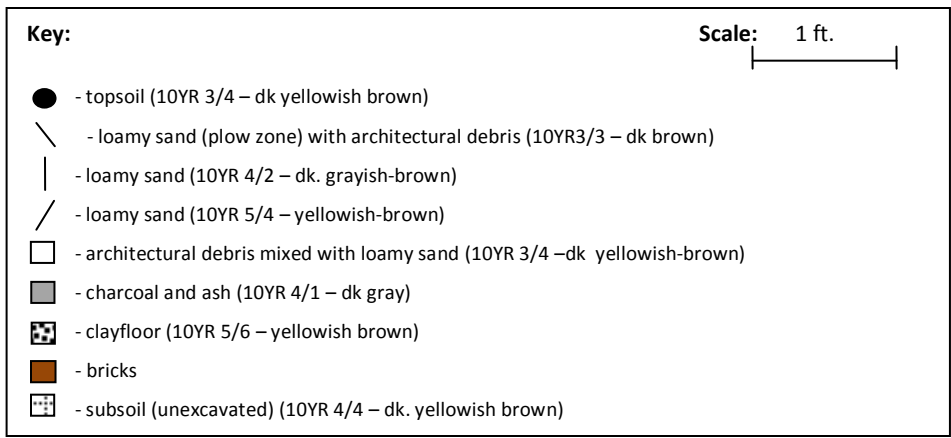
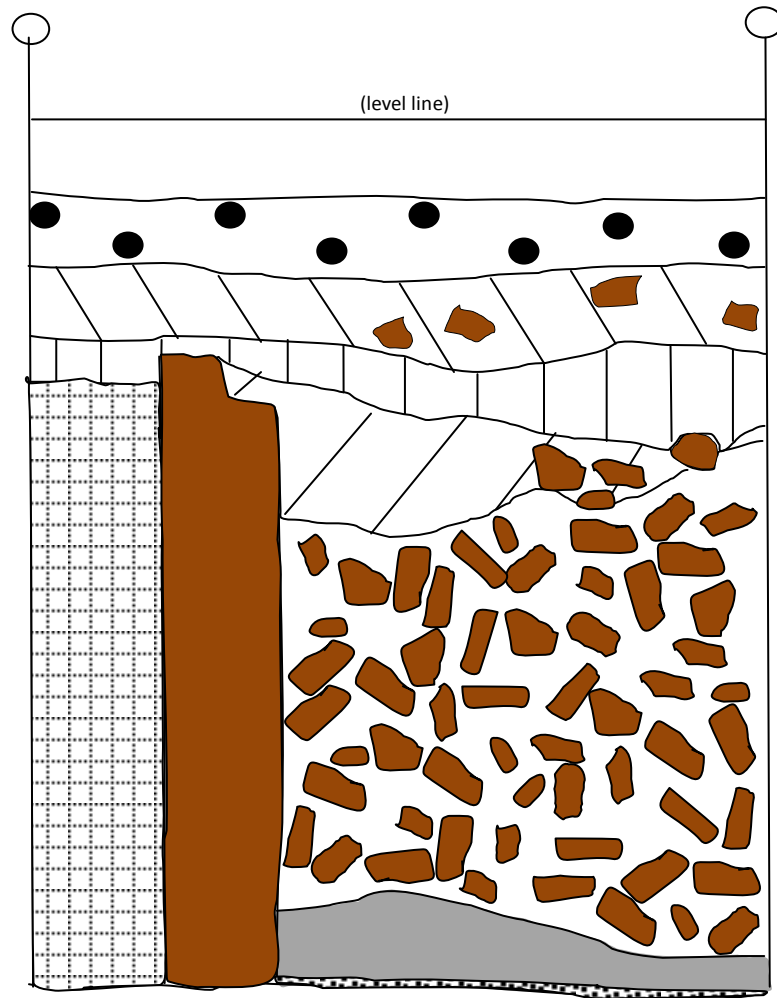


Figure 7-11. South profile of Unit 54.

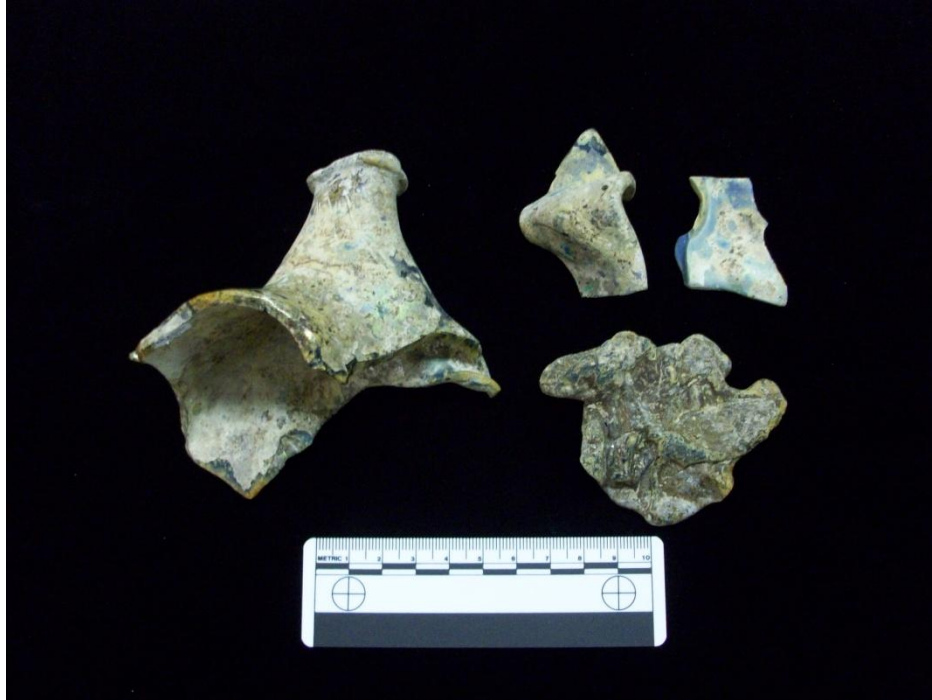


Figure 7-12. Burned glass from Level 7 of Unit 54.(Photo by the author).



Figure 7-13. Ash-covered artifacts from Level 7 of Unit 54.(Photo by the author).

(0.4-0.6 ft.) than seen in Unit 53 (0.15-0.3 ft.). These differences indicate that the northeastern portion of the parsonage house experienced the most fire damage.

Level 6 seems to be a transition between the charcoal and ash deposit and the rubble fill. It is comprised largely of brick and mortar rubble; however, charcoal and ash is mixed within it. This level was likely created by laborers as they filled in the cellar with the debris from the destroyed parsonage house. As they tossed bricks and other heavy debris from the damaged parsonage house into the cellar, the debris would have landed on the charred remains of the collapsed main floor and roof, resulting in a mixing of rubble with the charcoal and ash. Evidence that Levels 6 and 7 represent the floor collapse is found in the relatively large number of nails— 40% of the minimum number of recovered nails.

Approximately four feet of architectural rubble, primarily brick, form Levels 3-5. There is no stratigraphic difference between these levels. Rather, the separate levels represent an arbitrary distinction used in order to maintain vertical control of a deep deposit. In addition to the brick, archaeologists recovered mortar, plaster, and animal bones, along with a variety of non-architectural artifacts. These levels represent filling of the cellar by those people who assisted with the cleanup of the parsonage house ruins, objects from within the destroyed house that could not be saved, and the disposal of dead livestock. According to Reverend Bull's letters, members of the Yamasee Confederation burned his parsonage house and many other houses in St. Paul's Parish during late July of 1715. On August 10, 1715, he wrote a letter to the SPG describing the damage done to his parish and his parsonage house:

To ye Southwards a Party of the Enemy of about 500 made an Incursion the latter end of July into my Parish of St. Paul and burnt and destroyed about 20 Plantations, amongst them the Parsonage House with all the Out-Houses, except a Small out-Kitchen, ye greater Part of my Household Goods Provisions and Crops to the value of £200 not including [illegible] of Buildings (Bull to SPG, August 10, 1715, SPG).

This letter suggests that Bull had already returned to his home from Charles Towne, where he had sought refuge during the conflict, and had witnessed the damage first-hand. The large number of faunal remains, including a minimum of three cattle and two pigs, suggest that the fill episode took place shortly after Reverend Bull returned home in early August. Especially during the summer months in South Carolina, he would have needed to remove decaying carcasses from the area, or bury the remains. The presence of nearly every bone of a cow's skeleton in the cellar fill, including those elements not typically associated with food (i.e. skull, teeth, vertebrae, hooves) is an indication that the remains are not associated with normal butchering practices, but the disposal of entire carcasses. It appears that workers buried the carcasses within the cellar as they were filling it, using the architectural rubble and other debris from the destroyed parsonage house to cover the remains.

Above the rubble fill, the two remaining levels over most of the cellar consisted of the plow zone (Level 2) and the organic humus (Level 1). Only after we had completed the excavations and were cleaning the profile walls, was it noticed that the south profile of Unit 54 provided additional information regarding site formation. In this profile it was

possible to see how this particular area of the cellar was filled with debris to near the top of its brick walls. Workers apparently then capped the filled-in cellar of debris with a deposit of yellowish-brown soil (10YR 5/4). Above this deposit another level of dark grayish brown soil (10YR 4/2) formed between the time the cellar was capped (ca. 1715) and the time that the site began to be plowed (post-1807). Plowing is evidenced above by an additional level of brick and mortar rubble. On his ca. 1807 plat, Joseph Purcell wrote that brick foundations and ruins were still visible above the ground surface. This level of rubble was likely formed by the dismantling of the foundation ruins prior to plowing or damage caused by a plow. Interestingly, the additional rubble level is not seen in any of the profiles of the excavated cellar units, or from units elsewhere at the parsonage.

Architecture of the Parsonage House

The foundations and architectural artifacts provide clues into the overall physical appearance of the St. Paul's parsonage house. However, using these data in conjunction with other lines of evidence provides for a more detailed description of what the parsonage house may have looked like. Additional information regarding parsonages had been gathered from architectural designs of mid-18th century English architects, extant early-to-mid-18th century structures in the Carolinas, extant Anglican parsonage houses in Virginia, and descriptions of parsonage houses as provided by South Carolina's missionaries in the SPG letters.

Additionally, architectural descriptions of English parsonage houses have been used. However, the problem with using them for comparative purposes is that many of

England's 18th-century parsonages have been occupied for centuries and renovated numerous times over the years. The best examples of English parsonages come from London in the rebuilding of the city after the Great Fire of 1660. At some point after the fire, the parsonage for St. James, Garlick-hithe was rebuilt and its dimensions measured 12 x 26 ft. Then in 1693, the vestry of St. Stephen's, Walbrook ordered that a 20 ft.-square rectory house be constructed on the former site of the one burned during the fire (Bax 1964:95). Generally speaking, architects designed the London parsonages built between 1660 and 1720 to be rectangular with hipped roofs. Small wings appeared on some structures, but because symmetry was key, the wings were added to both ends. Other common architectural details included eaves, cornices, pediments, and sash windows (Bax 1964:98).

Architectural design books from the mid-18th century also provide information regarding the idealized size and layout of English parsonage houses at that time. In his 1752 book *Useful Architecture*, William Halfpenny provides plans for a number of parsonages, inns, and farmhouses. One of his designs for a parsonage (or farmhouse) shows a two-story residence surrounded by a barn, stable, and other farm buildings (Figure 7-14). The first floor of the domestic area of the house measures 18 x 36 ft. and included a parlor and kitchen, while the second floor had two chambers of the same measurements, plus a garret (room under a pitched roof), and a cellar beneath the kitchen. Each story was to have a clearing of 9 ft. The underground foundations were to be two bricks thick or if using stone they should be 24 inches, while the above-ground walls were to measure one and a half bricks, or twenty inches of stone, in thickness (Halfpenny 1752:28-29). Another of his parsonage plans calls for the residential portion

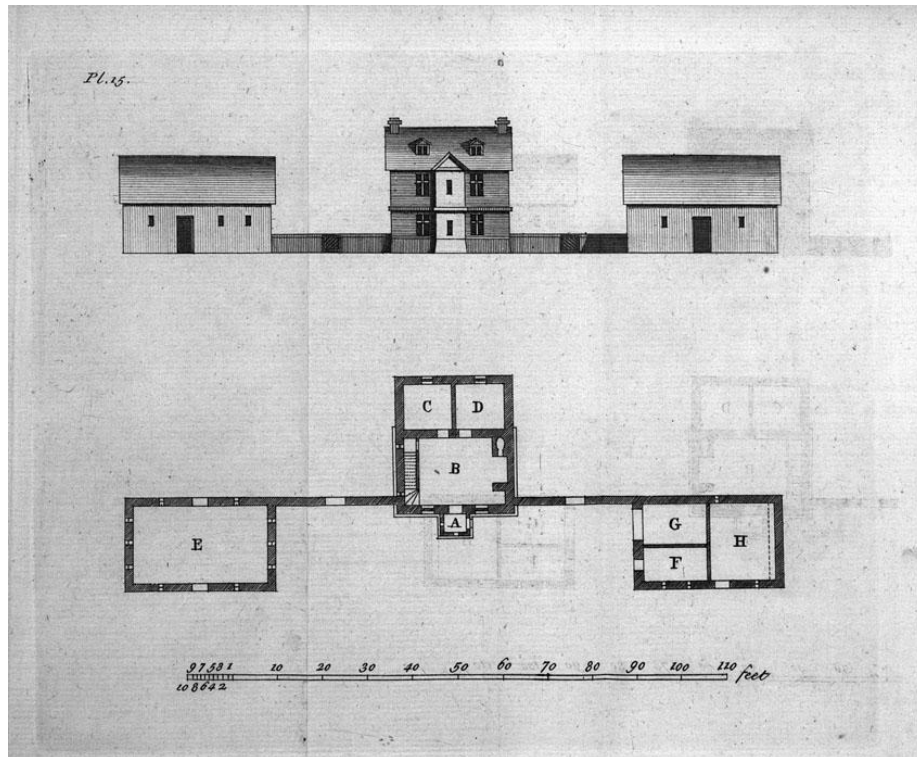


Figure 7-14. Parsonage design by William Halfpenny (Halfpenny 1760: Plate 15).

of the first floor to measure 22 x 30 ft., including a parlor and kitchen, with a cellar. The second story was to have both garrets and lofts. The suggested wall thickness of the structure was the same as the previous parsonage (Halfpenny 1752:36-37). Although this design is 50 years later than the parsonage at St. Paul's, the function and arrangement of the rooms in the center portion of each may have been similar.

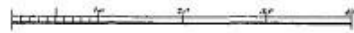
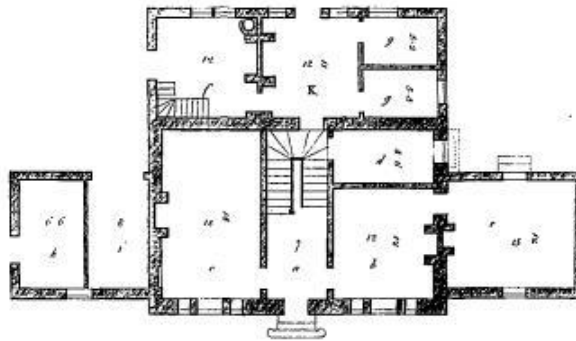
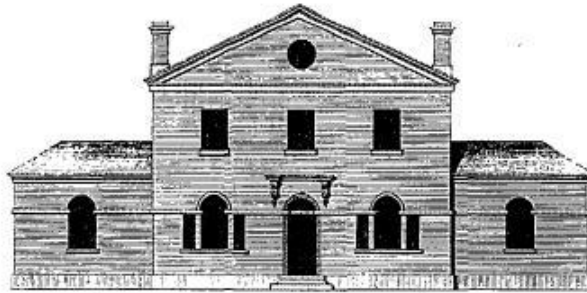
Throughout the 18th century, parsonage houses had the tendency to become more opulent (Bax 1964:100). A late-18th century architectural design book by Thomas Rawlins (1795) shows that these houses became larger and had more complex floor plans over time. Even Rawlins' smallest and most simple parsonage design shows a two-story house with a 29 x 31 ft. floor plan of the main part of the residence, plus a

separate study (Figure 7-15). The main floor had a large entryway with staircase leading to the second floor, two parlors, two kitchens, and three large closets. Upstairs there would have been four “lodging rooms” (Rawlins 1795:20).

Based on early-to-mid-18th century extant buildings in the Carolinas, it is likely that the English parsonages designed by Halfpenny and Rawlins were grand in nature when compared to South Carolina parsonages, especially in the rural parishes. Studies of extant early-18th century structures in the region provide examples of common architectural designs and elements of residential structures during that period. By far the most common floor plan of the colonial period from Virginia to South Carolina was the hall and parlor design. This design included either two or three rooms on the main level with a staircase leading to bedchambers upstairs. In both styles, two centrally located doorways would be located along both long axes. Chimneys were most typically located at one or both gable ends; however, centrally located fireplaces were also commonplace. In the 2-room hall and parlor, the hall would be the larger of the two rooms where family activities and entertainment of guests occurred, while the remainder of the main level would serve as the parlor, a room for more formal entertainment that also often served as the main bedchamber of the house (Bishir 1990:11).

Studies of colonial houses in Virginia have discussed the evolution of the hall and parlor house and its social importance to Virginia planters. During the 17th century, many Virginia houses resembled English house floor plans that included a passage located at one end of the house that separated the service areas from the hall and chamber areas. Centrally-located fireplaces would have been common with such floor

PLXXII.



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Figure 7-15. Drawing and floor plan of Rawlins' smallest parsonage house (Rawlins 1795:Plate XXII).

plans. The hall was the center of the home for both the planter and laborers where many daily activities took place (Neiman 1986:307; Upton 1986b: 321).

Beginning in the early-18th century, fireplaces moved from the center of the house to the gable ends and the passage separating the service area from the living areas disappeared. This removal of the interior buffers resulted in the hall becoming more of a public space in which to welcome and entertain guests (Neiman 1986: 311; Upton 1986b:321). The hall had become the “center of their world, as the meeting point between inside and outside” (Upton 1986b:321). To help create a buffer between the public and private areas, the passage returned in some houses but was now centrally located, separating the hall from the more-private parlor. The dividing of the parlor into two rooms was another way of creating such a buffer. This resulted in a 3-room hall and parlor house, and the beginning of what eventually became known as the “dining room.” Dining rooms often connected to both the public hall and the private bed chamber, creating a buffer between the two spaces (Upton 1986b:321). While the hall had once been the location of almost all activities associated within the household, the dining room became the “heart of the family’s house” while the hall was “the center of the family’s social landscape” (Upton 1986b:323)

Extant early-18th century houses in the Carolinas reflect this hall and parlor design. The ca. 1705 house at Medway Plantation, located north of Charleston in Huger, is considered the oldest standing house in the Carolinas (Figures 7-16 and 7-17). A description of the original house is available from a 1738 advertisement in the *South Carolina Gazette*. The advertisement states that the main house at Medway was, “a good Brick-house 36 Feet in length, 26 in Breadth, Cellars and Kitchen under the



Figure 7-16. Medway Plantation. Original house included the stepped-gable portion of the house today (Kornwolf 2002:905).

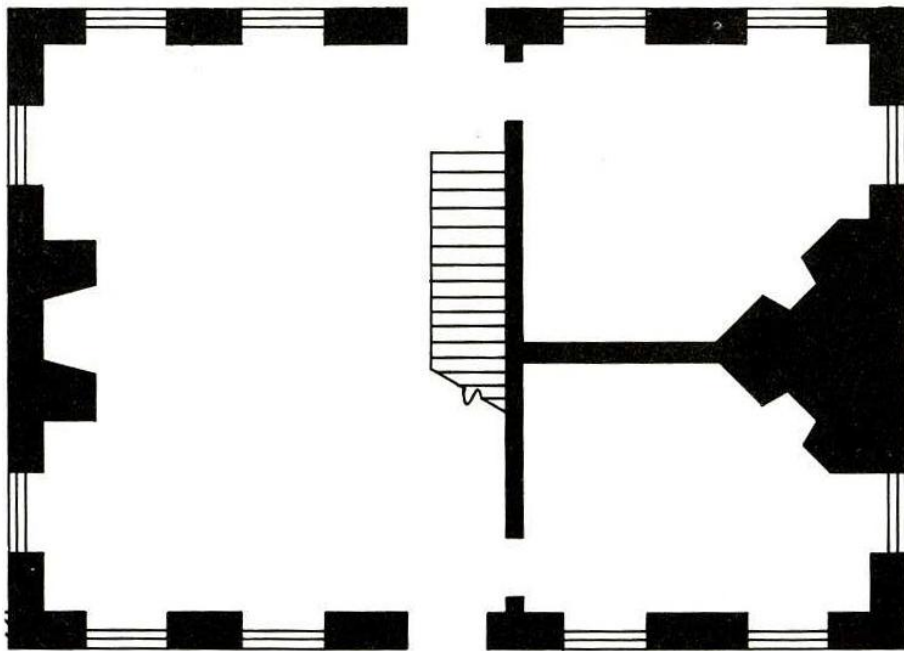


Figure 7-17. Three-room hall and parlor floor plan of Medway Plantation (Kornwolf 2002:906).

house” (quoted in Kornwolf and Kornwolf 2002:905). A single chimney was located at one of the gable ends. While Medway has been added to over the years, the description above matches the stepped Dutch-gabled center of the present-day house, believed to be the ca. 1705 house (Kornwolf and Kornwolf 2002:905). The main level of Medway was laid out as a 3-room hall and parlor floor plan.

Located along the Perquimans Rivers just north of Albemarle Sound, the Newbold-White House is believed to be the oldest building in North Carolina (Figure 7-18). Estimates of its construction vary from the 1680s to the 1730s (Bishir 1990:11). The brick one-and-a-half story structure measures 20 x 40 ft. and includes a steeply-pitched gabled roof, chimneys on the gable ends, and two entrances that are centrally located along both long axes. The exterior walls were laid out in the Flemish bond brick pattern, creating a very decorative appearance to the house (Bishir 1990:11). The foundation bricks were laid out in the stronger English bond. The interior is a 2-room hall and parlor with the staircase located in the front left corner of the hall (Figure 7-19).

Also in North Carolina, the Charlton-Jordan house was constructed in 1738 (Figure 7-20). The house measures 25 x 45 ft. and is also constructed of brick laid out in Flemish bond and glazed bricks with English bond foundations. Its overall exterior is very similar to the Newbold-White house, except that it is slightly raised in order to accommodate the cellar below. Charlton-Jordan is a 3-room hall and parlor with additional bedchambers located upstairs that are accessed from a staircase located in the lower-level bedchamber (Bishir 1990:12-13).



Figure 7-18. Newbold-White House (Bishir 1990:10)

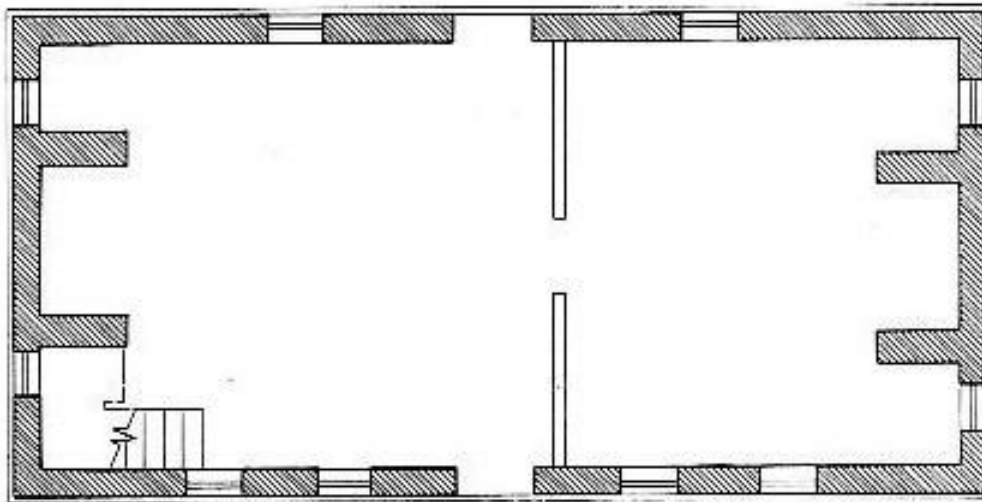


Figure 7-19. Floor plan of Newbold-White House by Carl Lounsbury (Bishir 1990:11).



Figure 7-20. Charlton-Jordan House (Bishir 1990:12).

Eighteenth-century Anglican parsonage houses from Virginia also provide some insight into what was considered appropriate housing for Anglican ministers. Generally speaking, a majority of Virginia's 18th century parsonages (more commonly referred to as glebe houses) were rectangular in shape, stood one-and-a-half stories tall with gable end chimneys (Webb and Webb 2003:17). Descriptions of parsonages, as well as surviving examples, indicate that many of them were constructed with a hall-and-parlor floor plan. In 1708, the vestry of St. Peter's Parish, located in New Kent County, had a 36 x 18 ft. parsonage house constructed for the price of 32,000 pounds of tobacco. The house was wood-framed with cypress shakes, a hall and chamber on the main floor,

with two additional rooms above (Webb and Webb 2003:17). The parsonage house for Southwark Parish, located in Surry County, was constructed ca. 1728 (Figure 7-21). The 50 x 20 ft. building was constructed of brick in the hall-and-parlor plan with a gambrel-roof (Kornwolf and Kornwolf 2002:617). The hall-and-parlor plan is also seen at the mid-18th century parsonage house for Westover Parish (Fishburne 1975).

There is no written documentation that indicates the South Carolina General Assembly, the Anglican Church, or the SPG dictated the details of parsonage construction, except that parish vestries were to provide a building suitable for the residence of the missionary. As with the churches, the parsonage houses were designed and constructed under the direction of parish church supervisors. It is likely that they would have followed floor plans commonly used during the period.



Figure 7-21. Circa 1728 parsonage house for Southwark Parish, Surry County, Virginia (Bishir 1990:12).

While the SPG letters provide no description of the floor plan of the St. Paul's parsonage, they offer a few clues into the layout and dimensions of other parsonages in the colony. In 1727, Reverend Varnod from nearby St. George's Parish wrote that he was preparing to move into three rooms of the new 25 x 34 ft. parsonage house (Varnod to SPG Secretary, January 4, 1727, SPG). Reverend Hunt described the parsonage for St. John's, Berkeley as two stories with two rooms per floor, along with a garret and a cellar (Hunt to SPG, May 6, 1728, SPG). The parsonage house for St. James', Goose Creek was similar to that of St. John's, Berkeley, except it had three rooms per floor (Ludlam to SPG, December 12, 1727, SPG). Reverend Morritt at St. James', Santee Parish described his own parsonage house as being 1 1/2 stories and 25 ft. square with a garden and orchard (Morritt to SPG Secretary, May 3, 1731, SPG). Just to the south of St. Paul's Parish in an even more rural area, Reverend Gowrie of St. Bartholomew's Parish discussed the parsonage house that was being built for him as 17 x 29 ft. with a Dutch roof (Gowrie to SPG Secretary, April 25, 1734, SPG). Most notably is Reverend Jones' description of his parsonage house from Christ Church Parish as being 35 x 18 ft. in dimensions, the exact dimensions seen archaeologically at St. Paul's parsonage house (Jones to SPG Secretary, June 5, 1721, SPG).

These descriptions are important because initially the relatively large size of the parsonage house in relation to the church was a concern. However, as seen in the SPG letters, a parsonage house measuring 35 x 18 ft. would not have been unusual for the time period. They also indicate that the 2- or 3-room hall and parlor floor plan was common among the Anglican parsonage houses.

Archaeological investigations, the extant examples of early-18th-century structures, 18th-century architectural designs, the Virginia parsonages, and descriptions from the SPG letters of other parsonage houses all provide clues into the architecture and design of St. Paul's Parish parsonage house. The brick structure, with a clay tiled roof, measured 35 x 18 ft. with an 11 ft. square brick-lined cellar in its northeastern corner. The two-brick wide foundation makes it more likely that the structure stood at least 1-story tall, but more likely 1-1/2 stories with a garret. Archaeology has revealed that bricklayers constructed the foundation walls in the English bond pattern; however, as seen at Newbold-White and Charlton-Jordan, it is possible that the above-ground exterior walls could have been laid in Flemish bond. The recovery of glazed bricks like those seen at Newbold-White and Charlton-Jordan evidence their use in some fashion to create visual interest to the exterior. Window glass and lead window casings provide evidence of the use of glazed casement windows throughout the structure. While not nearly as prevalent as at the church site, the recovery of white plaster indicates that at least some of the interior walls had been plastered.

Based on the hall and parlor plan seen in the extant early-18th-century houses from North and South Carolina, the descriptions of Reverend Varnod's three room parsonage and the two or three rooms per each floor found at parsonages for St. James', Goose Creek and St. John's, it is likely the St. Paul's parsonage was a hall and parlor design. If that is the case, two entryways should have been centrally located along the long axes. Due to the importance of the waterways, it is likely that the main entrance would have faced the tidal creek. The main floor would have either been two rooms with a center hallway or maybe even three rooms. A staircase in the center of the

house or one of the corners would have led to the upstairs garret or loft. Based on the extant structures, a chimney would have been located at one or both of the parsonage house's gable ends or even in the center of the structure. No archaeological excavations have occurred in these locations. Future excavations will surely reveal additional aspects of the architecture, including entryways, interior walls, chimney locations, and evidence of a staircase.

Based on available evidence, the vestry of St. Paul's provided their missionaries with a fairly substantial structure as indicated by the structure's size, construction materials, and architectural features such as a brick-lined cellar. Unfortunately there has been little research into the architecture of early-18th century residential sites in South Carolina. This is because only a few of the buildings survive and those that do have seen extensive renovations over the centuries. Additionally, few early-18th century domestic sites have been excavated.

One notable exception is Thomas Lynch Plantation house, located in Christ Church Parish along the Wando River. Although he owned seven other plantations in the area, this property was where Lynch resided after he constructed the main house no later than 1713 (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:1). He lived on the plantation until his death in 1738 and his heirs sold it in the early 1740s. Lynch served as a member of the Commons House of Assembly several times between 1707 and 1721, was a Captain and later colonel in the Christ Church Parish militia, and held a variety of other government positions until his death (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:30). Archaeological investigations have identified the remains of Lynch's house. Based on the foundations, the main house measured 32.5 x 18 ft. and was a 2-room hall and parlor plan, with the

hall in the eastern portion of the house (Figure 7-22) (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:54, 57). The foundations measured 18 inches wide and were laid in English bond. While foundations of this width would have supported a 2-story building, it is more likely the house was 1 ½ stories that included bed chambers in the loft (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:57). A floor of brick pavers and a large amount of brick rubble suggest that the house was elevated, creating a large area for storage underneath the main living floor (Figure 7-23) (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:57).

Overall, Lynch's house and the St. Paul's parsonage house appear to have been very similar. The sizes of the two structures are very similar - the parsonage house measured 35 x 18 ft., while the Lynch house had dimensions of 32.5 x 18 ft. The Lynch

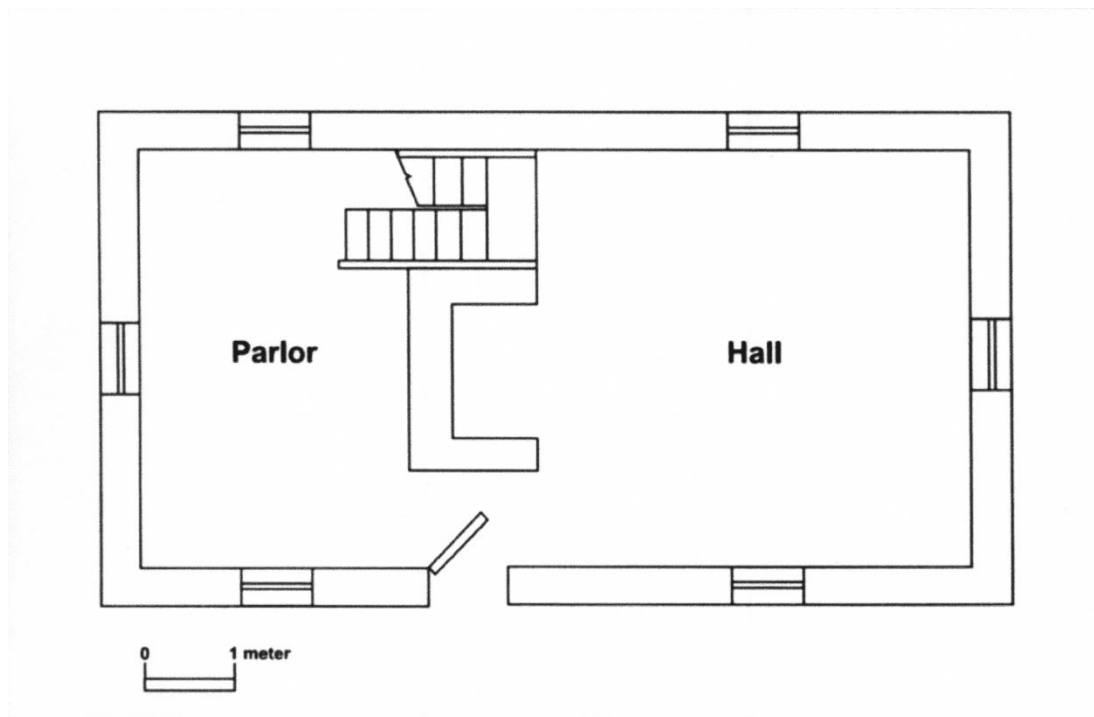


Figure 7-22. Floor plan of Thomas Lynch Plantation house (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:60).

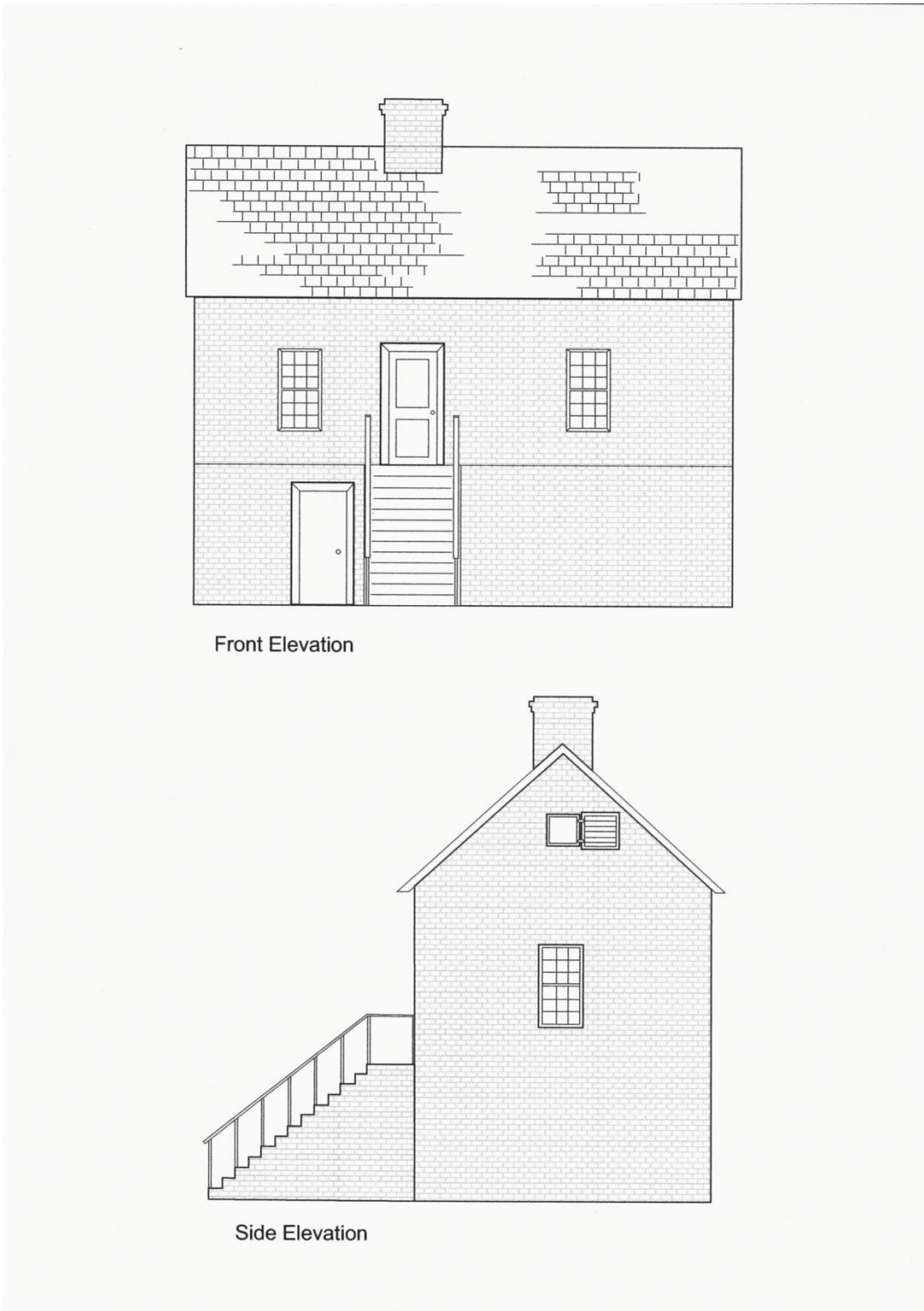


Figure 7-23.Reconstructed floor plan of Thomas Lynch Plantation house (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:59).

house had a 2-room hall and parlor plan and based on other sources previously discussed, it is very likely the parsonage house had either a 2-room or 3-room hall and parlor design. The foundation widths were the same at 18 inches and both sets of foundations were laid in English bond, suggesting both houses stood at 1 ½ stories tall. The debris around both sets of ruins implies that the buildings were constructed entirely of brick. The only apparent difference between the two houses is that while the Lynch house was completely elevated off the ground with a brick-paved ground floor for storage and where a variety of daily activities likely took place, the parsonage house had a brick-lined cellar that was likely only used for storage. Otherwise, the architectural features of the St. Paul's parsonage point to the missionaries living in a house that rivaled that of a wealthy planter family. The outward appearance of prosperity and wealth may have been another example of the church supervisors' attempts to display the power and wealth of their parish and the South Carolina Anglican Church. In the next chapter, I will discuss the artifacts recovered from the parsonage site and consider what they tell us about daily life at the parsonage and its social functions to the broader parish community.

CHAPTER 8:

THE ST. PAUL'S PARSONAGE: ARTIFACTS AND SOCIAL FUNCTIONS

"My Parish is now become ye Frontier"
- Reverend William Bull, August 10, 1715

With the passing of the Church Act in 1706, the SPG began to recruit and send missionaries from England to South Carolina. These men found themselves living in a completely different world than they were used to back in England – religiously, culturally, ethnically, and environmentally. In England, most of the missionaries had lived in cities or villages and had no concept of what life would be like in the colonies, especially in the frontier parishes of South Carolina. They were not prepared for the climate that caused sickness and death, the fear of attacks from Indians or the Spanish and later, their own enslaved people, and the number of dissenters. In many ways, life at a rural parsonage was far different than the life most of them had left behind in England. However, there were also some similarities, especially in the material goods available to them. In this chapter, I discuss the artifacts recovered from archaeological excavations at the St. Paul's parsonage site. These artifacts provide insight into the lives of the SPG missionaries, and in part, the lives of their enslaved peoples and other parish residents. The artifacts also suggest that the parsonage house served an even more important social role to the parish community than back home in England.

Artifact Analysis

From the fieldwork described in the previous chapter, three distinct areas of the parsonage site have been identified – the yard, the brick structure, and its interior brick-lined cellar. The analysis of the artifacts recovered from the yard and the units around the structure are discussed together. This is due to the deposits having formed in a similar manner over the eight-year occupation of the site and to plowing, which likely resulted in some mixing of artifacts between the two areas. The cellar is discussed separately as its fill was deposited over a very brief period of time and its artifacts have not been disturbed, providing for a more accurate view of life at the parsonage in July of 1715. While they have similar assemblages, the fact that no artifacts from the yard and house area mended with artifacts from the sealed cellar deposit is evidence of the distinct nature of these two deposits.

Parsonage House and Yard Artifacts

During the summer of 2010 the archaeological team, which included field school students, excavated eighteen 5 x 5 ft. and three 2.5 x 5 ft. test units in the parsonage yard and house area, resulting in the recovery of 1,877 artifacts and faunal remains (Table 8-1). The types of artifacts recovered from the two areas were basically identical to each other. Plowing over the years resulted in relatively small sherds; however, it was still possible to identify a variety of vessel forms including tankards, cups, bowls, milk pans, jugs/jars, and flatwares. A minimum vessel count (MVC) of the 18th-century ceramics from these two areas was calculated based on ceramic types, vessel forms, and rim styles (Table 8-2).

Table 8-1. Total number of artifacts recovered from the parsonage yard and house excavations.

Artifact Type	Count
Historic Ceramics	
European	399
Colonowares	152
Glass	
Container (dark olive or "black")	234
Stemware (colorless, leaded)	12
Flat	87
Bead (white, oblong)	1
Tobacco pipes (white ball clay)	291
Nails (wrought and unidentifiable)	392
Metal (non-nails)	
Bolt	1
Buttons	4
Silver coin	1
Lead window came	4
Hinges	2
Spike	1
Tacks	2
Wire	2
Faunal	187
Prehistoric (lithics and ceramics)	80
Gunflint	2
TOTAL	1,877

Table 8-2. MVC of historic ceramics recovered from the parsonage yard and house areas.

Ceramic Type	Count	Vessel Type(s)
Astbury refined earthenware	1	hollow ware
British Brown salt-glazed stoneware	3	1 jug/jar, 1 tankard, 1 crock
Buckley coarse earthenware	1	large hollow vessel
Chinese porcelain	3	1 plate/platter, 1 saucer, 1 large bowl
Colonoware (including Historic Indian)	3	large bowls
French green-glazed earthenware	1	milk pan
Manganese mottled earthenware	1	tankard
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	1	milk pan
North Devon sgraffito	2	1 hollow ware, 1 flatware
Nottingham-type stoneware	1	tankard
Redware (coarse)	1	hollow ware
Rhenish (Westerwald) stoneware	2	1 jug/jar, 1 tankard
Staffordshire slipwares	2	1 plate/platter, 1 cup
Tin-glazed earthenwares	2	1 small bowl, 1 saucer
White salt-glazed stoneware (slip-dipped)	2	1 tankard, 1 chamber pot
TOTAL	26	

While the artifacts were very similar between the yard and house, a clear distinction can be seen in the distribution of artifacts between the two areas, with a majority of the artifacts recovered from the yard area (Table 8-3). Even taking into consideration the higher amount of square footage excavated between the yard (237.5 sq. ft.) and the house (175.0 sq. ft.), there is still a higher density of artifacts in the yard (5.4 artifacts/sq. ft.) than in and around the house (3.3 artifacts/sq. ft.) This difference is likely due to two reasons. First, once the structure burned, its ruins, the damaged goods within it, and any artifacts that had already been deposited in and around the structure were cleaned up and used to fill the parsonage cellar. Second, based on the position of the structure already identified and the ca. 1807 Purcell plat, this area should have been the yard between the house and the out-kitchen. Yards are important places archaeologically as recovered artifacts provide evidence of the variety of activities that once took place within them. These activities may include household activities such as food preparation, the tending of animals, and other domestic chores. Yards are also places where people congregate to socialize (Heath and Bennett 2000:38). The yard area between the parsonage house and the out-kitchen would have been one of the busier parts of the parsonage complex with people moving back and forth between the buildings several times each day. The relatively high number of ceramics and faunal remains may also be an indication that the out-kitchen is nearby.

Table 8-3. Distribution of artifacts and faunal remains between yard and house.

Artifact Type	Yard	House	Total
Historic Ceramics	496 (90.0%)	55 (10.0%)	551
Glass – Container	136 (55.3%)	110 (44.7%)	246
Glass – Flat	14 (16.1%)	73 (83.9%)	87
Nails – (wrought and unidentifiable)	87 (22.3%)	305 (77.8)%	392
Metal (non-nails)	32 (80.0%)	8 (20.2%)	40
Tobacco pipes (white ball clay)	281 (96.6%)	10 (3.4%)	291
Faunal	158 (84.5%)	29 (15.5%)	187
Prehistoric	78 (97.5%)	2 (2.5%)	80
Misc. (2 gun flints, 1 glass bead)	3 (100.0%)	0 (0.0%)	3
TOTAL	1,285 (68.5%)	592 (31.5%)	1,877

Parsonage Cellar Artifacts

This section provides primarily quantitative information regarding the artifacts and faunal remains that archaeologists recovered from the cellar units (53 and 54). Artifacts and faunal remains recovered from the cellar totaled 3,078 (Table 8-4). This total does not include the large amount of architectural debris, primarily brick, which had been used to fill the cellar. A sample of brick was retained and the remainder was used to backfill the units. As this portion of the analysis pertains to only those artifacts and faunal remains contained within the cellar itself, it does not contain artifacts from Level 2 of each unit. Stratigraphically, that level is above the cellar and does not represent either the filling in of the cellar or the objects that were stored in the cellar. The Level 2

Table 8-4. Total number of artifacts recovered from the parsonage cellar by type.

Artifact Type	Count	Percentage of Overall Artifact Assemblage
Historic Ceramics	309	10.0%
Glass – Container	704	22.9
Glass – Flat	273	8.9
Nails (all wrought or unidentifiable)	1,041	33.8
Metal – Non-nails	21	0.7
Tobacco pipes (white ball clay)	35	1.1
Faunal	681	22.1
Prehistoric	6	0.2
Clay roofing tiles	5	0.2
Slate	2	<.1
Gunflint	1	<.1
Total	3,078	

artifacts were included in the analysis of the parsonage house and yard areas above, as they were a part of the plow zone that stretched across the site.

Historic Ceramics

We recovered a total of 309 historic ceramic sherds from the cellar (Figure 8-1). Ceramic types included a variety of European and Chinese export ceramics (n=174) and colonowares (n=135). Of the 135 colonoware sherds, 7 have been identified as Historic Indian ceramics based on their temper, paste, and stamped surface decoration (Ron Anthony, 2011, pers. comm.). Unlike the artifacts from the plow zone found elsewhere around the parsonage site, the artifacts within the cellar have seen little, if



Figure 8-1. Examples of parsonage site ceramics. 1: Staffordshire slipwares, 2: manganese mottled ware, 3: sgraffito slipware, 4: Nottingham-type earthenware, 5: Westerwald stoneware, 6: tin-glazed earthenware, 7: British Brown stoneware, 8: French green-glazed earthenware (Photo by the author)

any, disturbance since being deposited. The larger size of these ceramics (20 mm and greater for most sherds) allowed mending of artifacts and identification of vessel forms, which allowed for the more accurate calculation of a minimum vessel count (MVC) than seen from the plow zone (Table 8-5).

Glass – Container

Between the two cellar units, archaeologists recovered 704 glass fragments. Due to the fragile nature of glass, often the weight of glass is a better indicator of the amount of glass present at a site rather than count, which was definitely the case here.

Table 8-5. MVC of parsonage cellar ceramics, including type, vessel form, and count.

Ceramic Type	Count	Vessel Type(s)
British Brown salt-glazed stoneware	2	1 mug or tankard, 1 jug/jar
Buckley coarse earthenware	1	large hollow vessel
Chinese porcelain	2	saucers
Colonoware (including Historic Indian)	6	large bowls
Colonoware (possibly Afro-Caribbean)	1	large bowl
Manganese mottled earthenware	2	tankards
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	2	1 milk pan, 1 jug/jar
Nottingham-type stoneware	2	tankards
Staffordshire slipware	3	cups
Tin-glazed earthenware	4	1 jar, 1 saucer/plate, 2 small bowls
TOTAL	25	

The total weight of container glass was 12,457.7 g or 27.5 lbs. The relatively undisturbed nature of the cellar made the mending of some of the larger pieces possible, as well as facilitating vessel form identification. The identifiable vessels were broad-based, short-necked bottles, often referred to as onion bottles, which were often used to store wine, rum, or other spirits (Figure 8-2). The form of the bottles appears very similar to the type that Noël Hume dates to 1714 (Noël Hume 1969:64). The color of the glass was very uniform - either dark olive green or “black” glass, which is actually a very dark olive green that appears black. A count of the number of unique bottle finishes produced a MVC of 18 bottles. The only other type of glass container identified was a colorless, leaded wine glass, identified by its stem.



Figure 8-2. Mended example of the glass onion bottle recovered from the parsonage cellar. (Photo by the author).

While Unit 53 contained the majority of ceramic vessels, the opposite is true of the container glass, with most glass fragments and vessels recovered from Unit 54. There is a very strong indication of differences in the use of the cellar based on the distribution of glass and ceramics. Additionally, it appears glass bottles were being stored in the cellar, especially in its northeast quadrant.

Glass – Flat

The distribution of flat glass, presumably from windows, was remarkably similar between Unit 53 (n=136, 111.7 g) and Unit 54 (n=137, 75.88 g). Eighty-eight percent of

the flat glass was found within the fill episode levels (Levels 3-6) providing evidence that the cellar was filled in with the debris from the destroyed parsonage house.

Metal – Nails

Over a thousand nail fragments have been identified from the cellar units (n=1,041). The preservation of nails here was quite remarkable, and allowed all nails to be identified as hand wrought. A minimum count of 880 was determined by counting only nail heads. Of those 880 nails, 355 (40%) were recovered from Levels 6 and 7, the two bottom-most levels of the cellar units. This number is significant because it is believed these levels represent the collapse of the floors and roof of the parsonage into the cellar during the fire, which would have produced a relatively high number of nails.

Metal – non-nails

Besides nails, archaeologists recovered twenty-one other metal artifacts. Due to corrosion and decay of metal over time, only ten could be identified. One of the more interesting iron pieces was the hammer of a flintlock gun (Figure 8-3) recovered from the fill deposit of Unit 53. Another unusual piece was a copper alloy tool with the letter 'H' at one end. It is believed that this tool would have been used similar to a stamp, with the user lightly dipping it into ink and then pressing it against the item to be stamped, possibly the binding of a book (Carter Hudgins, Jr., 2011, pers. comm.). Other metal artifacts included three iron hinges, one iron handle, one iron clasp, two lead window comes and another iron tool, possibly a small chisel.

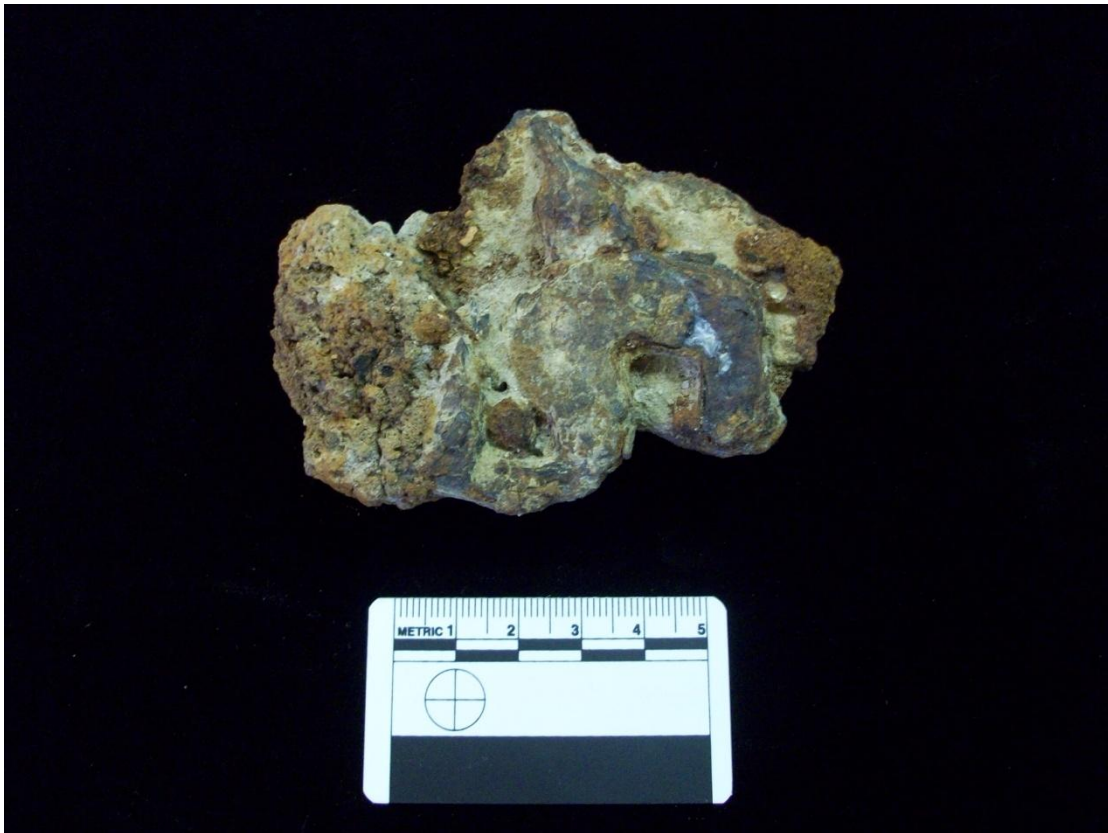


Figure 8-3. Hammer from a flintlock gun. (Photo by the author).

Tobacco pipes

Thirty fragments of white ball clay tobacco pipes were recovered from within the cellar, including bowls (n=7) and stems (n=28). The relatively low number of tobacco pipe bowls and stems from within the cellar when compared to the rest of the parsonage site (n=291) attests to the rapid filling in of the cellar after the parsonage burned. Bore diameters of the stems were measured using standard drill bits that resulted in measurements between 4/64" and 6/64". These measurements result in a Harrington date of 1710-1750, a Binford date of 1740.55, a Heighton and Deagan date of 1742.71, and a Hanson date of 1724.91 +/- 14.142. The small sample size of 28 stems is far fewer than recommended by any of the various dating methods, which may account for

the relatively late date of the pipe assemblage in comparison to the archaeological evidence from the ceramics and bottle glass and from the documentary record. Unfortunately, none of the pipe fragments had any maker's marks on them or other decorations that may help narrow down a date of manufacture. Only one bowl was complete enough to compare its shape and size to a standard chronology of bowl shapes, but its date of 1700-1770 does little to narrow down the date of the pipe any further.

Faunal

In the parsonage yard and around the structure, faunal remains were relatively uncommon and when found, it was very difficult to identify the species or even element due to generations of plowing. That was not the case within the cellar. Six hundred and eighty-one remains were recovered from the ¼" dry-screening. Identification of faunal remains by species was completed using the University of Tennessee's zooarchaeological comparative collection and the minimum number of individuals (MNI) was calculated (Table 8-6).

For both cellar units, excavators took a soil sample from each level for flotation. Very small faunal remains and botanical remains that would normally slip through 1/4" mesh while dry-screening are more likely to be recovered in flotation. The arbitrary amount of soil reserved for flotation from each level was enough to fill an 8 x 10 in. plastic bag. Once the samples had been floated, picking through the heavy fraction produced mainly frog bones and a number of egg shells. Katie Lamzik, a graduate

Table 8-6. List of identifiable species recovered from parsonage cellar, including common name, species name, count, weight, and MNI.

Species Name	Common Name	Count	Weight (g)	MNI
<i>Felis catus</i>	domestic cat	2	1.24	1
<i>Gallus domesticus</i>	chicken	7	8.41	1
<i>Bos taurus</i>	cow	158	3,117.08	3
<i>Odocoileus virginianus</i>	deer	4	135.64	1
<i>Urocyon cinereoargenteus</i>	fox	1	0.49	1
<i>Rana catesbeiana</i>	frog	3	.28	1
<i>Didelphis marsupialis</i>	opossum	3	11.16	1
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	pig	71	298.08	2
<i>Odontophorus</i> ssp.	quail	1	0.05	1
<i>Sylvilagus floridanus</i>	rabbit	1	0.62	1
<i>Rattus</i> ssp.	rat	2	0.48	1
<i>Terrapene carolina carolina</i>	turtle - box	80	66.14	1
<i>Terrapene carolina triunguis</i>	turtle – 3-toed	1	0.89	1
<i>Melleagris gallopavo</i>	turkey	5	5.39	1
Total		339	3,645.95	17

student in zooarchaeology at the University of Tennessee, analyzed the egg shells from Level 7 of each unit in an attempt to determine which type of eggs were being stored in the cellar at the time of the fire. Her research has shown that species can be identified based on the thickness of the egg shell (Lamzik 2012). Lamzik's preliminary analysis indicates that a variety of bird eggs were present including chicken, turkey, and a goose or possibly a guinea fowl (Katie Lamzik, 2011, pers. comm.). Future analysis of all the egg shells recovered from the cellar may provide additional evidence of the use of domesticated and wild birds at the parsonage. No seeds or other botanical remains were recovered from either the light or heavy fraction.

Miscellaneous

Within the bottom level (Level 7) of Unit 54, we recovered five pieces of what appeared to be very thick and relatively flat sherds of coarse earthenware, possibly bases to large storage vessels. However, two of the clay pieces had holes in them, similar to a nail hole (Figure 8-4), suggesting that they were actually clay roofing tiles (Noël Hume 1969:294-295). The tiles are only found in the bottom level of the cellar and are evidence that the parsonage's roof collapsed during the fire, with at least portions of the roof ending up in the bottom of the cellar. In this same level a single gun flint was also recovered. Archaeologists recovered the only pieces of slate (n=2) from the entire parsonage site in Unit 53. One piece has some scratches on it that may be writing, but the piece is so small that if it is writing rather than a random scratch, it is illegible.



Figure 8-4. Examples of clay roofing tiles from the parsonage site. Note holes on the upper left and right tiles. (Photo by the author).

Missionary Life at St. Paul's Parsonage

Questions asked of the parsonage assemblage include; what was life like materially for the English missionaries assigned to the parsonage? How did their lifestyle compare to their parishioners? What were their activities at the parsonage and how are these activities represented in the archaeological material? What was the function(s) of the parsonage in the larger St. Paul's community? The artifacts and faunal remains recovered from the parsonage yard, house, and cellar allow many of these questions to be addressed. In this section I will address those questions that relate to the material life of the missionaries, specifically Reverend Bull, at the parsonage house and what information the

artifacts can add to the previous chapter's discussion regarding the architecture of the house.

Spatial Use of Cellar and House

In addition to the architectural evidence mentioned in the previous chapter, the artifacts recovered from the cellar have been particularly useful in examining life at the parsonage. Because of the way the cellar was filled, those artifacts within the bottom level, Level 7, are a primary deposit and serve as examples of the types of goods stored in the cellar during the occupation of the house, while artifacts from the cellar fill, Levels 3-6, represent a secondary deposit of items from the main living level that would have been used more on a regular basis. This distinction is clearly evident when the different types of ceramic vessel forms recovered from each of the separate deposits are compared (Table 8-7). In analyzing the distribution of ceramic vessels' quantity and type, two items of interest stand out. First, those vessels recovered from the bottom of the cellar are clearly more utilitarian in nature, consisting mainly of vessels used for storage (jugs, jars, bowls, etc.). The absence of food and beverage service or consumption vessels from the floor of the cellar (Level 7), provides further evidence that the artifacts contained within the cellar fill (Levels 3-6) are from those objects used on a regular basis from the main floor of the parsonage house that had been damaged in the fire and destruction of the parsonage house. The four-foot depth of the cellar also indicates that it was likely used only for storing items rather than a space where people would perform various household activities. Second, 21 of the 25 vessels in the cellar were recovered from Unit 53, including all the service and consumption vessels. These

Table 8-7. MVC of parsonage cellar ceramics, including type, vessel form, count, and location information.

Type	Count	Unit #	Cellar Fill (Levels 3-6) or Cellar Floor (Level 7)
British Brown salt-glazed mug or tankard	1	53	Fill (L3-6)
Buckley ware, large vessel	1	53	Fill (L3-6)
Chinese porcelain saucers	2	53	Fill (L3-6)
Colonoware bowl	2	53	Fill (L3-6)
Manganese Mottled tankards	2	53	Fill (L3-6)
North Devon gravel-tempered milk pan	1	53	Fill (L3-6)
Nottingham-type tankards	2	53	Fill (L3-6)
Staffordshire combed and trailed cups	3	53	Fill (L3-6)
Tin-enameled bowl	2	53	Fill (L3-6)
Tin-enameled saucer or plate	1	53	Fill (L3-6)
Tin-enameled jar	1	53	Fill (L3-6)
Colonoware bowl	2	53	Floor (L7)
Historic Indian bowl	1	53	Floor (L7)
British Brown salt-glazed jug/jar	1	54	Floor (L7)
Colonoware bowl	1	54	Floor (L7)
Historic Indian bowl, complicated stamped	1	54	Floor (L7)
North Devon gravel-tempered jug/jar	1	54	Floor (L7)
Total	25		

differences in spatial distribution of the ceramic vessels provide clues into the use of the cellar and possibly even from the main floor of the parsonage.

The seven vessels recovered from Level 7 of both units include two jugs (or jars) – one North Devon gravel-tempered and the other British Brown salt-glazed - three colonoware bowls, and two Historic Indian bowls. As these vessels are typically associated with the storage of food and beverages, they almost certainly held liquids or food items that were stored in the cellar on wooden shelving, or possibly on the cellar floor. Prior to modern refrigeration practices, it was common to store meats, fruits, vegetables, and dairy products in a cellar, especially in rural areas where access to markets was rare. Cellars were naturally cooler spaces that allowed for better preservation of food, while various methods such as smoking, salting, drying, and pickling of foods also aided in their preservation (Shepard 2000; Higgins 2007). The zooarchaeological evidence from Level 7 of the cellar does not offer convincing evidence of the type of meat, if any, Reverend Bull had stored in his cellar. Cow and pig remains are found within this level, but they are represented primarily by teeth and other small bone fragments that may have filtered down through the cellar fill instead of representing stored meat. The presence of six chicken vertebrae provides the best indication of the storage of an animal for later consumption. Chicken, turkey, and goose (possibly guinea fowl) eggshells in the flotation samples suggest that eggs were stored in the cellar, possibly even in the colonoware bowls.

Much stronger evidence of the storage of liquids in the cellar, likely alcoholic beverages, is evidenced by the recovery of the two jugs/jars and a minimum of 12 “onion” bottles, likely to have held rum, wine, or other alcohol beverages. Ten of the

twelve bottles were located within Level 7 of Unit 54, in the northeastern quadrant of the cellar (Table 8-8). Four of the ten bottles were found with their bases sitting flat on the clay floor (Figure 8-5). At least one of the bottles appeared to have collapsed onto itself during the fire (Figures 8-6 and see Figure 8-2). We found what appeared to be very decayed wood immediately underneath two of the bottles, along with a number of nails and other unidentifiable metal pieces. Due to their positioning in relation to one another, the decayed wood, and associated artifacts, these bottles likely were inside a wooden crate that was sitting on the cellar floor when the parsonage burned. Burning debris from the floor and roof collapse would have set fire to the crate, leaving only its nails and other metal parts behind. The extreme heat and the collapse of the floor and roof would have broken the bottles. An alternative hypothesis is that the bottles were stored on wooden shelves that collapsed during the fire.

Table 8-8. MVC of parsonage cellar glass containers, including count, and location information.

Type	Count	Unit #	Cellar Fill (Levels 3-6) or Cellar Floor (Level 7)
Bottle	3	53	Fill (L3-6)
Bottle	1	53	Floor (L7)
Bottle	4	54	Fill (L3-6)
Bottle	10	54	Floor (L7)
Total	18		



Figure 8-5. Bottle bases *in situ*. Bases were found in southwestern corner of Unit 54. (Photo by the author).



Figure 8-6. Glass bottle that collapsed onto itself. See Figure 8-2 for photo of this bottle after mending. (Photo by the author).

While the vertical distribution of the service and consumption suggests that they were deposited into the cellar from the main floor after the parsonage burned, the horizontal distribution of those ceramic vessels and other non-architectural artifacts in the cellar's secondary deposit (Levels 3-6) allows for some interpretation regarding the spatial arrangement and use of the parsonage's main floor. This information can then be added to the previous architectural discussion of the parsonage house. Carter Hudgins (1985) conducted a similar study at Corotoman, the late-17th/early-18th century home of Virginia planter, Robert Carter. Corotoman burned in 1729 and eventually the 2 ½-story mansion collapsed. Through careful excavations of the ruins, Hudgins analyzed the spatial distribution of the artifacts to reconstruct the floor plan of the mansion (Hudgins 1985). Unlike Hudgins' work, at the parsonage site only a portion of the structure and its cellar has been excavated. Therefore, the spatial analysis of the artifacts discussed here and the interpretations of the parsonage house's floor plan are tentative, as they may be affected by sampling bias rather than a representative of the structure's floor plan.

One of the most obvious differences between the two cellar units is that all of the service and consumption ceramic vessels were recovered from Unit 53, the southwestern quadrant of the cellar. This distribution is a strong indication that the main floor above Unit 53 was more likely the location where the service and consumption of food and beverages and the general entertainment of guests occurred. If this was the case and not just a result of the random filling of the cellar with household debris, then at first glance it suggests that the larger and more public room, the hall, was located within the eastern portion of the parsonage. However, the lack of service and

consumption ceramic vessels from Unit 54, suggests a more private room in the northeastern corner of the house. This distribution hints at a three-room hall and parlor plan for the house. Once entering the main door to the parsonage, the hall would have been to the left (west), while in the parlor to the right (east) Reverend Bull and his two predecessors, Reverend Dun and Reverend Maitland, would have eaten their own meals as well as entertained close friends. The various ceramic vessels used in the parlor would have been deposited into the southwestern corner of the cellar, Unit 53. Immediately behind the parlor would have been a small, private bedchamber for the missionary. One would not expect to find ceramic serving vessels in a room with this function, accounting for the absence of ceramic serving vessels in Unit 54. In this case, the parsonage floor plan would have been similar to Medway's (see Figure 7-17). Another possibility is that the parsonage was a two-room hall and parlor, as the parlor often served as the private bedchamber in addition to more private entertaining, comparable to the Newbold-White House (see Figure 7-19).

Faunal Analysis

Zooarchaeological studies from frontier sites in Virginia and South Carolina often compare the number of wild and domesticated animals represented in the recovered faunal remains in order to see how the ratio changes over time. Virginia's earliest colonists relied heavily on wild animals with little use of domesticated animals. Graham et al. (2007:471) relate this dependence on wild game and fish to the need for immediate return. However, by the end of the 17th century there was a much greater reliance on domesticated animals than wild species. As settlers became more settled

and confident about their future, they were more willing to invest time in the raising of domestic animals (Miller 1988; Graham et al. 2007:471). Although there is little faunal evidence from late-17th/early-18th century sites in South Carolina, the pattern seen in Virginia does not seem to have been the case in South Carolina. Domesticated animals, namely cattle and pig, are well-represented at the earliest sites in the region along with wild species (Martha Zierden, 2012, pers. comm.). The earlier reliance of domesticated animals in South Carolina (and elsewhere in the British colonies) was likely due in part to Virginia. By the time the English settled in South Carolina, Virginians were able to export food to the newer colonies, which allowed them time to establish themselves until they could provide food for themselves (Hatfield 2004:43).

At the frontier site of Stobo Plantation near Willtown, faunal remains from the earliest deposits (1720-1740) point to the raising of cattle, pigs, and domesticated birds at the plantation, along with the hunting of wild animals such as deer, turtles, fish, and birds. Analysis of the faunal evidence from the later 1740 to 1770 context indicates that the ratio of domesticated animals to wild species did increase over time, similar to that seen in Virginia (Zierden et al. 1999:291-292). Interestingly, studies indicate that in Charles Towne itself, the opposite was true. In the urban area, there is a growing dependence on wild animals throughout the 18th century (Zierden and Reitz 2005:114). Zierden and Reitz (2005:114) observed this city-wide trend in their excavations of the Charleston Beef Market. In use from 1692 through 1796, the Beef Market's faunal assemblage indicates that the percentage of cattle, pig, and chickens decreased throughout the 18th century, while the percentage of wild game, particularly fish, increased. Based on these limited data, there does seem to be distinctions between the

faunal assemblages from urban and rural sites in South Carolina, with more of a reliance on domesticated animals at rural sites (Martha Zierden, 2012, pers. comm.).

The faunal assemblage from the parsonage site more closely resembles those characteristics found at the rural South Carolina sites. Due to the plowed nature of the site, identifiable faunal remains are primarily limited to those recovered from the cellar. Therefore, the faunal analysis is biased towards only those remains deposited into the cellar after the parsonage burned and does not necessarily represent the animals used on a regular basis by Reverend Bull, his enslaved people, or parsonage guests. Cattle remains dominate the assemblage, followed by pig (Figure 8-7) (see Table 8-6). Besides a possible food source, cattle would have also provided milk and butter. Milk



Figure 8-7. Examples of faunal remains from parsonage cellar. Top left – cow mandible; right – cow humerus; bottom row left to right – pig mandible, chicken vertebrae, and turtle shell.

pans and other vessels typically associated with dairying, such as crocks, have been recovered from the site. Other domesticated animals include chicken and turkey bones that appear to be from a domesticated variety rather than a wild one. Turkey egg shells were present in the cellar, but at this time it not possible to determine if they represent domesticated or wild turkey eggs (Katie Lamzik, 2012, pers. comm.). Wild animals are also represented in the cellar, but in much smaller quantities. Species include deer, fox, opossum, frog, quail, rabbit, and turtle.

Although the faunal assemblage does not represent the remains of individual animals killed for food over the eight-year occupation of the parsonage, butchering marks do appear on nine fragments of long bones and a mandible of at least one head of cattle. A possible reason for the butchering marks is that Reverend Bull's cattle were killed and butchered by members of the Yamasee Confederation during their brief time at the parsonage complex. Bull wrote that in addition to his personal goods lost during the fire that destroyed his house, he lost "most of ye little stock of cattle I was possessed" (Bull to SPG, February 6, 1716, SPG). While his quote does not explicitly say his cattle were slaughtered, another letter written by Reverend Le Jau states that the Indians had "Destroy'd all the Horses, Cattle and Plantations they could" (Le Jau to SPG, August 23, 1715, SPG). These letters indicate a strong likelihood Reverend Bull's cattle were killed during the Yamasee's march through St. Paul's Parish. The butchering marks suggest that they did not just slaughter the cattle, but also butchered them for food. Reverend Bull stated that his house and his immediate neighbor's house were the last ones burned by the Yamasee before their advance towards Charles Towne was stopped (Bull to SPG, August 10, 1715, SPG). The possibility exists that the reason why

the parsonage out-kitchen was the only building on the property not burned is because the Yamasee used it as a temporary encampment before retreating southward. If this is the case, it would have allowed them the time to slaughter and butcher at least one of Reverend Bull's cattle. After eating the meat, or taking what they could with them, they left behind the carcasses which Reverend Bull found when he returned home.

Ceramics and Foodways

Ceramics and the changing ways people used them from the 17th to 19th centuries are often used as an indicator of broader changes in society of the time in the way people thought about the world. During this "refinement of America" (Bushman 1992) trends included more elegant housing and clothing, a growing emphasis on the individual and privacy, and more refined manners, collectively referred to as gentility (Carr and Walsh 1994:60). Gentility became the primary way people during the 18th century separated themselves socially from one another (Carr and Walsh 1994:61). This genteel lifestyle was reserved primarily for the gentry class and not until the end of the 18th century did the middle class aspire to be a part of "polite" society through the purchase of goods considered to be genteel (Bushman 1992:xiii; Veech 1993).

Deetz (1996) has shown how these changes in gentility and a growing emphasis on individuality affected various forms of material culture. Architecturally, houses became more symmetrical and elaborate, with a central hall that separated visitors from the family's private rooms, that typified the Georgian architectural style. Gravestones became memorials to the deceased individual. Significant changes also occurred in the way people served and consumed their food and beverages. While vessels could be

made of metal or wood, ceramic vessels are the ones most available for archaeologists to study, especially in examining the rise of gentility (Bushman 1992; Carr and Walsh 1994; Yentsch 1994)

In the colonies, ceramics through the mid-17th century were typically utilitarian in nature. Most vessels were plain and included forms such as jars, pitchers, crocks, and milk pans – all typically associated with the practice of dairying (Deetz 1996:77-78). People rarely used plates and individual drinking vessels as communal eating from trenchers or drinking from containers were common practices. In the latter half of the 17th century and into the 18th century, there is an increase in the diversity of vessel forms, especially in regard to individual drinking vessels such as cups and mugs. Plates are rarely found archaeologically from this time period and they are also relatively rare in probate inventories. The increase of individual drinking vessels but not individual plates is an indication that people still ate primarily out of trenchers, but drank out of individual vessels (Deetz 1996:81). Plates became slightly more common during this period; however, their primary function may have been more social. Plates were typically the more expensive delftware, large in size, and elaborately decorated. Use-wear on many plates indicates they stood upright. Deetz believes that rather than eating from them, plates were used as display items (Deetz 1996:81-83).

Variations in utilitarian vessels also increased; however, dairy-related vessels remained the most common. Beginning around 1760 mass-produced ceramics from England came to dominate the market and led to lower prices (Miller 1980, 1991). The growing emphasis on the individual and the emerging worldview that focused on

balance, order, and control resulted in individual plates, saucers, and cups becoming common-place and resulted in matched sets of serving pieces (Deetz 1996:86).

Based on the occupation dates of the parsonage, the ceramics should resemble those described by Deetz's second period – the late-17th through the mid-18th centuries and its increasingly genteel lifestyle. When the MCVs from Tables 8-2 and 8-5 are combined, it is clearly evident that the parsonage's ceramic assemblage does match what is expected of a ceramic assemblage from that time period. Of the 51 total vessels, only ten would be considered individual place settings (4 saucers, 1 large plate or platter, 1 saucer or small plate, and 3 small bowls). With the exception of one Staffordshire combed and trailed slipware plate or platter, these vessels were the more expensive and elaborately decorated delftware or Chinese porcelain (Figures 8-8 and 8-9). No obvious wear marks were noted on any of the vessels, which may indicate they were pieces put on display rather than used on a regular basis.

A minimum of fourteen individual drinking vessels (mugs, cups, and tankards) were identified, corresponding to the idea that by the late-17th century communal drinking vessels had given way to individual ones. No coffee or tea cups were identified; however, this is not unusual for an early-18th century rural site (Carr and Walsh 1994:67-68). Liquors of various types such as rum, whiskey, gin, and brandy were the beverages of choice for most people during the early colonial period. People believed alcoholic spirits to be healthy and nutritious for them as water was often considered unsafe to drink (Salinger 2002:2-3). In addition to its believed medicinal benefits, colonists also used alcoholic beverages as a coping mechanism to their new and often unsettled life in the Americas (Smith 2005:1). The numerous mugs, cups, and tankards



Figure 8-8. Example of tin-glazed earthenwares (delftware) from the parsonage site.(Photo by the author).



Figure 8-9. Example of Chinese porcelains from the parsonage site.(Photo by the author).

would have been typically used for consuming such spirits.

The numerous individual drinking vessels, the lower amount of individual plates, and the decorative styles of the plates indicate that Reverend Bull possessed the types of eating and drinking vessels that were quite typical of the increasing genteel lifestyle for the time period. As an Englishman living in the South Carolina frontier and as an important member of the parish community, it would have been important to him and to his parishioners that he uphold the social values of the day and be respected as a member of genteel society.

Comparisons with other early-18th century Sites

Using the architectural information from the St. Paul's parsonage site and its artifact assemblage, it is now possible to compare the St. Paul's parsonage house and artifact assemblage to other early-18th century sites in the area.

Many South Carolina missionaries repeatedly requested financial assistance from the SPG, stating that they could not live off their annual salary of £50 and only through donations from parishioners could they survive. In 1708, towards the end the three-year period that the SPG paid his salary, Reverend Le Jau of St. James', Goose Creek Parish begged them for "a Continuance of the Society's Bounty to help me to subsist" (Le Jau to SPG, April 22, 1708, SPG). Reverend Dun of St. Paul's asked the SPG to send him various articles of ladies' clothing rather than his salary, as he could sell them for nearly a 100% profit in his parish (Dun to SPG, April 27, 1707, SPG). Once he was settled in St. Paul's Parish, Reverend Maitland requested an allowance from the

SPG due to his “small and inconsiderable Benefice” (Maitland to SPG, September 16, 1708, SPG).

Using the recovered artifacts and architectural descriptions of the St. Paul’s parsonage and comparing those results to other contemporary sites, it may be possible to determine if the financial hardships expressed by the Anglican missionaries were accurate depictions of life for an Anglican missionary or if their own biases were coming through in their letters. The difficulty in conducting such a comparative study is the lack of similar contemporary sites that have been the subject of archaeological investigations. Most sites that have been studied archaeologically from this period and that have findings available are those of wealthy planter families (Zierden et al. 1985; Zierden et al. 1986; Trinkley 1987; Poplin et al. 2003). While there are obvious status differences, the main difficulty in using these sites is the inability to separate the late-17th to early-18th century occupations with mid-to-late-18th century occupations

However, three sites, the Thomas Lynch Plantation, Schieveling Plantation, and the Miller Site have been the subject of archaeological investigations and do have assemblages that can be isolated to the early decades of the 18th century. It should be noted that while the assemblages represent a similar time period in the rural parishes of South Carolina, they represent different types of households. At the Thomas Lynch Plantation house and Schieveling Plantation sites, households would have been comprised of the planter, his wife, their children, and a number of enslaved people. None of the three St. Paul’s missionaries were married or had children. Therefore its household consisted only of a single male and a few enslaved people. Little is known of

the composition of the Miller Site household, except that the owner mentioned one son of an unknown age in his will (Rebecca Shepherd, 2011, pers. comm.).

In addition to the Thomas Lynch Plantation site, another site suitable for comparison to the St. Paul's parsonage is Schieveling Plantation located in St. Andrew's Parish, along the Ashley River. During the first decade of the 18th century, the Butler family constructed a house and several outbuildings, all enclosed by a brick wall (Poplin et al. 2004:305). The Butlers owned the property until the 1740s. From that time until the 1780s, a number of different people owned the property. In 1785, Ralph Izard purchased the property and it remained in the Izard family for a number of decades (Poplin et al. 2004:38). Although several areas of the former plantation have been excavated and indicate occupation from the Late Woodland Period through the 19th century, Area A is the location of the early-18th century occupation of the Butler family (Poplin et al. 2004:3). The fewer numbers of mid-to-late 18th-century artifacts suggest that from the 1740s to the 1780s, occupation of the former Butler compound was sporadic. Archaeologists had expected to recover a large amount of artifacts from the Izards, a wealthy planter family. Instead the relatively low amount of late-18th to mid-19th-century artifacts and the small amount of higher status ceramics, such as Chinese porcelain, suggests that while the Izard family may have used this area, they constructed a second and still unidentified main house elsewhere on their plantation (Poplin et al. 2004:160, 305). Although both Schieveling Plantation and the Thomas Lynch Plantation were occupied through the mid-19th century, they are appropriate comparisons to the St. Paul's parsonage as the structures date to the early-18th century

and the majority of recovered artifacts reflect activities that occurred during the early-to-mid 18th-century occupations of both plantations.

The third site available for comparison is the Miller Site (38CH1-MS), previously discussed in Chapter 1. At this time little information about who owned or lived in the structure has been discovered. However, a James La Sade purchased the property in 1694 and it is believed he constructed the building (Jones and Beeby 2010:2). Although excavations are still on-going, archaeologists have uncovered a portion of the interior of the structure, indicated by a tabby floor and artifacts that date from the late-17th to early-18th centuries (Jones and Beeby 2010). Currently, archaeologists have uncovered a 20 x 25 ft. area of tabby floor. They are still excavating and uncovering the floor, therefore, the structure's dimensions and floor plan have yet to be determined (Shepherd 2012).

The preliminary analysis of the artifacts at the Miller Site indicates a very similar date of occupation to the St. Paul's parsonage based on ceramic types and pipe stem bore measurements. Additionally, the initial analysis suggests a similar artifact assemblage to that of the St. Paul's parsonage with a large amount of wine bottles and tobacco pipe fragments. Further analysis of documentary evidence and archaeological excavations suggests the structure was a residence rather than a tavern as originally believed by Miller in 1968. As excavations continue, this interpretation is still subject to change (Jones and Beeby 2010).

To address the question of how the missionary's material goods compared to other settlers in the region, the amount and various decorative styles of ceramics should provide the most information regarding the financial ability of the missionary to purchase goods, as well as the availability of imported goods to the region. Likewise, a relatively

high amount of colonowares may indicate a reliance on more locally produced goods or the presence of a larger enslaved population. For this comparison, only those historic ceramics with a date of manufacture prior to 1725 were used, since the parsonage site and the Miller site appear to be abandoned ca. 1720. Therefore, common ceramic types such as white salt-glazed stoneware tablewares, creamwares, pearlwares, and whitewares were eliminated from the Thomas Lynch Plantation and the Schieveling Plantation assemblages.

Due to on-going excavations and artifact analysis from the Miller Site, at this time MVCs are not available for that site and sherd counts include all artifacts recovered through summer 2011. Therefore, only sherd counts are used when comparing all four sites together (Table 8-9). MVCs for the Thomas Lynch Plantation, Schieveling Plantation, and the St. Paul's parsonage are also considered (Table 8-10). With most decorative styles, the percentage of individual styles based on MVC closely parallels those percentages based on sherd counts.

When comparing the ceramics from these four sites, a number of differences are noted. One obvious difference is the numbers and percentages of locally-produced colonowares between sites. At three sites – Thomas Lynch Plantation, Schieveling Plantation, and the parsonage, colonowares compromise the largest percentage of any ceramic type based on sherd count. At the Miller Site the low amount of colonoware may be due to the fact that excavations to date have concentrated only within the main structure. Colonowares are typically associated with food storage and preparation and therefore, as excavations at the Miller Site expand into the space where daily activities

Table 8-9. Sherd counts of different types ceramics common before 1725 recovered from four sites. Includes percentage of overall ceramic assemblage.

Ceramic Type	Thomas Lynch Plantation	Schieveling Plantation	Miller Site	St. Paul's Parsonage
Astbury	-	1 (<0.1%)	-	2 (0.2%)
Rhenish (Frechen) stoneware	4 (<.1%)	-	-	-
British Brown salt-glazed stoneware	214 (3.0%)	43 (1.4%)	6 (2.4%)	19 (2.1%)
Buckley ware	137 (1.9%)	-	-	7 (0.8%)
Burslem stoneware	90 (1.2%)	6 (0.2%)	-	-
Chinese porcelain	140 (1.9%)	661 (20.8%)	6 (2.4%)	13 (1.5%)
Colonoware (including Historic Indian)	3,068 (42.1%)	710 (22.3%)	24 (9.6%)	297 (33.4%)
Fulham stoneware	112 (1.5%)	1 (<0.1%)	-	-
French green-glazed earthenware	-	-	-	3 (0.3%)
Grey salt-glazed (Rhenish)	-	20 (0.6%)	6 (2.4%)	-
Manganese mottled earthenware	-	-	8 (3.2%)	90 (10.1%)
Mediterranean ware (olive jars)	2 (<.1%)	126 (4.0%)	-	-
Metropolitan ware	45 (0.6%)	-	-	-
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	382 (5.3%)	218 (6.9%)	16 (6.4%)	48 (5.4%)
North Devon sgraffito earthenware	118 (1.6%)	5 (0.2%)	-	3 (0.3%)
Nottingham (or Nottingham-type) stoneware	3 (<.1%)	17 (0.5%)	-	36 (4.0%)
Redware (coarse)	119 (1.6%)	229 (7.2%)	21 (8.4%)	9 (1.0%)
Rhenish (Westerwald) stoneware	394 (5.4%)	90 (2.8%)	2 (0.1%)	21 (2.4%)
Staffordshire slipwares	654 (9.0%)	463 (14.6%)	81 (32.4%)	202 (22.7%)
Tin-glazed earthenware	1,794 (24.7%)	580 (18.2%)	78 (31.2%)	116 (13.0%)
White salt-glazed stoneware	-	11 (0.3%)	2 (0.1%)	23 (2.6%)
TOTAL	7,276	3,181	250	889

Table 8-10. MVC of different types of ceramics common before 1725 recovered from three sites. Includes percentage of overall MVC.

Ceramic Type	Thomas Lynch Plantation	Schieveling Plantation	St. Paul's Parsonage
Astbury	-	1 (0.3%)	1 (2.0%)
Rhenish (Frechen) stoneware	2 (0.5%)	-	-
British Brown salt-glazed stoneware	21 (5.4%)	18 (5.1%)	5 (9.8%)
Buckley ware	5 (1.3%)	-	2 (3.9%)
Burslem stoneware	1 (0.3%)	2 (0.6%)	-
Chinese porcelain	20 (5.2%)	82 (23.3%)	5 (9.8%)
Colonoware (including Historic Indian)	157 (40.6%)	75 (21.3%)	10 (19.6%)
Fulham stoneware	10 (2.6%)	1 (0.3%)	-
French green-glazed earthenware	-	-	1 (2.0%)
Grey salt-glazed stoneware	-	1 (0.3%)	-
Manganese mottled earthenware	-	-	3 (5.9%)
Mediterranean ware	1 (0.3%)	25 (7.1%)	-
Metropolitan ware	1 (0.3%)	-	-
North Devon gravel-tempered earthenware	15 (3.9%)	30 (8.5%)	3 (5.9%)
North Devon sgraffito earthenware	10 (2.6%)	1 (0.3%)	2 (3.9%)
Nottingham (or Nottingham-type) stoneware	1 (0.3%)	3 (0.9%)	3 (5.9%)
Redware (coarse)	15 (3.9%)	30 (8.5%)	1 (2.0%)
Rhenish (Westerwald) stoneware	14 (3.6%)	14 (4.0%)	2 (3.9%)
Staffordshire slipwares	26 (6.7%)	29 (8.2%)	5 (9.8%)
Tin-glazed earthenware	86 (22.2%)	39 (11.1%)	6 (11.8%)
White salt-glazed stoneware	-	1 (0.3%)	2 (3.9%)
TOTAL	387	352	51

more likely occurred, such as a separate out-kitchen, the presence of colonoware will likely increase.

The MVC of colonowares at the parsonage site (19.6%) were comparable to those from Schieveling Plantation (21.3%), but much lower than colonowares at the Lynch House (40.6%). Colonowares are low-fired unglazed earthenware vessels that were most commonly produced by enslaved Native Americans and Africans. While their presence is often considered an indication of the activities of enslaved people, they were available through markets and used by white settlers as well (Anthony 2009). It would be expected that the two plantations would have a higher frequency of colonowares due to the large number of enslaved people living and working at them. This was the case for the Lynch House, but it was interesting that the MVC of colonowares at Schieveling was relatively low. Even at the parsonage where the only documented evidence of enslaved people is the three slaves Reverend Bull purchased just months before the parsonage was destroyed (two of whom were children), nearly one out of every five vessels was colonoware. Of course, it is quite likely that there were other enslaved people living at the parsonage site whose existence is not documented. In any case, the number of enslaved people at the parsonage would have been far lower than that from the two working plantations.

The relatively short, eight-year occupation of the parsonage may also contribute to its smaller percentage of colonowares. It is impossible to say whether Reverend Bull or his predecessors obtained their colonowares vessels from their own enslaved people, from the enslaved people of parishioners, through trade, or a combination of all three factors. While it does not support or eliminate any of the possible sources of the

colonowares recovered at the parsonage, it should be noted that of the ten colonoware vessels, three are identified as Historic Indian based on their temper, paste, or surface decoration (Figure 8-10) (Ron Anthony, 2011, pers. comm.). Their presence may at first appear to be evidence of trade with local Indian groups. However, up until the time of the Yamasee War, up to 25% of enslaved peoples in South Carolina were Native Americans (Ramsey 2001, 2008). Reverend Bull wrote that he owned at least one Indian woman slave (Bull to SPG, January 15, 1714, SPG) and it is likely that his parishioners' enslaved people included Native Americans as well.

Other significant differences regarding the frequency of ceramics types between the four sites allow for further interpretations regarding the financial ability or constraints of the St. Paul's missionaries, as well as their Puritan ideology. Chinese porcelain is generally considered the best indicator of wealth through the 18th century because of the expense of importing it from China. At the parsonage site, archaeologists recovered 13 porcelain sherds for a MVC of five porcelain vessels. The percentage of porcelain sherds to the overall ceramic assemblage at the parsonage (1.5%) is very similar to that from the Miller Site (2.4%) and surprisingly, from the Thomas Lynch Plantation (1.9%) as well. However, when only the ceramic assemblage from the ruins of the main Lynch house are examined, the percentage of porcelain increases to 10.3% of the total ceramic assemblage (Poplin and Huddleston 1998:67) which separates it more so from the parsonage and the Miller Site. Besides Chinese porcelain, tin-glazed wares are often considered another sign of wealth, particularly those that were hand-painted polychrome. The parsonage has the lowest percentage of tin-glazed wares (13.0%) from any of the four sites. The percentages for both sherd count and MVC from the



Figure 8-10. Examples of Historic Indian pottery recovered at the parsonage site. (Photo by the author).

parsonage does rival those from Schieveling Plantation; however, the significantly higher amounts of Chinese porcelain from Schieveling is an indication that the Butler family chose the higher priced porcelain over tin-glazed wares when possible.

Other indicators that suggest the missionaries of St. Paul's were possibly financially constrained from purchasing higher priced goods are the numbers of Staffordshire slipwares and manganese-mottled wares. Both of these decorative styles were mass-produced from the late-17th into the mid-to-late 18th century (Maryland Archaeological Conservation Lab 2008). Additionally, the cost to purchase these wares was kept low as they lacked the more intricate hand-painting and use of multiple colors often seen with Chinese porcelain and tin-glazed vessels. The parsonage site and the Miller Site both have much higher percentages of Staffordshire slipwares in comparison

with the overall ceramic assemblage, suggesting the residents of both places relied more on these less expensive ceramic types than the residents at Schieveling and the Lynch Plantation.

This ceramic comparison indicates that although the St. Paul's missionaries had a variety of imported European wares, they had relatively few of the more expensive Chinese porcelain and tin-glazed wares readily available in South Carolina at the time, especially when compared to planter families. Instead, they led a fairly modest lifestyle and had the funds to purchase a number of the more common and moderately priced ceramic styles that helped them maintain and portray their gentility. Rather than just being an indicator of Reverend Bull's or the other missionaries' inability to purchase the more elaborately decorated and expensive delftware and porcelains, the relatively plain Staffordshire slipwares and manganese mottled wares may instead be a reflection of Puritan values. The Anglican Church in the colonies was strongly influenced by the Puritan ideals of simplicity, as seen in the architecture and interior furnishings of many churches, including St. Paul's. It seems likely that ideas of simplicity would have also been expressed through other forms of material culture, including those objects used by Anglican missionaries on a daily basis. Simply decorated ceramics would have been a more modest way one could express their gentility without being in direct contrast to the ordinary and plain styles depicted in most Anglican churches at the time.

In some important ways the architecture of the parsonage, its contents, and the meanings being expressed by them, parallel the church. Church supervisors provided St. Paul's missionaries with a residence that expressed the same level of prosperity on the outside as a wealthy planter family such as the Lynches. Just as they had

accomplished with the placement and orientation of the church, St. Paul's church supervisors made a statement about the Anglican Church's presence and wealth with their parsonage house, as well as the generosity of St. Paul's vestry and themselves. In Virginia, vestries were often generous in the houses provided to their ministers as they, "represent the high value placed on the church and the ministry and, coincidentally, the good sense, cultivation, and responsibilities of the vestry" (Nelson 2001:53). However, at both the church and the parsonage, the interior furnishing and objects within the church and the parsonage were more modest, in keeping with the Puritan-influenced ideas of simplicity and practicality.

Although the artifacts and architecture of the parsonage indicate that the missionaries lived a fairly comfortable lifestyle, it should be noted they faced a number of other hardships they were not accustomed to in England. The threat of Indian attacks, slave uprisings, and difficult traveling conditions are often noted in their letters. Additionally, they frequently expressed their frustrations with the lack of religious knowledge of their parishioners and the disinterest of parishioners to allow their slaves to be baptized. Missionaries also had to face the threat of diseases such as malaria and yellow fever that were widespread in the colony, especially during the late summer and fall months. Newcomers to the colony were most greatly affected as they had not gone through the "seasoning."

During his one year in the colony, fellow missionaries reported that St. Paul's Reverend Dun was often afflicted with "the fever" (Le Jau to SPG, December 2, 1706; Le Jau to SPG, September 23, 1707, SPG; Maule to SPG, November 28, 1707, SPG). In a study of the mortality rate of SPG missionaries in South Carolina prior to 1750,

historian Bradford Wood discovered that 25% of missionaries died within their first five years in the colony, many from disease (Wood 1999:207). Other missionaries left the colony stating health reasons and the colony's reputation as an unhealthy place made it difficult to recruit new missionaries (Wood 1999:207-208).

St. Paul's missionaries reflect the short-term nature of SPG missionaries in the colonies. Reverend Dun stayed in the colony for not quite two years. He suffered from illness much of his time in South Carolina and asked the SPG that he be able to return to England (Dun to SPG Secretary, September 20, 1708, SPG). Reverend Maitland died during his tenure at St. Paul's, although his cause of death is unknown (Johnston to Secretary, April 20, 1711, SPG). On October 10, 1722, Reverend Bull asked the SPG to allow his return to England as his ten-year anniversary in the colony was approaching (Bull to Secretary, October 10, 1722, SPG). The SPG granted his request (SPG to Bull, November 16, 1722, SPG) and in May 1723, Bull returned home (Bull to Governor Nicholson, May 17, 1723, SPG).

Social Functions of Parsonage

The artifacts and zooarchaeological evidence provide some insight into the types of animals raised at the parsonage and into the activities that the St. Paul's missionaries and the enslaved people who lived with them would have partaken in at the parsonage on a daily basis, namely those associated with food storage, preparation, and consumption. In addition to these activities, the assemblage also suggests that socializing was a common activity there. Although the St. Paul's parsonage served as a residence for the missionary to St. Paul's and his enslaved people, the assemblage

contains a large number of drinking vessels (tankards and cups), tobacco pipes, and bottles in relation to food preparation and storage vessels. High frequencies of artifacts such as these are often indicative of a colonial tavern. Taverns, or ordinaries as they were commonly called prior to the mid-18th century, served many functions, but generally they were places that offered food, drink, and entertainment to guests and overnight accommodations for travelers (Lounsbury 1994:369). However, 18th-century taverns served a number of additional functions, resulting in a variety of activities taking place within them. They were places where community members came together to socialize with one another, to share the latest news of the area, and to discuss the most recent gossip. Business and political meetings were also commonplace at taverns, especially in rural areas where public buildings were few and far between (Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Thorp 1996:662). Taverns served as post offices, auction galleries, union halls, lecture and concert halls, sporting venues, gambling halls, and gaming rooms (Rockman and Rothschild 1984; Lounsbury 1994:369; Conroy 1995:55; Thorp 1996:662).

It can be difficult to distinguish a tavern from a residential site in the archaeological record because many taverns actually served as domestic residences for the owner and his or her family. Kathleen Bragdon (1981) used probate records and artifact assemblages to compare two 18th-century sites – Wellfleet Tavern, located on Cape Cod, and the home site of a yeoman farmer, Joseph Howland, of Kingston, Massachusetts. Her hypothesis was that differences in material culture between sites may not necessarily be related to socioeconomic status as was commonly believed, but instead, occupation (1981:27). Bragdon chose these sites in part because Howland and

Samuel Smith, the owner of Wellfleet Tavern, held similar social positions within their respective communities. Therefore, any differences in material culture should reflect their occupational differences, not social status. Her research indicated that tavern and domestic assemblages have unique characteristics that allow them to be distinguished. Bragdon argued that a tavern assemblage should include a large number of vessels, wine glasses, and tobacco pipe stems, specialized glassware, and a higher percentage of ceramic drinking vessels compared to other ceramic vessels (Bragdon 1981:35). In contrast, domestic assemblages should contain more locally-made coarse earthenwares, a greater number of ceramic vessels used for food preparation and storage rather than drinking, a smaller number of tobacco pipe stems, and a small number of wine glasses (Bragdon 1981:35-36). In particular, she states that a large number of tobacco pipe stems, specialized glassware, and higher percentage of ceramic drinking vessels are the best indicators of a tavern site (Bragdon 1981:36).

Another study focused on the multiple functions of colonial taverns, in particular the differences between urban and rural taverns. Rockman and Rothschild (1984) analyzed artifacts from four colonial taverns to see if urban taverns functioned differently than their rural counterparts. The four 18th-century taverns in their study included the urban sites of Lovelace Tavern in New York City and a tavern in Jamestown, Virginia, along with the rural John Earthy Tavern site in Pemaquid, Maine and Cape Cod's Wellfleet Tavern. Although the Wellfleet Tavern was part of a small commercial area centered on whaling, the authors contend it was still a fairly rural area and the tavern would have likely accommodated several overnight travelers. Rockman and Rothschild focused their analysis on bottle glass, ceramics, and tobacco pipes to examine possible

differences in tavern function. Rockman and Rothschild's results indicated that urban taverns functioned more as meeting places where people gathered to socialize, drink, and smoke tobacco, and would be less likely to house overnight guests. On the other hand, the two rural taverns produced a higher number of ceramics associated with food preparation, with a lower percentage of bottle glass and tobacco pipes. The authors interpreted the differences in artifact percentage as an indicator that rural taverns functioned less as a social meeting place and more as a place to accommodate overnight guests, including the preparation of their meals (Rockman and Rothschild 1984:119).

Brown et al. (1990) tested both of these studies against their findings from the Shields Tavern, in Williamsburg, Virginia. Shields Tavern was in operation from 1708-1751; however, the building also served as a domestic residence before and after its use as a tavern. Because of the relatively undisturbed nature of the site, the authors were able to separate the levels and features, and the recovered artifacts from them, into time periods representing the different uses of the site. Their analysis of the Early Tavern period artifacts (1708-1738) and those from the Late Tavern period (1738-1751) fit Bragdon's description of a tavern assemblage because of the higher percentage of vessels associated with drinking along with specialized glassware, especially when compared to the domestic occupation post-1751 (Brown et al. 1990:158). The distribution of pipes to ceramics fits well into Rockman and Rothschild's urban tavern pattern, suggesting Shields Tavern served more as a public meeting space where guests would come together to socialize, have some drinks, and smoke rather than a place that accommodated overnight guests (Brown et al. 1990:158).

The Bragdon and Rockman and Rothschild studies have also been used to show that some non-tavern sites may have functioned in a manner similar to taverns, namely as social meeting places. In their analysis of the artifacts from the Charleston Beef Market site (1692-1796), Zierden and Reitz noted the relative abundance of tobacco pipes, drinking glasses, and cooking vessels – similar to Bragdon’s description of a tavern site (2005:239-240). Using the data from Shields Tavern and the four taverns of Rockman and Rothschild’s study, Zierden and Reitz concluded that even though it was not a tavern, the Beef Market shared many activities with a tavern such as socializing, food and beverage consumption, and the selling or purchasing of goods (2005:243). The authors also noted that although the Beef Market was located within the city’s center, the artifacts did not fall into Rockman and Rothschild’s urban tavern pattern. Rather, the artifacts were more similar in variety and number to a more rural tavern, likely due to the various activities that would have taken place within a market atmosphere (Zierden and Reitz 2005:243).

To test the idea that the parsonage may have functioned as a social meeting place similar to a tavern, I compared its artifact assemblage to Bragdon’s characteristics of taverns and domestic sites. When using patterns to examine possible functions of a site, such as Bragdon’s or others such as those suggested by Stanley South (1977), it is important to remember that rarely does a site fall perfectly into a suggested pattern. Functional patterns may provide general guidelines, but archaeologists must also consider contextual differences in understanding the reasons why a site may or may not fit a particular pattern. Another difficulty with Bragdon’s traits is her use of relative terms such as “largest percentage” and “large number of vessels.” At the parsonage site,

archaeologists recovered a minimum of 60 vessels (Table 8-11), which seems like a high number. In order to determine if 60 vessels is truly a high number, the total number of sherds from ceramic vessels was compared against the total number of ceramic sherds. The result indicates that 641 of the 892 ceramic sherds (71.9%) were from vessels, with the remainder of sherds representing plates, saucers, and other flatware pieces. The same calculation was completed with the MVC with fairly similar results. In this case, of the 51 individual ceramic pieces, 42 have been identified as vessels (82.4%) with only 7 pieces of flatware.

The next step was to compare the total number of drinking vessels in relation to the total ceramic assemblage. Ceramics sherds identified as drinking vessels

Table 8-11. Types of vessels (MVC) recovered from entire parsonage site.

Vessel Type (MVC)	Count	Percentage of Overall Artifact Assemblage
cup	4	6.7%
hollow ware	3	5.0
tankard	10	16.7
milk pan	3	5.0
crock	1	1.7
jug/jar	4	6.7
jar	1	1.7
large hollow ware vessel	2	3.3
large bowl	11	18.3
small bowl	3	5.0
alcohol bottles	18	30.0
TOTAL	60	

(tankards and cups) totaled 233 of the 892 total ceramics (26.1%). Using only the number of drinking vessels from the MVC produced a total of 14 out of the 51 individual objects (27.5%). But again, is just over one drinking vessel for every four ceramic vessels a high percentage? For comparison, the number of ceramic food preparation and storage vessels was analyzed. Among the traits that define Bragdon's domestic assemblage is the larger percentage of food preparation and storage vessels (i.e. bowls, jugs, jars, milk pans) in relation to overall ceramic assemblage. The result was 407 of 892 (45.6%) sherds being identified as food preparation and storage vessels, while 56.9% (29 of 51) of the minimum number of vessels were either related to food preparation or storage. This figure is a much higher percentage of the overall ceramic assemblage, suggesting the parsonage functioned more as a domestic site than a tavern.

Also related to ceramic drinking vessels is Bragdon's third characteristic of taverns – a larger percentage of ceramic types associated with drinking vessels. The ceramics types that Bragdon included in her study that are present at the parsonage included manganese mottled wares, British Brown stonewares, slip-dipped white salt-glazed stonewares, Staffordshire slipwares, and Rhenish stonewares. I also included Nottingham-type wares from the parsonage as they are often associated with tankards. Sherds from these ceramic types totaled 272, or 30.49% of the total 892 ceramic sherds, or 37.3% of the MVC (19 of 51). These numbers and percentages are high enough to suggest more tavern-related activities.

Bragdon's analysis also suggested a tavern should have a relatively high amount of wine glasses and specialized glassware. This was not the case at the parsonage, as

only six sherds of a wine glass, representing a minimum of one wine glass were recovered. Taverns should also have pipe fragments numbering in the thousands versus a domestic site with numbers in the hundreds. Archaeologists recovered 319 pipe stems from the parsonage site, a number that would place it in the home site category. However, I believe the number of pipe fragments is low because of the short occupation of the site – only eight years. To overcome this bias, I calculated the average number of pipe fragments recovered by the number of years of occupation of the parsonage. The outcome is an average of 40 pipe fragments deposited for each year the parsonage was occupied. I then conducted the same calculations with other known tavern sites (Table 8-12). Unfortunately, the data is not standardized to the amount of soil excavated between sites, so that leaves some room for error, but should hopefully provide a general idea about the number of pipe stems deposited per year. When compared to known tavern sites, the number of pipes deposited per year at the St. Paul's parsonage house is much higher at the parsonage site than at the Jamestown Tavern and is similar to Shields Tavern. These results indicate that even though the number of pipe fragments recovered at the parsonage site measures in the hundreds, it actually is comparable to known tavern sites when the number of years occupied is taken into consideration.

In addition to her tavern site traits, Bragdon also stated that a home site should have a high number of locally made coarse redwares. From the parsonage site, I included colonowares and Historic Indian pottery into the calculations as they were locally-produced earthenwares. These sherds represented 297 of the 892 sherds (33.3%). When the MVC is used, the percentage drops to 8.9%, or 6 out of 45 vessels.

Table 8-12. Comparison of number of St. Paul's parsonage pipes to known tavern locations.

Tavern	Dates of Occupation	# of Years Occupation	# of Pipe Fragments	Pipe Fragments Deposited/Year
Jamestown Tavern	1670-1700	30	543	18.10
John Earthy's Tavern	c.1675-1700	25	2863	114.52
Lovelace Tavern	1760-1706	46	4220	91.74
St. Paul's Parsonage	1707-1715	8	319	39.88
Shields Tavern (Early Period)	1708-1738	30	1333	44.43
Wellfleet Tavern	c.1680-1740	60	9090	151.50

Table 8-13. Results of parsonage comparison to Bragdon's tavern and domestic assemblage characteristics.

Bragdon's Characteristics	St. Paul's Parsonage
Large numbers of vessels in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	66.7% Tavern
Large % of drinking vessels in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	28.9% Domestic
Large % of ceramic types associated with drinking vessels in relation to ceramic assemblage	40.0% Tavern
Large numbers of wine glasses and specialized glassware (in fragments)	6 Domestic
Large numbers of pipe stems (in fragments)	319 Tavern
Local redwares, predominantly coarse, in relation to ceramic assemblage	8.9% Tavern

Overall, the artifact assemblage of the St. Paul's parsonage slightly favors Bragdon's tavern assemblage (Table 8-13). However, she wrote that three traits were particularly diagnostic of tavern assemblages – a higher percentage of drinking vessels, a larger number of pipes, and specialized glassware (Bragdon 1988:90). Only the large number of pipes is found at the parsonage. The reason why this analysis is not completely decisive likely lies in the fact that the parsonage house was not a tavern *per se*. First and foremost, the parsonage was the residence of the missionaries to St. Paul's and their enslaved peoples. While socializing appears to be a function of the parsonage, it was not the main one. Rather, the daily activities associated with the running of a household and a small farmstead were the primary activities that took place there. In this particular case, the parsonage site does not fall neatly into either the functional pattern of a tavern or a domestic site, as it functioned as both.

Another way of examining the possibility that the St. Paul's parsonage served a variety of functions is by comparing the distribution of pipes and ceramics, as Rockman and Rothschild had done. Based on its very rural location, the parsonage should compare most favorably with the two rural taverns from their analysis - the John Earthy Tavern and the Wellfleet Tavern. Additionally, because the parsonage was a domestic residence and not a tavern, it is expected that the activities that took place there should be non-specialized and vary from daily chores and food preparation to the entertaining of guests and the occasional overnight visitor. These assumptions were correct as the ratio of pipes to ceramics at the parsonage is most similar to that seen at Wellfleet Tavern, the most rural of the four taverns that Rockman and Rothschild used in their study (Figure 8-11).

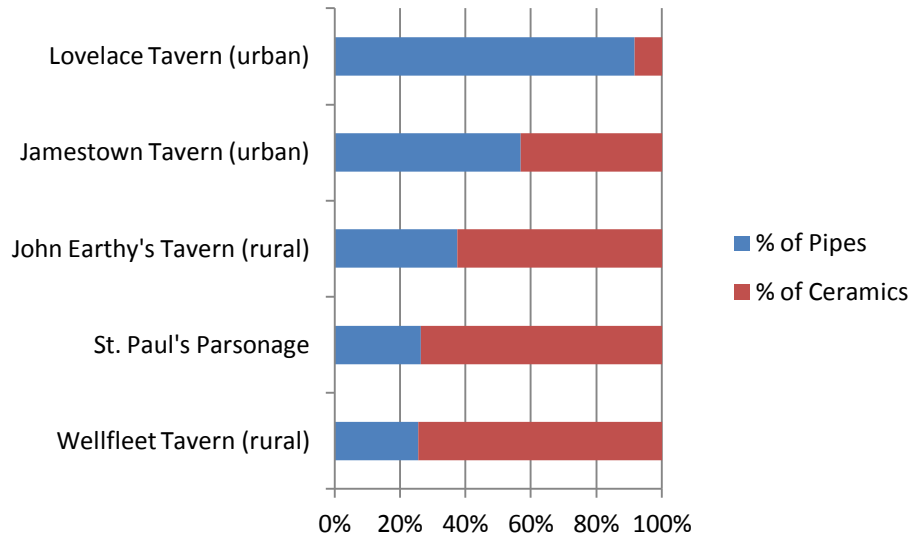


Figure 8-11. Ratio of pipes versus ceramics at four tavern sites and St. Paul’s Parsonage.

Therefore, much like the Beef Market in Charles Towne, the parsonage was a public meeting place where a number of activities likely took place, similar to a tavern. In addition to the daily activities associated with life at the parsonage, the St. Paul’s missionary, visitors, vestrymen, and parish residents would congregate there to socialize, share the latest news and gossip, and strike business deals while enjoying food, beverages, and tobacco. As Anglican churches were often reserved only for church services, other church-related activities such as vestry meetings may have taken place at the parsonage, especially since the parsonage and church were only separated by approximately 200 yards. Both Reverends Dun and Bull wrote about their attempts to convert Africans and Native Americans to Christianity, with limited success. The parsonage may have also been the location of their “classes.” The importance of the

parsonage as a social meeting place to parishioners will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Comparisons with other 18th-century South Carolina Parsonages and Residences

Was the social function of St. Paul's parsonage unique to that parish or was it a common occurrence that parsonages acted as social gathering places? Unfortunately, no other early-18th century parsonage sites have been studied archaeologically against which the St. Paul's parsonage can be compared. However, archaeological investigations have occurred at two mid-to-late -18th century parsonages in the area and these sites provide some basis for comparison, although they date over 50 years later than the St. Paul's parsonage.

Willtown, a frontier town within St. Paul's Parish, was the home of many dissenters, especially Presbyterians. As early as 1704, Presbyterians attended services at a church there (Zierden and Anthony 2010:9). Extensive archaeological excavations have been conducted at the parsonage of the second Willtown Presbyterian Church (Zierden and Anthony 2010). Archaeological and documentary evidence point to a mid-18th-century construction date for this parsonage and it is believed to have been occupied until around the turn of the 19th century. Except for the 50-year difference in occupation dates, in many ways the Willtown parsonage is similar to that of St. Paul's. Both structures were destroyed by fire, resulting in distinct artifact levels within the bottom of the cellar at St. Paul's and the basement at the Willtown parsonage - those levels associated with activities that took place during the occupation of the structure and those levels that are a result of the cleaning up of debris and the filling in of the

cellar. Also like the St. Paul's parsonage, there is no real distinction in the types of artifacts found in the cellar debris and the area surrounding the parsonage and therefore, the assemblages are considered together.

In Mount Pleasant, South Carolina, just northeast of Charleston, Wayne and Dickinson (1996) conducted archaeological excavations on the site believed to represent the ruins of one of the three Christ Church Parish parsonage houses. Through their investigations and documentary descriptions of the three parsonages, they determined the ruins represented the third Christ Church parsonage, constructed ca. 1769 (Wayne and Dickinson 1996:52).

A comparison of these three parsonage sites is difficult because of the lack of standardized ways of reporting artifact data. The Christ Church parsonage data includes the minimum number of vessels, but not individual sherd counts, while the Willtown parsonage report does the opposite – sherd counts, but without vessel form. However, it is possible to make some generalizations based on the available information. Apart from the obvious differences in decorative styles due to the time difference, the Willtown and Christ Church parsonages artifact assemblages differ from that of St. Paul's parsonage in a number of other ways.

By comparing the three parsonage sites to Bragdon's characteristics, it is possible to see that the Christ Church parsonage has far fewer drinking vessels in relation to the total ceramic assemblage, fewer ceramic types associated with drinking vessels, a smaller quantity of pipe fragments, and a larger percentage of coarse earthenwares (Table 8-14). Except for the high number of vessels, the Christ Church parsonage appears to have functioned as a true domestic residence. At the Willtown

Table 8-14. Results of analysis of Bragdon’s tavern assemblage characteristics to St. Paul’s Parsonage, Willtown Parsonage, and Christ Church Parsonage assemblages (based on MVC unless otherwise noted).

Bragdon’s Characteristics	St. Paul’s Parsonage	Willtown Parsonage*	Christ Church Parsonage
Large numbers of vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	66.7% Tavern	N/A	76.0% Tavern
Large % of drinking vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	28.9% Domestic	N/A	11.6% Domestic
Large % of ceramic types associated with drinking vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage	40.0% Tavern	15.4% Domestic	5.8% Domestic
Large numbers of wine glasses and specialized glassware (in fragments)	6 Domestic	50 Tavern	5 Domestic
Large numbers of pipe stems (in fragments)	319 Tavern	332 Domestic	76 Domestic
Local redwares, predominantly coarse, in relation to ceramic assemblage	8.9% Tavern	63.6% Domestic	28.5% Domestic

* all data based on sherd count

parsonage, the percentages for the first two traits cannot be calculated due to vessel form not being determined. However, the percentage of ceramic types most often associated with drinking vessels and the percentage of coarse earthenwares is significantly lower than seen at St. Paul’s. While the number of pipe fragments is similar, it is important to remember the difference in occupation lengths – 8 years at St. Paul’s versus approximately 40 years at Willtown. The only possible tavern-like characteristic seen at the Willtown parsonage is in the number of wine glass fragments. This number may be somewhat misleading as it is the number of fragments, not a minimum number of vessels. Also, Bragdon was not clear on what constitutes a “large number of wine glasses.” Overall, while the artifact assemblage from the St. Paul’s parsonage appears to be more tavern-like, meaning it served as a social-gathering place, the assemblages

from both the Willtown and Christ Church parsonages indicate that both sites functioned as domestic residences.

One possible reason for the apparently different activities that took place at the three parsonages is the time periods represented. In the early-18th century, St. Paul's Parish was very rural and especially after the 1715 Yamasee War, was considered to be the southern frontier. During the mid-to-late 18th century, Willtown and Christ Church Parish were still very rural, but they were far more settled than St. Paul's Parish during the early-18th century. Small towns and settlements were more widely scattered throughout the rural areas and there would more likely be public gathering areas, rather than the parsonage. Also, as South Carolina was firmly entrenched in the plantation economy by the mid-18th century, the Willtown and Christ Church parsonages and glebe lands probably functioned more as true plantations. In their final report on the Willtown parsonage house, Zierden and Anthony (2010) questioned if the parsonage functioned as a residence for the minister or a residence of a wealthy planter. Based on the variety and types of ceramics recovered and documentary evidence that indicates at least seven enslaved people working at the parsonage, they concluded that the parsonage functioned more as an income-producing plantation (Zierden and Anthony 2010:95). There likely were more appropriate places to socialize than a busy "plantation house."

To test this idea that the social function of the parsonage is related to the time period rather than it being a parsonage, a similar analysis was conducted with the early-18th century sites discussed previously – Thomas Lynch Plantation House and Schieveling Plantation. Once again there were difficulties in determining what should be considered a "large number" or a "large percentage" of the assemblage as well as

differences in the way individual archaeologists identify vessel type. For example, at the Thomas Lynch House the MVC was 387; however, the vessel forms of 260 of them were classified as “unknown.” The number of unidentified vessels is likely the cause for the low percentage of vessels to the overall ceramic assemblage of the site.

When the Lynch House and Schieveling Plantation are added to the information from Table 8-14, the St. Paul’s parsonage is the only one out of the five sites that the assemblage appears to be more like a colonial tavern than a domestic site (Table 8-15). With the exception of the first characteristic, a large number of vessels compared to the overall ceramic assemblage, the other sites fit Bragdon’s characteristic of a domestic site. Only the pipe stems recovered from the Lynch House are abundant enough to be classified as more tavern-like. Based on the estimated 30 year occupation of the Lynch House, approximately 22.8 pipe fragments were deposited per year of occupation. This figure is relatively small compared to most of the known tavern sites (see Table 8-12); however, since that is a higher number found at the Jamestown Tavern, it was classified as “tavern.” This comparison also indicates that the percentage of drinking vessels in relation to the overall ceramic assemblage is significantly higher at the parsonage site (28.9%). Although I originally classified the parsonage as a “domestic” site in this category, I believe there is enough of a difference between the parsonage and the other four sites to warrant changing the classification to a “tavern” based on the “large percentage” of drinking vessels. Based on this comparison, the St. Paul’s parsonage house appears to have served a social function different from contemporary plantation houses and later parsonage houses. As excavations continue at the Miller Site, it will be interesting to see if the assemblage continues to appear similar to that of a tavern.

Table 8-15. Results of analysis of Bragdon’s tavern assemblage characteristics to St. Paul’s Parsonage, Thomas Lynch House, and Schieveling Plantation (based on MVC unless otherwise noted).

Bragdon’s Characteristics	St. Paul’s Parsonage	Willtown Parsonage*	Christ Church Parsonage	Thomas Lynch House	Schieveling Plantation
Large numbers of vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	66.7% tavern	N/A	76.0% tavern	30.2% domestic	89.2% tavern
Large % of drinking vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	28.9% tavern	N/A	11.6% domestic	4.1% domestic	6.5% domestic
Large % of ceramic types associated with drinking vessels, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	40.0% tavern	15.4% domestic	5.8% domestic	17.8% domestic	23.8% domestic
Large numbers of wine glasses and specialized glassware (in fragments)	6 domestic	50 tavern	5 domestic	76 tavern	22 domestic
Large numbers of pipe stems (in fragments)	319 tavern	332 domestic	76 domestic	684 tavern	477 domestic
Local redwares, predominantly coarse, in relation to ceramic assemblage (based on MVC)	8.9% tavern	63.6% domestic	28.5% domestic	32.3% domestic	21.3% domestic

* all data based on sherd count

Discussion

The world inside the parsonage house would have felt very familiar to Anglican missionaries. As seen at the St. Paul’s parsonage site, and other early colonial sites in South Carolina, a wide variety of English ceramics were available to them, along with other European ceramics. Glass bottles to hold spirits, wine glasses, and tobacco pipes were also the same as back home. The only objects not completely familiar would have been the colonoware vessels, although the missionaries were probably accustomed to other types of low-fired, unglazed earthenwares. These objects would have also been

used in a similar fashion as a way to express signs of one's gentility and Puritan ideals. The use of the parsonage house as a social gathering area for parishioners would have also been reminiscent of social function of parsonages in England.

However, if one were to look more closely at their surroundings, life would have seemed very different. First, the hall-and-parlor floor plan of the house was a different layout than seen in English houses. Second, and a more important distinction, was the presence of enslaved Africans and Native Americans, rather than the white servants they likely hired in England. Enslaved people would have completed a number of domestic chores within the parsonage house, such as the preparation and serving of meals to the missionary and his guests, cleaning, laundry, and sewing. For many missionaries, the idea of owning another person may have gone against their personal morals, although there is no mention of such struggles in the SPG letters. In addition to the possible moral dilemma, there was the fear of violence and insurrection from enslaved people, which came to fruition with the Yamasee War of 1715 and the Stono Rebellion of 1739.

When stepping outside of the parsonage house, one's surroundings would have seemed even more different. Like the interior, the house's exterior was also distinctly colonial. The biggest differences would have been as the missionary looked around the parsonage complex and the surrounding landscape. Enslaved Africans and Native Americans, who looked very different from English people and who spoke unfamiliar languages, would have been the ones tending to the livestock, gardening, and working in the fields. Beyond the yard and outbuildings, the unfamiliar semi-tropical vegetation and a landscape comprised of low-lying marshes, tidal creeks, and numerous rivers was

a stark contrast to England, especially for those missionaries who had lived in London or other urban areas. The unfamiliarity of the people and the land would have made the social functions and connections with other English people that much more important. In the following chapter, the social activities and functions of the St. Paul's parsonage house and church to the frontier parish community are explored further and attention is turned to the social importance of the Anglican Church to the entire colony.

CHAPTER 9:

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

"Nothing now remains of the old Church "on the salts" near New Cut except the foundations of a brick church in an irregular mass or mound"

- Henry A.M. Smith, January 1910

Within five decades of its initial settlement at Albemarle Point, South Carolina moved from a struggling frontier colony to the wealthiest on the North American British mainland and one of the wealthiest colonies in the New World. A goal of this research has been to examine the larger roles of the Anglican Church in the development of South Carolina's plantation economy and the success of the colony. This chapter begins with a review of the archaeological findings from the St. Paul's Church and parsonage sites. Using those findings, along with other lines of evidence, I turn to a discussion of the social importance of the Anglican Church in the development of South Carolina's plantation economy and the success of the colony. This discussion focuses on the social function of St. Paul's Church and the Anglican Church in the formation of a new South Carolina identity and on the Church's involvement in the development of regional transportation networks that were vital to the growing plantation economy and influenced future settlement patterns.

Review of Archaeological Excavations

Archaeological excavations at the St. Paul's Parish Church site revealed architectural information about the church building and the use of the landscape

immediately around the church. With the aid of GPR-testing, we have a much clearer picture of the church's architecture and its visual appearance. We verified the 1715 description of the original church as a 35 x 25 ft. brick structure, and it is now possible to state that the 1720s construction of the church addition altered the original rectangular church into a cruciform. With the GPR data, we were able to situate St. Paul's on the landscape to determine its exact position and orientation. Ultimately, this work allowed for a more regional landscape study regarding the positioning of early-18th century Anglican churches in South Carolina as a way of the Anglican Church to show their presence and power in the colony. Through an analysis of the recovered artifacts, mainly architectural in nature, and a review of extant early-18th century Anglican churches in South Carolina, my work has demonstrated that the architecture of St. Paul's Parish Church was likely influenced by "Low Church" or Puritan ideas. Architectural features identified through excavations within the interior of the church and along its foundations included the church aisle, communion rail, and at least three separate entrances.

From excavations elsewhere inside and outside of the churchyard, we recovered very few non-architectural historic period artifacts. A majority of those artifacts were recovered from the area between the churchyard and the Stono River. The distribution of artifacts suggests that parishioners used this area for socializing, or as an alternative, they utilized the churchyard for socializing, but disposed of their refuse outside of its boundaries in order to maintain respect for the sacred nature of churchyard. In addition to the surviving gravestones, soil-coring identified a potential area of burials in the northwestern portion of the churchyard.

At the parsonage site, we identified the foundations of the house and recovered a number of artifacts that allow for interpretations about the life of the Anglican missionaries who lived there. The structure measured 35 x 18 ft. and was likely a hall-and-parlor house. Within the eastern portion of the house, we located and partially excavated an 11 x11 ft. brick-lined cellar. The cellar provided evidence of the 1715 fire that destroyed the parsonage house, as well as stratigraphic information that allowed for interpretations regarding the site formation processes that led to the filling of the cellar. The numerous ceramics, glass bottles, tobacco pipes, and other artifacts recovered indicate that the Anglican missionaries who lived at St. Paul's had a wide variety of European goods, along with locally-made colonowares. The most common types of ceramics recovered were manganese mottled wares and Staffordshire slipwares, both of which were very common, moderately priced, and relatively plain when compared to the higher priced hand-painted Chinese porcelain and tin-glazed wares. Rather than being a sign of economic status, the ceramics may instead be an expression of the Puritan influences on the Anglican Church at the time, much like the architecture and furnishings of the church building itself. The artifacts – namely the relatively high number of drinking vessels, glass bottles, and tobacco pipes – indicate the parsonage was a social gathering place, which allows for further discussion of the importance of the parsonage and the church to the parish community.

Social Functions of St. Paul's and the Anglican Church

In colonial America, churches were often at the center of nearly every community - whether a Spanish mission town, a small New England village, or larger towns such as

Williamsburg and Charles Towne. Besides the small frontier town of Willtown in its southern portion, St. Paul's Parish lacked other villages, towns, or even large settlements until the 1720s. There was no central place for people to conduct business transactions, hold political meetings, or socialize with other settlers. The lack of central meeting places was exacerbated by difficult traveling conditions and the great distances between plantations. Therefore, in the case of St. Paul's Parish and South Carolina's other rural parishes, the local Anglican church became the center of the larger parish community. Many of St. Paul's residents, both Anglicans and dissenters, traveled to the church to attend Sunday services and to worship together. The time before and after church services was likely the only time throughout the week that many residents saw one another outside of their own family members, enslaved laborers, or immediate neighbors. Depending on the direction of the tides, parishioners may have spent several hours at the church or the nearby parsonage, socializing with one another as they waited for the tide to turn.

Reverend Dun's letters indicate that a large number of dissenters lived in St. Paul's Parish. In one of his last duties prior to leaving St. Paul's in October 1708, Dun provided the SPG with a census of his parish. He reported the parish's population included approximately 300 individuals with 80 "professing themselves as belonging to the Church of England." The parish's 220 dissenters included 150 Presbyterians, 8 Independents, 40 Anabaptists, 10 Quakers, "& above 12 others, whom I cannot tell what to make of" (Dun to SPG Secretary, September 20, 1708, SPG). How many of the parish's dissenters actually attended church services is unclear, but there are indications that they regularly attended. In another letter, Dun wrote that his

congregation is often a mix of Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists (Dun to SPG, April 21, 1707, SPG). After Reverend Maitland replaced Dun at St. Paul's, Commissary Johnston wrote to the SPG that St. Paul's parishioners "greatly admired" Maitland when he first arrived at the church,

. . . particularly by the Presbyterians, who were wonderfully taken with his way of preaching which was Extempore, and in all points conformable to the usual Method of the Dissenters (Johnston to SPG Secretary, July 5, 1710, SPG).

Johnston's wording suggests that Presbyterians and other dissenters actually attended services at St. Paul's, rather than just being familiar with Maitland's sermons. The mixed nature of the congregation is again noted by Reverend Standish in 1725 (Standish to SPG, March 20, 1725, SPG).

In a colony where followers of dissenting religions were welcome to worship freely, why would they attend services at an Anglican church? One possibility is that there were so few churches in the area that dissenters felt that attending Anglican services was better than not attending any at all. There was a Presbyterian church located in Willtown that was founded in 1704 (Zierden et al. 1999:47); however, there is no mention of other dissenting churches or meetinghouses in the parish. Another possible explanation is that dissenters felt that by attending services at St. Paul's, they gained some advantage. It is proposed here that dissenters benefitted socially and politically from their attendance at St. Paul's and other Anglican churches.

Settlers to early colonial South Carolina came from many European countries including France, Germany, Scotland, Ireland, and Switzerland (Joseph and Zierden 2002:1). However, the vast majority of colonists were English, either having arrived directly from England or through the English island of Barbados. Especially for those settlers newly-arrived from England, South Carolina was unlike anything they had seen back home. The environment and landscape were completely foreign to them. Early colonists had to learn to navigate the tidal waters, experiment with different crops that they never had grown before, and deal with alligators and other types of animals not seen in England. People used to the village or urban lifestyles of England, now found themselves living several miles from their nearest neighbors and a day's trip into town. The climate posed new problems as well, especially adjusting to the semi-tropical area and the hot, humid conditions and diseases it brought. The people of the colony also looked and sounded different. Not only did other Europeans settle in South Carolina, but many Native Americans still made their homes there, and over time, enslaved West Africans by the tens of thousands were brought into the colony. For the first time in many of their lives, English people comprised a minority of the population. They were surrounded by people who had different cultural practices and who spoke many different languages. Even for a dissenter, walking into an Anglican church and being surrounded by English practices and traditions and people who wore familiar clothing and spoke a familiar language must have provided them with a sense of home, a way to maintain and express their English identity, and in some way made their adjustment to their new home easier (Hawkins 1983; Woolverton 1984; Linder 2000).

In a similar fashion, the parsonage at St. Paul's also served an important social role to parishioners. The artifact assemblage from the parsonage more closely resembles that of a tavern or other social meeting place, than a domestic residence. The use of the parsonage as the center of the community would have been familiar to both the priests and their parishioners, as in England parsonages traditionally served as social gathering places for the community where parishioners often received medical treatment and furthered their education (Bax 1964:3). Continuing in that tradition, it is likely that St. Paul's missionaries often hosted parishioners at their home where they would share the latest news and gossip, and strike business deals, while enjoying food, beverages, and tobacco. The proximity of the parsonage to the church made it an ideal place for members of the congregation to visit with each other after services, especially for those people who had to wait for the tide to change.

It is also likely that St. Paul's missionaries would accommodate overnight guests. While there is no reference to this practice from St. Paul's missionaries to the SPG, Reverend Pouderous, a missionary from St. James', Santee Parish in the northernmost part of the South Carolina colony, wrote that he had to put up guests quite often at his parsonage house, as there were no taverns or inns in his parish (Pouderous to SPG Secretary, April 16, 1723, SPG). Considering the remoteness of St. Paul's Parish, and the dependence on tidal rivers for transportation, it would not be surprising if its missionaries often accommodated overnight guests. An overnight guest from Charles Towne or another parish would likely have attracted nearby parishioners in order to catch up on the latest news from elsewhere around the colony. Other church-related activities may have also taken place at the parsonage, especially since Anglican

churches were often reserved only for church services. As there is no mention of a vestry house in the documentary record nor has any archaeological evidence of one been found, vestry meetings may have taken place at the nearby parsonage. The various socializing opportunities at the parsonage would have strengthened the community ties between parishioners and kept them informed with the latest news and events from Charles Towne in regards to political, economic, social, and religious issues.

Aligning oneself with the Anglican Church also had advantages for those who sought political advancement. When the General Assembly passed the original Establishment Act in 1704, it required all members to swear an oath of allegiance to the Anglican Church. Although this stipulation was not included in the 1706 Church Act, those men who sought political position often allied themselves with the Church, even if they did not officially join. One way dissenters could show their support was by attending church services at their local Anglican church. In addition, they would have a chance to discuss political events with their fellow parishioners who were responsible for electing men to the General Assembly and other political positions. The desire for political gain explains why Landgrave Bellinger, a devout dissenter, donated several acres of land for which St. Paul's Parish Church, cemetery, and glebe lands were to be used. As a landgrave, Bellinger had ambitions to become the colony's governor and would have likely gained support of Anglicans through his donation.

Dissenting groups also realized they could benefit in the colony by allying themselves with the Anglican Church. In the early 1700s as the Church was gaining political power, the dissenting French Huguenot population recognized it was to their

benefit to affiliate themselves with the Church. In exchange for their votes in support of establishment, the Anglican Church provided the Huguenots with their own parish, St. Denis, located within the boundaries of St. Thomas Parish. Although the Book of Common Prayer was to be used at St. Denis, it was a French translation and services were also held in French. Although they sacrificed some of their Calvinist practices by joining the Anglican Church, the Huguenots were able to maintain some of their cultural practices while also gaining political power as a group. Individual French Huguenots also gained politically as they received support from Anglicans in parish elections.

Church Architecture as Expression of Identity

St. Paul's Church also played another important role in the social lives of parishioners besides providing a place for English settlers to express and maintain their English identity. Through its architecture, St. Paul's helped to unify its diverse parish. The church's architecture, and that of other South Carolina Anglican churches, reflected the Anglican beliefs prevalent at the time, as well as helped to shape and maintain those beliefs. During the early-18th century, the Church of England in the New World was still predominantly led by Low Churchmen, who backed a more Puritanical approach to the Church and who were more open to religious tolerance. This resulted in many churches at that time having rather plain interior furnishings and walls. Architecturally, this was expressed through clear, glazed windows (rather than stained glass) and white walls free of wall paintings or hangings. The only wall decorations expected would be wooden tablets in the chancel depicting the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments. Furnishings would be rather simple as well, such as simple wooden

pews, a pulpit, altar table, and a font for baptism. There is no evidence from archaeological excavations that St. Paul's Church deviated much from this design. By following a more Puritan-influenced architectural design for St. Paul's, church supervisors may have been appealing to the large number of dissenters who lived in the parish and would hopefully attend services at the church. The inclusion of dissenters in the congregation blurred the religious differences between Anglican and dissenters. Two of the extant churches - St. Andrew's (see Figure 3-16) and St. John's Strawberry Chapel (see Figure 1-13) – continue to have the plain and simple influences of Puritan thought even today. As with St. Paul's Parish, the dissenter population in these two parishes was relatively high in those rural parishes.

However, not all early-18th century Anglican churches in South Carolina were as plain and simple as St. Paul's, St. Andrew's, and Strawberry Chapel. In Charles Towne, the interior and exterior of St. Philip's Church was very elaborate and more reflective of the "High Church" position that more closely followed Anglican thought and allied itself more closely with the Catholic Church. The exterior of St. Philip's had features not normally seen in colonial churches such as porticos, pilasters, and a cupola that included bells and a clock (Figure 9-1 and see Figure 3-1). Multiple aisles, arches, columns, pilasters, and cornices graced the large, two-story, open nave of the interior (Figure 9-2). The reasoning for the elaborate design of St. Philip's can be traced back to Church of England history in England. During the late-17th century, there was a lessening of Puritan ideals in England. This change was expressed through the elaborate architecture of England churches, especially those designed by Christopher Wren. As St. Philip's was modeled after the latest church designs in London, it



Figure 9-1. St. Philips' Church, ca. 1760. Drawing by Thomas You (Nelson 2008:15).

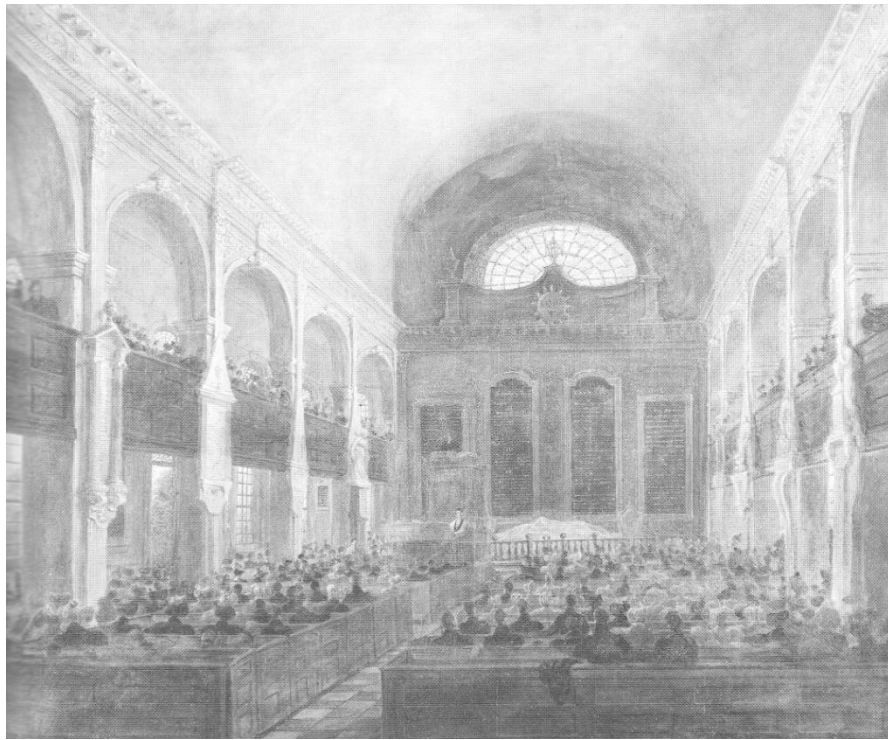


Figure 9-2. Interior of St. Philips, 1835. Painting by John Blake White (Nelson 2008:21).

expressed more of the High Church ideals that were gaining strength at the time. The elaborate design of St. Philip's may have been meant to express more than just the influence of the "High Church". Nelson (2008) attributes the more ornate design of St. Philip's to the wealthy Anglican businessmen of Charles Towne who wished to express to the world that their city was not an isolated frontier town, but that it could rival any city in the New World. A similar conclusion can also be drawn regarding the only elaborately designed Anglican church in the rural parishes, St. James', Goose Creek (see Figures 1-10 and 1-11). Among the parishioners of St. James', Goose Creek were the "Goose Creek Men." This influential group was comprised of wealthy planters who had already established themselves on Barbados before settling in Carolina. They were powerful political players and most importantly for the Church of England, they were predominantly Anglican. They used their political, social, and financial influences in the colonial government and were instrumental in the passing of the 1704 Establishment Act and the 1706 Church Act. Because "High Church" influences were more common on Barbados, their parish church was more elaborately decorated than most other South Carolina churches. In both the rural and urban areas of South Carolina, the architectural design and furnishings of the Anglican churches reflected the religious beliefs of their residents and were used to help unify the parish community.

Seat selection inside the church was another way parishioners and church officials expressed their broader social views, namely in regard to status and wealth. Families paid a subscription price to the church and those families that paid the most money chose their pew locations first, often selecting the pews closest to the chancel and the pulpit (Nelson 2008:313). Unlike Virginia where men and women sat in different

locations of the church, South Carolina families sat together in a single pew (or pews in the case of a larger family) (Nelson 2008:309). Little survives that details seating arrangements in the Anglican churches from the 18th century, but what does survive indicates that commoners and enslaved people sat apart from wealthier families. Reverend Le Jau of St. James', Goose Creek wrote that slaves stood outside of the church and listened through the windows (Le Jau to SPG, July 14, 1710, SPG). At St. Philip's, poor whites sat in the aisles while blacks stood in the western vestibule. Once the galleries were installed, blacks were placed in the aisles near their owners (Nelson 2008:317). This statement implies that white commoners were moved from the aisles to the galleries. By the 19th century, free and enslaved blacks were relegated to the galleries of those churches that had them (Nelson 2008:317). By dictating where one sat at church based on their wealth and status, Anglican parishioners used their churches to reflect the growing racial and social divisions seen elsewhere in the colony, helping in another way to solidify the wealthy planter class.

The development of a unified community was especially important to white settlers in St. Paul's Parish as it was on the southern outskirts of the colony and included some of the closest European settlement to Native American and Spanish lands. By 1720 the Native American and Spanish threats to South Carolina had dissipated, but the African population grew exponentially. At that time the numbers of enslaved Africans reached an estimated 60-69% of the overall population of St. Paul's Parish (Morgan 1998:96). As the black majority continued to rise to 80-89% by 1760 (Morgan 1998:97), the church and parsonage became one of the few places in the

parish where white settlers could be among others who shared their common background and language.

Influence of Anglican Church on the Regional Landscape

In addition to its social roles, the Anglican Church was also responsible for significant alterations to the regional landscape. The intentional and strategic placement of Anglican churches by church supervisors throughout South Carolina altered the colonial landscape. While it might have been their goal to express the power and position of the Anglican Church, the landscape decisions made by church supervisors in the early-18th century also affected later settlement patterns in the colony. These consequences facilitated the early stages of South Carolina's plantation economy and ultimately were a catalyst in the movement of settlement away from the waterways and into the interior.

Development of Transportation Networks

From the initial English settlement to the early decades of the 18th century, the forested areas and numerous waterways of the South Carolina Lowcountry made travel over land difficult as it took time to clear land and construct roads, bridges, and ferry crossings. To help aid in the movement of people, the General Assembly passed a number of acts that called for the building of bridges, roads, and ferry crossings throughout the rural areas of the colony, beginning as early as 1705 (McCord 1841). By the 1720s, numerous transportation networks had been constructed and the colony's

residents could move around more easily. While the waterways still remained an important mode of transportation, South Carolinians became less reliant on them.

A review of the 68 acts related to transportation networks that the General Assembly passed between 1706 and 1750 shows that nine of them specifically state that one of the reasons why a road, bridge, or ferry crossing was to be constructed was for the purpose of making it easier for people to attend church services (McCord 1841:3, 24, 27, 46-47, 59, 62, 77, 122-123, 133-134, 189). For example, in 1705 inhabitants of Craven County (St. James', Santee Parish) were in "want of a convenient road, highway, and bridge over the creek commonly called Echaw Creek" in order that they may join "themselves together on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, for the public service and worship of God" (McCord 1841:3). On April 17, 1725, the Assembly ratified an act "to open and make a road from William Smith's plantation on Wassumsaw Swamp, to the Chappel at Goose Creek" (McCord 1841:62). Another indication of the importance of roads, ferry crossings, and bridges to parishioners traveling to services is that the General Assembly stated on a number of occasions that people traveling to church on Sundays were not to be charged any tolls for the use of ferry crossings and bridges (McCord 1841:19, 22, 71, 80, 84).

These acts, along with excerpts from the SPG letters, provide an indication of the difficulty of traveling to St. Paul's Parish Church and around the parish in general. Shortly after his arrival to St. Paul's Parish in 1707, Reverend Dun wrote, "I am settled in a place where I can see but very few of them [parishioners] without going by water and it is very chargeable to keep a boat and slave to row me" (Dun to SPG Secretary, November 24, 1707, SPG). Five years later, the Assembly passed an act to construct a

bridge in St. Paul's Parish across the Wadmalaw River from Thomas Seabrook's land to Elizabeth's Blake land because parishioners were "greatly interrupted in their communication with adjacent parts, and are kept from the worship of God" (McCord 1841:24). This bridge would have been located just a mile or so south of St. Paul's Parish Church. Then in 1713, a ferry crossing and another bridge were commissioned by the General Assembly for St. Paul's Parish. This bridge was to be constructed across the Stono River and the parishioners of John's and Wadmalaw Islands were to "make and keep in repair the aforesaid path from Stono Bridge to the Ferry path; as also, to the Church [St. Paul's]" (McCord 1841:31). Today, the 14th hole of the Links at Stono Ferry golf course marks the former location of the ferry landing, about one mile to the north of where St. Paul's Parish Church once stood (Links at Stono Ferry Golf Course 2009).

These various transportation networks were not only important in the movement of people to church, but also were vital to the growing plantation economy, as they provided ways for crops to be moved quickly to Charles Towne's ports. As the colony grew throughout the 18th century, plantations and settlements arose along these transportation networks. While there is nothing at this time to suggest the Anglican Church intended to play such an important role in 18th century Lowcountry settlement, their placement of churches in the outlying parts of the colony in the early part of the century did affect later settlement patterns.

Effects on Later Settlement Patterns

The transportation networks put in place to aid in the movement of people to the churches, led to significant changes to later settlement patterns in the colony. Beginning in the mid-1720s and continuing for several decades, Anglican churches moved away from the waterways and appeared along major roadways, illustrating that South Carolinians had grown to rely less on the waterways as their primary mode of transportation. The churches are an indicator that settlement had begun to move into the interior, developing along well-traveled roads rather than rivers. The increase in transportation networks made it easier to transport goods back and forth between the interior and Charles Towne and allowed people to move into the interior. By the mid-18th century, the Euro-American settlement of the “backcountry” of South Carolina was well underway. Therefore, the decisions made by early-18th century Anglican Church leaders regarding the site selection for their churches ultimately affected settlement patterns and helped facilitate the settlement of the interior of South Carolina.

Conclusions

By 1756, services at the original St. Paul’s Parish Church along the Stono River had ceased. In that year, laborers removed materials from the old church so that they could be reused at the new church. For an unknown period of time, the remnants of St. Paul’s Church remained above ground. A survey of the churchyard in 1899 indicated that by that time the foundational remains had been completely covered over (Smith 1910:72). Even with the church ruins no longer visible, subsequent owners continued to consider the sacred nature of the site as seen in the absence of plowing, the care and

maintenance of the site, and even the 1995 burial of John Henry Dick. During its short, 50-year existence, St. Paul's Parish Church left its mark on this frontier parish and its residents. Likewise, the Anglican Church influenced the development of the South Carolina colony and its plantation economy, and all people who lived there.

The South Carolina Anglican Church and its individual parish churches and parsonages were a unifying force in the developing colony. As seen at St. Paul's Parish Church and parsonage, Anglican churches provided common places for white settlers, both Anglican and dissenter, to congregate together in worship and to socialize. Churches and parsonages became the "hearts" of the parishes and were places where white settlers mitigated their various religious, cultural, or ethnic differences, and ultimately forged a new South Carolina identity. During these social gatherings, parishioners realized that the religious differences between Anglicans and dissenters were not as important as their increasing fear of neighboring Native Americans and of the growing majority of enslaved Africans. Over time it became less important for white settlers to identify themselves based on religious or ethnic background, but instead on their skin color. Being white became the unifying factor of European settlement in South Carolina, a pattern seen elsewhere in South Carolina (Zierden 2002) and in other colonies in the 18th-century (Epperson 1990; Silver 2008). This change in identity led to increased racial tensions and a deepening of South Carolina's reliance on enslaved African and Native American labor, an important factor in the development of South Carolina's plantation economy.

The other major influence of the Anglican Church on the colonization of South Carolina was through modification of the landscape. In an effort to showcase the

presence and power of the Anglican Church in the colony, church leaders strategically placed their churches and chapels to take advantage of natural landscape features such as high ground and major waterways. This strategic placement of churches and chapels on the colonial landscape helped to solidify the Church's religious and political claims to the land. These landscape decisions made in the early-18th century aided in the rapid growth of the plantation economy through the transportation networks that were put in place to make traveling to church services easier for parishioners and ultimately paved the way for settlement into the Backcountry.

Future Research Directions

The research presented here is only the beginning of archaeological research to be conducted at the St. Paul's sites and Dixie Plantation. The most immediate plans are to continue research at the parsonage complex. These plans include the further excavation of the parsonage house and its cellar. Uncovering more of the house should provide further insight into a number of architectural features such as interior walls, floor plan, chimney and staircase locations, entrances, and room size. Completing excavations of the remainder of the cellar will allow for a better understanding of life at the parsonage and stronger interpretation of how material culture shaped those experiences.

While the parsonage house has been identified, the out-kitchen and the other "several timber outbuildings" have yet to be identified. By expanding excavations away from the parsonage house, it will be possible to identify the location of these buildings, as well as various activity areas of the surrounding yard. One of the more important

areas to identify would be the out-kitchen. Based on the ca. 1807 Purcell plat, the kitchen ruins should be about 60-70 ft. to the east-southeast of the parsonage house foundations. Soil-probing has not identified any possible intact foundations. Dr. Harris has agreed to conduct GPR testing in the suspected area in the future. Finding the kitchen would provide further insight regarding the daily activities that took place about the parsonage, as well as a better opportunity to learn more about the enslaved people who worked in the kitchen, and possibly lived there also.

Another area of interest where future excavations are planned is in the low-lying marsh just to the south and east of the parsonage site. During the colonial period, Lowcountry residents often used nearby marshes to dump their household refuse (Zierden et al. 1986:7-3), and therefore, the marsh is the most obvious place to investigate for a midden location. While the material recovered from the cellar provided information regarding the parsonage in 1715, locating a midden that contains trash from 1707 to 1715 will provide a better overview of parsonage life from all three of the missionaries and their enslaved people. A midden should also provide more evidence of subsistence activities through the recovery of additional zooarchaeological evidence. For example, the faunal material from the cellar lacked any fish bones, even in the flotation samples, likely due to it representing a rapid fill episode rather than material that gradually accumulated over time. Considering the location of the parsonage immediately on a deep water tidal creek, it seems unlikely that parsonage residents did not utilize the creek or the Stono River for food. The discovery of a midden will provide further information regarding the types and uses of the domesticated animals raised by the parsonage, as well as the availability, types, and use of wild animals.

While not planned for in the immediate future, there is still additional work that should be conducted at the church site, namely further investigation into the prehistoric use of the land. The large number of prehistoric ceramics recovered from the churchyard indicates an intensive use of the land by prehistoric peoples during the Late Woodland; however, evidence of native people's use of the land dates back to at least the Late Archaic. At this point of time, no further excavations of the church ruins themselves are planned, as we now have a good idea of its architecture. Further study of the area outside of the modern-day fence may provide additional information regarding the movement of parishioners between the church and parsonage.

The former St. Paul's lands only make up a small percentage of the over 900 acres of Dixie Plantation. Other archaeological sites have already been identified on the property, while there are several other areas that have yet to be investigated and will likely yield a number of other potential historic and prehistoric sites. Additionally, the College of Charleston is still developing plans to make Dixie Plantation more accessible to their students, faculty, and staff. The first step in this process has been the construction of walking trails throughout the property. Along these trails, visitors now have the opportunity to read interpretative signs that provide information on the natural and cultural resources of the plantation (Figures 9-3 and 9-4). The archaeological fieldwork and documentary research discussed in this dissertation, along with additional documentary research by College of Charleston students, helped create the text for much of the signage. Eventually, the grounds will also be open to the general public and



Figure 9-3. Interpretative sign for St. Paul's Parish Church. (Photo by the author)



Figure 9-4. Interpretative sign for St. Paul's Parsonage site. (Photo by the author).

John Henry Dick's art studio will be converted into a museum showcasing his artwork. Part of the design plan of the museum is to include an area devoted to Dixie's past that will be largely based on our research. Once completed, visitors will have the opportunity to enjoy the natural beauty of the property and learn about the history of Dixie Plantation, including that of St. Paul's Parish Church and parsonage.

On a broader scale, there is still much research that can be conducted as far as studying the influence of the Anglican Church and other major religious institutions in the colonization of the New World. While this study has focused on the Church in South Carolina, the Anglican Church had an even stronger presence in Virginia. Many more extant 18th century churches survive in Virginia and a study analyzing the landscape locations and orientations of those churches would make for an interesting comparison to the results in South Carolina. Because the Church had a more stable position in Virginia and there were far less dissenters, it is expected that Anglican churches there were more likely to maintain their east-to-west orientation.

Similar to the work of Lightfoot, Arendt, Lydon, and Lenik, my research demonstrates the ways in which a major religious institution influenced the colonial landscape and development of a specific colony and the New World in general. While there is no question that religion played an important part of colonial peoples' private lives, it is also important for archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians to recognize its roles in the political, economic, and social aspects of colonization as well. Major religious institutions such as the Anglican Church, the Catholic Church, and the Moravian Church did not passively sit back and let events unfold. Rather they were

active agents in determining their own success in the New World, as well as the success of their respective homelands.

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VITA

Kimberly Sue Pyszka was born on July 31, 1969, in Rock Island, Illinois, growing up outside of the Quad-Cities. After graduating from Rockridge High School, she first attended Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois and then Blackhawk Community College in East Moline, Illinois. She transferred to The College of Charleston in Charleston, South Carolina her junior year as a History major, when Kimberly enrolled in her first anthropology class, which peaked her interest in archaeology and led to her changing her major to Anthropology. During her third semester, only one archaeology class was offered, Historical Archaeology, and Kimberly was hooked. After graduating in 1992 with a Bachelor of Science Degree in Anthropology, she moved back to Illinois and took a position working in a Human Resources department for a riverboat casino. Seven years later, Kimberly decided to go back to graduate school to pursue a career in her first love, historical archaeology. She began the Master's program in Anthropology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the Fall of 2000. Her thesis, *The Mountain Folk of Rugby, Tennessee: An Archaeological and Historical Study of the Massengale Home Site (40MO146)*, examined the home site and life of an early mountain family in the Upper Cumberland Plateau of Tennessee. After graduating in May 2003, Kimberly moved back to Charleston and began teaching at her alma mater, the College of Charleston. After teaching for several years, in 2007 she decided it was time to go back and complete her PhD at the University of Tennessee, which culminated in this dissertation research.